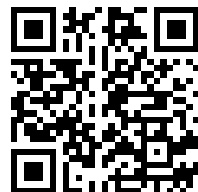

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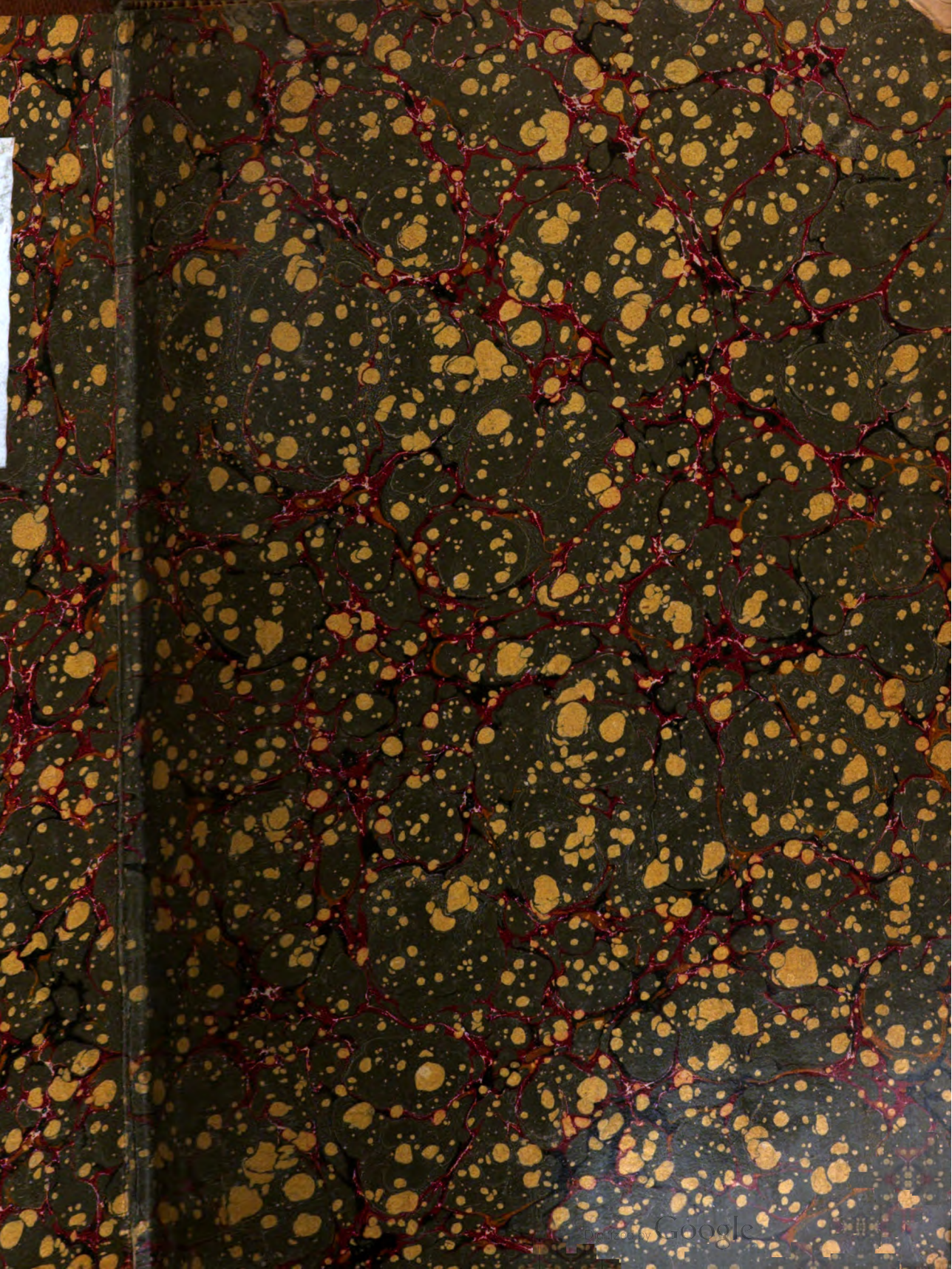
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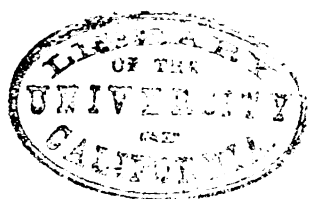
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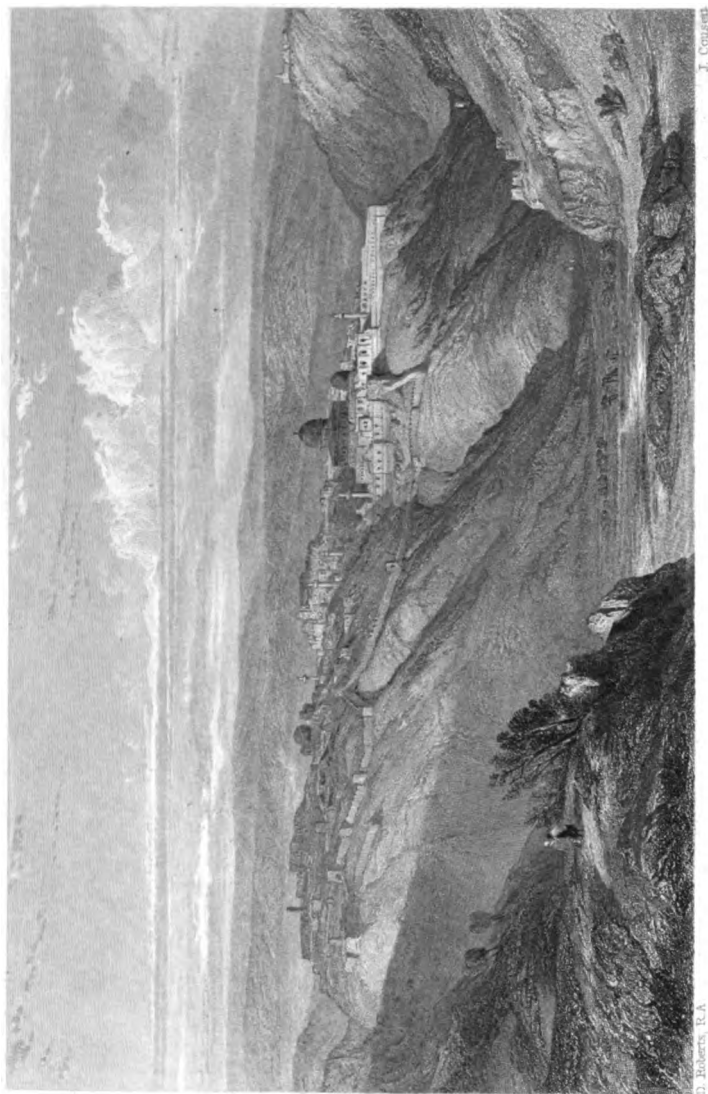
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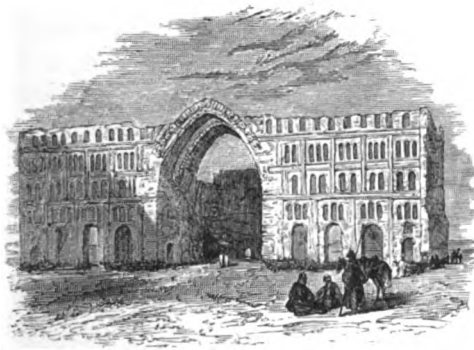
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CYCLOPÆDIA OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

FABER

FABER, GEORGE STANLEY, B.D., was born at Calverley in Yorkshire, 25th Oct. 1773, and died at Sherborn 27th Jan. 1854. He was educated at Oxford, where he was elected a fellow and tutor of Lincoln College before he had completed his 21st year. He was successively vicar of Stockton-on-Tees, vicar of Redmarshall, rector of Long Newton, and master of Sherborn Hospital. He held also a prebendial stall in Salisbury Cathedral. His writings are very numerous; and are all marked by copious learning, exact and close reasoning, and a zeal for established truth, combined with a dangerous love of hypothesis. In Biblical literature his chief works are his Bampton lecture, entitled, *Horæ Mosaicæ, a Dissertation on the Credibility and Theology of the Pentateuch*, 2 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1800, a new and greatly improved edition of which appeared in 1818; *A Treatise on the Genius and Object of the Patriarchal, the Levitical, and the Christian Dispensations*, 2 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1823; *The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy*, 3 vols. 12mo, 1844; *Eight Dissertations on certain connected Prophetical passages of H. S., bearing on the promise of a mighty Deliverer*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1845.—W. L. A.

FABER, JOHANN ERNST, was born at Simmershausen in the year 1746, and studied at Coburg and Göttingen. He was professor of Oriental languages at Kiel, and from the year 1772 at Jena, where he died, April 14th, 1774. The following are the most important of his Biblical writings:—*Descriptio Commentarii in LXX. interpretes*, pars i., Götting. 1768, 4to; pars ii., Götting. 1769; *Disp. de animalibus quorum fit mentio Zeph. ii. 14*, 1769; *Historia Mannæ inter Hebræos*, pars i., Kilon, 1770; pars ii. Jenæ, 1773; *Novum de Messia exactis CCCCXC. annis post exitum Judæorum Babylonicum nascituro ex Zach. iii. 8, 9, 10, repetitum vaticinium, spatio LXX., hebdomadum Dan. ix. 24*, Kilon, 1771, 4to; *Jesus ex natalium opportunitate Messias*, Jenæ, 1772, 8vo; *Archæologie der Hebræer*, 1 th., Halle, 1773, 8vo.—S. N.

FABER, JOHANN MELCHIOR, was born Jan. 18, 1743, at Simmershausen, in the neighbourhood of Hildburghausen, and was probably the brother or cousin of J. E. Faber. In 1768 was appointed professor of the Hebrew and Greek languages at Thorn, West Prussia; in 1770 he became professor of Greek and Rhetoric at Coburg; and in 1774 rector of the gymnasium at Ansbach. He died Jan. 31, 1809. The larger part of his writings were published in the form of programmes,

FABRICIUS

issued in accordance with the duties of his office as professor or rector. The most important of these in relation to Biblical literature are his *Programmata sex super libro Sapientiæ*, Onold. (Ansbach), 1776-77, 4to, and of which he afterwards published a second part, in four sections, in the years 1786-1789. His other Biblical programmes were—*In 2 Reg. xxiii. 4-7*, Thorun, 1769; *In loca quedam Habacuci Prophetæ*, Onold. 1779; *In Malachiam Prophetam*, 1779; *Harmonia Maccabæorum*, sec. i. 1794; sec. ii. 1797.—S. N.

FABLE. [PARABLE.]

FABRICIUS, JOHN ALBERT, a very learned scholar and bibliographer, was born at Leipzig, 11th November 1668. In 1684 he was sent to the gymnasium at Quedlinburg to study under Samuel Schmid, and complete his preparatory academical studies. Returning to Leipzig in 1686, he was made bachelor in philosophy. In 1688 he became a member of the philosophical faculty. In 1694 he went to Hamburg to see some of his relatives, and while there was received into the house of J. F. Mayer, a celebrated theologian, became his librarian, and was liberally treated. With this patron he repaired to Sweden in 1696. In 1699 he received the chair of eloquence and practical philosophy at Hamburg. In 1708 he became rector of the Johanneum in addition to his professorship, but resigned it in 1711. He died at Hamburg, April 30th 1736. His adopted city had reason to be proud of him; for he refused many tempting offers from various universities. Fabricius was a scholar of immense erudition and unwearied industry. He studied and wrote incessantly. Hence his published works are very numerous, amounting to upwards of forty. The most important of them all is the *Bibliotheca Græca, sive notitia scriptorum veterum Græcorum, quorumcumque monumenta integra aut fragmenta edita exstant, tum plerorumque e manuscriptis et dependitis*, 14 vols. 4to, Hamburg, 1705-1728. A new edition of it was published by Harles, Hamburg, 1790, and following years. The index did not appear till 1838. Fabricius also published *Bibliotheca Latina, sive notitia auctorum veterum Latinorum, quorumcumque scripta ad nos pervenerunt*, Hamburg, 1697, 8vo. A new edition was published by Ernesti at Leipzig, 1773, 3 vols. 8vo. Other works are *Bibliographia Antiquaria sive introductio in notitiam scriptorum qui antiquitates hebræicas, græcas, romanas, et christianas scriptis illustrarunt*, 1713,

4to, second edition, 1716. *Codex Pseudepigraphus veteris Testamenti collectus, castigatus, testimoniisque, censuris et animadversionibus illustratus*, 1713, 8vo. *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti collectus, castigatus, testimoniisque, censuris et animadversionibus illustratus*, 1703, 8vo, 2 vols.; 1719, 3 vols. 8vo. *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica*, etc., Hamburg, 1718, folio. He also edited the works of Hippolytus (1716, 1718, 2 vols. folio) and Philastrius (1721). See H. S. Reimarus, *De Vita et scriptis Joannis Alberti Fabricii commentarius*, 1737, 8vo, Hamburg.—S. D.

FABRICY, GABRIEL, a Dominican father and celebrated bibliographer, was born near Aix in Provence, about 1725. Having gone to Rome about 1760, on account of his being elevated to the rank of a provincial, he was appointed reader in theology; and was subsequently elected one of the theological doctors of the famous library of Casanata. From that time he was chiefly employed in making, along with Audifredi, the magnificent catalogue of that library, of which only four volumes were published. He died, A.D. 1800, at Rome. The only work of his which concerns us here, is *Des titres primitifs de la revelation, ou considerations critiques sur la pureté et l'intégrité du texte original des livres saints de l'ancien Testament*, 2 vols. 8vo, Rome, 1772. This is an important and useful book on the text of the O. T.—S. D.

FACE, in Scripture, is often used to denote *presence* in the general sense, and, when applied to the Almighty, denotes such a complete manifestation of the divine presence, by sound or sight, as was equivalent, in the vividness of the impression, to the seeing of a fellow-creature 'face to face.' The 'face of God' therefore denotes in Scripture any thing or manner by which God is wont to manifest himself to man. Thus, when it is said that Adam and Eve hid themselves from 'the face of Jehovah,' we understand that they hid themselves from his presence, however manifested; for פָּנִים *penim*, not only signifies *presence*, as well as (literally) *face*, but it is the very word for *presence*, however manifested. There is no other word to denote presence in the Hebrew language. Whenever 'presence' occurs in our translation, the word in the original is the same which is rendered 'face' in other places. This is very proper; and the respective terms 'face' and 'presence' are usually applied in the A. V. with much propriety and discretion; the latter term being employed wherever the effect of the word 'face' might have seemed harsh or unseemly.

It was a very ancient and common opinion that our mortal frame could not survive the more sensible manifestations of the divine presence, or 'see God face to face and live' (Gen. xxxii. 30). Hence, in this passage, the gratitude and astonishment of Jacob, that he still lived after God had manifested himself to him more sensibly than by dreams and visions. This impression was confirmed to Moses, who was told, 'Thou canst not see my face: no man can see my face and live' (Exod. xxxiii. 20); which clearly signifies that no one can in this present state of being endure the view of that glory which belongs to Him. The ancient heathen entertained the same notion, which is remarkably expressed in the celebrated mythological story of Semele, who, having prevailed on the reluctant Jove to appear to her in his heavenly splen-

dour, was struck dead by the lightnings of his presence (1 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 John iii. 2; Rev. xxii. 4).

It is to be borne in mind that God is usually represented to us in Scripture under a human form; and it is indeed difficult for even more spiritualized minds than those of the Hebrews to conceive of Him apart from the form and attributes of the highest nature actually known to us. The Scripture sanctions this concession to the weakness of our intellect, and hence arise the anthropomorphic phrases which speak of the face, the eyes, the arm of God. The appearances of the angels in the O. T. times were generally in the human form (Judg. xiii. 6, etc.); and from this cause alone it would have been natural, in the imagination, to transfer the form of the messengers to Him by whom they were sent [ANTHROPOMORPHISM].—J. K.

FAIR HAVENS (Καλοὶ Λιμένες), a port on the southern side of the island of Crete. Its exact position was for a long period a matter of doubt; but recent researches have identified it beyond the possibility of question, and have also contributed to throw much light on a portion of the Apostle Paul's perilous voyage. From Myra on the southern coast of Asia Minor, where the Apostle embarked 'in a ship of Alexandria sailing into Italy,' the true course would have been due west, passing close by Rhodes. The wind, however, which generally blows in that region during the autumn from the west or north-west, was unfavourable, and they were compelled to steer north as far as Cnidus. There, also, the wind was contrary, and did not permit them to go on their right course, μὴ προσεὼντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἀνέμου (Acts xxvii. 7). They were therefore forced to turn southward, and after rounding Cape Salmone, the most easterly point of Crete, to pursue the voyage along the lee of that island (Conybeare and Howson's *Life of St. Paul*, ii. 326). Owing to the direction and force of the gale, it was with much difficulty they made Salmone—μόλις τε παραλεγόμενοι αὐτὴν (ver. 8). The southern coast of Crete runs west by south for about half its length, as far as Cape Matala. So far the ship would be in a great measure sheltered from the fury of the north-west wind; but at Cape Matala 'the coast bends suddenly to the north,' and the ship could not pass that point so long as the wind continued west or north-west (Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 2d ed. p. 75).

About four miles east of Matala is a good roadstead, still called, as it was in the days of Luke, Καλοὶ Λιμένες. The name is appropriate. It is shut in on the west by a bold headland, on whose summit are the ruins of an ancient convent dedicated to St. Paul. On the south it is sheltered by two little islands; and between these and the shore is safe anchorage. The roadstead, however, is open to the east; and we can thus see the truth of Luke's statement, that it was 'incommodious (ἀνευθέρου) to winter in' (See Smith, pp. 80, and 256). This circumstance appears to have determined the master of the ship, contrary to the advice of Paul, to leave Fair Havens, and taking advantage of a southern breeze, to try and reach the harbour of Phenice, near the western end of the island. When they had rounded Matala, they were again caught by a north-westerly gale (Εὐροκλύδων), and the result is well known (Acts xxvii. 9-16).

Luke is the only ancient writer who mentions

Καλὸι Λιμένες. Early commentators generally supposed that it was identical with the Καλὴ Ἀκτὴ of Stephen of Byzantium (See *Kuinoeli Comm.* in loc.) The latter, however, lay on the western coast of Crete, and it was a *town* as well as a harbour (Smith, p. 80). At Fair Havens there was no town, for Luke describes it as *ὁ ἐγγὺς τῇ πόλει Λασηαία*. The ruins of Lasea were discovered a few years ago, about five miles east of Fair Havens, and thus the chain of evidence was completed (LASEA).

Fair Havens is incidentally mentioned by Raewolf, who touched at this port in his voyage to Palestine in the 16th century. He calls it *Calisene* (*Reiss in die Morgenländer.*) Pococke is the first who identifies and describes it. He says, 'it is a small bay about two leagues east of Matala, which is now called by the Greeks the Good or Fair Havens (*Λιμένες καλοὺς*);' and he adds, 'they have a tradition that St. Paul sailed from that place' (*Description of the East*, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 250). A good sketch of Fair Havens was taken by Signor Schranz, the artist who accompanied Mr. Pashley in his tour through Crete. It is copied in Smith's excellent work (p. 81), and also in Conybeare and Howson's *Life of St. Paul* (1st ed. ii. 329). To both these works the student is recommended for fuller details; and in them he will find charts of the roadstead, and of the whole southern coast of Crete.—J. L. P.

FAIRS. This is the rendering in the A. V. of the Hebrew עִוְבוֹנִים in Ez. xxvii. 12, 14, 16, 19,

22, 27. In ver. 33 of the same chapter it is rendered 'wares,' and this is held by Fürst, Hitzig, and others, to be the proper rendering of the word throughout. The LXX., however, give *εγορα*, and the Vulg. *nundina* and *forum* as the equivalent; and this Gesenius considers to be the primary sense of the term, from עָוַן, *to let go for a price, to sell*. It is impossible, however, to carry this meaning through the chapter; and hence, in order to suit verses 27 and 33, Gesenius (arbitrarily) gives the second meaning, *gains, profits*. This throws doubt on his explanation of the word; and this is strengthened by the consideration that the phrase עִוְבוֹנִים נָתַן cannot without violence be rendered *to expose in the market for sale*. On the other hand, the meaning 'wares' can as little be carried through the chapter; for to translate עִוְבוֹנִים נָתַן *to pay for wares*, is very arbitrary. The only interpretation which can be carried through the chapter is that suggested by Gousset (*Commentarii Ling. Heb.* p. 594), and adopted by Hävernick (*Comment. üb. Ezech.* p. 464), viz., *exchanges or equivalent*, 'id quod alicui relinquis pro alia re tibi ab ipso tradita in contractu permutationis.' = goods given in barter. The construction differs throughout this section. We have עִוְבוֹנִים נָתַן, ver.

12, בָּנָפָן נָתַן בָּעֵד, ver. 16, and בָּעֵד נָתַן בָּרָחַל, ver. 19. The first simply expresses the fact that they gave an equivalent; the second expresses the equivalent they gave, viz., precious stones, etc.; the third indicates that they reckoned for an equivalent with iron, etc. This last construction is peculiar. In ver. 15 for the expression we have been considering we have הָשִׁיב אֶשְׁכֶּר, which signifies *to return or render a price*; and the expression נָתַן מַעֲרָב also occurs in this section (Hitzig, *Comment.* in loc.)—W. L. A.

FAITH. [JAMES, EP. OF, vol. ii. p. 462.; PHILOSOPHY, vol. iii. p. 530.]

FALL, THE. [ADAM.]

FALLOW DEER. [JACHMUR.]

FALSE PROPHETS. [PROPHECY, vol. iii. p. 589.]

FAMINE (רָעָב). Considering the early period in the history of the world to which the Biblical records, especially the oldest of them, refer; and considering also how small a proportion to the world at large, or even to the inhabited part of it, the population bore in the primitive ages, we should not antecedently expect to find frequent mention of famines. Yet does it appear, from the testimony of these records, that mankind suffered greatly from dearth of food in the earliest periods of which we have any account; and the Scriptural history in this, as in other particulars, will be found interesting and valuable to the economist and philosopher, as well as to the divine. In truth famine appears to depend, not on the extent of cultivable or of cultivated land, nor on the proportion which such land bears to the actual population—though, doubtless, both these elements enter into the influences which determine the question of abundance or scarcity—but rather on human forethought and thrift so applied, as, in the actual circumstances, whatever they are, to make a suitable provision in all cases against such contingencies as may occasion dearth. In the almost entire absence of this forethought, barbarous and half-civilized nations have been found, scanty though the population may be in relation to the tracts of land over which they roam, to be most frequently on the verge of destitution, and not seldom to suffer the greatest privations from dearth and famine. Vain is the almost unlimited opportunity which Nature spreads around them for the supply of their animal necessities, since they want either the intelligence and skill which are necessary to turn these opportunities to account, or the moral qualities which would spare something from actual abundance in order to provide against coming wants.

Since the Bible gives its unquestionable evidence to shew that dearth was by no means an unfrequent or an inconsiderable evil in the early ages, it supplies a very cogent proof, in answer to those who maintain either that the world is worse or no better than it was in ancient times, that at least in those moral qualities on which man's physical well-being depends, mankind have made unquestionable advances. Indeed, if any large portion of the earth now suffer from famine, the cause may be looked for not so much in the want of forethought and savingness as in the operation of passions and prejudices arising from misconceived self-interest, which prevent the free interchange of the bounties of divine Providence,—passions and prejudices which characterize not mankind at large, but only certain small portions of society, and which, in consequence, how powerful soever they may for a time be, have not the vitality of vices of character that belong to a semi-barbarous age, and must, in a day like the present, soon disappear before the generous and dissolving ardour of enlightened Christian love.

The first mention of a famine which occurs in Scripture is in Gen. xii. 10, where we read that so

early as the days of the patriarch Abraham 'there was a famine in the land,' which is described as so grievous as to compel the father of the faithful to quit Canaan. The country to which he resorted was, as we might expect, the land of Egypt, the early and lasting fertility of which is a well-known historical fact. In Gen. xxvi. 1, this famine is designated as 'the first,' that is, the first known, or of which there was any record. The same passage informs us of another famine, which afflicted 'the land' in the days of Isaac, who seems to have contemplated a descent into Egypt; but who, being instructed of God, removed to a part of Arabia Petrea (Gen. xxvi. 17) named Gerar, a city of the Philistines, whose monarch's name was Abimelech.

Even Egypt, however, was not exempt from the desolations of famine (Gen. xli. 30). The ordinary cause of dearth in Egypt is connected with the annual overflow of the Nile. If the rise of the waters is in any year below a certain standard, the country affords scanty supplies of food, and may for the greater part remain a desert. But more than local causes must have been in operation in the case before us; for we are told that 'the famine was sore in all lands,' that 'the famine was over all the face of the earth.' By the foresight and wisdom of Joseph, however, provision against the evil had been made in Egypt, while other countries were left to suffer the unmitigated consequences of their neglect. The provision made by Joseph must have been of a most abundant nature, since the period during which the dearth lasted was no less than seven years, and the people of other parts sought and received supplies in Egypt—'all countries came into Egypt to buy corn.' Among other lands, Canaan suffered from the famine; and which was the immediate occasion of Jacob's sending his sons down into Egypt, of the discovery which they made of their lost brother, and of the settlement in that land of the descendants of Abraham: an event of the highest consequence in the sequel, and serving to illustrate the benignity and wisdom of divine Providence in the evils with which, under its influence, the world is afflicted.

This famine was made by Joseph the occasion of one of the greatest social revolutions which history records. The details may be found in the book of Genesis; and it is enough to say here that, as the special administrator of the affairs of the country, Joseph got into his hands all the property of the kingdom, including the land (excepting that which belonged to the priests), and gave the same back to the people as tenants at will, on condition of their paying to the king 'the fifth,' probably of the annual produce.

From these statements it appears that three successive generations were in these early days visited by famine. The Scriptural narrative (the details of which may be easily ascertained by the help of a Concordance) shews that in after ages famines were, in ancient times, more frequent than they are now; and this justifies the use which is made of so terrible a scourge by the sacred writers, and especially the prophets and our Lord himself, in the highly figurative language which they employ in their righteous endeavours to turn wicked men and wicked nations from the evil of their ways (Ezek. vi. 11; Matt. xxiv. 7). In Amos viii. 11, *sq.*, a heavier woe than even the want of bread is appropriately spoken of under the appellation of a fa-

mine; 'Behold, the days come, saith the Lord God, that I will send a famine in the land; not a famine of bread nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the word of the Lord; and they shall wander from sea to sea, and from the north even to the east, they shall run to and fro to seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find it: in that day shall the fair virgins and the young men faint for thirst.' The ensuing verse shews that idolatry was the moving cause of this heavy punishment.—J. R. B.

FARISSOL or FARIZOL (פריסול), ABRAHAM b. MORDECAI, a distinguished geographer, polemic, and commentator, was born at Avignon, in Italy, about 1451. He left his native place about 1470, went to Mantua, and thence to Ferrara, where he became minister of the Jewish community, which office he held till 1520. Whilst ministering to the spiritual wants of the synagogue, Farissol most diligently employed his time in the elucidation of the Hebrew Scriptures, and as the result of his labours, in 1500, finished a commentary on the Pentateuch, entitled, פרחי שושנים, *the flower of lilies*. This was followed by his great apologetic and polemic work called כנף אברהם, *the shield of Abraham*, consisting of three parts, the first of which is occupied with an apology for Judaism, the second is directed against Mohammedanism, and the third against Christianity. Shortly after this (circa 1516) he published an excellent commentary on Job (פירוש על איוב), and in the autumn of 1524 he gave to the world his famous cosmography, called אגרת אורחות עולם, *Itinera Mundi*, in which he describes the abodes of his independent brethren, the ten tribes, the Sambation [ELDAD], and the garden of Eden, which he places in the mountains of Nubia (comp. chaps. xviii. and xxx.) Twelve months after the appearance of this marvellous production, Farissol finished a commentary on the book of Ecclesiastes (פירוש ספר קהלת), and died about the end of 1526. Of his exegetical works the commentary on Job only is printed in the Rabbinic Bible, published at Venice, 1518, and in the famous Rabbinic Bible, edited by Frankfurter, 4 vols. fol., Amsterdam, 1724-1727. His cosmography, which is interspersed with curious matter well worthy of the attention of the Biblical student, has been published no less than six times. One edition was published in England by Thomas Hyde, the celebrated Oriental scholar, under the title אגרת אורחות עולם, *id est Itinera Mundi*, Oxonii, 1691, with a Latin translation, and very elaborate and learned notes, which is alike an honour to English Oriental scholarship and typography of the seventeenth century.—C. D. G.

FARMER, HUGH, a learned dissenting minister, was born near Shrewsbury, 1714, and received the rudiments of his education in Llanegryn, Merionethshire. He was afterwards placed under the care of Dr. Charles Owen, at Warrington, and in 1730, under Dr. Doddridge, at Northampton. Having finished his collegiate course, he became private chaplain to William Coward, Esq., and minister of a congregation in Walthamstow, which increased under his pastoral care from a mere handful to a numerous and influential community. In 1761 he was appointed afternoon preacher at Salter's Hall, and afterwards Tuesday lecturer in the same place. In the following year he re-

linquished the former of these two offices; eight years subsequently, the latter; and finally, his pastorate. He died, 1787, in the seventy-third year of his age. He was a diligent and laborious student, and acquired vast stores of information on Biblical and other subjects. His works, which deserve and will repay perusal, are characterised by great ability and learning, independent thought, and clearness of style. The principal of them are:—(1.) *An Inquiry into the Nature and Design of Christ's Temptation in the Wilderness*, 8vo, 1761; designed to prove that the temptation of our Lord was not a real occurrence, but a 'divine vision.' (2.) *A Dissertation on the Miracles, designed to shew that they are Arguments of a Divine Interposition, and absolute Proofs of the Mission and Doctrine of a Prophet*, 8vo, 1761; in which questions relating to the Magicians of Egypt, the Witch of Endor, etc., are ably discussed, while it is maintained that diabolical agency has never, and can never perform a miracle. (3.) *An Essay on the Demoniacs of the New Testament*, 8vo, of which a third edition appeared 1818; and in which he maintains that the demoniacs were either epileptic persons or madmen. (4.) *The General Prevalence of the worship of Human Spirits in the Ancient Heathen Nations asserted and proved*, 8vo, 1783. A clause in his will required that all his MSS. should be burned. Accordingly there perished in the flames, among the rest, a volume on the 'Demonology of the Ancients,' 'A Dissertation on the History of Balaam,' and a second edition of his treatise on 'Miracles.'—I. J.

FARTHING. This word occurs four times in the A. V. of the N. T. Two names of coins are rendered by it.

1. *Κοδράντης, quadrans* (Matt. v. 26; Mark xii. 42), a coin current in Palestine in the time of our Lord. According to St. Mark, it was equal to two *lepta* (λεπτά δύο ὃ ἐστὶ κοδράντης, Mark, i. c.) The *quadrans* was originally the fourth part of the *as*, or a piece of three ounces, called *triuncius*, and was marked with three balls to denote its value (Plin. xxxiii. 3, 13). It was already, in the time of Cicero (as recorded by Plutarch in the story of the impiety of Clodius, circa B.C. 62), the smallest Roman brass coin (τὸ λεπτότατον τοῦ χαλκοῦ νομίσματος κυναδράντην ἐκάλουν, Plut. *In Cic.* xxix. 26), though in the earlier times of the Republic there were the *sextans* or sixth part of the *as*, the *uncia* or twelfth part, and the *semiuncia* or half-ounce (Cohen. *Med. Imp.*, Introduction, p. xii.) The *leptum* was the smallest Greek copper coin, and, according to Suidas (s.v. τάλαντον and δόλοβς), was the seventh part of the χαλκοῦς. [MITE.] In the Roman copper coinage current in Palestine at the time of our Lord, the smallest coin seems to have been the *as* (ἀσσάριον, *vid. infra*), but there was also another currency, the Græco-Roman or Greek imperial. The *κοδράντης* and *λέπτον* may have belonged to the latter. If so, the former would be the quarter of the *ἀσσάριον*, and the latter the eighth.

2. *Ἀσσάριον* (Matt. x. 29; Luke xii. 6) the Greek name of the Roman *as* or *assarius*. The Vulg. in Matt. x. 29 renders it by *as*, and the *ἀσσάρια* δύο in Luke xii. 6 by *dipondius*. The *dipondius* or *dupondius* was equal to two *asses*. From the fact that the Vulg. substitutes *dipondius* for two *assaria*, it is probable that a single coin only is intended by

this latter form. This statement is partly corroborated by our finding copper Greek autonomous coins of Chios (viz., coins struck during the Imperial period, though without an Imperial head) having on them the words ACCAPION, ACCAPIA ATO or ΑΤΩ and ACCAPIA ΤΡΙΑ. We also have copper coins of Chios with the words HMTACCAPION (sic) and ΟΒΟΛΟΣ, this latter being properly the name of a Greek silver coin, though it was used at Metapontum in Lucania for a copper coin. From the beauty of the work of this piece it cannot be later than B.C. 300, and the *obolus* at this period was certainly of silver. It has been suggested that it was struck in a time of extreme public distress, but this is doubtful (Millingen, *Num. de l'Ancienne Italie*, pp. 25, 26). In later times the *obolus* of copper seems to have been of common occurrence (ὁδοὶ γὰρ τῶν χαλκῶν, ὁβολῶν, ὡς ὁδοὶ, παρὰ τῶν καταλεόντων ἐκδοσὶν ἐκλέγων, Lucian, *Contempl.*, Didot. ed., p. 133; cf. Vitruvius iii. 1). The HMTACCAPION (sic), half-assarius, was, according to Polybius, the sum given by travellers in Italy for a day's living, and the same writer adds that it was equal to the fourth part of the *obolus* (ἡμισσαρίον, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τέταρτον μέρος ὁβολοῦ, Polyb. *Hist.* ii. 15, 6). The *assarius* would thus be equal to half the *obolus*. In another passage he states that the daily pay of a foot soldier in his time was two *oboli* (Polyb. *Reliq.* vi. 39, 12). At this time the attic drachm and denarius were identical [DRACHM], and a denarius in paying the soldiers was estimated at ten *asses* (Plin. xxxiii. 3, 13). The *obolus* being the sixth part of the drachm, two *oboli* a day would be equal to 3½ *asses*. In this case the *assarius* would be equal to rather more than half the *obolus*. The ratio instead of being 1 to 5 would be 1 to 6, but the discrepancy is so small as to be of no material importance.—F. W. M.

FASTS, consisting both of self-imposed and enjoined, total or partial abstinence from food, have existed among the Jews, as among all other nations, from time immemorial.

1. *The import of fasting.*—The idea which the Jews attached to fasting was to afflict, weaken, and humble the soul by withholding from it the necessary food in order to aid man, thus brought low, to give himself more entirely to serious devotion, repentance, and communion with God. This is evident from the phrase עָנָה נַפְשִׁי, to afflict or humble the soul, well rendered by the Septuagint, ταπεινῶν τὴν ψυχὴν; being the shorter form of עָנָה בָּצוֹם, to afflict the soul by fasting (Ps. xxxv. 13), used to express fasting on the most solemn and only occasion, i.e., the day of atonement, in which it is commanded in the law of Moses (comp. Lev. xvi. 29, 31; xxiii. 27, 32; Num. xxix. 7).^{*} The expressions צוֹם, fast (2 Sam. xii. 16; 1 Kings xli. 9, 12; 2 Chron. xx. 3; Ezr. viii. 21; Is. lviii. 5, 6, *al.*); and תַּעֲנִית, fast (Ezr. ix. 5), wrongly trans-

^{*} Ibn Ezra on Lev. xvi. 29 rightly refers to נַפְשִׁי עָנָה תַּעֲנִית (Is. lviii. 10), and the opposite phrase הִתְעַנְנָה בְּרִישׁוֹן נַפְשִׁי (ibid. lv. 2) to shew that נַפְשִׁי עָנָה denoted abstinence from food, and very justly remarks that the use of this short phrase on the part of the lawgiver to express fasting unquestionably implies that it was a well-known old custom among the Jews, and did not therefore require any further explanation.

lated *heaviness* in the A.V., are still shorter forms of this phrase. This idea of fasting is also seen in the case of Moses himself, where it is evident that his total abstinence from food for forty days was intended as a spiritual discipline to wean him from earth and fit him for his more immediate communion with God (Exod. xxxiv. 28), and from the remark that 'the nobles of Israel,' who had no such intimate communion with God, saw Him without fasting (*ibid.* xxiv. 11).

2. *Fasts from the giving of the Law to the Babylonish captivity.*—Though, as has already been remarked, the day of atonement was the only fast enjoined in the law of Moses, yet it was not the only occasion when the pious Israelites endeavoured to crucify the flesh and the lusts thereof by total or partial abstinence from food. From the enactments in Num. xxx. 2-16, we see that husbands and wives, and parents and children of both sexes, not unfrequently voluntarily took upon themselves vows to abstain from food as an act of humiliation in the sight of God, believing to conciliate thereby the favour of heaven. Occasions for fasting rapidly increased with the course of events. Monarchs regarded impending calamities, and the defeat which their armies sustained, as punishments from heaven for some national sin, and proclaimed a national fast (Judg. xx. 26; 1 Sam. vii. 6; 1 Kings xxi. 2 Chron. xx. 3), and the people beheld in any humiliation to which they were subjected by their enemies, and in every affliction to which flesh and blood are heir, the chastisement of God for some secret transgression, and imposed private fasts upon themselves (1 Sam. i. 7; xx. 34; xxxi. 13; 2 Sam. i. 12; iii. 35; xii. 16; 1 Kings xxi. 27). Still up to the time of the Babylonish captivity, the great day of atonement was the *only annual fast* which the Jews as a nation kept.

3. *From the Babylonish captivity to the destruction of the second Temple.*—This ascetic mode of piety shews itself more especially in and after the Babylonish captivity. As long as the Temple of the Lord stood upon Mount Moriah, and the altar was blazing with the ever burning fire, the pious Israelites endeavoured to serve God and conciliate His favour by frequent offerings of sacrifices. But when the Temple was destroyed, and the people carried into captivity, the sacrifice of the body and one's own fat and blood was substituted for that of animals. Hence, that touching prayer recorded in the Talmud, which the Jews offered on their fast-days, 'Lord of the Universe! Thou knowest that when the Temple existed, the man that sinned brought a sacrifice, and though only the fat and blood thereof were offered, yet he was forgiven. Now that I fast, and my own fat and blood are consumed, let it please Thee to accept this sacrifice of my fat and blood, as if offered upon Thine altar, and be merciful unto me' (*Berachoth* 17, a). With such a view of their importance, fasts of all sorts, private, public, and annual, were, as a matter of course, rapidly multiplied. Days on which national calamities occurred, were as eagerly seized as fitting opportunities for creating annual fasts, in order to sacrifice 'the fat and blood of the body,' as the occasions during the time of the Temple to offer animals upon the altar. In the following list, the annual and periodical fasts which originated during this period, and which are observed by the Jews to the present day, are enumerated, and the

particulars of those fasts given which are not noticed in separate articles of this Cyclopædia.

I. ANNUAL NATIONAL FASTS.

1. *The fast of the fourth month* (שבועה עשר בתמוז), which is kept on the 17th of *Tamuz*, because—1. On this day the Jews made the Golden Calf; 2. Moses broke the tables of the Law, as appears from a comparison of Exod. xxiv. with xxxii.; 3. On it the daily sacrifices ceased for want of cattle, when the city was closely besieged; and 4. On it Jerusalem was stormed by Nebuchadnezzar, comp. Zech. viii. 19; Jer. lii.; Mishna Taanith, iv. 6; St. Jerome on Zech. viii. 19.

2. *The fast of the fifth month* (חשעה נאח), which is kept on the 9th of *Ab*, because—1. On this day God decreed that those who left Egypt should not enter the Land of Promise (Num. xiv. 27, etc.); 2. On it the first temple was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, and the second by Titus; 3. On it the city of Bethar was taken by the Emperor Adrian, and 580,000 Jews were massacred; and 4. On it the site of Jerusalem was ploughed up like a field, as predicted by Jer. xxvi. 18, comp. Zech. vii. 3, 4; viii. 19; Mishna Taanith, iv. 6; St. Jerome on Zech. viii. 19; Jost, *Geschichte d. Israeliten*, iii. p. 240.

3. *The fast of the seventh month* (צום גדליה), vii. 5; which is kept on the 3d of *Tishri*, to bewail the murder of Gedaliah at Mizpah, comp. Zech. vii. 5; viii. 19; Jer. xli. 1 ff.; 2 Kings xxv. 25; Seder Olam Rabba, c. xxvi.; Megillath Taanith c. xii.

4. *The fast of the tenth month* (עשרה בטבת), comp. Zech. viii. 19, which is kept on the 10th of *Tebeth*, to commemorate the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, which took place on this day; comp. Zech. viii. 19; 2 Kings xxv. 1. These four fasts have been Christianized; and tradition tells us that their transfer into the Christian Church was made by the Roman Bishop Callistus (fl. 223). To deprive them, however, of their Jewish appearance, the whole year was divided into four seasons (*quatuor tempora*), and a fast was appointed for one week of each season; comp. Herzog, *Real-Encyclop.*, iii. p. 336.

5. *The fast of Esther* (תענית אסתר), which is kept on the 13th of *Adar*; comp. Esther iv. 16, 17; ix. 31. [ESTHER, FAST OF.]

II. PERIODICAL AND INDIVIDUAL FASTS.

1. *The bi-weekly fast* (שני וחמישי), kept every Monday and Thursday between *Pesach* and *Aizereth*, and between *Succoth* and *Chanuca*, making in all twenty-eight days. On these days of the respective weeks, the first chapter of the section of the Pentateuch forming the lesson for the following Sabbath, is read, when three persons are called to the reading, and a special prayer for mercy (והרחם רחום), composed for these days, is introduced into the daily service (comp. *Megilla* 31, a; *Taanith* 12, a; *Sopherim* xxi. 3; *Kol Bo*, *Hilchoth Taanith*, *Luke* xviii. 12). The cause of these bi-weekly fasts is, as we are told, that Moses went up to Mount Sinai to receive the second tables of the law on a Thursday, having broken the first on account of the golden calf, and came down on a Monday (comp. *Baba Kama* 82, a, and *Rashi* on *this passage*). It is to these frequent fasts that the disciples of John referred when addressing the Saviour (*Matt.* ix. 14), and it is the abuse of these fasts which the Saviour exposes, *ibid.* vi. 16. Comp. also *Mark* ii. 18; *Luke* v. 33; *Acts* x. 30. This

4-weekly fasting has also been adopted in the Christian Church; but Monday and Thursday were changed into Wednesday and Friday (*feria quarta et sexta*), as commemorative of the betrayal and crucifixion of Christ.

2. *First-born sons' fast* (תענית בכור) on the day preceding the feast of Passover, in commemoration of the fact, that whilst God on that occasion smote all the first-born of the Egyptians, he spared those of the house of Israel; comp. Exod. xii. 29, etc., Sopherim xxi. 3. [FIRST-BORN.]

Passing over many other private fasts which are of a later origin, we come to the mode in which these fasts were observed.

4. *The manner in which these fasts were kept.*—All these fasts have been and still are kept very rigidly and solemnly. At the annual fasts, during the time of the Temple, public demonstrations of penitence and grief were made in the streets. Cornets and trumpets were blown in Jerusalem, whilst in other places only one such instrument was employed; the pulpits of the ministers were brought out of the temple and synagogues into the streets (רחובת של עיר), where all the people assembled wrapped in sackcloth, strewing ashes upon their heads. Then one of the people also strewed ashes upon the heads of the president or prince (נשיא) and the judges; another, who was the oldest among them, addressed the assembly in heart-moving terms—'My brethren, remember that it is not written respecting the repentance of the Ninevites that God regarded their outwardly wrapping themselves in sackcloth, and for this cause accepted their fast days, but that He saw their acts, and that they had turned from their evil ways' (Jonah iii. 10). Moreover, the teaching of the prophets also, is, 'Rend your hearts, and not your garments' (Joel ii. 13); whereupon another of the elders of the congregation, who had a pious and well-regulated family, stood up with all the people and prayed, introducing into the regular daily service the penitential Psalms (viz., cxx., cxxi., cxxx., and ciii.) All the prayers and benedictions used on these occasions are most appropriate and touching. In Jerusalem, where these solemn services were held, at the east gate, the whole congregation called out to the priests, after each benediction pronounced by the minister, 'Sound the loud trumpet.' This took place seven times. At the close of the service the people in every place went to the cemeteries, where they continued their lamentations and prayers. The whole of the service, with the exception of the few modifications which have been made in consequence of the altered circumstances of the nation, is used to the present day; and the Jews still look anxiously for the rising of the stars, when their fasts terminate, a circumstance to which St. Jerome already refers.

5. *Literature.*—*Mishna Taanith*, and the *Talmud Taanith*; Maimonides, *Jod Ha-Chesaka, Hilchoth Taanith*, vol. i. p. 315, seqq.; Lightfoot, *Hora Hebraica, Luke xxiii. 12*; Schoeltgen, *Hora Ebraica on Luke xxiii. 12*; Reland, *Antiquitates Sacre Veterum Hebraeorum*, 1717, p. 538, seqq.; Bloch, in *Geyer's Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie*, iv. p. 205, seqq.; Fink, in *Ersch und Grubers Encyclopädie*, s. v. *Fasten*; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Secten*, Leipzig, 1857, vol. i. p. 184, seqq.—C. D. G.

FAT. [FAT.]

FAT was regarded among the Jews, as among all other nations of antiquity, as the richest part of animals, and therefore became synonymous with *the first, the best, the prime* of anything. Thus the best produce of the land is called 'the fat of the earth' (Gen. xlv. 18), 'the fat of wheat' (Deut. xxxii. 14; Ps. lxxxi. 17; cxlvii. 14); the choicest oil and wine are termed 'the fat of oil, and the fat of wine' (Num. xviii. 12); the first and greatest heroes are denominated 'the fat of the mighty' (Judg. iii. 29; 2 Sam. i. 22; Is. x. 16); and the magnates and most distinguished of the earth are designated 'the fat' (Ps. xxii. 30). Now, as by virtue of its being the best and prime part, fat represents the whole animal; therefore, like the first-born, the first-fruits and the first and best of everything, it belongs to God. It was in accordance with this natural feeling that most of the ancient nations presented the fat to their God. Thus the Egyptians, when sacrificing a pig to the full moon, burnt the tail, spleen, caul, and all the fat about the belly of the animal, and eat the flesh themselves (*Herod. ii. 47*); the Persians lay a piece of caul of the sacrificed animal upon the fire (Strabo, xv., c. iii. sec. 13); and the Greeks used to cut out the thigh bones of victims, wrap them up in two folds of fat, also lay slices of fat upon them, lay upon the altar, and burn them (comp. Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon*, s. v. *μῆλα*); and Abel, who brought the first animal sacrifice, not only presented to the Lord 'the firstlings of his flock,' but 'the fat thereof,' which, by virtue of its being the best part, was as much the firstling of the animal itself as the animal was the firstling of the flock.

The parts of the fat or suet of the victims, which belong to God, and are especially to be appropriated to the altar, are given in Exod. xxix. 13-22, and Lev. iii. 3-5, as follows:—1. The fat which covers the entrails (חלב המכסה את הקרב) = *εἰς τὸν* *πλούς*, as Josephus rightly has it (*Antiq. iii. 9. 2*); the *omentum*, which is only to be found in man and mammals, and is very fat in ruminants (comp. Arist. *Hist. Anim. i. 16*; Plin. *Hist. Nat. xi. 80*).

2. The fat which accumulates around entrails (חלב הקרב), and is easily separated therefrom, i.e., the reticular adhering to the colon. 3. The two kidneys, with the fat on them, at the internal muscles of the loins (שתי הכליות ואת והחלב עליון), as the most fat accumulates near the kidneys (Deut. xxxii. 14; Is. xxxiv. 6), and to such an extent in sheep that they sometimes die of it (*οἱ νεβροὶ μάστιγα τῶν σπλάγγνων ἔχουσι πιμελήν*, Arist. *De Part. Anim. iii. 9*, and *Hist. Anim. iii. 17*; Plin. *Hist. Nat. xi. 81*); and 4. The *Yotzer*, which is taken by the Sept. and Josephus (*Antiq. iii. 9. 2*) to mean *δ λοβὸς τοῦ ἥπατος*, the *greater lobe of the liver*, similarly the

Syriac and Chaldee חצרא רעל בכורא; and is explained by Talmud (*Chulin. xlix. 6*), Rashi, Kimchi, Solomon b. Melech, etc., טרפשא = *τράψα*, whereby the Greeks, according to Hippocrates, understood the greater and thickest of the five *λοβοὶ τοῦ ἥπατος*, and which is also called *δ λοβὸς τοῦ ἥπατος* (Bähr *Symb. ii. p. 354*). This meaning of *Yotzer* is ably defended by Bochart (*Hieroz. lib. ii. c. xlv.*), and followed by Le Clerc, J. D. Rosenmüller, Kalisch (on Exod. xxix. 13), and others. But the Vulgate, Luther, Tyndal, the

Bishops' Bible, the Geneva Bible, the A. V., Piscator, De Wette, Knobel, Fürst, etc., take it to denote *omentum minus*, which is preferable, for the lobes have no accumulation of fat. And 5. The tail of a sheep (חֲלֵב), which, in certain species (*ovis laticaudata*), contains a great quantity of fat [SHEEP]. It is for this reason that the eating of fat is forbidden (Lev. iii. 17). The opinion of Maimonides, that it is prohibited *because it is unwholesome* (More Nebochim, part iii. c. xlvi.) is most appositely met by Bahr's striking question (*Symb.* ii. 382): *Soll Jehovah bekommen, was der Mensch nicht brauchen kann, womit er sich den Magen verderbt?* Still more preposterous is the opinion that the fat that covereth the inwards, which was consumed in the fire, 'signified the taking away of our corruption by the Spirit of Christ' (Ainsworth); or that it 'denoted Christ, the fattened calf, whose sacrifice is the best and most excellent' (Gill); that 'the kidneys' denote 'the seat of lust, and were likewise burned to teach mortification of our members which are on earth' (Ainsworth); or that 'they signify the burning zeal and flaming love and affections of Christ for his people, which instructed him, and put him upon offering himself a sacrifice of peace-offering for them' (Gill).

It remains to be added that the Jews, regarding the prohibition in Lev. iii. 17 as absolute, to this day abstain from eating some parts of the suet, and the Rabbinic rule for distinguishing between the lawful and prohibited fat is חֲלֵב טָהוֹר כֹּתוּם טָמֵא אֵינוֹ כֹּתוּם that the former is easily detached from the flesh, and comes under the category of חֲלֵב, whilst the latter is intermixed with the lean, and is designated שֶׁמֶן. The tail of the sheep (חֲלֵב) is a matter of dispute. The Rabbinic Jews maintain that the prohibition of it is restricted to sacrifices, whilst the Karaite Jews regard the eating of the tail as absolutely forbidden.

Literature.—Maimonides, *Jod Ha-Chesaka Hilchoth Maachaloth Asuroth*, cap. vii. sec. 5, vol. ii., p. 175; *Ramban on Lev.* iii. 9; Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, lib. ii., cap. 45; Bahr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, Heidelberg, 1839, vol. ii., p. 352 ff., 381 ff.; Knobel, *Exodus und Leviticus erklärt*; *Exeget. Handbuch z. A. T.*, part xii., p. 373 ff.—C. D. G.

FATHER. This word, besides its obvious and primary sense, bears, in Scripture, a number of other applications, most of which have, through the use of the Bible, become more or less common in all Christian countries.

1. The term Father is very often applied to God himself (Exod. iv. 22; Deut. xxxii. 6; 2 Sam. vii. 14; Ps. lxxxix. 27, 28; Is. lxiii. 16; lxiv. 8). It is strongly contended by Dr. Lee that it is only applied to God as having adopted the chosen people as his children; and he denies, with some harshness, that it is applied to him in the general sense as the Creator, and thence the Father of all mankind (*Lex. s. v. 28*). Nevertheless, he admits that man's creation is occasionally mentioned in connection with this use of the word; and this, coupled with the clearer intimations of the N. T., leaves little room to question that it is the intention of the sacred record to set God before us as the Father of all men, in the general sense of creator and preserver of all men, but more especially of believers, whether Jews or Christians. Indeed the

analogy of language would point to this, seeing that in the O. T., and in all the Syro-Arabian dialects, the originator of anything is constantly called its father. To the same effect is also a passage in Josephus's paraphrase of the law (Deut. xxi. 18-21), respecting rebellious sons, *kai autōs (Θεός) πατήρ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους*, 'because he (God) is himself the father of the whole human race' (*Antiq.* iv. 8. 24).

Without doubt, however, God is in a more especial and intimate manner, even as by covenant, the Father of the Jews (Jer. xxxi. 9; Is. lxiii. 16; lxiv. 8; John viii. 41; v. 45; 2 Cor. vi. 18); and also of Christians, or rather of all pious and believing persons, who are called 'sons of God' (John i. 12; Rom. viii. 16, etc.) Thus Jesus, in speaking to his disciples, calls God their Father (Matt. vi. 4, 8, 15, 18; x. 20, 29; xiii. 43, etc.) The Apostles, also, for themselves and other Christians, call him 'Father' (Rom. i. 7; 1 Cor. i. 3; 2 Cor. i. 2; Gal. i. 4; and many other places).

2. *Father* is applied to any ancestor near or remote, or to ancestors ('fathers') in general. The progenitor, or founder, or *patriarch* of a tribe or nation, was also pre-eminently its father, as Abraham of the Jews. Examples of this abound. See, for instance, Deut. i. 11; 1 Kings viii. 21; Matt. iii. 9; xxiii. 30; Mark xi. 10; Luke i. 32, 73; vi. 23, 26; John vii. 22, etc.

3. *Father* is also applied as a title of respect to any head, chief, ruler, or elder, and especially to kings, prophets, and priests (Judg. xvii. 10; xviii. 19; 1 Sam. x. 12; 2 Kings ii. 12; v. 13; vi. 21; xiii. 14; Prov. iv. 1; Matt. xxiii. 9; Acts vii. 2; xxii. 1; 1 Cor. iv. 15, etc.)

4. The author, source, or beginner of anything is also called the Father of the same, or of those who follow him. Thus Jabel is called 'the father of those who dwell in tents, and have cattle;' and Jubal, 'the father of all such as handle the harp and the organ' (Gen. iv. 20, 21; comp. Job xxxviii. 28; John viii. 44; Rom. iv. 12). This use of the word is exceedingly common in the East to this day, especially as applied in the formation of proper names, in which, also, the most curious Hebrew examples of this usage occur [AB].

The authority of a father was very great in patriarchal times; and although the power of life and death was virtually taken from the parent by the law of Moses, which required him to bring his cause of complaint to the public tribunals (Deut. xxi. 18-21), all the more real powers of the paternal character were not only left unimpaired, but were made in a great degree the basis of the judicial polity which that law established. The children and even the grandchildren continued under the roof of the father and grandfather; they laboured on his account, and were the most submissive of his servants. The property of the soil, the power of judgment, the civil rights, belonged to him only, and his sons were merely his instruments and assistants. If a family be compared to a body, then the father was the head, and the sons the members, moving at his will and in his service. There were exceptions, doubtless; but this was the rule, and, with some modifications, it is still the rule throughout the East.

Filial duty and obedience were, indeed, in the eyes of the Jewish legislator, of such high importance that great care was taken that the paternal

authority should not be weakened by the withdrawal of a power so liable to fatal and barbarous abuse as that of capital punishment. Any outrage against a parent—a blow, a curse, or incorrigible profligacy—was made a capital crime (Exod. xxi. 15, 17; Lev. xx. 9). If the offence was public it was taken up by the witnesses as a crime against Jehovah, and the culprit was brought before the magistrates, whether the parent consented or not; and if the offence was hidden within the paternal walls, it devolved on the parents to denounce him and to require his punishment.

It is a beautiful circumstance in the law of Moses that this filial respect is exacted for the mother as well as for the father. The threats and promises of the legislator distinguish not the one from the other; and the fifth commandment associates the father and mother in a precisely equal claim to honour from their children. The development of this interesting feature of the Mosaic law belongs, however, to another head [WOMAN]. See Cellerier, *Esprit de la Législation Mosaïque*, ii. 69, 122-129.

FEASTS. [HOSPITALITY; BANQUETS.]

FEASTS, RELIGIOUS. [AGAPE; FESTIVALS.]

FELIX (Φῆλιξ), a Roman procurator of Judæa, before whom Paul so 'reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come,' that the judge trembled, saying, 'Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season I will call for thee' (Acts xxiv. 25). The context states that Felix had expected a bribe from Paul; and, in order to procure this bribe, he appears to have had several interviews with the apostle. The depravity which such an expectation implies is in agreement with the idea which the historical fragments preserved respecting Felix would lead the student to form of the man.

The year in which Felix entered on his office cannot be strictly determined. From the words of Josephus (*Antiq.* xx. 7. 1), it appears that his appointment took place before the twelfth year of the Emperor Claudius. Eusebius fixes the time of his actually undertaking his duties in the eleventh year of that monarch.

Felix was a remarkable instance of the elevation to distinguished station of persons born and bred in the lowest condition. Originally a slave, he rose to little less than kingly power. For some unknown, but probably not very creditable services, he was manumitted by Claudius Cæsar (Sueton. *Claud.* 28; Tacit. *Hist.* v. 9); on which account he is said to have taken the prenomen of Claudius. In Tacitus, however (*loc. cit.*), he is surnamed Antonius, probably because he was also a freedman of Antonia, the emperor's mother. He was a brother of Pallas, who had also been set free by Antonia, and had great influence with Claudius; speaking of whom, in conjunction with another freedman, namely, Narcissus, the imperial private secretary, Suetonius (*Claud.* 28) says, that the emperor was eager in heaping upon them the highest honours that a subject could enjoy, and suffered them to carry on a system of plunder and gain to such an extent, that, on complaining of the poverty of his exchequer, some one had the boldness to remark that he would abound in wealth if he were taken into partnership by his two favourite freedmen.

The character which the ancients have left of Felix is of a very dark complexion. Suetonius speaks of the military honours which the emperor loaded him with, and specifies his appointment as governor of the province of Judæa (*Claud.* 28); adding an innuendo, which loses nothing by its brevity, namely, that he was the husband of three queens or royal ladies (trium reginarum maritum). Tacitus, in his *History* (v. 9), declares that, during his governorship in Judæa, he indulged in all kinds of cruelty and lust, exercising regal power with the disposition of a slave; and, in his *Annals* (xii. 54), he represents Felix as considering himself licensed to commit any crime, relying on the influence which he possessed at court. The country was ready for rebellion, and the unsuitable remedies which Felix applied served only to inflame the passions and to incite to crime. The contempt which he and Cumanus (who, according to Tacitus, governed Galilee while Felix ruled Samaria; but see Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1) excited in the minds of the people, encouraged them to give free scope to the passions which arose from the old enmity between the Jews and Samaritans, while the two wily and base procurators were enriched by booty as if it had been spoils of war. This so far was a pleasant game to these men, but in the prosecution of it Roman soldiers lost their life, and, but for the intervention of Quadratus, governor of Syria, a rebellion would have been inevitable. A court-martial was held to inquire into the causes of this disaffection, when Felix, one of the accused, was seen by the injured Jews among the judges, and even seated on the judgment-seat, placed there by the president, Quadratus, expressly to outface and deter the accusers and witnesses. Josephus (*Antiq.* xx. 8. 5) reports that under Felix the affairs of the country grew worse and worse. The land was filled with robbers and impostors who deluded the multitude. Felix used his power to repress these disorders to little purpose, since his own example gave no sanction to justice. Thus, having got one Dineas, leader of a band of assassins, into his hands, by a promise of impunity, he sent him to Rome to receive his punishment. Having a grudge against Jonathan, the high-priest, who had expostulated with him on his misrule, he made use of Doras, an intimate friend of Jonathan, in order to get him assassinated by a gang of villains, who joined the crowds that were going up to the temple worship,—a crime which led subsequently to countless evils, by the encouragement which it gave to the Sicarii, or leagued assassins of the day, to whose excesses Josephus ascribes, under Providence, the overthrow of the Jewish state. Among other crimes, some of these villains misled the people under the promise of performing miracles, and were punished by Felix. An Egyptian impostor, who escaped himself, was the occasion of the loss of life to four hundred followers, and of the loss of liberty to two hundred more, thus severely dealt with by Felix (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 8. 6; *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 13. 5; comp. Acts xxi. 38). A serious misunderstanding having arisen between the Jewish and the Syrian inhabitants of Cæsarea, Felix employed his troops, and slew and plundered till prevailed on to desist. His cruelty in this affair brought on him, after he was superseded by Festus, an accusation at Rome, which, however, he was enabled to render nugatory by the influence which his brother Pallas had, and exercised to

the utmost with the emperor Nero. Josephus, in his *Life* (sec. iii.), reports that 'at the time when Felix was procurator of Judæa there were certain priests of my acquaintance, and very excellent persons they were, whom, on a small and trifling occasion, he had put into bonds and sent to Rome to plead their cause before Cæsar.'

While in his office, being inflamed by a passion for the beautiful Drusilla, a daughter of King Herod Agrippa, who was married to Azizus, king of Emesa, he employed one Simon, a magician, to use his arts in order to persuade her to forsake her husband and marry him, promising that if she would comply with his suit he would make her a happy woman. Drusilla, partly impelled by a desire to avoid the envy of her sister, Bernice, was prevailed on to transgress the laws of her forefathers, and consented to a union with Felix. In this marriage a son was born, who was named Agrippa: both mother and son perished in an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which took place in the days of Titus Cæsar (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 7. 2). With this adulteress was Felix seated when Paul reasoned before the judge, as already stated (Acts xxiv. 24). Another Drusilla is mentioned by Tacitus as being the wife (the first wife) of Felix. This woman was niece of Cleopatra and Antony. By this marriage Felix was connected with Claudius. Of his third wife nothing is known.

Paul, being apprehended in Jerusalem, was sent by a letter from Claudius Lysias to Felix at Cæsarea, where he was at first confined in Herod's judgment-hall till his accusers came. They arrived. Tertullus appeared as their spokesman, and had the audacity, in order to conciliate the good-will of Felix, to express gratitude on the part of the Jews, 'seeing that by thee we enjoy great quietness, and that very worthy deeds are done unto this nation by thy providence' (Acts xxiii., xxiv.) Paul pleaded his cause in a worthy speech; and Felix, consigning the Apostle to the custody of a centurion, ordered that he should have such liberty as the circumstances admitted, with permission that his acquaintance might see him and minister to his wants. This imprisonment the Apostle suffered for a period of two years, being left bound when Felix gave place to Festus, as that unjust judge 'was willing,' not to do what was right, but 'to shew the Jews a pleasure' (C. W. F. Walch, *Diss. de Felice Jud. procur.*, Jen. 1747). - J. R. B.

FELL, JOHN, was the son of Dr. Samuel Fell, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and was born at Longworth, in Berkshire, in 1625. He was removed at the early age of eleven from Thame school to a studentship of Christ Church, where, while his father was Dean, he took his degrees of B.A. in 1640, and of M.A. in 1643. Like his father he was an ardent royalist during the troubles of that time. After the Restoration he was made prebendary of Chichester and canon of Christ's Church in 1660; in the November of the same year he succeeded to the deanery of which his father had been deprived a dozen years before, being then D.D. and chaplain in ordinary to the king. Between 1666-1669 he was Vice-Chancellor of the University, and in 1676 was advanced to the bishopric of Oxford, retaining the deanery in commendam. He was also master of St. Oswald's Hospital, Worcester. He died in 1686. He was

extremely munificent and vigorous in every one of his eminent offices. He was also (as Antony à Wood said of him, in *Athen. Oxon.*) 'a learned divine, and excellently skilled in the Latin and Greek Languages.' We must pass over his miscellaneous works, in biography (such as the life of Dr. H. Hammond, and that of Dr. Richd. Allestree); in logic and philosophy (such as his *Institutio Logica*, and *Alcinoi in Platoniam Philosophiam introductio*); and in patristic divinity (such as his edition of St. Clement's two Epistles to the Corinthians, in Greek and Latin, with notes; and of St. Cyprian's works, with notes); and confine our notice to two works of some name—the one in critical, and the other in exegetical divinity. The former had for its title: 'Τῆς καυῆς διαθήκης ἀπαντα—*Novi Testamenti libri omnes; accesserunt Parallela Scripturæ loca, necnon variantes lectiones ex plus 100 MSS. codicibus et antiquis versionibus collectæ*,' 1675, 8vo. This work, which was an advance in critical editing of the N. T. on every previous publication, was twice reprinted at Leipsic, in 1697, and again in 1702 ('Oxoniensi accuratior ac præfatione Augusti Hermannii Franckii copiosa ac perutili ornata'); it was also reproduced at Oxford in 1703, by John Gregory, in splendid folio. [GREGORY.] This edition is more valuable for the impulse it gave to subsequent investigators than for the richness of its own stores of fresh materials; notwithstanding the statement of its title-page. 'Bishop Fell did not give extracts from the Fathers or cite them as authorities, because he undervalued their authority '[testimony?],' not apprehending how they might, by the union of their evidence with that of MSS. and versions, be of the greatest use, shewing as they often do, what the reading is in whose favour the evidence preponderates. The use of versions, indeed, Fell clearly perceived; yet of those which were available at that time, he only attends to the Gothic and Coptic as revised by Dr. T. Marshall, Rector of Lincoln College; his list of hitherto untouched MSS. is very scanty. To those which Walton had hitherto used in the last vol. of his *Polyglot*, we can add only R, the Barberini readings, then just published; B, twelve Bodleian codices, 'quorum plerique intacti prius,' in nowise described, and cited only by the number of them which may countenance each variation; U, the two Usher MSS., Evang. 63, 64, as collated by H. Dodwell; three copies from the library of Petavius (*P. Act.* 38, 39, 40); a fourth from St. Germain's (*Ger. Paul.* E), the readings of which four were furnished by J. Gachon' (Tregelles, *Printed Text*, p. 40; and Scrivener, *Introduction to the Crit. of N. T.*, pp. 314, 315). This edition of Bishop Fell, and the encouragement which he gave to the more extensive critical labours of Dr. John Mill, were of great importance in furthering sacred criticism. This latter scholar was liberally assisted by the munificent Bishop, whose intention of defraying the entire cost of Mill's Testament was frustrated by his unexpected death, when the publication had advanced no further than the 24th chap. of St. Matthew. [MILL.] The exegetical work with which the name of Bishop Fell is associated, is entitled: '*A paraphrase and annotations upon all the Epistles of St. Paul.*' This work was first printed in 1675. The title-page of the fourth edition of 1708 revealed the names of the contributors and editor, thus: '*A paraphrase, etc. [as above], by Abraham Woodhead, Richd.*

Allestrey, and Obadiah Walker. Corrected and improved by the late Right Rev. and learned Dr. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford.' It is doubtful whether Fell had any actual share in the work; yet his influence as editor over the contributors was likely to be very great from his commanding character: he was very fond of short notes, and has imparted his taste to his fellow-labourers in this paraphrase. Nor is their brevity the only recommendation of these 'annotations;' many difficult passages of the holy Apostle have received a careful elucidation at the hands of these competent scholars; and Dr. Doddridge has moreover commended the collection of parallel passages as judicious, and the amended translation as in many instances elucidating the sense of the original. This valuable work was handsomely reprinted in 1852 at the Oxford University Press, under the careful supervision of the present Regius Professor of Divinity, Dr. Jacobson.—P. H.

FELL, JOHN, born at Cockermouth in 1735, died at London in 1797, was for some time pastor of a dissenting congregation at Thaxted in Essex, from which he removed to become teacher of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew at Homerton college, near London. He is described as one who rose 'by native talents from an obscure station to become one of the first scholars of the day' (Bogue and Bennett, *Hist. of Dissenters*, ii. 518). He engaged in the controversy excited by Farmer's work on Demoniacs, with the following works: *Demoniacs; an inquiry into the heathen and Scripture doctrine of Demons, in which the hypothesis of Dr. Farmer and others is particularly considered*, Lond 1779; *The idolatry of Greece and Rome distinguished from other heathen nations, in a letter to Rev. Hugh Farmer*, Lond. 1785. These works are marked by learning and acuteness, but are disfigured by personalities and scottism. He was dismissed from his office in Homerton college, it is said, for reading the newspapers on Sunday. An annuity of £100 having been purchased for him by some of his friends, he was asked to deliver a course of lectures on the Evidences of Christianity at the Scots church, London Wall. He had delivered four of these with great applause when he was cut off by death. These were published with eight others by Dr. Hunter in 1798.—W. L. A.

FERGUSON, JAMES. Little more is known of this expositor than that he was a minister of the Church of Scotland in Kilwinning, and that he died about 1670. He published in his lifetime, *A brief Exposition of the Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and Colossians*, 1656; *A brief Exposition of the Epistles to the Galatians and Ephesians*, 1659; and after his death, Mr. Hutcheson edited another commentary which he had left ready for the press—*A brief Exposition of the First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians*, 1674. His commentaries are sententious and analytical, with occasional odd phrases that may be commended to the attention of any future Richardson, as when he talks of 'polypragmatic spirits who do importunately ingyre themselves upon the affairs of others.' There is much lucid and vigorous writing nevertheless in these volumes, justifying the remark of Hutcheson, that 'he was a man of deep reach, and well fitted for giving of advice in perplexed and intricate cases.' His works have recently been republished in one volume.—W. H. G.

FERME, CHARLES, or FAIRHOLME. Born at Edinburgh, and educated at its university, he rose to the position of principal of the College of Fraserburgh. For his share in the proceedings of the assembly at Aberdeen in 1605, he was imprisoned in the Castle of Doune for some years. He was ultimately restored to Fraserburgh, where he died in 1617; 'a Tydeus,' according to Adamson 'in body, a Hercules in spirit.' Among other works, which appear to have perished, he left behind him *A Logical Analysis of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, published by Principal Adamson in 1651. Discovered by Dr. Lindsay Alexander on an old bookstall at Newcastle, it was brought under the notice of the Council of the Wodrow Society, and given to the world as one of their publications. It is characterised by the editor as 'a sagacious, exact, and perspicuous commentary on the epistle.' It fully justifies its title as a 'logical analysis.' By the clear method in which he puts the steps of the argument he sometimes sheds more light on a passage than a diffuse commentary would supply.—W. H. G.

FERRET. [ANAKAH.]

FESTIVALS.—As each festival is described in its proper place, we confine ourselves here to some general remarks upon the development of the festivals, the relationship which they sustain to each other, as well as to the whole cycle, the rites and ceremonies which are common to all, and the changes which they suffered in the course of time.

The fact that all the festivals celebrated from the Exodus to the Babylonish captivity belong to the Mosaic institutions, and that the additional ones originated after the captivity naturally divides them into *pre-exile* and *post-exile* festivals.

I. PRE-EXILE or MOSAIC FESTIVALS.

Their general designation and classification.—All the festivals in the Mosaic law are designated by one common name, מוֹעֲדֵי יְהוָה or מוֹעֲדִים (comp. Lev. xxiii. 2, 4, 44; Num. xxviii. 2, 29). As מוֹעֵד, from יָעַד to appoint, signifies *meeting, a coming together*, מוֹעֲדֵי יְהוָה denotes the meetings of Jehovah, i.e., with His people; and these festivals therefore are as much special occasions appointed by God for meetings with the children of Israel as the Tabernacle was אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד a special place appointed by the Lord to meet his worshippers (comp. Exod. xxv. 22; xxvii. 21; xxviii. 43; xxix. 42-46; xxx. 6; Num. xviii. 9). Under this common name, however, are comprised two classes of festivals, viz., *annual* and *periodical*.

A 1. *Annual Festivals, their names, numbers etc.*—The annual festivals are as follows:

i. *The Feast of Passover, or of Unleavened bread* (חַג הַפֶּסַח), which extends from the 15th to the 22d of Nisan. The first day and the seventh, however, are real festival days (מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ, *holy convocation*), as the five intervening days are the week days of the festival (חֹל מוֹעֵד) comp. Exod. xii. 6; Lev. xxiii. 5, 8; Num. xxviii. 16-25; Deut. xvi. 1-8.

ii. *The Feast of Pentecost, of weeks, or of the harvest, or of the day on which were offered the loaves made of the new wheat* (יוֹם הַבְּכּוּרִים), which is the 6th of Sivan, comp. Exod. xxxiv. 26; Lev. xxiii. 9-12; Num. xxviii. 26-31.

iii. *The Feast of Trumpets* (יוֹם תְּרֻעָה), called

by the Jews *New Year* (ראש השנה), which is on the 1st of *Tishri* (comp. Lev. xxiii. 23-25; Num. xxix. 1-6).

iv. *The Day of Atonement*, or *The Great Sabbath* (יום כפור, שבת שבתון), which is on the 10th of *Tishri* (comp. Lev. xvi. 1-34; xxiii. 26-32; Num. xxix. 7-11).

v. *The Feast of Tabernacles* or of *Ingathering of the Harvest* (חג האסיף, חג הסוכות), which extends from the 15th of *Tishri* to the 22d. The first day alone, however, is the real festival day (מקרא קודש, holy convocation), as the six following days are the week days of the Festival (חול המועד); comp. Gen. xxiii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 33-43; Num. xxix. 12-39; Deut. xvi. 13-15.

vi. *The concluding Festival* of the whole cycle (שמעני עצרת), which is on the 23d of *Tishri*, following immediately upon or continuing the Feast of Tabernacles, and requiring distinct sacrifices (Comp. Lev. xxiii. 36; Num. xxix. 35-37).

2. *Their connection and adaptation.*—The organic connection of these festivals is seen from the fact that the collective number of the *holy convocations* (viz., two Passover, one on Pentecost, one on Trumpets, one on the Day of Atonement, one on the Feast of Tabernacles, and one on the concluding Feast), amounts to the sacred number seven; and that, as in the seven days of the week, six cluster round the Sabbath, so in these seven festival-days six gather round the Great Day of Atonement (שבת שבתון), which is the Festival of the Feasts. Equally striking is the fact, that in all these annual festivals no two days demanding entire suspension of ordinary labour and devotion to holy service (מקרא קודש), follow each other. If, as is the case with the Feast of Passover and Tabernacles, two days are to be celebrated in this manner, one is put at the beginning and the other at the end of the festivals, and a number of days are made to intervene, on which cessation from public service and the resuming of business and social intercourse are allowed. This arrangement is evidently adapted to the circumstances of man, and is designed to prevent tediousness and fatigue, as well as to afford all the pilgrims who went up to Jerusalem to celebrate the Festivals time for recreation and social intercourse. Moreover, owing to the same benign regard for the convenience of the people, we see that no festival was to be celebrated in the winter, when every thing is dreary and joyless, and travelling is difficult, but that one was appointed for the spring and one for the summer, since the people could not conveniently celebrate more during these seasons, whilst four are ordained for the autumn, two of a serious and two of a joyful character, in harmony with the season, which partakes of both these features.

3. *The observances common to all these Festivals.*—All these days of holy convocation, 1. Are like the weekly Sabbath declared *Sabbaths* (שבת), i.e., days on which there must be an entire suspension of all ordinary labour (comp. Lev. xvi. 29; xxiii. 7, 8, 21, 24, 25, 28, 35, 36). 2. On all of them special sacrifices were offered in addition to the daily offerings, which, however, varied according to the character of the festival (comp. Num. xxviii., xxix.) 3. On all of them the trumpets were blown whilst the burnt-offerings and the peace-offerings were sacrificed (comp. Num. x. 10); and 4. They are all *holy convocations* (מקרא קודש), i.e.,

as is evident from Num. x. 2, days on which the worshippers are to be called together by the sound of trumpets to the sanctuary (comp. Lev. xxiii.; Num. xxviii.) The three pilgrimage festivals, however, viz., the Feast of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles, form a circle within the circle of the annual festivals, and are distinguished by the special appellation חג (from חנן *to dance, to be joyful*), because of their doubly joyful character; for, besides being commemorative of national events, they had an agricultural significance. The Passover is connected with the commencement of the harvest, and hence the offering was of the firstling sheaf of *barley*; Pentecost with the completion of the same, and hence the offering was loaves made from the *new wheat*; and whilst these festivals represented the joy of the people after the gathering in of the bread, which is the staff of life, the Feast of Tabernacles, which was connected with the conclusion of the entire agricultural year, when all the fruits, the wine, and the oil were collected, expressed the gratitude of the people at having safely brought in the wine, which cheereth the heart of man.

4. *The changes which these Festivals have suffered.*—Though all these festivals are most rigidly observed by the Jews to the present day, yet their integrity and beautiful symmetry were destroyed, towards the end of the second Temple as it is supposed. We do not refer to the circumstance that in celebrating these festivals in the present day, some of them are necessarily deprived of their agricultural significance, as well as of the offerings connected therewith, and are merely made commemorative of national events, but we allude to the fact that the original festival day, or days of holy convocation, were nearly doubled at a very early period, and instead of the collective number being seven, the Jewish calendar has thirteen, as follows—four on Passover, two on Pentecost, two on the Feast of Trumpets, one on the Day of Atonement, and four on Tabernacles and the concluding festival. The origin of these additions was this. The commencement of the festivals was fixed in Palestine according to the appearance of the *new moon*, which was watched in Jerusalem, and communicated from the metropolis to all the Israelites throughout the country by messengers. As these messengers, however, could not reach the parts most distant from Jerusalem before some days had elapsed, and as the inhabitants of these parts could therefore not know at once how the beginning of the new month was fixed, and on what day the festival began, it was determined that they should double the day of the festival, so as to be sure that one day would be right.

B 1. *The periodical Festivals.*—The periodical festivals are as follows:—

i. *The weekly Sabbath*, which begins the cycle of the festivals. Comp. Num. xxviii. 9, 10; Lev. xxiii. 1-3.

ii. *The feast of the New Moon* (ראש חודש), which is always kept at the beginning of the month when special sacrifices were offered. Comp. Num. x. 10; xxviii. 11-15.

iii. *The Sabbath year*, or *The year of Remission* (שנת השמיטה, שנת שבתון), which was kept every seventh year. Comp. Exod. xxiii. 11; Lev. xxv. 1-7; Deut. xv. 1.

iv. *The year of Jubilee* (שנת יובל), which was celebrated at the end of every seven Sabbath-

years, beginning on the 10th of *Tishri*. Comp. Lev. xxv. 8-18.

2. *Their connection with the cycle of Festivals.*—The organic connection of these periodical festivals with the annual ones, is seen in their gradual rising in the scale, each forming as it were a stepping stone to the other. Beginning with the weekly celebration of the Sabbath, they advance to the monthly, then again to the annual, then to septennial, and then to quinquagintennial festivals. Moreover, the sacred *number seven*, or the *Sabbath*, underlies and combines all the festivals.* Thus there are—1. A Sabbath of days; 2. A Sabbath of weeks (the *seventh week* after the Passover is the Sabbath-week, inasmuch as the first day of it is the festival of weeks); 3. A Sabbath of months (the *seventh month* has both a festival and a fast, and on its first day is the festival which begins the year); 4. A Sabbath of years (the seventh is the Sabbath-year); and 5. A Sabbath of Sabbath-years, i.e., the year of Jubilee.

3. *Observance of these Festivals.*—Of these four periodical festivals, two only—viz., the weekly Sabbath and the New Moon—are still observed among the Jews, and their practices on these occasions are noticed under the respective names of these festivals. The Sabbath-year and the year of Jubilee are no longer kept, because of their exclusively local character, which renders them inapplicable to the present circumstances of the Hebrews away from Palestine.

II. POST-EXILE FESTIVALS.

1. *Character and order of these Festivals.*—All the festivals which were instituted from the Babylonish captivity to the advent of Christ are *annual*. In treating, therefore, upon these, no classification is necessary beyond enumerating them according to the regular order of the months.

i. *The Feast of Acra*, which was instituted by Simon Maccabæus, 141 B.C., to be celebrated on the 23d of the *second month* (אֲרִי), in commemoration of the capture and the purifying of Acra, and the expulsion of the Hellenists from Jerusalem (comp. 1 Maccab. xiii. 50-52).

ii. *The Feast of Wood-carrying* (קִרְבַּן הָעֵצִים); ἡ τῶν ξυλοφοριῶν ἑορτή, which has been celebrated on the 15th of the *fifth month* (חֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר) ever since the return from the Babylonish captivity (comp. Neh. x. 35; Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 17. 6; Megillath Taanith, c. v. p. 32; Mishna, Taanith, iv. 8 a).

iii. *The Feast of Water-drawing* (שְׁמַחַת בֵּית שֻׁאֵב), which was held on the 22d of the *seventh month* (חֲשֵׁרִי), the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles (comp. John vii. 37; Mishna, Succa, iv. 9; v. 1-3).

iv. *The Feast of Dedication* (חֲנוּכָה); τῆς ἐγκαίνια, which was instituted by Judas Maccabæus, B.C. 164, in commemoration of the purification of the Temple, and is celebrated eight days, commencing on the 25th of the *eighth month* (כִּסְלִיּוֹ) (comp. 1 Maccab. iv. 52-59; John x. 22; Mishna, Taanith, ii. 10; Noed Katon, iii. 9; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 7. 7; *Contr. Apion.* ii. 39).

v. *The Feast of Nicanor*, instituted by Judas

Maccabæus, to be celebrated on the 13th of the *twelfth month* (אֲדָר), in commemoration of the victory obtained over Nicanor (comp. 1 Maccab. vii. 49; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 10. 5; Megillath Taanith, xii.; Jerusalem Taanith, ii. 13; Josippon ben Gorion, iii. 22, p. 244, ed. Breith).

vi. *The Feast of Purim* (פּוּרִים), which was instituted by Mordecai, to be celebrated on the 14th of the *twelfth month* (אֲדָר), in commemoration of the deliverance of the Jews from the destruction planned by Haman (comp. Esther iii. 7; ix. 24, sq.; 2 Maccab. xv. 36).

2. *Observance of these Festivals.*—Three out of these six festivals, viz., *The Feast of Wood-carrying*, *of Dedication*, and *of Purim*, have continued to be observed among the Jews, with some modifications, however, which are duly noticed in the separate articles treating upon these festivals. It only remains to be added that several more festivals were instituted in the Maccabæan period, which, owing to their unimportance and short existence, must be passed over.

Literature.—Joseph. *Antiq.* ii. iii.; xiii. xvii.; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 3. 1; and many other places; Philo, *De Septenario et Festis diebus*; the Mishna, the Talmud, and Maimonides; *Tracts Respecting the Festivals*, or סֵדֶר מוֹעֵד; Spencer, *De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus et earum rationibus*, Cantabrigiæ, 1727; Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, vol. ii. Heidelberg, 1839, p. 525, ff.; Ewald, *Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel*, Göttingen, 1854, p. 379, ff.; Saalschütz, *Archæologie der Hebræer*, Königsberg, 1855, p. 207, ff.; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Nordhausen, 1857, vol. ii. p. 106, ff.; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, Leipzig, 1857, vol. i., p. 158, ff.—C. D. G.

FESTUS. Porcius Festus was the successor of Felix as the Roman governor of Judæa, to the duties of which office he was appointed by the Emperor Nero (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 8. 9; *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 14. 1) in the first year of his reign (Winer, *Handwörterbuch*, in voc.) One of his first official acts was hearing the case of the apostle Paul, who had been left in prison by his predecessor. He was at least not a thoroughly corrupt judge; for when the Jewish hierarchy begged him to send for Paul to Jerusalem, and thus afford an opportunity for his being assassinated on the road, he gave a refusal, promising to investigate the facts at Cæsarea, where Paul was in custody, alleging to them, 'it is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die before that he which is accused have the accusers face to face, and have licence to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him' (Acts xxv. 16). On reaching Cæsarea he sent for Paul, heard what he had to say, and, finding that the matters which 'his accusers had against him' were 'questions of their own superstition, and of one Jesus which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive,' he asked the apostle whether he was willing to go to Jerusalem and there be tried, since Festus did not feel himself skilled in such an affair. Paul, doubtless because he was unwilling to put himself into the hands of his implacable enemies, requested 'to be reserved unto the hearing of Augustus,' and was in consequence kept in custody till Festus had an opportunity to send him to Cæsar. Agrippa, however, with his wife Bernice, having come to salute Festus on his new appointment, expressed a desire to see and 'hear the man.'

* This is beautifully pointed out in the Midrash in the passage which treats upon the festivals, with the remark כָּל הַשָּׁבָעִים חֲבִיבִין לְעוֹלָם. Comp. Midrash Rabba on Lev. xxiii. 24.

Accordingly Paul was brought before Festus, Agrippa, and Bernice, made a famous speech, and was declared innocent. But having appealed to Cæsar, he was sent to Rome.

Festus, on coming into Judæa, found the country infested with robbers, who plundered the villages and set them on fire; the Sicarii also were numerous. Many of both classes were captured, and put to death by Festus. He also sent forces, both of horse and foot, to fall upon those that had been seduced by a certain impostor, who promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries they were under if they would but follow him as far as the wilderness. These troops destroyed both the impostor and his dupes.

King Agrippa had built himself a splendid dining-room, which was so placed that, as he reclined at his meals, he commanded a view of what was done in the Temple. The priests, being displeased, erected a wall so as to exclude the monarch's view; on which Festus took part with Agrippa against the priests, and ordered the wall to be pulled down. The priests appealed to Nero, who suffered the wall to remain, being influenced by his wife Poppæa, 'who was a religious woman' (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 8. 11). Festus died shortly afterwards. The manner in which Josephus speaks is favourable to his character as a governor (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 14. 1).—J. R. B.

FETTERS. In the A. V. this term is used in translating three Hebrew words:—

1. מַשְׁכָּלִים; *ḥēḏai ḥalāl*. This word indicates the material of which fetters were often, though not invariably, made. In 2 Sam. iii. 34; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11; xxxvi. 2, it is translated *fetters*; in Judg. xvi. 21; 2 Kings xxv. 7, *fetters of brass*; in other passages, Jer. xxxix. 7; lli. 11, *chains*; the dual form seems to restrict its application to chains for confining the hands or feet.

2. כְּבִל, Ps. cv. 18, *fetters*; Ps. cxlix. 8, כְּבִלֵּי, *χειρσδέσας σιδηραί, fetters of iron*.

3. מְקִיִּים, *χειρσδέσας*, Job xxxvi. 8, *fetters*; Ps. cxlix. 8; Is. xlv. 14; Nahum iii. 10, *chains*. In the Apocrypha the word *fetters* occurs in Ecclus. vi. 24; vi. 29; xxi. 19, for *πείσαι*. Manacles for the feet and hands are represented in the Assyrian monuments (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 376; Kitto, *D. B. Illustrations*, ii. 437).—J. E. R.

FEVER. By this term the A. V. renders the Heb. קָדַח (Deut. xxviii. 22), and the Gr. πυρετός (Matt. viii. 14; Mark i. 30; Luke iv. 38; John iv. 52; Acts xxviii. 8). Both the Hebrew and Greek words are derived from the association of burning heat, which is the usual symptom of a febrile attack; the former coming from the verb קָדַח, *to burn*, the latter from πύρ, *fire*: comp. Aram. מִשְׁתַּח from שָׁח, Goth. *brinno*, from *brinnan* to burn, Lat. *febris*, and our own *fever* from *fervere*. In Lev. xxvi. 16 the A. V. renders קָדַח by *burning ague*, but the rendering *fever* seems better, as it is not necessarily the intermittent type of the disease which is thus designated. In all eastern climates febrile diseases are common, and in Syria and Palestine they are among the commonest and severest afflictions under which the inhabitants suffer (Russell's *Aleppo*, bk. v. ch. 3). The fever under which Peter's wife's mother suffered is called

by Luke πυρετός μέγας, and this has been regarded as having reference to the ancient scientific distribution of fevers into the great and the less (Galen, *De diff. febr.* see Wetstein, *in loc.*), and as an instance of Luke's professional exactitude in describing disease. His use of πυρετός in the plural in describing the disease under which the father of Publius laboured (Acts xxviii. 8), has also been adduced as an instance of the same kind, inasmuch as that disease was, from its being conjoined with dysentery, not a continuous, but an intermittent fever. To this much importance cannot be attached, though it is probable that Luke, as a physician, would naturally use the technical language of his profession in speaking of disease. In Deut. xxviii. 22, besides קָדַח, two diseases of the same class are mentioned, נִלְקָח (A. V. *inflammation*), and חֲרָר (A. V. *extreme burning*). The LXX. renders the former of these by ῥίγος, *shivering*, and the latter by ἐρεθισμός, a word which is used by the Greek writers on medicine to designate 'quodvis Naturæ irritamentum, quo sollicitata natura ad obeundas motiones excitatur' (Foes, *Oecon. Hippoc.*) The former is probably the ague, a disease of frequent occurrence in the East; and the latter probably dysentery, or some species of inflammatory fever. The Syr. version renders it by ܡܫܬܥܬܐ, *burning*, which favours the latter suggestion. Rosenmüller inclines to the opinion that it is the *catarrhus suffocans*, but this is without probability. There is no ground for supposing it to be erysipelas.—W. L. A.

FIGS. FIG-TREE. [TEENAH.]

FIGURES. [TYPES.]

FINDLAY, ROBERT, D.D., born 1721, and educated at Glasgow and Leyden, was appointed one of the ministers of Glasgow in 1756, and was elected to the professorship of divinity in the university of that city in 1782. He died in 1814. He wrote *Two Letters to Dr. Kennicott*, by Philalethes, Lond. 1762; *Vindication of the Sacred Books and of Josephus, from various misrepresentations and cavils of Voltaire*, Glasg. 1770; *The Divine Inspiration of the Scriptures of the O. T. asserted by St. Paul*, 2 Tim. iii. 10; and *Dr. Geddes's reasons against the tenor of his words examined*, Lond. 1804. 'Dr. Findlay,' says Orme (*Bib. Bib.* 187), 'is a learned but not an interesting writer. The above works contain much solid critical disquisition. The reply to Dr. Geddes is a most satisfactory one; and both vindicates the common reading of 2 Tim. iii. 16, and supports the generally received views of inspiration.'—W. L. A.

FIR. [BEROSH.]

FIRE. Besides the ordinary senses of the word 'fire,' which need no explanation, there are other uses of it in Scripture which require to be discriminated. The destructive energies of this element, and the torment which it inflicts, rendered it a fit symbol of—1. Whatever does damage and consumes (Prov. xvi. 27; Is. ix. 18). 2. Of severe trials, vexations, and misfortunes (Zech. xii. 6; 1 Cor. iii. 13, 15; 1 Pet. i. 7). 3. Of the punishments beyond the grave (Matt. v. 22; Mark ix. 44; Rev. xiv. 10; xxi. 8). [HELL.]

'Fire from heaven,' 'fire of the Lord,' usually denotes lightning in the O. T.; but, when connected with sacrifices, the 'fire of the Lord' is often to be understood as the fire of the altar, and sometimes the holocaust itself (Exod. xxix. 18; Lev. i. 9; ii. 3; iii. 5, 9; Num. xxviii. 6; 1 Sam. ii. 28; Is. xx. 16; Mal. i. 10).

The uses of fire among the Hebrews were various:—

1. The domestic use for cooking, roasting, and baking [BREAD; FOOD].

2. In winter they warmed themselves and their apartments by 'a fire of coals' (Jer. xxxvi. 22, 23; Luke xxii. 55-6). In the rooms it would seem that a brazier with charcoal was usually employed, as is still the case in western Asia, although the ovens and fire-places used in baking bread might have been, and doubtless were, as now, often employed to keep rooms properly warm [BREAD; COAL].

3. The religious use of fire was for consuming the victims on the altar of burnt-offerings, and in burning the incense on the golden altar: hence the remarkable phrase in Is. xxxi. 9—'the Lord, whose fire is in Zion, and his furnace in Jerusalem.'

4. In time of war torches were often carried by the soldiers; which explains the use of torches in the attack of Gideon upon the camp of the Midianites (Judg. vii. 16). This military use of torches was very general among ancient nations, and is alluded to by many of their writers (Statius, *Theb.* iv. 5, 7; Stobæus, *Serm.* p. 194; Michaelis, in *Symbol. Liter. Bremens.* iii. 254.)

5. Burning criminals alive does not appear to have been known to the Hebrews; but as an additional disgrace the bodies were in particular cases burnt after death had been inflicted (Josh. vii. 25; compare verse 15); and it is in this sense that the allusions to burning as a punishment are to be understood, except when the reference is to a foreign usage, as in Dan. iii. 22, 24, 27.

6. In time of war towns were often destroyed by fire. This, as a war usage, belongs to all times and nations; but among the Hebrews there were some particular notions connected with it, as an act of strong abhorrence, or of devotion to abiding desolation. The principal instances historically commemorated are the destruction by fire of Jericho (Josh. vi. 24); Ai (Josh. viii. 19); Hazor (Josh. xi. 11); Laish (Judg. xviii. 27); the towns of the Benjamites (Judg. xx. 48); Ziklag, by the Amalekites (1 Sam. xxx. 1); Gezer, by Pharaoh (1 Kings ix. 16); and the temple and palaces of Jerusalem, by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv. 9). Even the war-chariots of the Canaanites were burnt by the Israelites, probably on the principle of precluding the possibility of recovery by the enemy of instruments of strength for which they had themselves no use. The frequency with which towns were fired in ancient warfare is shewn by the very numerous threats by the prophets that the towns of Israel should be burned by their foreign enemies. Some great towns, not of Israel, are particularly named; and it would be an interesting task to trace, as far as the materials exist, the fulfilment of these prophecies in those more marked examples. Among the places thus threatened we find Damascus (Is. xliii. 12, 13), Gaza, Tyre, Teman (Amos i. 7, 10, 12). The temples and idols of a conquered town or people were very often burned by the victors, and this was enjoined as a

duty to the Israelites (Deut. vii. 5, 25; xii. 3, xiii. 16; Is. lii. 12, 13).

There were some special regulations respecting the use of fire among the Israelites. The most remarkable of these was the prohibition to light a fire on the Sabbath (Exod. xxxv. 3). As the primary design of this law appears to have been to prevent the proper privileges of the Sabbath-day from being lost to any one through the care and time required in cooking victuals (Exod. xvi. 23), it is doubted whether the use of fire for warmth on the Sabbath-day was included in this interdiction. In practice, it would appear that the fire was never lighted or kept up for cooking on the Sabbath-day, and that consequently there were no fires in the houses during the Sabbaths of the greater part of the year; but it may be collected that, in winter, fires for warming apartments were kept up from the previous day. Michaelis is very much mistaken with respect to the climate of Palestine, in supposing that the inhabitants could, without much discomfort, dispense with fires for warmth during winter (*Mosaïches Recht*, iv. 195). The modern Jews, although there is no cooking in their houses, have fires on the Sabbath-day, which are attended to by a Christian servant; or a char-woman is hired to attend to the fires of several houses, which she visits repeatedly during the day.

Another law required the damage done by a conflagration in the fields to be made good by the party through whose incaution it had been kindled (Exod. xxii. 6). This was a most useful and necessary law in a country where the warmth and drought of summer soon render the herbage and underwood highly combustible, so that a fire once kindled often spreads most extensively, and produces disastrous consequences (Judg. ix. 15; xv. 5). This law was calculated to teach caution in the use of fire to the herdsmen in the fields, who were the parties most concerned. And it is to be remembered that the herdsmen were generally substantial persons, and had their assistant shepherds, for whose imprudence they were made responsible. Still no inference is to be drawn from this law with regard to fires breaking out in towns, the circumstances being so very different.

In the sacerdotal services no fire but that of the altar of burnt-offerings could lawfully be used. That fire was originally kindled supernaturally, and was ever after kept up. From it the fire used in the censers for burning incense was always taken; and for neglecting this and using common fire, Nadab and Abihu were struck dead by 'fire from heaven' (Lev. x. 1, 2; Num. iii. 4, xxvi. 61).

Respecting 'passing through the fire,' see MOLOCH; and for the 'pillar of fire,' see EXODUS.—J. K.

FIREPANS. This is the rendering in the A. V. of מִחֶרֶת (Exod. xxvii. 3, Sept. πυρσίων, xxxviii. 3; 2 Kings xxv. 15; Jer. lii. 19), else where rendered *snuff-dishes* (Exod. xxv. 38, Sept. ὑποθήματα, xxxvii. 23; Num. iv. 9, Sept. ἐξαρωγίδας), and *censers* (Num. xvi. 6, Sept. πυρσεία; in the sing. מִחֶרֶת, Lev. x. 1; xvi. 12; Sept. πυρσίων). These do not seem to have been different kinds of vessels, but only the same vessel, of probably different sizes, and applied to different uses. It was a metal dish used sometimes to convey fire



to the altar, sometimes to burn incense on, and sometimes to receive the snuff from the lamp, and perhaps to hold the snuffers.—W. L. A.

FIRMAMENT. By this word the A. V., following the Vulg., translates the Heb. רָקִיעַ (Gen. i. 6, 7, 8, etc.). The original word, from רָקַע, to stamp, beat out, expand, simply means the *expanse*; and it is not easy to conceive how the Greek translators came to render it by στερέωμα, a word which is commonly used to designate some compact solid, such as the basis of a pillar, or a pillar itself, and which is used elsewhere by the

LXX. as equivalent to the Heb. סֶלַע, a rock (Ps. xvii. 2), and by Symmachus and Theodotion as the rendering of the Heb. מַטֵּה, a staff. Basil (*Hexaem.* Hom. 3) explains the term as not intended to describe what is naturally hard, and solid, and weighty, which belongs rather to the earth; but says that because the nature of the objects above it is fine and thin, and not perceptible by sense, it is called στερέωμα, by a comparison between things of extreme rarity and such as can be perceived by sense (συγκρίσει τῶν λεπτοτάτων καὶ τῇ αἰσθήσει καταληπτῶν). It is not very clear what his meaning here is, but probably he intended that as a solid extension would be properly called a στερέωμα, so this mass of light and vapour substances might by analogy receive this name. Others have suggested that this term was employed to indicate that the רָקִיעַ is the 'universitas τῶν λεπτομερῶν in regionem superam conglobata et firmata,' along with the idea that this 'nihil habet uspiam inanitatit, sed omnia sui generis naturæ plena' (Fuller, *Misc. Sac.* Bk. 1, c. 6). Fuller thinks also that the LXX. selected στερέωμα rather than πέτασμα or περιπέτασμα, in order to convey the idea of *depth* as well as superficial expansion. A very general opinion is that the LXX. adopted this term rather than one exactly equivalent to the original, because it conveys what was the Hebrew belief concerning the upper atmosphere or visible heavens, which they regarded as a solid expanse encircling the earth. That such was a common notion in ancient times is probable; the Greek οὐρανός, like our *heaven*,* signifying that which is heaved up or elevated, and the Latin *cælum*, corresponding to the Greek κοῖλον, signifying that which is hollowed out ('cavernæ cœli,' Lucret. iv. 172; comp. Pott, *Etymol. Forschungen*, i. 23, 27), have their source in such a notion; while such epithets as σιδήρεον (*Odys.* xv. 328; xvii. 565), χάλκεον (*Il.* xvii. 425; *Pind. Pyth.* x. 42; *Nem.* vi. 6), and πολύχalkον (*Il.* v. 504; *Odys.* iii. 2), plainly enunciate it. It is remarkable, however, that only two of the ancient philosophers seem to have formally taught this. Empedocles described the heavens as στερέμμιον and κρυσταλλοειδής, composed of air glacialised by fire (Plut. *Plac. Phil.* ii. 11; Stobæus, *Eclóg. Phys.* i. 24; Diog. Laert. viii. 77; Lactant. *De Opif. Dei.* c. 17; cf. Karsten, *Phil. Gr. Vet. Operum Reliquia* ii. 422); and Artemidorus taught that 'summa cœli ora solidissima est, in modum tecti durata'

* If, indeed, it be true that the Anglo-Saxon *heofon* is derived from *heafan*, and does not rather stand in relation with the Latin *cav* in *cavus*. The A. S. equivalent for the Lat. *ca* is *hea*, as *caput*, *heafod*.

(Senec. *Nat. Quæst.* vii. 13). But that the same view was entertained by the Hebrews is by no means certain. It is hardly competent for us to take such highly poetical descriptions as those in which the heavens are compared to a mirror of shining metal, or to a tent, or to a curtain stretched out (Job xxxvii. 18; Ps. civ. 2; Is. xl. 22), and interpret them as scientific statements; nor can we lay any stress on the fact that the sacred writers speak of the doors and windows of heaven, of its pillars, or its foundations (Gen. vii. 11; Is. xxiv. 8; Mal. iii. 10; Job xxvi. 11; 2 Sam. xxii. 8); for these may be mere poetical or pictorial forms of speech, such as even we with our exact scientific knowledge might delight to use. The descriptions in Exod. xxiv. 10, and in Ezek. i. 22-26, have been adduced as proving that the Hebrews conceived the visible heavens as a solid though pellucid floor on which a person might stand, or a solid object rest; but in the former of these passages 'the paved work,' on which Jehovah appears standing, exists only in our version, the original simply stating that under his feet was 'a sort of work of glittering sapphire'

(בְּמַעֲשֵׂה לִבְנַת הַפַּיִר), without determining of what kind the work was; and in the latter passage, though it is said that the throne of God was above the *rakiah*, it is not said that the throne was resting on it. There is more apparent force in the argument derived from the purpose which the *rakia* was designed to serve, viz., the supporting of the waters which were above it, and the holding of the heavenly luminaries, both of which would seem to require a solid substance. But the waters above the *rakia* are merely the clouds, which need no solid support (Delitzsch on Gen. i. 6; Kurz, *Bible and Astronomy, Hist. of the Old Covenant*, i. 30); and the fixing of the heavenly bodies in it is due to the imagination of the commentator; it has no sanction from the text, which merely says they were set or placed in it, without saying how (Gen. i. 14-18). There seems no reason, then, for thinking that the sacred writers conceived of the *rakia* as a solid substance; they seem rather to have thought of it as a wide expansion, in which the clouds, and winds, and heavenly bodies had their place, and from which the rain came down. That they would not have applied to it such terms as we have cited from the Greek poets is evident from Deut. xxviii. 23, where a metallic heaven is spoke of as abnormal, and the result of a curse. The cosmography of the Hebrews was far from being scientifically exact, but we need not make it less so than the exigencies of a just exegesis demand.—W. L. A.

FIRST-BORN. The privileges of the first-born son, among the Hebrews, are indicated under BIRTHRIGHT.

FIRST-BORN, SANCTIFICATION AND REDEMPTION OF THE (פְּרִי־הָבֵן קִדְּשָׁתוֹ בְּכוֹרֹת), males of human beings and animals were strictly enjoined to perpetuate the remembrance of the death of Egypt's first-born, whereby the liberty of the Israelites was secured, and of the preservation of Israel's first-born. Comp. Exod. xiii. 2, 11-15.

1. *Sanctification of the first-born, its signification, etc.*—The fact that the first-born of Egypt were selected to be smitten down for the hard heartedness of Pharaoh, and that their death was regarded

as the greatest calamity, shews of itself that a peculiar sanctity had already been attached to the first-born of both man and cattle. The cause of this is easily traced in the Scriptures. The power of procreation was declared by God himself to be a special blessing (Gen. i. 22, 28; ix. 1; xvii. 16; xxix. 31), and was granted as a reward to those who were well pleasing in his sight (Gen. xv. 4; Ps. cxxviii. 4). This was fully appreciated by the Jews; for the possession of children, especially of the male sex, was esteemed the climax of social happiness (Gen. xvi. 2; xxix. 31; Deut. vii. 13, 14; Ps. cxxviii. 3, 4), and the absence of them was considered a *reproach* (רָעוּת), since it implied divine displeasure (Gen. xxx. 23), and no other earthly blessing could compensate it (Gen. xvi. 1-5). Moreover, the first-born of newly-married young people (בְּנֵי הַנְּעוּרִים, i.s. cxxvii. 4) was believed to represent the prime of human vigour (רֵאשִׁית אָדָם) being born before the strength of the father began to diminish (Gen. xlix. 3; Deut. xxi. 17; Ps. lxxviii. 51; cv. 36). It was therefore natural that the first instalment of God's blessing, and the prime of man's strength, should be regarded with peculiar affection, and have special sanctity attached to him,* and that by virtue of the claim which God has to what is most loved and held sacred by us, and gratitude on the part of man, the first-born males, both of man and animals, should be consecrated to the giver of all good things; the one as a priest, representing the family to which he belonged (Exod. xix. 22, 24),† and the other as a sacrifice (Gen. iv. 4), just as the fat of sacrifices was devoted to God because it was regarded as the prime part of the animal. [FAT.] This explains the fact why the plague of the first-born of the Egyptians was so terribly felt; it was the destruction of the objects most dear and sacred to them, whilst the first-born of the Hebrews, i.e., their priests and sacrifices, were spared. Moreover, it shews the import of the consecration enjoined in Exod. xiii. 1. Hitherto it was optional with the Hebrews whether they would devote the first-born to the Lord, but now God, by virtue of having so signally interposed for their deliverance, *claims the public* consecration of the first-born of man as his priests, and of the first-born of animals as sacrifices.

2. *Origin of the Redemption of the first-born.*—After the building of the Tabernacle and the introduction of the extensive sacrificial service, which required a special priestly order, as well as a separate staff of servants, who could *exclusively* devote themselves to the ministry of the sanctuary, the offices of the first-born were superseded by those of the Levites (Num. iii. 11-13),‡ and it was ordained

* Hence the prerogatives of the first-born, described in the article BIRTHRIGHT.

† That the לְוִיִּם, who in this passage officiate as priests, are the *first-born*, as the Chaldee paraphrases of Onkelos, and Jonathan ben Uziel, Mishna Sebachim, xiv. 4, Saadia, Rashi, Rashbam, Ibn Ezra, etc., have it, is evident from Exod. xix. 22, 24, where כֹּהֲנִים, *priests*, are distinctly mentioned before the institution of the Aaronic order. Comp. Exod. xxviii. 1.

‡ This substitution of the Levites in the place of the first-born, and the creation of a new order of priests were no easy task, as may be seen from Korah's rebellion (Num. xvi. 1, 2; xxvi. 5-7)

that the first-born of the other tribes, as well as the first-born of the animals which could not be sacrificed, should henceforth be redeemed (*ibid.* xviii. 15).

3. *Redemption of the first-born of man.*—The redemption of a child is to take place when it is a month old, when the father is to give to the priest thirty silver shekels of the sanctuary, i.e., about eleven or twelve shillings as the maximum. If the child was sickly, or appeared otherwise to be inferior to children generally, the priest could estimate it at less than this sum (Num. iii. 46, etc.; xviii. 16). The priest had to come to the house of the infant as the mother could not appear with it in the Temple because her days of purification, according to the law (Lev. xii. 2, 4), were not as yet accomplished. No bargaining was allowed, but if the priest saw that the parents were poor, he could, if he chose, return the money when the ceremony was over. When the mother's days of purification were accomplished, and she could appear in the Temple, she then brought the child to the priest to be presented publicly to the Lord (Luke ii. 22). The Jews still observe this law of redemption. When the first-born male is thirty days old, the parents invite to their house their friends and a priest (כֹּהֵן) to a meal for the following day. The priest* having invoked God's blessing upon the *repat*, and offered some introductory prayers, etc., looks at the child and the price of redemption presented unto him, and asks the father which he would rather have, the money or the first-born child. Upon the father's reply that he would rather pay the price of redemption, the priest takes the money, swings it round the head of the infant in token of his vicarious authority, saying, 'This is for the first-born, this is in lieu of it, this redeems it! and let this son be spared for life, for the law of God and for the fear of Heaven! May it please Thee, that, as he was spared for redemption, so he may be spared for the Law, for matrimony, and for good works. Amen.' The priest then lays his hand upon the child's head and blesses it, as follows:—'The Lord make thee as Ephraim and Manasseh!' etc. It is to this that the Apostle Peter refers when he says 'Ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold,' etc. (1 Peter i. 18). When the first-born son is thirteen years of age, he fasts the day before the feast of Passover, in commemoration of the sparing of the first-born of the Hebrews in Egypt. [FASTS.]

4. *Redemption of the first-born of clean animals.*—The first-born of every clean animal (i.e., ox, sheep, goat, etc.), from eight days to twelve months old, had to be taken to Jerusalem every year (Deut. xii. 6, etc.); and delivered to the priest, who offered it as a sacrifice to Jehovah, sprinkled its blood upon the altar, burned the fat, and eat the flesh (Exod. xiii. 13; xxxiv. 20; Num. xviii. 15-17). In the mean time the animal was not to be used for any work, for it belonged to the Lord (Deut. xv. 19); but if

which, as it is justly regarded by Ramban and Ibn Ezra, was a protest of the first-born.

* The assertion in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie* (s.v. *Erstgeburt*, p. 145), that it is the *Rabbi* who redeems the child, by taking the appointed sum, is incorrect. The Rabbi has no right to do it, the performance of the rites of redemption belongs exclusively to the priest (כֹּהֵן), who is the only legal person to do it.

It had any blemish it was not to be sacrificed, but eaten up at home (*ibid.*, xv. 21, 22). If, however, the man whose cattle had first-born lived at too great a distance from Jerusalem to carry them thither, he was commanded to sell them, and take the money to the sanctuary (Leut. xiv. 24, 25).

5. *Redemption of the first-born of unclean animals.*—The first-born of unclean animals, not being allowed to be offered as sacrifices, were either to be redeemed according to the valuation of the priest, with the addition of one-fifth of the value, and then remain with their owner, or be sold, and the price given to the priests (Lev. xxvii. 11-13, 27), to be redeemed with a lamb, or else be put to death (Exod. xiii. 13).

6. *Literature.*—Joseph. *Antiq. iv. 4. 4*; Mishna, *Bechoroth*; Maimonides, *Mishna Thora*, vol. iii. p. 241; *Hilchoth Bechoroth*; *Ibn Ezra*, his valuable comments on the different passages of the Hebrew Scriptures quoted in this article; *The Hebrew Prayer-Book*, published by Knöpfmacher, Vienna, 1859, with all the laws respecting the Jewish rites and ceremonies, entitled, *Derech Ha-Chajim*, p. 407; *Der Israelitische Volkslehrer*, vii. 41, ff.; ix. 133, ff.; 212, ff.; 248, ff.—C. D. G.

FIRST-FRUITS. The same natural feeling which at first led man out of gratitude to consecrate to the giver of all good things the first-born of both man and animals, and the prime parts of sacrifices, because they were regarded as the first instalments of his blessings, and which afterwards led to the legalizing of these offerings [FAT; FIRST-BORN], also gave rise to the offering of the first-fruits and to its becoming law.

1. *The Character and Classification of the First-Fruits.*—Besides the offering of the sheaf of the new barley (עומר ראשית) on the Feast of Passover, and of the two loaves of the new wheat (לחם בכורים) on the Feast of Pentecost, which were the grateful acknowledgment of the whole nation for the blessings of the harvest (Lev. xxiii. 10-20), and which are duly noticed in their proper places [FESTIVALS; PASSOVER; PENTECOST], the Law also required every individual to consecrate to the Lord a part of the first-fruit of the land (comp. Exod. xxii. 29; xxiii. 19; xxxiv. 26; Num. xv. 20, 21; xviii. 12, 13; Deut. xviii. 4; xxvi. 2-11). The first-fruits to be offered are restricted by Jewish tradition to the seven chief productions of Palestine, viz., wheat, barley, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives, and honey, mentioned in Deut. viii. 8 in praise of the land (comp. Mishna, *Bikurim*, i. 3; *Berachoth*, 35, a; Maimonides, *Jod Ha-Chesaka*, *Hilchoth Bikurim*, ii. 2), and are divided into two classes—1. *The actual produce* of the soil, the raw material, such as corn, fruits, etc., which are denominated בכורים, προσηγηματα, *primitiva*; and 2. *Preparations of the produce*, as oil, flour, wine, etc., and are called תרומה, ἀπαρχαί, *primitia* (comp. *Midrash Rabba*, the Chaldee Paraphrases of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uziel, and Rashi on Exod. xxii. 29).

2. *The Quantity and Time of Offering.*—The quantity of first-fruits to be consecrated to the Lord has neither been fixed by the law nor by tradition; it was left entirely to the generosity of the people. 'Yet,' says Maimonides, 'it is implied that a sixtieth part is to be consecrated, and he who wishes to devote all the first fruits of his field may do so' (*Hilchoth Bikurim*, ii. 17). The way

in which a proprietor fixed which first-fruit he should offer was this, as the Mishna tells us, 'when he went into his field and saw a fig ripening, or a bunch of grapes, or a pomegranate, he tied

a rush about it, and said 'Lo, this is first-fruit' (הרי אלו בכורים, *Bikurim* iii.). All the first-fruits thus devoted to the Lord had to be delivered at Jerusalem between the feasts of Pentecost and Dedication (מעשרת תוך חנכה, Exod. xxiii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 16, 17; *Bikurim*, i. 36); any offering brought after this time was not received.

3. *The manner in which these offerings were taken to Jerusalem.*—The law that every one should take up the first-fruits to Jerusalem was soon found impracticable, since even the most pious Israelite found it very difficult, in addition to his appearing at the three great festivals, to have to go to the temple with every newly ripened fruit. Nor was it found convenient for every one to go up with his first-fruits separately. Hence the custom arose, that when the first-fruits were ripe, all the inhabitants of one district who were ready to deliver them assembled together in the principal town of that locality where their representative lived, with a basket containing the ripe fruits of the seven several kinds, arranged in the following manner—'The barley was put lowermost, the wheat over it, the olives above that, the dates over them, the pomegranates over the dates, and the figs were put uppermost in the basket, leaves being put between every kind to separate it from the other, and clusters of grapes were laid upon the figs to form the outside of the basket' (Maimonides, *Hilchoth Bikurim*, iii. 7; *Tosifot Bikurim*, ii.) With this basket all the pilgrims stayed up all night in the open market place, because they were afraid to go into houses to sleep lest any inmate of them should die, and thus cause pollution. Early in the morning the representative of the district, who was the official (מטמר) and *ex officio* the leader of the imposing procession, summoned them with the words of the prophet Jeremiah—'Arise, and let us go up to Zion, to the house of Jehovah our God' (xxxi. 6). The whole company were then ready to start. We cannot do better than give literally the description which the Mishna and the Talmud give of this imposing procession—'An ox [destined for a peace-offering] went before them with gilded horns and an olive crown upon its head, and a piper who played before them, whilst the air rang with the song of the people, 'I was glad when they said unto me: Let us go into the house of the Lord' (Ps. cxxii. 1). On approaching Jerusalem a messenger was sent forward to announce their arrival, and the first-fruits were tastefully arranged. The officiating priest, the Levites, and the treasurers, went out to meet them, the number of officials who went out being in accordance with the largeness of the party that arrived, and conducted them into the holy city, singing, as they entered, 'Our feet stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem' (Ps. cxxii. 2), whilst all the workmen [who plied their craft] in the streets of Jerusalem, stood up before them and welcomed them, saying, 'Brethren of such and such a place, peace be with you.' The piper continued to play before them till the procession came to the mount of the Temple. Here every one, even the king, took his own basket upon his shoulders, and went forward till they all came to the court of the Temple, singing,

'Praise ye the Lord, praise God in his sanctuary,' etc. [through the whole of Psalm cl.]; whereupon the Levites sang, 'I will extol thee, O Lord! because thou hast lifted me up, and hast not made my foes to rejoice over me' (Ps. xxx.). Then the pigeons which were hung about the baskets were taken for burnt-offerings, and the pilgrims gave to the priests what they brought in their hands. With the baskets still upon their shoulders every one repeated, 'I profess this day unto the Lord thy God,' etc., till he came to the words, 'A wandering Syrian was my father' (i.e., from Deut. xxvi. 3-5), when he took the basket off his shoulders and laid hold of it by its brim; the priest then put his hands under it and waved it, whilst the offerer continued to recite from the words 'A wandering Syrian,' where he had left off, to the end of the section (i.e., to Deut. xxvi. 10), then put the basket by the side of the altar, threw himself down on his face, and afterwards departed,' Mishna, *Bikurim*, iii. 2-6; *Jerusalem Bikurim*, 65; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Bikurim*, iv. 16, 17). These first-fruits then became the property of the priests who officiated during that week.

4. *Exemptions from the offering or the service connected therewith.*—Those who simply possessed the trees and not the land were exempted from the offering of first-fruits, for they could not say 'the land which thou hast given me' (Maimonides, *Hilchoth Bikurim*, ii. 13). Those, too, who lived beyond the Jordan could not bring first-fruits in the proper sense of the libation, inasmuch as they could not say the words of the service, from 'the land that floweth with milk and honey' (Deut. xvi. 15); comp. Mishna, *Bikurim*, i. 10. A proselyte, again, though he could bring the offering, was not to recite the service, because he could not use the words occurring therein (Deut. xvi. 3). 'I am come to the country which the Lord swore unto our fathers to give us' (*Bikurim*, i. 4). Stewards, servants, slaves, women, sexless persons, and hermaphrodites, were also not allowed to recite the service, though they could offer the libation, because they could not use the words, 'I have brought the first-fruits of the land which thou, O Lord, hast given me' (*Ibid.* xxvi. 10), they having originally had no share in the land (*Bikurim*, i. 5).

5. *The offering of the prepared produce.*—In this, too, the quantity to be offered was left to the generosity of the people. But it was understood, says Maimonides, that 'a liberal man will give a fortieth part of his first-fruits, one who is neither liberal nor illiberal will give a fiftieth part, and a covetous man will give a sixtieth' (*Hilchoth Theruma*, iii. 2). They had to be presented even from the produce of Jewish fields in foreign countries, and were not allowed to be taken from the portion intended for tithes, nor from the corners left for the poor (*Theruma* i. 5; iii. 7), and were not required to be delivered in the Temple, but might be given to the nearest priest (*Ibid.* iv. 3; *Bikurim* ii. 2).

6. *The first-fruit of the dough.*—Besides the offering of the first-fruits themselves, the Israelites were also required to give to the Lord a cake made of the first corn that was threshed, winnowed, and ground (Num. xv. 18-21). Tradition restricts this to wheat, barley, casmin, or rye, fox-ear (barley), and oats (*Chala* i. 1; Maimonides, *Bikurim*, vi. 1), of which a twenty-fourth part had to be given, but

the baker who made it for sale had to give a forty eighth part (Maimonides, *Hilchoth Bikurim*, v. 2, 3). This was the perquisite of the priest, and it is to this that the Apostle refers in Rom. xi. 16.

7. *The first-fruits of fruit-trees.*—According to the law, the fruits of every newly planted tree were not to be eaten or sold, or used in any way for the first three years, but considered 'uncircumcised' or unclean. In the fourth year, however, the first-fruits were to be consecrated to the Lord, or, as the traditional explanation is, eaten in Jerusalem, and in the fifth year became available to the owner (Lev. xix. 23-25). The three years, according to Rabbinic law, began with the first of *Tishri*, if the tree was planted before the sixteenth of *Ab*. The reason of this is that the fruits of those three years were considered imperfect; such imperfect fruit could not, therefore, be offered to God; and as man was not allowed to partake of the produce before he consecrated the first instalment of God's blessings to the giver of all good things, the planter had to wait till the fifth year. Comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 8. 19; and Ibn Ezra on Lev. xix. 23.

8. *Literature.*—The Mishna, *tracts Bikurim, Theruma, Chala and Orla*; Maimonides, *Jod Ha-Chesaka, Hilchoth Bikurim*, vol. iii. p. 121; Lewis, *The Antiquities of the Hebrew Republic*, vol. i. p. 145, etc., London, 1724; Saalschütz, *Mosaische Recht*, p. 343 ff., 416 ff., 433 ff.; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. ii. p. 128 ff.; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, vol. i. p. 172 ff.—C. D. G.

FISCHER, JOHANN FRIEDRICH. This eminent philologist was born at Coburg, October 10, 1724. In 1751 he was appointed rector of St. Thomas's School, Leipzig; and, 1767, Principal of the Fürsten Collegium in the same city. He died October 11, 1799. In addition to a large number of works on various departments of classical philology, he made numerous contributions to Biblical literature. He was the editor of the best edition of Stochius's *Clavis*, of Leusden de *dialectis Novi Testamenti*, and of other works then valued as aids to the critical study of the original Scriptures. He also superintended the publication, from a Greek MS. in the library of St. Paul's, Leipzig, of a portion of the O. T., including Leviticus, Numbers, and parts of Exodus and Deuteronomy. Of his original works, the following are the most important:—*Prolusiones xxxiii. de vitis Lexicorum N. T.*, 1772-1790; afterwards published in a collected form with the title *Prolusiones de vitis Lexicorum Novi Testamenti separatim antea nunc conjuncte editae, multis partibus auctae, multisque in locis emendatae*, Lips. 1791, 8vo; *Prolusiones de versionibus graecis librorum V. T. litterarum hebraicarum magistris; accessit prolusio qua loci nonnulli Vers. Grr. oraculorum Malachiae illustrantur*, Lips. 1772, 8vo; *Progr. quo loci nonnulli librorum N. T. e versionibus Graecis, maximeque Alexandrina, oraculorum Malachiae illustrantur*, 1773; *Progr. de Chaldaicis Onquolosi Jonathaeque versionibus V. T. litterarum hebraicarum scientiae intelligentiaeque librorum divinorum adjutricibus*, Lips. 1774, 4to; *Prolusio I. de versione librorum divinorum V. T. vulgata verae legitimaeque rationis hebraeae in latinum convertendi magistra*, 1775, 4to; *Prolusiones V. in quibus varii loci librorum divinorum utriusque Testamenti eorumque versionum veterum, maxime*

Græcorum explicantur atque illustrantur. Accessit commentatio super loco quodam epistola quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos, Lips. 1779, 8vo.—S. N.

FISH; FISHES; FISHING.—Various and interesting are the statements of ichthyological facts scattered throughout the Scriptures. We propose to collect these, not in the order of their occurrence, but in a method which seems to us best to illustrate the *Biblical* aspect of the subject. The creation of fish is described in Gen. i. '20-22 as occupying a prominent portion of the divine work of the fifth day. This account is remarkable for the terms employed by the sacred historian. There is an absence, not only of all *specific* names of fishes, which was to be expected in the narrative of a general fact like the creation, but also of all *generic* phrases, such as are usually employed, even in Scripture, to designate the animal tribes which inhabit the sea. This absence, however, is compensated by the use of language, simple but most effective, which, while it *pictures* to the mind the grand event with a vividness which no translation can express, is yet singularly consistent with scientific accuracy. 'God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life.' This is but a faint, though not an incorrect rendering of the original, יִשְׂרְוּ הַמַּיִם שָׂרָן נֶפֶשׁ (verse 20). The neuter verb שָׂרָן combines the ideas of *swarming* and *creeping*, and is here accompanied with its cognate noun, to add intensity to the meaning; so that the Almighty's fiat impregnated the waters and made them 'teem and move with the writhing' [*'wriggling'* is the expressive old word of Holland, *Plinie* xxii. 2] swarms of beings endowed with life [literally, the soul of life].* In the next verse follows the creative act, 'God created great whales and every living creature that moveth,' etc. Here occur the same terms, with the exception of the word which expresses the *motion* of the creatures הִקְשִׁיטָה *palpitans, motitans*; Rosenmüller], again without any specific or generic phrases; but we notice two important points in the statement: (1.) A distinction between the *great whales* [הַתַּיִם הַגְּדֹלִים] and the *other aquatic animals*. This distinction is not only compatible with the simple classification of the Jewish zoologists (either David or Solomon [comp. 1 Kings iv. 33], or probably some later writer in Psalm civ. 25)† into *great* and *small* animals of the sea; but makes room for, and anticipates the more elaborate characteristics of modern science, which distinguishes between (*ex. gr.*) the warm-blooded viviparous whale and other cetaceans; and the cold-blooded oviparous shark and other *fishes*, properly so called. (2.) The provision made to keep the myriads which crowd the deep *specifically* distinct amid their multitudinous association. The command of God, that aquatic animals should generate '*after their kinds*' [לְמִינֵהֶם, i.e., *pro variis*

eorum speciebus, according to Gesenius, who includes the idea, likewise, of *form* in the word; *Thes.* 778], is as a wall that separates their natures. Nor does that 'Word of the Lord return to Him void'; it still keeps unmixed the species which haunt the waters as purely and potentially as when first spoken. This perpetuity is the effect of the blessing which the Creator originally pronounced on this part of His work. 'God blessed them, saying: Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas' (verse 22). In the brief but efficacious *paranomasia*, כָּר וּרְכוּ, lies the germ of that fertility which has made the vast realm of waters instinct with life.*

In the next passage which bears on our subject, we first meet with the generic word, *fish* [דָּגָה].†

In verses 26, 28, the Almighty confers on man his supremacy over animate nature; one of the express prerogatives of that dignity is 'dominion over the fish of the sea.'—This was renewed to Noah, Gen. ix. 2. St. James seems also to speak of it in his epistle, when, in chap. iii. 7, he refers to man's subjugation of '*things in the sea*' [ἰλάσα φύσιν . . . ἐναλίην δαμάσεται καὶ δεδάμασται τῇ φύσει τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ] as a prerogative still unrevoled.

In the legislation of Moses on the subject of 'clean and unclean' animals, we find a more particular classification of the various tribes of the animal kingdom, so far at least as they fell under the notice of the sacred writer in a somewhat limited district. The portion pertaining to aquatic animals is contained in Lev. xi. 9-12, and Deut. xiv. 9, 10. A distinction is here drawn between salt-water and fresh-water fish, and between such as are clean and unclean in each. The distinction is a simple one; 'Whatsoever hath *fins* and *scales*, etc., ye shall eat;' and 'All that have *not fins* and *scales*, etc., shall be an abomination unto you.' No particular fishes are named,‡ and this is the more

* The ancients observed the extreme fecundity of fishes. The early Hebrews formed the verb דָּגָה, to multiply exceedingly, from דָּג a fish. See Gen. xlviii. 18, where Jacob's blessing literally means, 'let them increase like the fish.' Onkelos renders the phrase in terms equivalent to *ut pisces maris multiplicentur*. Compare Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ix. 50, and Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* vi. 31. For some modern notices of this fecundity of fishes, see Kitto, *Bible Illustr.* i. 34.

† In most instances דָּגָה differs from the other generic word דָּג, in having a *collective* sense, as in the passage mentioned in the text; whereas the latter has rather an *individual* meaning, as in 1 Kings iv. 33. In the book of Jonah, however, the דָּג of i. 17, and the דָּגָה of ii. 1, are undoubtedly synonymous. (See Gesenius *Thes.* 320, who compares דָּגָה with the *collective* ΔΩΔΕΚΑ = ἡ δώδεκα, *cavalry*; comp. Fürst, *Hebr. Wörterb.* i. 286).

‡ In the Epistle of Barnabas, c. x., the writer, with express reference to this law of Moses, mentions certain fishes as prohibited by name—Καὶ οὐ μὴ φάγῃς. φησί, σμύραναν, οὐδὲ πολύτροδα, οὐδὲ σηπίαν: Thou shalt not eat of the lamprey, the polypus, nor the cuttle-fish (Hefele's *Patres Apost.* [ed. 2], p. 21). This addition appears in no existing copy of the Pentateuch, nor does it even occur in the quotation from Barnabas, made by

* This phrase, נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה, is perhaps the best explanation of נֶפֶשׁ in the sense of '*fish*,' in Isaiah xix. 10.

† This Psalm was doubtless written during the reign of either Josiah or of one of his successors.—(Thrupp on the *Psalms*, vol. ii. p. 174).

remarkable, because the context before and after the two passages mentions many individual names of *birds* and *beasts*. A similar distinction of fishes with and without scales as fit and unfit for offerings [or, as Bochart (*Hieros.* ed. Leusden, p. 42) says, for food at the sacrificial feasts], seems to have been early made in the sacred rites of Rome. Pliny quotes from Cassius Hemina an old law of Numa, 'ut pisces qui squamosi non essent nisi [ne] polluerent (*Hist. Nat.* xxxii. 2, 10). In ancient Egypt, the sanctity and the wholesomeness of fishes were incompatible qualities. 'The most effectual method of forbidding the use of any fish was to assign it a place among the sacred animals of the country' (Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, iii. 58). On this principle the *lepidotus*, a scaly fish, was deemed both sacred and unfit for use. The reason of the law lies perhaps in the nature of things; the terms of the prohibition would exclude all aquatic animals which are not *fishes* (strictly so called), such as the saurians and the serpents, which would be accounted as an abomination and unclean. Sanatory considerations would have weight in such legislation. * In Egypt, fish which have not scales are generally found to be unwholesome food. One of the few reasonable laws of the Caliph, El-Hakim, was that which forbade the selling or catching of such kinds of fish (Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, i. 136, note; De Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arabe* [ed. 2] i. 98; Knobel, on *Lev.* xi. 9). Maimonides, with less reason, sees in the Levitical distinctions of *fishes* and *scales* among fishes 'marks whereby the more noble and excellent species might be distinguished from those that were inferior' (Townley's *Mora Nevochim*, p. 305). In no ordinance of the laws of Moses do we find *fishes* prescribed as religious offerings. In this respect, as well as many others, these laws were opposed to the heathen rituals, which appointed fish-offerings to various deities. Besides the *lepidotus*, the *oxyrhincus*, the *phagrus* [ed., 'from its unwholesome qualities not eaten by the ancient Egyptians,' Wilkinson v. 251], *latus* and *moleis* were held sacred† in various parts of ancient

Clement of Alex. (*Stromat.* 2 [ed. Sylb.], p. 168). It is no doubt an inference drawn by Barnabas himself from the general language of the legislator. Similarly is St. Athanasius (*in Synops. in Lev.* l. c.) to be understood when in reference to this law he says—Ταῦτα λέγει εἶναι καθάρα, ὅσα ἔχει πτερύγια καὶ λεπίδας, ὁ δὲ ἐστὶ τρύγλα (mullet), σκάρος, γλαῦκος, κιστροῦς, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια αὐτοῖς· τὰ δὲ λειπόμενα ἐν τῇ τοῦ νόμου ἀκρίβεια, καὶ οὐ βιωρτέα, ὁ δὲ ἐστὶ σπηλία (cuttle-fish). So St. Jerome: 'Ne gustaveritis carnem sepium et loliginum (a species of cuttle), murænzæ, et anguillæ, et universorum piscium qui squamas et pinnulas non habent,' (*Epist.* 151, *quaest.* 10; and comp. Tertullian, *adv. Marcion*, ii. 20).

* 'This law of Moses may have given rise to some casuistry, as many fishes have scales, which, though imperceptible when first caught, are very apparent after the skin is in the least dried.' (C. H. S. in first edition of this work).

† And similarly in the heathen observances of other nations; thus, *Apua* [query, *Anchora*] Veneri erat sacra; *Concha* [perhaps *Parl-oyster*] Veneri erat; *Mullus* Dianæ; pisces omnes Neptuno; *Thunnus* Neptuno. (Beyer, *Addit. ad Seldeni Syntag. de Diis Syriis*. Ugolini, *Thes.* xxxiii. 338. Vossius, in Hoffmanni *Lexicon*, iii. 771, has a much

Egypt (Clem. Alex.; Plutarch; Strabo; Athenæus, are the authorities referred to by Sir G. Wilkinson, v. 125). In the *Ordinances of Menu*, chap. v. (*on Diet, Purification*, etc.), sects. 15, 16, 'the twice-born man is commanded diligently to abstain from fish; yet the two fishes called *pât'hina* and *rôhita* may be eaten by the guests, when offered at a repast in honour of the gods or manes; and so may the *râjiva*, the *sinhatunda*, and the *sasalca* * of every species.' (Sir W. Jones' *Laws of Menu*, by Haughton, p. 146).

Taking fishes in the scientific sense of 'oviparous, vertebrated, cold-blooded animals, breathing water by means of gills or *branchia*, and generally provided with fins,' none are mentioned by name throughout the O. T. and N. T.; but regarded in the popular and inexact sense of aquatic animals, inhabitants more or less of the water, we meet with eleven instances, which require some notice here. (1.) That well-known Batrachian reptile, the frog (עֲרֹבָה, LXX. Βάτραχος, Vulg. *Rana*), which emerges from a fish-like infancy, breathing by gills instead of lungs, and respiring water instead of air, is often mentioned in Exod. viii., but only in two passages else, Ps. lxxviii. 45, and cv. 30 [TSEPHARDEA]. (2.) The Annelid, *horse-leech*, whose name occurs only once, Prov. xxx. 15 (עֲרֹבָה, LXX. Βέλλα, Vulg.

Sanguisuga). 'It would appear that the blood-sucking quality of this useful little animal is a direct and exclusive ordination of Providence for man's advantage. That blood is not the natural food of the animal is probable from the fact that, in the streams and pools which they inhabit, not one in a hundred could in the common course of things ever indulge such an appetite; and even when received into the stomach, it does not appear to be digested; for though it will remain there for weeks without coagulating or becoming putrid, yet the animal usually dies, unless the blood be vomited through the mouth' (Gosse's *Zoology*, ii. 374). Of course it is the smaller species, the *Hirudo Medicinalis*, that is here referred to. But the larger species, the *Hæmopsis sanguisuga*, or 'horse-leech,' has a still greater voracity for blood. Bochart (*Hieros.* ii. 796-802), and Schultens (*Prov. in loc.*), give another turn to Prov. xxx. 15, by identifying

עֲרֹבָה with the Arabic عِلْوَق, and making fate or destiny, instead of the *horse-leech*, the insatiable exacter. The ancient versions, however, must be deemed to outweigh their learned speculations;

added to which the Arabic عِلْقَة, the Syriac ܥܠܩܬܐ, and the Chaldee and Talmudic עֲרֹבָה or עֲרֹבָה, all designate the *leech*, which is as abundant in the East as it ever was in our Western

longer list of fourteen fishes, 'a *veteribus pro Diis habiti*.' Consecrated fishes were kept in reservoirs, with rings of gold, or silver, or brass, attached to them. So Sir J. Chardin in Harmer, iii. 58).

* We add the names of these fishes as known to us; the *pât'hina* is the *sheat-fish* (*Silurus pelotius*); the *rôhita* is the *rôhi-fish* (*cyprinus denticulatus*); the *râjiva*, a large fish (*cyprinus niloticus*); the other two sorts are probably *shrimps* and *prawns*. (Haughton's note, p. 441).

countries. The blood-appetite of this animal made it suitable to point a proverb; Horace says, *non missuro culem, nisi plena cruoris, hirudo* (De Arte Poet, 476). With which compare Plautus, *Epidicus* ii. 2, 4, 5; and Cicero *ad Atticum*, lib. i. epist. 13. (3). The testaceous mollusk [*ostrea marina*, Gesenius *Thes.* 1263], called by the

Hebrews אֲרֶגְמָן; by Avicenna *الرجوان* (*Alargiawan*); by Galen *Θαλασσία πορφύρα*,* is the *murex trunculus* of zoology, from which the renowned Tyrian dye used to be obtained. This shell-fish (and not the 'purple' extracted from it), is with good reason supposed by Gesenius to be referred to, 'in the Canticles vii. 5, רֵלֶת רֶאשֶׁהָ, 'בְּאֶרְגָּמָן.' This in A. V. is 'the hair of thine head like purple.' But in the view of Gesenius (which is favoured by the context, where the other points of comparison are derived from palpable objects), it should run—in allusion to the convolute wreaths of the beautiful shell—*The tresses of thine head are like the writhed shell of the purple-fish*; reminding us of the ancient head-dresses of the Athenians, described by Thucydides, i. 6. 3; *Χρυσῶν τετρίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβύλλον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν* (comp. the conical head-tuft of the Roman *Tutulus* [Varro, *de ling. latin.* vii. 3. 90], and Virgil's *Crines nodantur in aurum*). A second reference to this shell-fish probably occurs in Ezek.

xxvii. 7, where the prophet mentions תְּכֵלֶת אֶרְגָּמָן תְּכֵלֶת אֱלִישָׁה (A. V., 'Blue and purple from the Isles of Elishah'). The Tyrians seem to have imported some *murices* from the Peloponnesus (the same as 'Elishah' according to Heeren, *Researches, Asiatic Nations* [Oxford trans.], i. 361); and Gesenius supposes that these, the material out of which the celebrated dye was procured, are referred to by the prophet in his enumeration of the Tyrian merchandise. That these fishes were supplied from the coast of Greece we learn from Horace, *Od.* ii. 18. 7 (*Laconica purpurea*); from Pausanias iii. 21. 6; and from Pliny ix. 36. (For other coasts which yielded these fishes, see Winer *B. R. W.* ii. 290, 291. (4) The other word used by Ezekiel in this passage, תְּכֵלֶת, is described by Gesenius, *Thes.* 1503, as 'a species of shell-fish (*Conchylum, Helix ianthina* [conchæ]), found cleaving to the rocks in the Mediterranean Sea, covered with a violet shell (Forskall, *Descript. animal.*, p. 127), from which was procured a dark blue dye.' In the many other passages where these two words occur, they undoubtedly designate either the colours or the material dyed in them. The phrase, 'treasures hid in the sand,' Deut. xxxiii. 19, is supposed to refer to the abundance of the rich dyes afforded by the תְּכֵלֶת and other testaceous animals found in the sand, on the Phœnician coast, assigned to Zebulon and Issachar. (Targum of Jonathan b. Uziel, Walton, iv. 387, and Gesenius, *Thes.* 1503). (5.) The תַּנִּינִים (*plur.*

תַּנִּינִים or תַּנִּינִים) must be carefully distinguished from תַּנִּים, the plural of the unused word תַּן *a jackal*, according to Gesenius, *Lexicon* [by Robinson], p. 1138. 'The sea-monsters,' which are described by Jeremiah (Lament. iv. 3), as 'suckling their young,' used to be regarded as the mammiferous whales or other larger *cetacea* (Calmet by Taylor, 'Fragments' on *Natural History*, No. xxvi.) They are by Gesenius (*l. c.*) supposed to be rather תַּנִּים, *jackals*; this is the reading of some of the MSS. (Kennicott, ii. 546), and Gesenius accepts the Masorete text as an Aramaic form of it. In Ezek. xxix. 3; and xxxii. 2, the textual reading תַּנִּים, which is represented usually as an anomalous singular noun, should no doubt be תַּנִּין, the regular singular, which may well bear (what the other word could not) the suitable sense of *crocodile*; the MS. authority in favour of the latter word is overwhelming (Kennicott, ii. 212). For a description of the תַּנִּין, see CROCODILE; TANNEEN; WHALE. (6.) בְּהֵמֹת, *Behemoth*. (7.) לְוִיָּתָן, *Leviathan*; for descriptions of these aquatic animals see the respective articles, and CROCODILE.

(8.) 'The great fish,' דָּג גָּדוֹל, of Jonah i. 17 [דָּג in ii. 1], was probably some species of shark, such as the *Zygena malleus*, or the *Carcharias vulgaris* (the white shark), therefore, strictly *a fish*.* The difficulty that in the LXX. of Jonah, and in the Greek Testament (Matt. xii. 40), *Kḗros* is the word by which the fish is designated, is removed by the fact that this Greek term does not specifically indicate *whales* only, as the objection supposes, but any of the larger inhabitants of the deep. (Wesseling's Herodot., *Fragm. de Incremento Nili*, p. 789, as quoted in Valpy's *Stephani Thes.* s. v. *Kḗros*; here '*piscis*,' as well as '*Bellua qualibet ingens, veluti crocodilus et hippopotamus*,' are included. Accordingly *Kḗros* stands in the LXX., *passim*, for דָּג, as well as for תַּנִּין.

(See Schleusner, *Lex. V. T. s. v. Kḗros*). For more on the subject of this fish, see Kitto, *Bible Illustr.* vi. 399-404, and JONAH; TANNEEN. Admiral Smyth, in the chapter on Ichthyology, in his *Mediterranean*, p. 196, says the white shark has been called '*Jonæ piscis*' from its transcendent claim 'to have been the great fish that swallowed the prophet, since he can readily engulf a man whole.' (9.) Of Tobit's fish, O. F. Fritzsche, in his Commentary on the passage [Tobit vi. *passim*] enumerates nine or ten speculations by different writers. According to Bochart and Helvigius, the *Silurus* has the best claim. This the former describes as 'being very large, of great strength and boldness, and ever ready to attack other animals, even men, an inhabitant of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris.' C. H. S., in the first edition of this work, combats Bochart's conclusions, and suggests, 'the *Sesax* of the Indus, a crocodile, probably of the genus *Gavial*, which grows to a great size, is eaten, and

* In 1 Maccab. iv. 23, this phrase 'purple of the sea,' has the force of unadulterated purple, as extracted from the fish. So Diodor. Sicul. (xvii. 70), uses the phrase ἐσθῆτες θαλαττῆλαι πορφύραις τετρακυκλόμεναι (C. L. W. Grimm, *in. loc.*)

* Of the same kind of huge fish, ἀδρῶποφάγος, does Amos speak in prophecy, ix. 3, 'I will command the serpent from the bottom of the sea, and he shall bite them.' Bochart, *Hiemps*, l. c. 4c. l. 40.

has a gall bladder, still used to cure obstinate wounds and deflections.' (But see Winer, *B.R.W.* i. 187, note 1). Glaire suggests the *sturgeon*, but this is more suitable to northern rivers. Pennant mentions the capture of one in the Esk weighing 464 lbs. (*British Zoology*, iii. 127). See more in Bochart, *Heroes*, v. 14; Glaire, *Introduction de l'Antien. et du N. T.* ii. 91 [ed. 3], Paris, 1862, and TOBIT. (10.) If Dr. French and Mr. Skinner, in their *Translation of the Psalms*, are right in rendering Ps. civ. 26, 'There swimmeth the *nautilus* and the *whale*,' etc. (as if the sacred writer meant to indicate a *small*, though conspicuous, as well as a *large* aquatic animal, as equally the object of God's care), we have in the נִינְיָא an unexpected addition to our Scripture nomenclature of fishes, in what Lord Byron calls—

'The tender Nautilus who steers his prow,
The sea-born sailor of his shell canoe,
The ocean Mab, the fairy of the sea.'—*The Island*.

In their note the translators say; '*The nautilus*—This little creature floats, at pleasure, upon the surface of the sea. Its shell resembles the *hull* of a *ship*, whence it has its name.' Mr. Thrupp accepts the new rendering as having 'much apparent probability' (*Introduction to the Psalms*, ii. 178).* We may add that it gives greater fitness to the 27th verse, which at present is hardly compatible with the 25th and 26th, owing to the intrusion of the clause, *there go the ships*. Replace this by the *nautilus*, and the coherence of the 27th verse with the two preceding is complete in all its terms. (11.) Our last specific fish is rather *suggested* than *named* in Ezek. xxix. 4, where the prophet twice mentions 'the fish of the rivers which cleave to the scales' [of the crocodile]. This description seems to identify this fish with the *Echeneis Remora*, so remarkable for the adhesive or sucking disc which covers the upper part of the head, and enables it to adhere to the body of another fish, or to the bottom of a vessel. (Its fabulous powers of being able even to arrest a vessel in her course are recorded by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxii. 1; it is mentioned by Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* ii. 14, ἡ ἰχθυόδων τῶν δὲ καλοῦσι τῶν ἐχένηδων. It is also mentioned by Forskal as seen at Gidda, and by Hasselquist at Alexandria). The *lump-sucker* (*Cyclopterus lumpus*) is furnished with ventral fins which unite beneath the body and form a concave disc, by which the fish can with ease adhere to stones or other bodies. Either in the *remora*, with its adhesive apparatus *above*, or in the *lump-sucker* with a similar appendage *below*, or in both, we have in all probability the prophet's fishes, which cleave to the monster of the Nile. So much for the specific instances of aquatic animals mentioned in the Scriptures.

We proceed to suggest, *in general terms*, what were the fishes which frequented the Syrian waters,

* Another recent expositor of the Psalms, Dr. Justus Olshausen (page 402), remarks that 'the introduction of *ships* amongst the living creatures of the sea has always presented [*etwas auffallendes*] an obstacle' to the understanding of the sentence. The paper *nautilus* (*Argonauta*), frequents the Mediterranean. The verb נִינְיָא, to *proceed*, to *walk*, very well describes the stately progress of the *nautilus* as it floats upon the wave.

and supplied the ancient inhabitants with food abridging for this purpose the remarks of C. H. S. in the Art. FISH, in the first edition of this work;—['The species which were known to the Hebrews, or at least to those who dwelt on the coast, were probably very numerous, because the usual current of the Mediterranean sets in, with a great depth of water, at the Straits of Gibraltar, and passes eastward on the African side until the shoals of the delta of the Nile begin to turn it towards the north; it continues in that direction along the Syrian shores, and falls into a broken course only when turning westward on the Cyprian and Cretan coasts. Every spring, with the sun's return towards the north, innumerable troops of littoral species, having passed the winter in the offings of Western Africa, return northward for spawning, or are impelled in that direction by other unknown laws. A small part only ascends along the Atlantic coast of Spain and Portugal towards the British Channel, while the main bodies pass into the Mediterranean, follow the general current, and do not break into more scattered families until they have swept round the shores of Palestine.'] Lists of species of the fish frequenting various parts of the Mediterranean may be found in Risso (*Ichthyol. de Nice*), who describes 315 species he had observed at Nice; and in Adm. Smyth's *Mediterranean*, where in the chap. on *Ichthyology* he gives a list of about 300 fishes haunting the waters of Sicily, besides 240 *crustacea*, *testacea*, and *mollusks*. Admiral Smyth remarks generally of the Mediterranean fish, that, 'though mostly handsomer than British fishes, they are for the most part not to be compared with them in flavour' (pp. 192-209). Professor E. Forbes (in his *Report on Aegean Invertebrata*) divides that part of the East Mediterranean, in which for many years he conducted his inquiries, into eight regions of *depth*, each characterized by its peculiar fauna. 'Certain species,' he says, 'in each are found in no other; several are found in one region which do not range into the next above, whilst they extend to that below, or *vice versa*. Certain species have their maximum of development in each zone, being most prolific in individuals at that zone in which is their maximum, and of which they may be regarded as especially characteristic. Mingled with these true natives are stragglers, owing their presence to the secondary influences which modify distribution.' C. H. S. supposes the Syrian waters to be not less prolific. ['The coasts of Tyre and Sidon would produce at least as great a number. The name of the latter place, indeed, is derived from the Phœnician word *fish*' (see Gesenius, s. v. צִידָן, *Sidon*: the modern name has the same meaning, صيدا, *Saida*; Abulfar. *Syria*, p. 93.

See Winer, ii. 535, and *SIDON*); 'and it is the oldest fishing establishment for commercial purposes known in history. . . . The Hebrews had a less perfect acquaintance with the species found in the *Red Sea*, whither, to a certain extent, the majority of fishes found in the Indian Ocean resort. Beside these, in Egypt, they had anciently eaten *those of the Nile*' (for the fish of the Nile, see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, ii. 119-121, and, more fully, Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, iii. 58, and v. 248-254); 'subsequently, those of the *lake of Tiberias* and of the rivers falling into the Jordan' (Von Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 105, after Hassel-

quist, mentions the *sparus galilæus*, 'a sort of bream,' the *silurus* and *mugil*; and Reuchlin, in *Herzog*, after Dr. Barth, adds the *labrus Niloticus* as inhabiting this lake, which Dr. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 375, represents as 'abounding in fish of all kinds [comp. St. John xxi. 11, with St. Matt. xiv. 17 and xv. 34]. From the earliest times—so said the Rabbinical legends—this lake had been so renowned in this respect' [see Reland, p. 260, who quotes the *Bava Bathra*, of the Babylonian Gemara], 'that one of the ten fundamental laws laid down by Joshua was, that any one might fish with a hook in the Sea of Galilee. Two of the villages on the banks derived their name from their fisheries, the west and the east *Bethsaida*, "house of fish" [cf. the modern name of Sidon just mentioned]. The numerous streams which flow into the Jordan are also described by Dr. Stanley as full of fish, especially the Jabbok, p. 323; 'and they may have been acquainted with species of other lakes, of the *Orontes*, and even of the *Euphrates*. The supply, however, of this article of food, which the Jewish people appear to have consumed largely, came chiefly from the *Mediterranean*. From Neh. xiii. 16 we learn that Phœnicians of Tyre actually resided in Jerusalem as dealers in fish; which must have led to an exchange of that commodity for corn and cattle.'] C. H. S. proceeds to enumerate the most nutritious and common of the fishes which must have filled the Jewish markets ['there were genera of *Perca* (perch tribes); *Scianida* (much resembling the perches); and particularly the great tribe of the *Scomberida* (mackerel), with its numerous genera and still more abundant species, frequenting the *Mediterranean* in prodigious numbers, and mostly excellent for the table; but being often without perceptible scales they may have been of questionable use to the Hebrews. All the species resort to the deep seas, and foremost of them is the genus *Thynnus*, our tunny'], a fish often mentioned with honour by the ancients, from Aristotle downward; a specimen taken near Greenock, in 1831, was nine feet in length. Its flesh is highly prized, and from its great solidity it partakes much of the character of meat. Although repeatedly taken on the English coast, it is really a native of the *Mediterranean*, where it abounds, not only in Sicilian waters, but, in three or four species, in the Levant. The following complete C. H. S.'s catalogue; the *Mugilidæ* family (the sea mullets, *mugiles*, being valuable in every part of the *Mediterranean*); the *Labridæ* (or *Wrasse* of Pennant); and *Cyprinidæ* (carps), particularly abundant in the fresh waters of Asia. ['After these may be ranged the genus *Momyrus*, whereof the species, amounting to six or seven, are almost exclusively tenants of the Nile and the lake of Tiberias, and held among the most palatable fish which the fresh waters produce' . . . Cat or Sheat-fish (*Silurida*) are a family of numerous genera, all of which, except the *Loricaria*, are destitute of a scaly covering, and are consequently unclean to the Hebrews; though several of them were held by the ancient Gentile nations and by some of the modern in high estimation, such as the black fish, probably the shilbeh (*Silurus Schilbe Niloticus*) of the Nile and others. Of salmon (*Salmonidæ*), the *Mylietes dentex* or *Hasselquisti*, belongs to the most edible fishes of the Egyptian river; there were also *Clupeidæ* (herrings) and the *Gadidæ* (or cod), these last being present about Tyre; *Pleuro-*

nectes (or flat fish) are found off the Egyptian coasts, and eel-shaped genera are bred abundantly in the lakes of the Delta.'] A comparison of this list of Col. H. Smith, with the enumeration of the ancient Egyptian fish given by Strabo (xvii. 823), or by Sir G. Wilkinson in his *Ancient Egyptians* (iii. 58), will shew us that some of the fish which have to the present day preserved their excellent character as wholesome food (such as some species of the *Perca*dæ [the 'gisher,' to wit] and the *Labridæ* [e.g., the 'bulti'], and the *Cyprinidæ* [e.g., the 'benni'; 'the carpe is a dayntous fische,' wrote old Leonard Maschal in 1514, when he introduced the fish into England]), were the identical diet which the children of Israel 'remembered' so invidiously at Taberah, when they ungratefully loathed the manna (Num. xi. 5).

The extreme value of fish as an article of food (our Lord seems to recognise it as sharing with bread the claim to be considered as a prime necessary of life, see St. Matt. vii. 9, 10) imparted to the destruction of fish the character of a Divine judgment (see Is. i. 2; Hosea iv. 3; Zeph. i. 3, comp. with Exod. vii. 18, 21; Ps. cv. 29; and Is. xix. 8). How fish is destroyed, largely in the way of God's judgment, is stated by Dr. E. Pococke on Hosea iv. 3, where he collects many conjectures of the learned, to which may be added the more obvious cause of death by disease,* such as the case mentioned by Welsted (*Travels in Arabia*, i. 310) of the destruction of vast quantities of the fish of Oman by an epidemic, which recurred nearly every five years. Certain waters are well known to be fatal to life. The instance of the Dead Sea, the very contrast† of the other Jordan lakes so full of life, is well described by the Rabbi J. Schwarz (*Descriptive Geography of Palestine*, pp. 41-45), and by Dr. Stanley (*Sin. and Palest.*, pp. 290-294), and more fully by De Saulcy (*Dead Sea and Bible Lands* [passim]). But there are other waters equally fatal to fish life though less known, such as the lake called *Canoudan* in Armenia (کنودان, *Avicenna*, i.g. *δχορον*, without life), and that which

* Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* viii. 19) mentions certain symptoms of disease among fish as known to skilful fishermen; but he denies that epidemics such as affect men and cattle fall upon them; *ῥόσημα δὲ λοιμῶδες μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ τοῖς ἰχθύσι φαίνεται ἐμπιπτον, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων συμβαίνει πολλᾶκις, κ. τ. λ.* In the next section he mentions the *mullein plant* (*verbascum*, *πῶμος*) as poisonous to fresh water and other fish.

† Contrast the present condition of this Sea of Death with the vitality which is predicted of it in the vision of Ezekiel (xlvi. 9, 10). Its healed waters and renovated fish 'exceeding many,' and 'the fishers which shall stand on it from Engedi even unto Eneglaïm,' and 'the places on its coast to spread forth nets'—all these features are in vivid opposition to the present condition of 'the Asphaltite lake.' Of like remarkable import is 2 Esdras v. 7, where the writer, among the signs of the times to come, predicts 'The Sodomitish sea shall cast out fish.' For ancient testimonies of the death which reigns over this lake, see St. Jerome on Ezekiel, lib. xiv.; Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 6; Diod. Sicul. ii. 48, and xix. 98; and the Nubian Geographer, iii. 5, as quoted by Bochart, *Herzog*, i. 40.

Ælian in his *Hist. Animal.*, iii. 38, thus mentions : ἡ δὲ τὸ Φερεῶ λίμνη ἰχθύων ἀγρός ἐστιν. This epithet ἀγρός is applied to the Dead Sea itself by Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* v. 4 (Bochart, *Hieros.*, i. 40).

The copious supply of fish in the waters of Palestine encouraged the art of fishing, to which frequent allusions are made both in the O. and in the N. T. The most prevalent method of catching their fish, in use among the Hebrews, was by *nets*, of various kinds and sizes. Four of these are mentioned (Winer, *B. R. W.* i. 374). Two in Habak. i. 15, 16, רֶשֶׁת (LXX. ἀμφίβληστρον : no doubt in v. 16 this word and σαγήνη have been by some means transposed; verse 17 compared with verse 15 makes this evident), the *casting-net* Matt. iv. 18 (δίκτυον), and Mark i. 16; and סַכְסַכִּי (LXX. σαγήνη), the *drag-net* [a larger kind], see Matt. xiii. 48. The third occurs Eccl. ix. 12, מַצְוֵה (LXX. ἀμφίβληστρον), a *casting net*. The fourth רֶשֶׁת (LXX. παγίς), a *fowler's net as well as a fisher's*. In Ps. xxxv. 7, 8 the רֶשֶׁת, *net*, is used with תַּחַטְּ, a *pit* ['They have hid for me their net in a pit'], the allusion would seem to be to that mode of winter-fishing which Aristotle describes as practised by the Phœnicians; 'Ορύττουσι τάσθρον εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν διὰ ξηροῦ· εἰτα ταύτην καταστράπτουσιν χόρτω καὶ λῦδοις, φωλεὸν ποιοῦσιν ἐκδύσει ἔχοντα ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ θῶν πάγος ἢ, ἐκ τούτου κύρτω (a fishing basket) Ὁρμεῖουσιν τοὺς ἰχθύς (*Hist. Animal.* viii. 20). Net-fishing is still used on the lake of Tiberias (Dr. Pococke, *Descrip. of the East*, ii. 69; 'We went on the lake in a boat, and diverted ourselves by fishing with *casting-nets*, which they use here : sometimes the net is thrown from the shore, or from a rock [*ibid.*]).

This mode of fishing prevailed in Palestine, and is a prominent feature of the piscatorial associations in the Gospel history to the very last (see St. John xxi. 6, 8, 11). It is certainly less characteristic of Egyptian fishing of which we have frequent mention in the O. T. The instruments therein employed, were the רֶשֶׁת (LXX. ἀγκίστρον, comp. St. Matt. xvii. 27), *angling-hook*, for smaller fish; Is. xix. 8; Hab. i. 15. These hooks were (for disguise) made to resemble *thorns* [on the principle of the fly-fishing instruments, though not in the same manner; for the Egyptians, neither anciently nor now, seem to have put winged insects on their hooks to attract their prey; Wilkinson, iii. 54], and were thence called רֶשֶׁת, Amos iv. 2 (from their resemblance to *thorns*, Gesenius, *Lex.* s. v.); and (in the case of the larger sort) רֶשֶׁת, A.V. 'barbed irons'; Job xli. 7 [xl. 31]. Another name for these *thorn-like* instruments was רֶשֶׁת, Amos iv. 2 [a generic word, judging from the LXX., θάλα]. רֶשֶׁת was either a hook or a ring put through the nostrils of fish to let them down again alive into the water (Gesenius); or (it may be) a *crook* by which fishes were suspended to long poles, and carried home after being caught (such as is shewn in plate 344 [from a tomb near the Pyramids] in Wilkinson, iii. 56). The word is used in Job xli. 2 [*Hebr. Bib.* xl. 26] with מַצְוֵה, a *cord of rushes* (σχοῖνος). Rosenmüller, *in loc.*, applies these two words to the binding of larger fish to the bank of the river until wanted, after they are captured, and

quotes Bruce for instances of such a practice in modern Egyptian fishing. Though we have so many terms for the *hook*, it is doubtful whether any have come down to us denoting the *line*; רֶשֶׁת and רֶשֶׁת, though the most nearly connected with piscatorial employment, hardly express our notion of a line for *angling* (see Gesenius, s.v.); while רֶשֶׁת and רֶשֶׁת (*thread, twine*) are never used in Scripture for fishing purposes. The large fish-spear, or *harpoon*, used for destroying the crocodile and hippopotamus was called רֶשֶׁת (Job xli. 7 [*Hebr. Bib.* xl. 31], comp. with Wilkinson, iii. 72, 73). רֶשֶׁת means a *cymbal* or any clanging instrument, and this seems to have led to the belief of fishes being attracted and caught by musical sounds; stories of such, including Arion and the dolphin, are collected by J. G. Schellhorn in his *Dissertation on the רֶשֶׁת of Job* (Ugolini, *Thes.* xxix. 329, etc.) 'The Egyptian fishermen used the net; it was of a long form, like the common drag-net, with wooden floats on the upper, and leads on the lower side; though sometimes let down from a boat, those who pulled it generally stood on the shore and landed the fish on a shelving bank' (Wilkinson, ii. 21). This net is mentioned in Is. xix. 8, under the name מַצְוֵה. It is, however, doubtful whether this be anything more than a frame, somewhat between a basket and a net, resembling the *landing net* represented in Wilkinson, iii. 55. The Mishna (vi. 76, 116) describes it by the word מַצְוֵה, *nassa, corbis piscatoria*, a basket. Maillet (*Epist.* ix.) expressly says that '*nets for fishing are not used in Egypt*.' If this be so, the usage has much altered since the times which Wilkinson has described. Frames for fishing attached to stakes driven into the bottom were prohibited in the lake of Tiberias, 'because they are an impediment to boats' (Talmudic Gloss, quoted by Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebr.* on Matt. iv. 18). No such prohibition existed in Egypt, where wicker traps, now as anciently, are placed at the mouths of canals, by which means a great quantity of fish is caught (Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 232, *note*). The custom of drying fish is frequently represented in the sculptures of Upper and Lower Egypt (p. 127, *note*). On the west side of Jerusalem was the *fish-gate*, which is mentioned in Neh. iii. 3, and three other passages. This probably derived its name from a fish-market there. According to Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* viii. 19) comp. with St. Luke v. 5, the night was the best time for fishing operations : ἀλλοκονταὶ δὲ μέγιστα οἱ ἰχθύες πρὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς καὶ μετὰ τὴν δύση—'before sunrise and after sunset.'—P. H.

FITCHES. [QETSACH.]

FLACH or FLACIUS, surnamed ILLYRICUS, a celebrated theologian of the 16th century, was born at Albona in Istria, A.D. 1520, and died at Frankfurt on the Maine, 1575. In 1539 he went to Basel, where he was greatly aided in his studies by Simon Grynaeus and others. From Basel he repaired to Tübingen in 1540. In 1541 he went to Wittenberg, and heard there Luther and Melancthon. In 1544 he was appointed professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg. In consequence of the

war he was obliged to fly to Brunswick, but he returned and resumed his functions in 1549. Having differed with Melancthon, he left Wittenberg, and established himself at Magdeburg, where he soon found himself at the head of the rigid Lutherans. In 1557 he was appointed professor of theology at Jena. In 1562, being deprived of his place, and ordered to leave the states of the Duke of Weimar, he retired to Ratisbon. In 1566 he was invited to Antwerp, along with others, to take the direction of the evangelical church newly formed there; but as it was soon persecuted, he was obliged to flee to Strasburg. Thence he withdrew to Frankfurt, where he died. Flacius was a learned theologian; but, like most of the rigidly orthodox, fiery, bitter, and intolerant in spirit. He wrote a great deal: most of it was controversial. The only works of his that belong to our department are, *Clavis Scripturae Sacrae*, Bâle, 1567, folio; *Glossa compendiaria in Novum Testamentum*, Bâle, 1570, folio; *Ecclesiastica Historia, integrum ecclesiae Christi ideam secundum singulas centurias perspicuo ordine complectens*, Bâle, 1559-1574, folio, 13 vols.—This is the celebrated work known as the *Magdeburg centuries*. Flacius was assisted by various others in its composition. Baronius's *Annales ecclesiastici* (1588-1607) were undertaken to refute it. See Twisten's *Matthias Flacius Illyricus, eine Vorlesung*, 1844.—S. D.

FLAG. [ACHU.]

FLAGONS. The Hebrew term which is thus translated in the A. V. in all the passages where it occurs, excepting one, is *אֶשְׁכֶּלֶת*, which, according to the best modern lexicographers, means a flat cake of pressed grapes. Gesenius distinguishes it from *צֶמֶד*, a bunch of dried grapes, and from *רֶגֶלֶת*, a lump or cake of figs. The meaning flagon (sextarius) is founded on an erroneous derivation from the numeral *שֵׁשׁ*. It occurs in 2 Sam. vi. 19, *ἀγαγον ἀπὸ τρυφάνου*; *similam frixam oleo*; where the words of *wine*, in the A. V., are an addition; 1 Chron. xvi. 3, *ἀποστρυψάμενοι, frixam oleo similam*; Cant. ii. 5, *ἐν μύρῳ, floribus*; Hosea iii. 1, *πέμματα μετὰ σταφίδος, vinacia uvarum*; the word *עֲנָבִים* translated in the A. V. *wine*, uniformly means *grapes*, as in the marginal reading.

In the A. V. of Is. xxii. 24, *flagon* is used for the Hebrew *בִּבְלִי*, which sometimes means a bottle or vessel, but often a musical instrument, probably from its shape (*Name eines bauchigen Ton-Instruments*, Fürst, *H. W. B.*, s. v.), as in the marginal reading, *instruments of viols*; the Vulg. has *omne vas musicorum*. On the terms used by the LXX., Schleusner may be consulted with advantage.—J. E. R.

FLATT, JOHANN FRIED. VON, D.D., prelate and professor of theology at Tübingen, was born 20th Feb. 1759, and died 24th Nov. 1821. His contributions to Biblical literature consist chiefly of some volumes of exegetical lectures published from his notes after his death. We have, in this form, from his pen, *Vorlesungen üb. d. Br. an die Galater und Ephesier*, Tüb. 1823; *Vorles. üb. die Br. an die Philipper, Koloss. Thessal. und an Phillem*, Tüb. 1829, both edited by Kling; *Vorles. üb. d. Br. an d. Römer*, Tüb. 1825; *Vorles. üb. die*

Br. an d. Korinther, Tüb. 1833, both edited by Hoffmann; *Vorles. üb. die Br. an den Tim. und Tit. nebst einer allgem. Einleitung über die Br. Pauli*, edited by Kling, Tüb. 1831. The notes in these works are generally brief; but they are marked by sound learning, clearness, and good sense.—W. L. A.

FLAX. [PISHTAH.]

FLEA. [PAR'OSH.]

FLESH (פֶּשֶׁת). This word bears a variety of significations in Scripture:—

1. It is applied, generally, to the whole animated creation, whether man or beast; or, to all beings whose material substance is flesh (Gen. vi. 13, 17, 19; vii. 15, etc.).

2. But it is more particularly applied to 'man-kind;' and is, in fact, the only Hebrew word which answers to that term (Gen. vi. 12; Ps. xlv. 3; cxlv. 21; Is. xl. 5, 6). In this sense it is used somewhat figuratively to denote that evil principle which is opposed to the spirit and to God, and which it is necessary to correct and subdue (Gen. vi. 3; Job x. 4; Is. xxxi. 3; Matt. xvi. 17; Gal. i. 26, etc.).

3. The word 'flesh' is opposed to נֶפֶשׁ *nephesh*, 'soul,' or 'spirit,' just as we oppose *body* and *soul* (Job xiv. 22; Prov. xiv. 30; Is. x. 18).

4. The ordinary senses of the word, namely, the flesh of men or beasts (Gen. xli. 2, 19; Job xxxiii. 25), and flesh as used for food (Exod. xvi. 12; Lev. vii. 19), are both sufficiently obvious; and with respect to the latter, see **FOOD**.

5. The word 'flesh' is also used as a modest general term for the secret parts, in such passages as Gen. xvii. 11; Exod. xxviii. 42; Lev. xx. 2; Ezek. xliii. 20; 2 Peter ii. 7, 8, 10; Jude 7. In Prov. v. 11 the 'flesh of the intemperate' is described as being consumed by infamous diseases.—J. K.

FLEURY, CLAUDE, was born at Paris, Dec. 6, 1640. He was educated in the Jesuit's College at Clermont. His father, who was an advocate, wished him to follow the same profession, but his preference for the clerical vocation was so strong, that after nine years' practice in the law, he took priest's orders. In 1672 he became tutor to the Prince of Conti, who was brought up with the Dauphin, and afterwards to the Count de Vermandois, a natural son of Louis XIV., who died in 1683. In 1689 Fleury was appointed sub-preceptor (with the illustrious Fénelon) to the Princes of Burgundy, Anjou, and Berri, and on the completion of their education, was made Prior of Argenteuil. Louis XV. chose him for his father confessor on account of his moderation in reference to the Jansenist controversy, and this office he held till his death, July 14, 1723. His works are numerous. The first was his *Catéchisme historique*, Paris, 1679; translated into Spanish 1707, and into German 1718. We may also mention his *Moeurs des Israélites*, Paris, 1681, of which there is an English translation by Dr. Adam Clarke; *Mœurs des Chrétiens*, Paris, 1662; *Institution au droit ecclésiastique*, 2 vols., Paris, 1687; translated into Latin by Gruber 1724-1733. But his great work is his *Histoire Ecclesiastique* from the Ascension to A.D. 1414; Paris, 1691-1720. A continuation, written with very inferior ability, by Claude Fabre, a priest

of the Oratory, and La Croix, a Carmelite monk, brings the history down to 1778. Fleury's own work is written in a devout and liberal spirit, with a constant protest against the corruptions of the Church, and the union of the secular with the spiritual power. A Latin translation (including the continuation) appeared at Augsburg, 1757-1793, and a German translation at Frankfort-on-Maine, 14 vols. 4to, 1752. The '*Abrégé de l'histoire ecclésiastique de Fleury*,' Bern, 1766, is ascribed to Frederic the Great. His '*Discours sur les libertés de l'église Gallicane*' was published soon after his death, Paris, 1724.—J. E. R.

FLINT. [ROCK.]

FLOCKS. [PASTURAGE.]

FLOOD. [DELUGE.]

FLOUR. [BREAD; MILL; OFFERINGS.]

FLOWERS. [PALESTINE.]

FLUTE. [MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.]

FLUX, BLOODY, a disease under which the father of Publius, the governor of Melita, laboured at the time of Paul's visit to that island (Acts xxviii. 8). Luke, with professional accuracy, describes the disease as *μυερός καὶ δυσεντερία*. Dysentery is always accompanied with febrile symptoms, and frequently with intermittent fever, the presence of which in the case of the father of Publius, Luke intimates by the use of the plural. [FEVER.] Dysentery is a common disease in all warm climates, and is frequently epidemic; it is a disease at once painful and dangerous, and it often assumes a chronic form, which is very difficult to cure. It has been suggested that it was of chronic dysentery, followed by prolapsus ani, that King Jehoram died (2 Chron. xxi. 15, 19); but the manner in which the historian speaks of Jehoram's disease, as a special and awful judgment inflicted by God, renders it improbable that it was a disease so familiar to the Jews as dysentery must have been.—W. L. A.

FLY. [AROB; ZEBUL]

FOLD. [PASTURAGE.]

FOOD. Under this head we shall consider—
I. The materials of food mentioned in the Bible; and II. The methods of preparing them for use; referring for the customs connected with the consumption of them to the article BANQUETS.

I. The original grant of the Creator made over to man the use of the vegetable world for food (Gen. i. 29), with the exception of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen. ii. 17), and apparently also the tree of life (iii. 22). So long as man continued in Paradise, he doubtless restricted his choice of food within the limits thus defined; but whether, as is commonly stated, we are to regard this as characteristic of the entire period between the creation of Adam and the grant of animal food to Noah after the flood (Gen. ix. 3), admits of doubt. It is doing no violence to the passage last cited to view it rather in the light of an ordinance intended to regulate a practice already in use, than as containing the first permission of that practice; and when we consider that man is by his original constitution omnivorous, that there are special adaptations in his frame, as

made by God, for the use of animal food, that from the beginning he was acquainted with the use of fire, that from the beginning there was a distinction known to him between clean and unclean animals (Gen. vii. 2, 8), corresponding apparently to a distinction between animals good for food and animals not so, and that the pastoral was as early as the agricultural occupation among men; it seems more probable than otherwise that the use of animal food was not unknown to the antediluvians. Perhaps some fierce or cruel custom connected with the use of raw flesh, such as Bruce found in his day among the Abyssinians, and such as Moses glances at (Exod. xii. 9), may have prevailed among the more barbarous and ferocious of the antediluvians; and it may have been in order to check this that the communication recorded Gen. ix. 2-5 was made to Noah. It is not, however, to be overlooked that, in the traditions of antiquity, the early age of the world was represented as one in which men did not use animal food (Diod. Sic. i. 43; ii. 38; Ovid, *Metam.* i. 101, ff.; xv. 96, ff.; *Fast.* iv. 395, ff.).

In the Patriarchal age the food of the ancestors of the Hebrews comprised the flesh of animals both tame and wild, as well as the cereals. We read of their using not only cakes of fine meal, but also milk and butter, and the flesh of the calf, the kid, and game taken by hunting (Gen. xviii. 6-8; xxvii. 3, 4). They used also leguminous food, and a preparation of lentiles [ADASHIM] seems to have been a customary and favourite dish with them (Gen. xxv. 34). They made use also of honey (עֲבֵךְ, either honey of bees or syrup of grapes), spices, nuts [BOTNIM], and almonds [SHAKED], (Gen. xliii. 11).

During their residence in Egypt the Israelites shared in the abundance of that land; there they 'sat by the flesh-pots, and did eat bread to the full' (Exod. xvi. 3); and amid the privations of the wilderness they remembered with regret and murmuring 'the fish which they did eat in Egypt freely; * the cucumbers and the melons, and the leeks and the onions, and the garlic' (Num. xi. 5). These vegetable products have always formed an important part of the food of the people of Egypt; and the abundant use also of animal food by them is sufficiently attested by the monuments (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*, ii. 367-374).

In their passage through the wilderness, the want of the ordinary materials of food was miraculously supplied to the Israelites by the manna. [MAN, 2.] As it was of importance that their flocks and herds should not be wholly consumed or even greatly reduced before their entering on the promised land, they seem to have been placed under restrictions in the use of animal food, though this was not forbidden (Lev. xvii. 3, ff.); and when their longing for this food broke out into rebellious murmurs, a supply was sent to them by means of large flocks of a species of partridge [SELAV] very much in use in the East (Exod. xvi. 11-13; Num. xi. 31; comp. Diod. Sic. i. 60).

When they reached the promised land, 'the land flowing with milk and honey,' abundance of all kinds of food awaited the favoured people. The rich pasture-lands of Palestine enabled them

* The abundance of fish in Egypt is attested by Diod. Sic. i. 34, 36; and Aelian, *De Nat. Anim.* x. 43.

to rear and maintain large flocks and herds; game of various kinds was abundant in the more mountainous and uninhabited districts; fish was largely supplied by the rivers and inland seas, and seems to have been used to a considerable extent (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14; Neh. iii. 3; Matt. vii. 10; xiv. 17; xv. 34; Luke xxiv. 42; John xxi. 6-14), so that the destruction of it was represented as a special judgment from God (Is. l. 2; Hos. iv. 3; Zeph. i. 3) [FISH]. In the Mosaic code express regulations are laid down as to the kinds of animals that may be used in food (Lev. xi.; Deut. xiv.) Those expressly permitted are, of *beasts*, the ox, the sheep, the goat, the hart, the roebuck, the fallow-deer, the wild goat, the pygarg, the wild ox, the chamois, and in general every beast that parteth the hoof and cleaveth the cleft into two claws [that is, where the hoof is completely parted, and each part is separately cased in bone], and cheweth the cud; of *fish*, all that have scales and fins; of *fowls*, all clean birds, that is, all except the carnivorous and piscivorous birds; of *insects*, the locust [ARPEH], the bald locust [SALEAM], the beetle [CHARGOL], and the grasshopper [CHAGAB]. Whether the Hebrews attended to the rearing of gallinaceous fowls remains matter of doubt [BARBURIM; BIRDS; COCK.]

Besides animals declared to be unclean, the Israelites were forbidden to use as food anything which had been consecrated to idols (Exod. xxxiv. 15); animals which had died of disease or been torn by wild beasts (Exod. xxii. 31; Lev. xxii. 8; comp. Ezek. iv. 14), and certain parts of animals, viz., the blood (Lev. xxvii. 10; xix. 26; Deut. xii. 16-23), the fat covering the intestines, the kidneys, and the fat covering them, the fat of any part of the ox, or sheep, or goat, especially the fat tail of certain sheep (Exod. xxix. 13-22; Lev. iii. 4-9, 10; ix. 19). They were also forbidden to use any food or liquids occupying a vessel into which the dead body of any unclean beast had fallen, as well as all food and liquids which had stood uncovered in the apartment of a dead or dying person (Num. xix. 15). The eating of a kid boiled in the milk or fat of its mother was also prohibited (Exod. xxiii. 19; xxxiv. 26; Deut. xiv. 21). These restrictions rested chiefly, doubtless, on religious and theocratic grounds [FAT], but for some of them reasons of a sanitary kind may also have existed. It belonged to the essence of the theocratic system that the people should be constantly surrounded by what reminded them of their separation to Jehovah, and the need of keeping themselves free from all that would level or lower the distinction between them and the nations around them. For this reason specific restrictions were laid upon their diet, which were not attended to by other nations, nor were in every case insisted on in the case of strangers dwelling within their bounds (Deut. xiv. 21). This does not, however, preclude our admitting that reasons of a social or political kind may have also conspired to render these restrictions desirable. In warm climates the importance of avoiding contagion renders the utmost caution necessary in handling whatever may have been exposed to the influence of a corpse; and it is well known that the use of adipose matter in food requires, in such climates, to be restricted within narrow limits. The peculiar prohibition of a kid boiled in its mother's milk was ordained probably for the purpose of avoiding

conformity to some idolatrous usage, or for the purpose generally of encouraging humane feelings on the part of the Israelites towards their domesticated animals (Winer, *R. W. B.*, art. *Speisegesetze*; Spencer, *De Legg. Hebr. Ritvall.*, bk. ii. ch. 8; Michaelis, *Mos. Recht*, iv. 200).

Subject to these restrictions, the Israelites were free to use for food all the produce of their fertile and favoured land. 'Thou shalt bestow thy money,' said God to them, 'for whatsoever thy soul lusteth after, for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink, and thou shalt eat thereof before the Lord thy God, and thou shalt rejoice, thou and thy household' (Deut. xiv. 26). And in the enumeration of blessings conferred by God on Israel, we find 'honey out of the rock, and oil out of the flinty rock, butter of kine, and milk of sheep, with fat of lambs, and rams of the breed of Bashan, and goats, with the fat of kidneys of wheat,' specified as among his free gifts to his people (Deut. xxxii. 13, 14). Though allowed this wide range, however, of animal food, the Hebrews do not seem to have in ordinary life availed themselves of it. The usual food of the people appears to have consisted of milk and its preparations [MILK; CHEESE], honey, bread, and vegetables of various sorts; and only at the royal table was animal food in daily use (1 Kings iv. 23; Neh. v. 18). The animals commonly used for food were *calves* (Gen. xviii. 7; 1 Sam. xxviii. 24; Amos vi. 4); these were fattened for the purpose, and hence were called *fatlings*, or *fatted calves* (*μωβοῦς στευνός*, Luke xv. 23; *στυνός*, Matt. xxii. 4); *lambs* (2 Sam. xii. 4; Amos vi. 4); *sheep* (1 Sam. xiv. 34; xxv. 18; 1 Kings iv. 23); *oxen* stall-fed, or from the pastures (1 Kings i. 9; iv. 23; 2 Chron. xviii. 2; Matt. xxii. 4); *fat cattle* (*שׂוֹרֵי חֵלֶב*), a particular kind of the bovine genus pecu-

liar to Bashan, supposed by some to be a species of buffalo or ure-ox, but not to be confounded with the fatling or fatted calf above mentioned, 2 Sam. vi. 13; 1 Kings i. 9; Amos v. 22; Ezek. xxxix. 18); *kids* (1 Sam. xvi. 20); and various kinds of game, such as the *ajil*, the *tsibi*, and the *jachmur* (1 Kings v. 3 [iv. 23, A. V.]) The articles brought by Abigail to David were bread, sheep, parched [roasted] corn, raisins, and figs (1 Sam. xxv. 18); when Ziba met David on his flight from Absalom he brought to him bread, raisins, and summer fruits [FRUITS] (2 Sam. xvi. 1); and the present of Barzillai to the king consisted of wheat, barley, flour, roasted corn, beans, lentils,* honey, butter, sheep, and cheese (2 Sam. xvii. 28). We may presume from this that these formed the principal articles of food among the Jews at this time. Besides raisins or grapes dried in the sun, they used grapes pressed into cakes (*כֶּמֶח*); they had

also fig-cakes (*רִבְלִים*). On special occasions they probably indulged in more costly viands; in times of famine they resorted to even very vile food; in seasons of affliction they abstained from all delicacies, and even sometimes from all food; and to

* The text. rec. repeats *קל* twice in this passage; in the former instance the A. V. renders it by 'parched corn,' in the latter by 'parched pulse.' De Wette translates the latter '*auch geröstet*.' It is wanting in the LXX., Syr., Arab., and is probably to be omitted.

prisoners the food allowed seems to have been only bread and water (1 Kings xxii. 27; Jer. xxxvii. 21).

Besides the vegetables above mentioned, the Jews were acquainted with the melon, the cucumber, the mallow, the leek, the onion, garlic, and bitter herbs [ABATTICHIM; QISHUIM; MALLUACH; CHATZIZ; BETZAL; SHUMIM; MERORIM]. In Job

vi. 6 mention is made of *רִיר חֲסִמֶת*, which Gesenius would translate *purslain-slime*, or *purslain-broth* = something extremely insipid (*Theo.* p. 480). The reasons he gives for this are not without force, but cannot be held conclusive. The A. V. follows the Rabbinical interpretation, which Rosenmüller, Ewald, etc., also approve; Lee (*in loc.*) and Fürst prefer understanding it of the whey of curdled milk; Renan translates it *le jus de la mauve*.

The *drinks* of the Hebrews were, besides water, which was their ordinary beverage, milk, wine, and *לֶחֶם*, which in the A. V. is rendered *strong drink* [SHECHAR]. To give the water a greater relish, they probably sometimes dissolved a portion of fig-cake in it, according to the fashion of the Arabs at the present day (Niebuhr, *Arab.* p. 57). The wines used were of various sorts, and sometimes their effect was strengthened by mingling different kinds together, or by the mixture with them of drugs (Ps. lxxv. 9; Prov. ix. 23, 30; Is. v. 22). A species of delicacy seems to have been furnished by 'spiced wines,' that is, wines flavoured by aromatic herbs, or perhaps simply by the juice of the pomegranate (Song viii. 2). No mention is made in Scripture of the mixing of water with wine for the purpose of drinking it; the reference in Is. i. 22 being to the adulteration of wine by fraudulent dealers; but the habit was so common in ancient times (comp. *Odys.* i. 110; ix. 208 ff.; Hippocrates *De Morb.* iii. 30; Lucian *Asin.* vii.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxiii. 22) that we can hardly doubt that it was known also among the Hebrews [WINE]. Vinegar, *חֶמֶץ*, was also used by them as a means of quenching thirst (Ruth ii. 14; Num. vi. 3); mixed with oil this is still a favourite in the East, and mixed with water it was drunk by the Roman soldiers and poor under the name of *posca* (Plin. *N. H.* xix. 29; xxii. 58; Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* iii. 2, 23).

The Hebrews made use of condiments to heighten the flavour of their dishes as well as of spices to increase the effect of their wines. Besides the general condiment salt, they used cummin, dill [ANETHON], mint [HEDUOSMON], coriander [GAD], rue [PEGANON], mustard [SINAPIS], and the seeds of an herb to which they gave the name of *קֶצֶח* [QETSACH]. Sometimes their made dishes were so richly flavoured that the nature of the meat used could not be discovered (Gen. xxvii. 9, 25). Besides myrrh, with which they flavoured their wines, the Hebrews used various odiferous products [AHALIM; KOPHER; QETZIA; QIDDAH; QINAMON]; but whether they used any of these with food is uncertain.

II. The early acquaintance of the race with the use of fire renders it probable that from the beginning men used some process of cooking in the preparation of their food, except in the case of such products as are more agreeable to the palate in a crude than in a concocted state. The cereals were sometimes eaten raw (Lev. xiii. 14; Deut. xxiii. 25; 2 Kings iv. 42; Matt.

xii. 1); but from an early period it was customary to roast the grains, and so prepare them for food (Lev. ii. 14; comp. Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 394).

This received the name of *קָלִי*, more fully *אֶבֶן קָלִי* and *קָלִי אֶשׁ*, A. V. 'parched corn;' and was eaten either dry or formed into a sort of porridge, perhaps something after the manner of the *pilaw* in the East at the present day. This was not peculiar to the Hebrews; even as late as the time of Virgil roasting was a recognised method of preparing corn for use (*Georg.* i. 267), though this may have been only preparatory to bruising it (comp. Servius on *Æn.* i. 179; Plin. *N. H.* xviii. 18, 23). For the preparation and kinds of bread in use among the Hebrews, see BREAD and MILL.

Vegetables were cooked by boiling, and seem to have been made into a pottage (*יִרְיָה*), the niph. part. of *רָוַה*, to boil, Gen. xxv. 30, 34; 2 Kings iv. 38, 39), probably strengthened by the addition of some oily substance, such as butter or fat, or by having bones and gristles boiled down with them as is still customary in the East (Shaw, *Travels.* p. 125, cited by Jahn, *Archæol.* I. ii. p. 190).

When animal food was to be used, the animal was killed in such a way as to allow all the blood to leave the carcase, in order scrupulously to observe the prohibition, Exod. xxii. 31. Among the modern Jews, this is accomplished by cutting the throat of the animal quite through, and then suspending the carcase so as to allow all the blood to run out; the entrails with the fat are removed, the nerves and veins extracted, and strict search is made lest any drop of blood should be allowed to remain in any part (Buxtorf, *Syn. Jud.* c. xxvii.) The flesh thus prepared for cooking was commonly boiled in water (*בְּסֵל* Pih. of *בָּשַׁל*),* probably also sometimes in milk as is still the case among the Arabs. Before being put into the pot, the flesh freed from the skin appears to have been cut into small pieces, or perhaps this was done during the process of cooking (Mic. iii. 3, comp. Hitzig, *in loc.*) The broth and the flesh were served up separately (Judg. vi. 19), and both were eaten with bread. Salt was used to season the food, spices were also occasionally introduced, and highly flavoured dishes were sometimes prepared (Ezek. xxiv. 10; Gen. xxvii. 4; Prov. xxiii. 3). For boiling, the caldron or pot was used [CALDRON]; and the fuel was commonly wood, especially thorns (Eccles. vii. 6; Ps. lviii. 9; Is. xlv. 16; Ezek. xxiv. 10), sometimes the dried excrement of animals (Ezek. iv. 15), a species of fuel still much used in the east (Irby's and Mangles' *Travels*, p. 172; Rae Wilson's *Travels*, ii. 156; Hue's *Travels*, passim). Food was also prepared by *roasting* (*צֶלֶה*). This was regarded as the more luxurious mode of preparation, and was resorted to chiefly on festive occasions. The paschal lamb was to be roasted whole (Exod. xii. 4, 6), but it does not appear that this was the usual method of roasting flesh; it is more probable that the ancient He-

* The radical meaning of this word seems to be the bringing of anything to a fit state for food; hence it is used of the ripening of grain (Joel iv. [A. V. iii.] 13), and of cooking generally by whatever means done (Ezek. xxiv. 5; Deut. xvi. 7).

brews, like the modern Arabs, roasted their meat in small portions, by means of short spits of wood or metal placed near the fire, and turned as the process of cooking required (comp. *Odys.* iii. 461-2 *et saepe*; *Il.* i. 465, etc.) Birds were roasted whole on such a spit. The Persians roast lambs and calves entire, by placing them in an oven (Tavernier i. 269; Chardin iii. 88), and this may also have prevailed among the Hebrews. Among the poor, locusts were eaten roasted, as is still common among the Arabs, whose method of cooking them is as follows: the feet and wings having been plucked off, and the entrails taken out, the body is salted, and then roasted by means of a wooden spit, on which a row of bodies similarly prepared are strung. Fish were usually broiled (Luke xxiv. 42; John xxi. 9), but it would seem that they were sometimes cured, or at least brought into a state in which they could be used without further cooking (Matt. xiv. 17, 19; xv. 34, 36). In either case they were eaten with bread.

In primitive times, the mistress of the house presided over the cooking of the food, as the master of the house charged himself with the slaughtering of the animals required (Gen. xviii. 6, 8; Judg. vi. 19; comp. *Il.* xxiv. 622, and *Odys.* ii. 300). Among the Egyptians, servants who were professional cooks took charge of preparing the food (Wilkinson *Anc. Egypt.*, ii. 382 ff.); and in later times among the Hebrews, similar functionaries were employed, both male and female (מַבְחָה, *Sam.* ix. 23, 24; מַבְחָה, *Sam.* viii. 13).

The culinary utensils were פֶּרֶד, a deep pan (*Num.* xi. 8; Judg. vi. 19; *1 Sam.* ii. 14); רֹדֶד; קַלְחָת [CALDRON]; בִּיזָר, a basin or pan (*Exod.* xxx. 18; *1 Sam.* ii. 14); סֶפֶל; צֵלָה; כַּף [DISH]; מַחֲבֵת, an iron pan; מִרְחֶשֶׁת, a frying pan (*Lev.* ii. 5-7; vii. 9); חֲבָתִים, pans (*1 Chron.* ix. 31); מִזְלֶה, a fork or flesh-hook with which flesh was drawn from the pot (*1 Sam.* ii. 13, 14), and perhaps the flesh separated from the bones in the pot (*Mic.* iii. 3); כִּירִים, a word of doubtful significance, rendered by the LXX. χυτροσφοδες (*Lev.* xi. 34), by the Syr. ܟܝܪܐ place of pots, by Gesenius *range for pots*, by Fürst *hearth* for cooking, consisting of two rows of stones meeting at an angle, by Rosenmüller a place in the hearth under which was fire, and on the surface of which were orifices, over which pots were placed, and by Knobel an earthenware stew-pan (Ravius, *De re cibaria vet. Heb.*, Traj. ad Rhen. 1768; Parcau *Antiquitas Hebr.* p. 388 ff.; Jahn *Archæologie*, i Th., Bd. ii. p. 167 ff.; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, II. ch. 5-7).—W. L. A.

FOOL. The fool of Scripture is not an idiot, but an absurd person; not one who does not reason at all, but one who reasons wrong; also any one whose conduct is not regulated by the dictates of reason and religion. Foolishness, therefore, is not a condition of privation, but a condition of wrong action in the intellectual or sentient being, or in both (2 *Sam.* xiii. 12, 13; Ps. xxxviii. 5). In the Proverbs, however, 'foolishness' appears to be sometimes used for lack of understanding, although more generally for perverseness of will.

FOOT. Of the various senses in which the word 'foot' is used in Scripture, the following are the most remarkable. Such phrases as the 'slipping' of the foot, the 'stumbling' of the foot, 'from head to foot' (to express the entire body), and 'foot-steps' (to express tendencies, as when we say of one that he walks in another's footsteps), require no explanation, being common to most languages. The extreme modesty of the Hebrew language, which has perhaps seldom been sufficiently appreciated, dictated the use of the word 'feet' to express the parts and the acts which it is not allowed to name. Hence such phrases as the 'hair of the feet,' the 'water of the feet,' 'between the feet,' 'to open the feet,' 'to cover the feet,' all of which are sufficiently intelligible, except perhaps the last, which certainly does not mean 'going to sleep,' as some interpreters suggest, but 'to dismiss the refuse of nature.'

'To be under any one's feet' denotes the subjection of a subject to his sovereign, or of a servant to his master (Ps. viii. 6; comp. *Heb.* ii. 8; *1 Cor.* xv. 25); and was, doubtless, derived from the symbolical action of conquerors, who set their feet upon the neck or body of the chiefs whom they had vanquished, in token of their triumph. This custom is expressly mentioned in Scripture (*Josh.* x. 24), and is figured on the monuments of Egypt, Persia, and Rome. See an instance in the cut No. 215.

In like manner, 'to be at any one's feet,' is used for being at the service of any one, following him, or willingly receiving his instructions (*Judg.* iv. 10). The passage (*Acts* xxii. 3) where Paul is described as being brought up 'at the feet of Gamaliel,' will appear still clearer, if we understand that, as the Jewish writers allege, pupils actually did sit on the floor before, and therefore at the feet of the doctors of the law, who themselves were raised on an elevated seat.

'Lameness of feet' generally denotes affliction or calamity, as in Ps. xxxv. 15; xxxviii. 18; *Jer.* xx. 10; *Micah* iv. 6, 7; *Zeph.* iii. 19.

'To set one's foot' in a place signifies to take possession of it, as in *Deut.* i. 36; *xi.* 34, and elsewhere.

'To water with the feet' (*Deut.* xi. 10) implies that the soil was watered with as much ease as a garden, in which the small channels for irrigation may be turned, etc., with the foot. [GARDEN.]

An elegant phrase, borrowed from the feet, occurs in *Gal.* ii. 14, where St. Paul says, 'When I saw that they walked not uprightly'—literally, 'not with a straight foot,' or 'did not foot it straightly.'

Nakedness of feet expressed mourning (*Ezek.* xxiv. 17). This must mean appearing abroad with naked feet; for there is reason to think that the Jews never used their sandals or shoes within doors. The modern Orientals consider it disrespectful to enter a room without taking off the outer covering of their feet. It is with them equivalent to uncovering the head among Europeans. The practice of feet-washing implies a similar usage among the Hebrews [FEET, WASHING OF]. Uncovering the feet was also a mark of adoration. Moses put off his sandals to approach the burning where the presence of God was manifested (*Exod.* iii. 5). Among the modern Orientals it would be regarded the height of profanation to enter a place of worship with covered feet. The Egyptian priests officiated barefoot; and most commentators are of opinion that the Aaronite priests served with bare

feet in the tabernacle, as, according to all the Jewish writers, they did afterwards in the temple, and as the frequent washings of their feet enjoined by the law seem to imply. [SANDALS].

The passage, 'How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth glad tidings, that publisheth peace' (Is. lii. 7), appears to signify that, although the feet of messengers and travellers are usually rendered disagreeable by the soil and dust of the way, yet the feet of these blessed messengers seemed, notwithstanding, even beautiful, on account of the glad tidings which they bore.

Respecting the 'washing of feet,' see ABLUTION and WASHING.—J. K.

FOOTMEN. This is the rendering in the A. V. of two distinct Hebrew words. 1. פְּרָקִי, the pl. of פָּרָק, a foot, used as a military term to designate the infantry of an army (1 Sam. iv. 10; xv. 4; 2 Sam. x. 6; Jer. xii. 5) [ARMY], or those simply who journeyed on foot, whether soldiers or not (Exod. xii. 37; Num. xi. 21). In this latter case the word probably indicates the male portion of the company, those who walked whilst the females rode, like the Arabic رَجُل, *rajul*, a man. Sometimes the word is joined with אִישׁ, as in Judg. xx. 2.

2. רָצִים, pl. of רָץ, the part. of רוץ, to run (1 Sam. xxii. 17). In this passage the word designates the body-guard or messengers of a king; and so also in 2 Sam. xv. 1; 1 Kings i. 5; 2 Kings x. 25; xi. 4, 6, 11, 13 [A. V. 'guard']. Whether these *Ratzim* were the same as the *Pelehites* in David's guard admits of doubt; at any rate there is no direct evidence that they were. In the book of Job רָץ is used to designate a swift messenger (ix. 25), and hence a *weaver's shuttle* (vii. 6). In Esther iii. 13, 15, viii. 14, it is used to designate the messengers of the Persian kings.—W. L. A.

FORBES, PATRICK, of Corse, in Aberdeenshire, was born in 1561, and died in 1635. He studied at Glasgow and St. Andrews under the illustrious Andrew Melville. On the death of his father he succeeded to the family property, and intending to lead the life of a country gentleman, he took up his abode at Corse. Having been induced, however, by his friends to take orders, he was ordained in his 48th year, and became episcopal minister of Keith. In 1618 he was consecrated bishop of Aberdeen, in which office he conducted himself in such a manner that, to use the words of Burnet, he 'greatly allayed and almost conquered the distempered judgments and perverse and turbulent humours of divers in his diocese.' As chancellor of King's College, he did much to restore that ancient institution to vigour. He wrote *Exercitationes de Verbo Dei*; *Disputatio de versionibus vernaculis*; and a *Commentary on the Revelation*, published in 1613 (2d ed. 1614), and a translation of which into Latin appeared at Amsterdam from the pen of his distinguished son, John Forbes, in 1646. The author follows the historical scheme of interpreting the Apocalypse, desiring, 'in all singleness and sound affection,' to 'contribute his sparkle' to the illustration of that book. Like all the literary productions of his family, it displays learning, research, and ingenuity; but it cannot be

regarded as affording any very material aid towards the understanding of the book.—W. L. A.

FORD (מַעְבָּרָה; Sept. *didbaous*). The original word (from עָבַר, to pass over, cross) signifies simply a *passage*, and is used both in the singular and in the plural in reference to the mountain pass at Michmash between Seneh and Bozez (1 Sam. xiv. 4, and Is. x. 29). Most frequently it is used in the plural to denote a place of passage across a river or ford. Mention is repeatedly made of the fords of Jordan (Josh. ii. 7; Judg. iii. 28; xii. 5, 6 [passages, A. V.]). These were evidently in ancient times few in number, and well known; though now the Jordan is fordable in hundreds of places (Smith's *Dict. of Geogr.*, art. *Palastina*, p. 521). Of these, that named Bethabarah was probably the most noted [BETHABARAH]. Mention is made also of the ford (מַעְבָּרָה) of the Jabbok (Gen. xxxii. 22), and the fords of Arnon (Is. xvi. 2). Why Fürst, Knobel, and others, should suppose the word in this last passage to indicate the banks of the Arnon, including the surrounding country, does not appear. The מַעְבָּרָה of the Euphrates (Jer. li. 32) were probably the bridges across that river built by Nitocris, as the Euphrates was not fordable at Babylon (Hitzig, *Exeg. Hb.*, in loc.)—W. L. A.

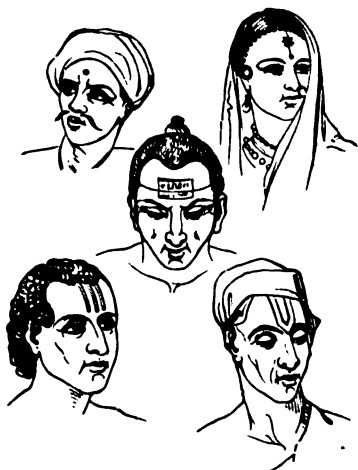
FOREHEAD. Marks upon the forehead, for the purpose of distinguishing the holy from the profane, are mentioned in Ezek. ix. 4, and again in Rev. vii. 3. These passages may be explained by reference to the customs of other nations. Thus the Rev. J. Maurice, speaking of the rites which must be performed by the Hindoos before they can enter the great pagoda, says, 'an indispensable ceremony takes place, which can only be performed by the hand of a Brahmin; and that is, the impressing of their foreheads with the *tiluk*, or mark of different colours, as they may belong either to the sect of Veeshnu or Seeva. If the temple be that of Veeshnu, their foreheads are marked with a longitudinal line, and the colour used is vermilion. If it be the temple of Seeva, they are marked with a parallel line, and the colour used is turmeric or saffron. But these two grand sects being again sub-divided into numerous classes, both the size and the shape of the *tiluk* are varied in proportion to their superior or inferior rank. In regard to the *tiluk* I must observe, that it was a custom, of very ancient date in Asia, to mark their servants. It is alluded to in these words of Ezekiel, where the Almighty commands his angels to 'Go through the midst of the city, and set a mark on the foreheads of the men who sigh for the abominations committed in the midst thereof' (ix. 4).

The classical idolaters used to consecrate themselves to particular deities on the same principle. The marks used on these occasions were various. Sometimes they contained the name of the god; sometimes his particular ensign, as the thunderbolt of Jupiter, the trident of Neptune, the ivy of Bacchus, etc.; or else they marked themselves with some mystical number whereby the god was described. Thus, the sun, who was signified by the number 608, is said to have been represented by the two numeral letters XII.

If this analogy be admitted, the mark on the forehead may be taken to be derived from the analogous custom among the heathen of bearing on

their forehead the mark of the gods whose votaries they were. Some, however, would rather understand the allusion to refer to the custom of marking cattle, and even slaves, with the sign of ownership.

There has been much speculation respecting the mark itself. It was a Jewish notion that it



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was the letter **ת**, because that was the first letter of the Hebrew word **תורה**, 'the law,' as if it pointed out those who were obedient to the sacred code; or because it was the first letter of the word **תחיה**, 'thou shalt live.' It is indeed alleged that the angel had orders to write this mysterious letter with ink upon the foreheads of the righteous, and with blood upon the foreheads of the wicked; in the one case signifying, 'thou shalt live,' and in the other, 'thou shalt die.' The early Christian commentators readily adopted the notion that the mark was the letter **ת**, but alleged that its form was that of a cross in the old Samaritan alphabet which was used in the time of Ezekiel. Indeed both Jerome and Origen distinctly allege that the letter still bore that form in their time: and although the letter does not retain that form in the present Samaritan alphabet, there is certainly evidence of its being represented on old coins by the character **ⲧ**; and another proof arises from the fact of its being represented by **T** in the Greek alphabet, which is derived from the Phœnician. It having been thus settled that the character marked on the forehead was the letter **ת** in its ancient cruciform shape, it was easy to reach the conclusion that the mark on the forehead denoted salvation by the cross of Christ.

This is very ingenious; but there is no proof that the mark was the letter **ת**, or any letter at all. The word employed is **טו** *tau*, and means simply a mark or sign (not a letter), and is so rendered in the Septuagint, the Targum, and by the best Jewish commentators. The name of the letter **ת** is, however, probably from this word, and in this fact we have perhaps the source of the conjecture. It is, however, a curious circumstance that the analogous Arabic word **توي** denotes a mark in the form of a cross, which was branded on the flanks or necks of

horses and camels (Freytag's *Lex. Arab.* s. v.) See Hävernick's *Commentar. über Ezekiel*, and Gill's *Exposition*, on Ezek. ix. 4.—J. K.

FORESKIN, the prepuce, which was taken off in circumcision. [CIRCUMCISION.]

FOREST is used in the A. V. as the equivalent of three Hebrew words. In this article it is proposed to define the true meaning of these several terms, and to identify and describe the more important localities to which the name forest is applied in Scripture.

חֹרֶשׁ. This word appears to be derived from a Chaldee root, **חָרַשׁ**, 'to be entangled,' and would therefore signify 'a thicket' of trees or bushes, such as might afford a safe hiding place (cf. 1 Sam. xxiii. 15), and such as is now often seen in Palestine on the sites of ruined cities (cf. Is. xvii. 9). Others think it comes from **חָרַט**, 'to cut into.'

The term occurs seven times in Scripture, but is only once rendered *forest*—'In the forests (Sept. *ἐν τοῖς δρυμοῖς*) he built castles and towers' (2 Chron. xxvii. 4). The locality here referred to appears to be the south of Judah, where the mountains were formerly, and are in places still, clothed with dwarf oaks and tangled shrubberies.

פֶּרֶדִּים is found only three times in the Bible, and is once translated *forest*. In Neh. ii. 8 Asaph is called 'the keeper of the king's forest' (Sept. *ροῦ παρὰ βασιλεως*). **פֶּרֶדִּים**, like the Arabic **فردوس**, and the Greek *παράδεισος*, means an *enclosed garden or plantation* attached to a palace, intended either for ornament or for containing animals of the chase (Eccles. ii. 5; Cant. iv. 13; *Xenoph. Cyrop.* i. 3. 12).

עֵרָה and **עֵרָה**. This term occurs very often, and is usually rendered *forest*, though occasionally *wood* (Deut. xix. 5). It signifies *redundancy or luxuriance*, such as is seen in the growth of forest trees. It is the name given to all the great primeval forests of Syria, where the stately trees grew (Eccl. ii. 6; Is. xlv. 14), and where the wild beasts had their homes (Jer. v. 6; Micah v. 8). Hosea appears to use it as equivalent to the Arabic **وعر**, a *rugged and desolate place* (ii. 12), 'I will destroy her vines and her fig-trees . . . and I will make them a *forest*, and the beasts of the field shall eat them.'

The following are the most noted forests mentioned in the O. T.:

1. 'The forest of Hareth' (1 Sam. xxii. 5). The Sept. gives this passage *ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀριδθ*, having doubtless mistaken **עֵרָה** for **עֵרָה**. The precise locality of Hareth is not mentioned. It was somewhere in the south of Judah; and a comparison with 1 Sam. xxiii. 15 would seem to indicate that it was near Ziph, a few miles south-east of Hebron.

2. 'The forest (wood) of Ephraim' (2 Sam. xviii. 6; Sept. *δρυμὸν*). It was here the army of Absalom was defeated, and he himself slain. It lay near, probably a little to the west of, the town of Mahanaim, where David had his head-quarters, and where he received the first tidings of the fate of his son (xvii. 26; xviii. 24). Why a forest east of the Jordan should bear the name *Ephraim* cannot now be determined; but one thing is certain,

in the noble oaks which still clothe the hills of Gilead north of the Jabbok, we see the remnants of 'the Wood of Ephraim,' and the representatives of that 'great oak' in one of whose branches Absalom was strangely imprisoned (xviii. 9; See *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*, pp. 311, 314).

3. 'The forest of Carmel.' This phrase is used in 2 Kings xix. 23, and Is. xxxvii. 24, in reference to the same event, the ravages committed by the army of Sennacherib on the land of Israel—'I am come up to the height of the mountains, to the sides of Lebanon; and I will cut down the tall cedars thereof, and the choice fir-trees thereof; and I will enter into the height of his border, the forest of his Carmel.' The real meaning of the last clause, *יער כרמלו*, seems to be *its garden forest*; that is, the garden-like cedar forests of Lebanon, to which reference is made (See Keil on Kings, and Alexander on Isaiah, *in loc.*)

4. 'In the forest in Arabia' occurs in Is. xxi. 13. The phrase is remarkable, because Arabia is a country singularly destitute of trees. In no part of it are there any traces of forests. The Sept. translates the passage *ἐν τῷ ἄρῳ ἐστρέπας*; and Lowth and others adopt it; but the Masoretic reading is preferable. The meaning of the word *ער* in this place is probably the same as that of the Arabic *وعر*, a rugged region, whether wooded or not.

5. 'The house of the forest of Lebanon' is several times mentioned. It appears to have been a part of the royal palace built by Solomon at Jerusalem, and used as an armoury (1 Kings vii. 2, sq.; x. 17-21; 2 Chron. ix. 16-20). The house had 'four rows of cedar pillars, with cedar beams upon the pillars, and it was covered with cedar above upon the beams.' Hence, in all probability, its name (See Keil, *in loc.*)

6. In Zech. xi. 2 there is a singular expression: 'Howl, O ye oaks of Bashan, for the forest of the vintage is come down.' The Hebrew *יער הכנור* rather signifies 'the fortified forest' (Vulgate, *saltus munitus*), and it is probable that Jerusalem is thus figuratively alluded to, the houses of which are close together as the trees of a forest (cf. Micah iii. 12. Henderson on the Minor Prophets, *in loc.*) The word *forest* is frequently used symbolically to denote a city, kingdom, or government, as in Is. x. 18; xxxii. 19; Jer. xxi. 14, etc.

There are still some remnants of ancient oak forests on the mountains of Bashan, Gilead, Hermon, and Galilee. One solitary grove of cedars exists on Lebanon; but fir trees are there abundant. The other forests of Palestine (2 Kings ii. 23; 1 Sam. xiv. 25; vii. 2, etc.) have almost disappeared. Yet here and there one meets with a solitary oak or terebinth of huge dimensions, as at Hebron, valley of Elah, Shiloh, and Dan. These are the last trees of the forests, and serve to indicate what the forests of Palestine once were. See Stanley, *S. and P.*, pp. 121, 314, 354, 1st ed.; *Handbook for S. and P.*, pp. 70, 311, 322, 444, 512, etc.; Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*; Lord Lindsay's *Travels*.—J. L. P.

FORETELLING FUTURE EVENTS. [PROPHECY, vol. iii. p. 585.]

FORNICATION. In Scripture this word occurs more frequently in its symbolical than in its ordinary sense.

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In the Prophets woman is often made the symbol of the church or nation of the Jews, which is regarded as affianced to Jehovah by the covenant on Mount Sinai. In Ezek. xvi. there is a long description of that people under the symbol of a female child, growing up to the stature of a woman, and then wedded to Jehovah by entering into covenant with him. Therefore when the Israelites acted contrary to that covenant, by forsaking God and following idols, they were very properly represented by the symbol of a harlot or adulteress, offering herself to all comers (Is. i. 21; Jer. ii. 20; Ezek. xvi.; Hos. i. 2; iii. 11). And thus fornication, or adultery (which is fornication in a married state), became, and is used as, the symbol of idolatry itself (Jer. iii. 8, 9; Ezek. xvi. 26, 29; xxiii. 37). See Wemyss's *Clavis Symb.*, art. 'Woman.'

FORSKAL, PETER, born 1736, was educated at Göttingen, and after residing for some time at Upsala and Stockholm, became professor at Copenhagen. His knowledge of Oriental languages, and his eminence as a naturalist, led to his being appointed by the King of Denmark to be one of those sent by him in 1761 to visit Arabia, and report on its inhabitants, productions, geography, etc. He died at Jerim, a town of Yemen, 11th July 1763. His companion, H. Niebuhr, published from his papers, after his death, his *Descriptiones animalium, avium, etc., quæ in itinere Orient. observavit*, Kopenh. 1775; and *Flora Ægypt. Arab.*, etc., *Ibid.* 1775. These works furnish valuable helps to the elucidation of the natural history of the Bible.—W. L. A.

FORSTER, JOHANN, was born at Augsburg in 1495, and died at Wittenberg, December 8, 1556. He was the intimate friend of Luther, Melancthon, and Reuchlin, and was a warm advocate of the reformed doctrines. He was Professor of Hebrew in the University of Wittenberg, and enjoyed a high reputation as a teacher of that language. He was the author of a Hebrew lexicon, which claims to be mentioned with respect on account of the service it rendered in emancipating the study of this language from the fetters imposed by Rabbinical authority. A full description of this work is given by Orme, *Bibl.-Bibl.*, and long extracts from the preface may be found in Buddeus, *Isagoge*, p. 1451. Its title is, *Dictionarium Hebraicum Novum, non ex Rabbinorum Commentis nec nostratium Doctorum stulta imitatione descriptum sed ex ipsis thesauris Sacrorum Bibliorum, et eorundem accurata locorum collatione depromptum, cum phrasibus Scripturæ Veteris et Novi Testamenti diligenter annotatis*; Basil, 1557, fol.—S. N.

FORSTER, JOHANN, Professor of theology at Wittenberg, and Superintendent-General of the county of Mansfeld, and who died in 1613, was the author of the following commentaries:

1. *Dixodus exodi, auslegung des andern Buchs Mose in hundert und vierzehn predigten*, Witt. 1614, fol., and 1625, 4to. 2. *Commentarius in Esaiam*; Witteb., 4to, 1620, 1664, 1699. 3. *Commentarius in prophetam Jeremiam in quo non tantum adcurata analysis textus et conspectus totius contextus exegesis sed etiam varium singulorum capitulum et omnium in iisdem prophetiarum usus exhibentur*. This last was published by J. Deutschmann, 1772 and 1799, 4to.—S. N.

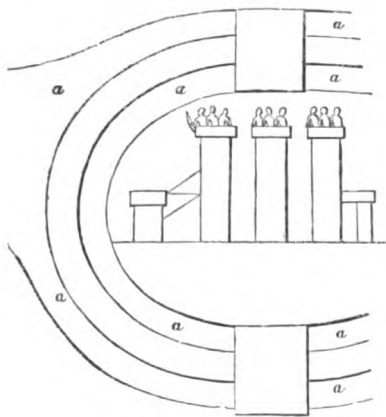
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FORTIFICATIONS. 'FENCED CITIES.'
Inventions for the defence of men in social life are older than history. The walls, towers, and gates



242.

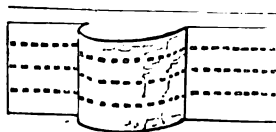
represented on Egyptian monuments, though dating back to a period of fifteen centuries before the Christian era, bear evidence of an advanced state of fortifications—of walls built of squared stones, or of squared timber judiciously placed on the summit of scarped rocks, or within the circumference of one or two wet ditches, and furnished on the summit with regular battlements to protect the defenders. All these are of later invention than the accumulation of unhewn or rudely chipped uncemented stones, piled on each other in the form of walls, in the so-called Cyclopean, Pelasgian, Etruscan, and Celtic styles, where there are no ditches, or towers, or other gateways than mere openings occasionally left between the enormous blocks employed in the work. As the three first styles occur in Etruria, they shew the progressive advance of military architecture, and may be considered as more primitive, though perhaps posterior to the era when the progress of Israel, under the guidance of Joshua, expelled several Canaanitish tribes, whose system of civilization, in common with that of the rest of Western Asia, bore an Egyptian type, and whose towers and battlements were remarkably high, or rather were erected in very elevated situations. When, therefore, the Israelites entered Palestine, we may assume that the 'fenced cities' they had to attack were, according to their degree of antiquity,



243. [a. Wet ditches.]

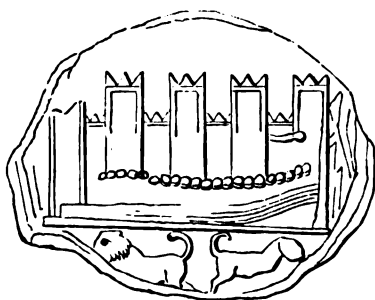
fortified with more or less of art, but all with huge stones in the lower walls, like the Etruscan. Indeed, Asia Minor, Armenia, Syria, and even Jeru-

salem, still bear marks of this most ancient system, notwithstanding that this region, the connecting link between Asia and Africa, between the trade of the East and the West, and between the religious feelings of the whole earth, has been the common battle-field of all the great nations of antiquity, and of modern times, where ruin and desolation, oftentimes repeated, have been spread over every habit-



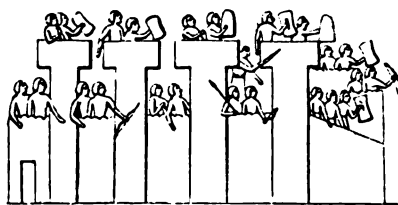
244.

able place. Stones from six to fifty feet in length, with suitable proportions, can still be detected in many walls of the cities of those regions, wherever



245.

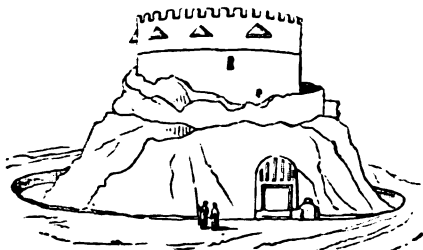
quarries existed, from Nineveh, where beneath the surface there still remain ruins and walls of huge stones, sculptured with bas-reliefs, originally painted, to Babylon and Bassorah, where bricks, sun-dried or baked, and stamped with letters, are yet found, as well as in all the plains of the rivers where that material alone could be easily procured. The wall,



246.

חומה *choma*, was sometimes double or triple (2 Chron. xxxii. 5), successively girding a rocky elevation; and 'building a city' originally meant the construction of the wall.

Before wall-towers, **מגדלות** *migdaloth*, were introduced, the gate of a city, originally single, formed a kind of citadel, and was the strongest part of all the defences: it was the armoury of the community, and the council-house of the authorities. 'Sitting in the gate' was, and still is, synonymous with the possession of power, and even now there is commonly in the fortified gate of a royal palace in the East, on the floor above the doorway, a council-room with a kind of balcony, whence the sovereign sometimes sees his people, and where he may sit in judgment. Hence the Turkish government is not unfrequently termed *the Porte*, and in this sense allusion to gates often occurs in the Scriptures. The tower, **צריח** *tsaroch*, was another fortification of the earliest date, being often the citadel or last retreat when a city was taken; or, standing alone in some naturally strong position, was intended to protect a frontier, command a pass, or to be a place of refuge and deposit of



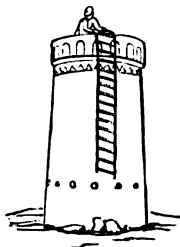
247.

treasure in the mountains, when the plain should be no longer defensible. Some of these are figured among the Egyptian monuments, and in the west of England the round towers of Launceston, Restormel, Trematon, and Plympton, shew that similar means of defence were once employed by the Celts of this island, who may have derived their knowledge from Phœnician or Carthaginian traders. Watch-towers, **מזפח** *mizpah*, and **טירה** *terah*, **טירות** *teroth*, used by shepherds all over Asia, and even now built on eminences above some city in the plain, in order to keep a look-out upon the distant country, were already in use and occasionally converted into places of defence (2 Chron. xxvi. 10; xxvii. 4). The gateways were closed by ponderous folding doors, **שער** *shaer*, **שערים** *shaerim*, the valves or folds, **דלתים** *delethim*, being secured by wooden bars: both the doors and bars were in after times plated with metal. A ditch, **חל** *hal*, where the nature of the locality required it, was dug in front of the rampart, and sometimes there was an inner wall, with a second ditch before it. As the experience of ages increased, huge 'counter forts,' double buttresses, or masses of solid stone and masonry (not bulwarks*) were built in particular parts to sustain the outer wall, and afford space on the summit to place military engines (2 Chron. xxvi. 15).

As there was no system of construction strictly

* Bulwark, from the Dutch *bolwerk*, anciently called a mound, and in the 16th century always referable to bastion. Buttresses of the kind above mentioned still exist in the Celto-Roman walls at Pevensey in Sussex.

so called, but simply an application of the means of defence to the localities, no uniformity of adaptation existed, and, therefore, we refer to No. 242 of our illustrations, representing some primeval fable of the rats besieging the cats in their strong tower, where regular hewn courses of stones in the walls shew skill in structure, and the inclined jambs of the door, with double impost, experience in obviating a too great pressure from above. In



248.

the following cut (No. 249), taken from another Egyptian work, we have a series of towers, that in the middle being evidently the citadel or keep, and a gateway indicating that the wall is omitted, or is intended by the lines of the oval surrounding the whole. In No. 242 there is a scaling-ladder. In No. 249 we see a regular labarum, the most ancient example extant of this form of ensign, and the towers are manned with armed soldiers. In No. 243, another towered fortress, garrisoned with troops, is surrounded by a double ditch, and approached by bridges, both in front and rear. This representation refers to a city in Asia, attacked by one of the Egyptian conquering kings, anterior to the rise of the Assyrian and Babylonish power. No. 245 is taken from a seal, and is a symbol of Babylon, where the city, sustained by two lions, is shewn standing on both sides of the Euphrates, having an outer wall; the inner rampart is flanked by numerous elevated and embattled towers. There is another, but less antique representation of Babylon, with its lions and towers, etc.; but the battlements are squared, not pointed, as in the first. Not very different from these double walls are those represented in the Egyptian painting copied in No. 246. The towers are here crowded with soldiers, some of whom, from the form of their shields, are obviously Egyptians. These are sufficient to give a



249.

general idea of cities fenced entirely by art; but in No. 247 we give the *Tsaroch* tower, taken from one still extant in Persia, shewing a ditch and gateway below in the mound or rock, its double outer walls and inner keep, very like Launceston castle. This was the kind of citadel which defended

passes, and in the mountains served for retreat in times of calamity, and for the security of the royal treasures; and it was on account of the confined space within, and the great elevation of the ramparts, that private houses frequently stood upon their summit, as was the case when the harlot Rahab received Joshua's spies in Jericho (Josh. ii. 1).—C. H. S.

FORTUNATUS (Φορτυνάτος), a disciple of Corinth, of Roman birth or origin, as his name indicates, who visited Paul at Ephesus, and returned, along with Stephanas and Achaicus, in charge of that apostle's first Epistle to the Corinthian church; B.C. 59 (1 Cor. xvi. 17).

FOUNTAIN. A greater uniformity in the translation of Hebrew terms would have contributed much to the clearness of many passages in the A. V. This remark is especially applicable to the word *fountain*. For example the term בְּיַר or בֵּיַר, is rendered 'fountain' in Jer. vi. 7; 'As a fountain (Sept. λάκκος), casteth out her waters.' Its literal meaning, like its cognate Arab. بئر, is 'well' or 'pit,' from באר, Arab. بار, 'to dig.' It may have living water or not; but it does not convey the idea of water at all.

מִבְּנֵי is also translated *fountain*, in Eccl. xii. 6 (Sept. πηγή). In the two other places where it is used, the A. V. has 'spring' (Is. xxxv. 7; xlix. 10). It signifies a 'source' or 'spring' of water, from the root נבע, Arab. نبع, 'to gush or bubble forth.'

מִקְוֵה, from the root קר, 'to dig a well,' is rendered *fountain* in many passages, but mostly in a figurative sense; as 'fountain of life' (Prov. xiii. 14); 'fountain of wisdom' (xviii. 4), etc.

עַיִן or מַעַיִן is the only proper equivalent for our word *fountain*. Its original signification is 'eye,' and so it is used in the vast majority of cases in Scripture; but it is also frequently employed to denote a *fountain of living water* (Gen. xvi. 7). Its force and meaning are unfortunately sometimes obscured by the rendering in the A. V., 'well;' as in Exod. xv. 27; in Elim 'were twelve wells of water;' that is, not artificial wells, but *natural fountains*, as still seen in Wady Ghurundel (Bartlett's *Forty Days in the Desert*, p. 43).

Some of the fountains of Palestine are of great size and beauty. All the perennial rivers and streams in the country have their sources in fountains, and draw comparatively little strength from surface water. Such are the fountains of the Jordan at Dan and Banias; of the Abana at Fijeh and Zebedany; of the Leontes at Chalcis and Baalbek; of the Orontes at Ain and Lebweh; of the Adonis at Afka, etc. Palestine is a country of mountains and hills; and it abounds in fountains of lesser note. The murmur of their waters is heard in every dell; and the luxuriant foliage which surrounds them is seen on every plain. They have given names to many of its cities and villages; as *En-shemesh*, and *En-gedi*, and *En-tappuah*, and *Enon*. Advantage was taken of these fountains to supply some of the great cities of Palestine with water. An aqueduct some ten miles in length brought water to Jerusalem from a fountain near Solomon's Pools. A much longer

one conveyed an abundant supply to Damascus, from the great fountain at Fijeh. But perhaps the most remarkable works of this kind are at Tyre, where several copious springs were surrounded with massive walls, so as to raise the water to a sufficient height. Aqueducts, supported on arches, then conveyed it to the city. (See *Handbook for S. and P.*, pp. 142, 555, 390).

Palestine can also boast of several warm fountains, famous from time immemorial for their medicinal properties. They are confined to the volcanic valley of the Jordan. The most celebrated are those of Tiberias (or Hammath, Josh. xix. 35), Amatha, near the ruins of Gadara, and Callirhoe, on the north-eastern shore of the Dead Sea. They are all strongly impregnated with sulphur. The temperature of that of Tiberias is 144° Fahr. (*Handbook for S. and P.*, pp. 310, 320, 423; Plin. *Hist. Nat.*, v. 15; Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 3; Bell. *Jud.* i. 33. 5; Lightfoot, *Opp.* ii. 224).

Fountains are much more rare on the eastern side of the Jordan, than on the western. There are a few among the mountains of Gilead; but in the great plateaus of Moab on the south, and Bashan on the north, they are almost unknown. This arises in part from the physical structure of the country, and in part from the dryness of the climate. Huge cisterns and tanks were constructed to supply the want of fountains.—J. L. P.

FWOL [BIRD; COCK.]



FOWLING. The act of taking birds by means of nets, snares, decoys, etc., is frequently alluded to in Scripture, mostly in a figurative and moral way. Birds of various kinds abound, and no doubt abounded, in ancient times, in Palestine. Canon Stanley speaks of 'countless birds of all kinds, aquatic fowls by the lake side, partridges and pigeons hovering, as on the Nile bank, over the rich plains of Genesareth' (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. 427). The capture of these for the table or other uses, would, we might expect, form the employment of many persons, and lead to the adoption of various methods to effect it. Hence

We read of the '*snares*,' נֶטֶס, Ps. xci. 3; cxxiv.

7; Hos. ix. 8: and of the '*net*,' נֶטֶס, Prov. i. 17;

Hos. vii. 11: 'of the fowler,' יֹקֵשׁ or יִקְשֵׁשׁ =

snares. In Hos. v. 1, both net and snare are mentioned together. The *mokēsh* (מוֹקֵשׁ) is used synonymously with the *paḥ*, Amos iii. 5. This was employed for taking either beasts or birds. It was a trap set in the path, Prov. vii. 23; xxii. 5; or hidden on or in the ground, Ps. cxl. 6; cxlii. 4. 'The form of this springe, or trap net, appears from two passages, Amos iii. 5, and Ps. lix. 23. It was in two parts, which, when set, were spread out upon the ground, and slightly fastened with a stick (trap-stick), so that as soon as a bird or beast touched the stick, the parts flew up and inclosed the bird in the net, or caught the foot of the animal. Thus Amos iii. 5, 'Doth a bird fall into a snare upon the ground, when there is no trap-stick for her? doth the snare spring from the ground and take nothing at all? i.e., does anything happen without a cause?' [But here the *Mokēsh*, rendered 'trap-stick,' is synonymous with the *paḥ*, or snare.] Ps. lix. 23, 'Let their table be-

fore them become a snare;' here the  is the Oriental cloth or leather spread upon the ground like a net (Robinson's *Gen.*) The  was a net

spread or cast over the bird or beast to be caught. 'My net also will I spread upon him, Ezek. xii. 13; see also Ezek. xvii. 20; xix. 8; xxxii. 3. Considerable dexterity must have been required in the management of it.

There seems to be a reference to the decoy in Jer. v. 27—'As a cage full of birds, so are their houses of deceit'—same birds being placed in the trap cage to entice the wild which were caught by this stratagem.

We do not read of any other mode of fowling spoken of, or referred to, in the Bible; yet, most probably, the Egyptian method, described by Wilkinson, was not only known, but employed by fowlers in Palestine:—'Fowling was one of the great amusements of all classes. Those who followed this amusement for their livelihood used nets and traps; but the amateur sportsman pursued his game in the thickets, and felled them with the throw-stick, priding himself on his dexterity in its use. The bow was not employed for this purpose, nor was the sling adopted, except by gardeners and peasants, to frighten the birds from the vineyards and fields. The throw-stick was made of heavy wood, and flat, so as to offer little resistance to the air in its flight; and the distance to which an expert arm could throw it was considerable; though they always endeavoured to approach the birds as near as possible, under cover of the bushes and reeds. It was from one foot and a quarter to two feet in length, and about one and a half inch in breadth, slightly curved at the upper end; but in no instance had it the round shape and flight of the Australian Boomerang.

'On their fowling excursions they usually proceeded with a party of friends and attendants, sometimes accompanied by the members of their family, and even by their young children, to the jungles and thickets of the marsh-lands, or to the lakes of their own grounds, which, especially during the inundation, abounded with fowl; and seated in punts made of the papyrus, they glided, without disturbing the birds, amidst the lofty reeds that grow in the water, and masked their approach.

The attendants collected the game as it fell, and one of them was always ready to hand a fresh stick to the chasseur as soon as he had thrown. They frequently took with them a decoy-bird, and, in order to keep it to its post, a female was selected, whose nest, containing eggs, was deposited in the boat.'

'A favourite cat sometimes attended them on these occasions, and performed the part of a retriever, amidst the thickets on the bank' (*Pop. Acc. of the Ancient Egyptians*, i. 234-8).

A word must be added on a Mosaic regulation as to birds. In Deut. xxii. 6, 7, whoever finds a bird's nest is permitted to take the eggs, or the young, but forbidden to take the dam with them. This law breathes a spirit of wisdom and benevolence; being obviously designed to prevent the extermination of any species of birds, which would be an injury in a country where annoying and destructive insects abound; and, at the same time, supplying a check to their undue increase, which would itself prove an evil,—a regulation which ignorance and stupid prejudice have often overlooked

or violated, with the natural disastrous results (See Kitto's *Pict. Bib.* in loc.)—I. J.

FOX. [SHUAL]

FRANCKE, AUGUSTUS HERMANN, a zealous philanthropist and learned theologian, founder of the celebrated Orphan House at Halle, was born at Lübeck, 1663, and carefully and religiously educated by his parents. At Gotha he passed through the gymnasium, and in 1679 visited the university of Eriurt, where he applied himself to the study of Hebrew. Six months afterwards he visited the university of Kiel, prosecuting with renewed vigour his favourite studies. At Hamburg he enjoyed for two months the instructions of the celebrated Hebraist, Esra Edzardi, who urged him to read the Hebrew original in course; in compliance with which advice he read through the Hebrew Bible seven times in one year. In 1684 he accompanied, as companion and Hebrew teacher, a young man to the university of Leipsic, where he had further opportunity of enlarging his stores of knowledge, and acquired the Italian and Rabbinic languages. Soon afterwards he enjoyed the privilege of receiving the instructions of C. H. Sandhagen in Scripture interpretation at Lüneberg, where his mind passed through a deeper spiritual change than he had before experienced; religion gained an entire influence over him, and he consecrated himself wholly to God. On his return to Leipsic, he lectured on the epistles of Paul with distinguished success, until envy raised an outcry against him, and his lectures were prohibited by the Theological Faculty, 1690. The same year he was appointed to the Diaconate of the Augustine Church at Erfurt, and by his earnest, fervent discourses, attracted crowds, but envy and malice again prevailed. The enemies of truth clamoured against him, and he was ordered by an Electoral rescript to quit the city. In 1691 he was appointed Professor of the Greek and Oriental languages in the university of Halle, to which the pastorate of the Church of St. George, in a suburb of Halle, was added. In 1698 he became Professor of Theology in the same university, in which office he continued till his death in 1727, in the 64th year of his age. His labours as pastor, professor, and philanthropist, were incessant, and at length wore him out. But, estimated by his works in his Master's service, his life was a long one. His principal productions in the department of biblical science are as follow:—1. *Manuductio ad Lectionem Scripturæ Sacre*, Halae, 1693, etc., translated into English by Mr. Jacques under the title of, *A guide to the reading of the Holy Scriptures*, London, 1813. 2. *Pnektionen Hermeneuticæ ad viam dextræ indagandi et exponendi Sensus Scripturæ Sacre*, etc., Halae, 1717. 3. *Commentatio de Scopo Librorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, Halae, 1724. 4. *Christus S. Scripturæ Nucleus*, etc., translated from the German into Latin by H. Grischovius, Halae, 1724. 5. *Introductio ad Lectionem Prophetarum*, 1. *Generalis*; 11. *Specialis ad Lectionem Jona quæ in reliquis exemplo esse possit: Utrâque directâ ad Comparandum et prophetis agnitionem Jesu Christi*, Halae, 1724.—I. J.

FRANKFURTER, MOSES B. SIMEON. This distinguished Hebraist flourished between 1700 and 1762, was judge of the Jewish community, and a celebrated typographer in Amsterdam, and

wrote glosses on the Pentateuch, which he called *מנחה קטנה*, a *small offering*; on Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Joel, Amos, and Jonah, which he denominated *מנחה גדולה*, a *great offering*; and on the Psalms, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and Chronicles, which he called *מנחת הערב*, an *evening offering*. The work, however, which immortalized Frankfurter's name, is *The Great Rabbinic Bible*, over which he spent the greater part of his life, and which he edited with the utmost care. The scholarship, the perseverance, and the fortune required to edit this work, and its great utility to the Biblical student, may be judged of from the following analysis of its contents. This gigantic work is called *קהלת משה*, the *Congregation of Moses*, and was published in Amsterdam in 1724-1727, four volumes royal folio.

The first volume, embracing the Pentateuch (תורה), begins with an *Index Rerum*, and a Treatise on the design of the Law by Obadiah Seforno; a general Introduction; an Index of all the chapters, and another of all the sections of the O. T., giving the commencement of the verses; Introductions by Chaskuni, Levi b. Gershon, Seforno, and Ibn Ezra. Then follow the five books of Moses in Hebrew and Chaldee by Onkelos, in two parallel columns, surrounded by the Massora, Commentaries of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Levi b. Gershon, Jacob b. Asher (*Baal Ha-Turim*), Chaskuni, Jacob de Illescas (*אמרי נעים*), Seforno, and Frankfurter (*קומץ משנה*), the editor.

The second volume, comprising the earlier Prophets (*נביאים ראשונים*), i. e., Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, begins with Prefaces of David Kimchi, Levi b. Gershon, Samuel b. Laniado, Frankfurter, etc. Whereupon follow the Hebrew and the Chaldee, with Commentaries by Rashi, D. Kimchi, Levi b. Gershon, Samuel b. Laniado (*כלי יקר*), Frankfurter (*מנחה קטנה*), and notes on Judges and Samuel by Isaiah de Trani. At the end of Judges (p. 97, etc.), are added the notes of

Aaron b. Chajim, called *לב אהרן*, the *heart of Aaron*, on Joshua and Judges; and at the end of Samuel (p. 278, etc.), are Meier Arama's notes on Isaiah and Jeremiah, called *אורים ותמים*, *light and perfection*.

The third volume, comprising the later Prophets (*נביאים אחרונים*), i. e., Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor Prophets, begins with Prefaces by a grandson of Laniado, Frankfurter, and Be-Rab, then follow the Hebrew text and the Chaldee Paraphrase, surrounded by the Massora and the Commentaries of Rashi and D. Kimchi, which extend over all the books in this volume; of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah and the minor Prophets; Be-Rab (*לקוטי שושנים*) on Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the minor Prophets; Meier Arama (*אורים ותמים*) on Isaiah and Jeremiah; Samuel Laniado (*כלי פז*) on Isaiah; Frankfurter (*מנחה גדולה*) on Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Joel, Amos, and Jonah; Almosino on Hosea, Habakkuk, and Micah; and Seforno on Jonah, Habakkuk, and Zechariah.

The fourth volume, comprising the Hagiographa (*כתובים*), i. e., the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, the Five Megilloth, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, begins with Prefaces of Ibn Ezra, Frankfurter, Ibn Jachja, and then follow the Hebrew

text and the Chaldee Paraphrase, with Commentaries of (1.) *Rashi* on the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles; (2.) *Ibn Ezra* on the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles; (3.) *Ibn Jachja* on the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles; (4.) *Seforno* on the Psalms, Job, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes; (5.) *Jaabez* (תורת חסד) on the Psalms, Job, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles; (6.) *Levi b. Gershon* on Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ruth, Esther, Daniel; (7.) *Frankfurter* (*מנחת ערב*) on Proverbs, Ruth, Esther, and Chronicles; (8.) *D. Kimchi* on Daniel and Chronicles; (9.) *Menachem Ha-Mieri* on Proverbs; (10.) *David Ibn Jachja* on Proverbs; (11.) *Nachmanides* on Proverbs; (12.) *Farissol* on Job; (13.) *Simon Duran* (*אורח משפט*) on Job; (14.) *Meier Arama* on the Song of Songs; (15.) *Saadia* on Daniel; and (16.) *Samuel Alepo* on Psalms cxix.-cxxxiv.

Whereupon follow the Great Massora, the various readings of the Eastern and Western Codd., a Treatise upon the Accents, and the differences between Ben-Asher and Ben-Naphthali. This work, as will be seen from its contents, constitutes in itself a library of Biblical literature and exegesis, and is indispensable to the historico-critical expositor.—C. D. G.

FRANKINCENSE. [LEBONAH.]

FRANZ or FRANZIUS, WOLFGANG, a theologian of the 16th century, was born at Plauen in Saxony, 1564. He studied at Frankfurt on the Oder, attended the university of Wittenberg for several years, where he took his degrees, and was appointed professor of history there, 1598. In 1601 he became superintendent at Kempsberg. He returned to Wittenberg in 1605, was elected professor of theology, and died there of apoplexy, 1620. He was a voluminous writer on theology. Among other books, he wrote *Tractatus theologicus de interpretatione S. S. Scripturarum maxime legitima*, Wittenberg, 1634, 4to; *Animalium historia sacra*, 1612, 8vo, Wittenberg, a work often reprinted, and very valuable. The best edition is that of Frankfurt, 1712, five parts in four vols. 4to. This contains Cyprian's continuation. The work was translated into English (1670), as well as into German and Dutch.—S. D.

FRASER, JAMES. Born 1700, he became eventually minister of Alness, and died 1769. His work appeared under the title of *The Scripture Doctrine of Sanctification*, but is in truth a 'Critical Explication and Paraphrase of the sixth and seventh chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, and the four first verses of the eighth chapter.' The work was edited, for it appeared posthumously, by Dr. Erskine of Edinburgh, who spoke of Fraser, and with justice, 'as a learned and ingenious author.' The commentary is marked by close and careful reasoning. He holds and argues that chap. vii. 14-25 is descriptive, not of a state of unregeneracy, but of a state of grace. It is perhaps the ablest argument in support of this view.—W. H. G.

FRENCH VERSIONS. There is every reason to believe that researches, judiciously and per-

everingly directed, would be rewarded by the discovery of a large amount of activity expended on the translation of the Scriptures into the language of the people of France from a very early period. What is really known, however, on this subject anterior to the period of the Reformation, is very partial, and in some instances of doubtful authenticity. We may gather from the conciliar edicts prohibiting the use of translations of the sacred books in the vulgar tongue, that such existed as early as the beginning of the 13th century (*Acta Concil. Tolos.* 1229, c. 14, ap. Mansi xxiil. 197; comp. those also of the Synod of Tarragona in 1234, and Beziers in 1246), and even as early as 1109, Pope Innocent III. had heard that 'evangelia, epistolas Pauli, moralia Job, et plures alios libros in Gallico sermone,' were in use among the Albigenes (*Epist.*, ed. Baluz. i. 432); but we are very much in the dark as to the character of these translations, or the source whence they emanated. Writers on the Waldensian Church assert the existence of translations in the Romance dialect possessed by that church anterior to the 12th century (Monastier, *History of the Vaudois*, p. 73; Henderson, *The Vaudois*, p. 248; Gilly, *The Romantic Version of the Gospel of St. John*, etc., Lond. 1848); but the evidence on which this is advanced does not stand the test of a thorough scrutiny. In the *Nobla Leyron*, which contains the religious belief of that church, there are several citations of Scripture, but there is no evidence that these are made from any extant version; and at any rate this work cannot be placed earlier than the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century (Hallam, *Hist. of Literature*, i. 26). Walter de Mapes says, that, during the Pontificate of Alexander III. (1159-1181), he was present at a synod at Rome where certain Waldensians presented to the Pope a book written in the Gallic tongue, 'in quo textus et glossa Psalterii plurimorumque legis utriusque librorum continebatur' (*De Nugis Curial.*, p. 64, Camden Society ed.; Usher, *De Chr. Eccles. Success.*, Opp. ed. Elrington, ii. 244); but it is doubtful whether any part of this was in the vernacular except the gloss, which in a translation would be of little use. That Peter Valdo himself possessed a vernacular translation of the Scriptures has been asserted; but when examined this tradition resolves itself into the fact that he requested a grammarian, Stephanus de Ansa, to supply him with a translation of the Gospels and other books of the Bible, 'et auctoritates sanctorum;' but whether it was a 'textus cum glossa,' or 'sententias per titulos congregatas,' the witnesses leave uncertain. From what Reiner says (ap. Usher, *l.c.*), 'Cum esset [Valdus] aliquantulum literatus, Novi Testamenti textum docuit eos vulgariter,' the presumption is that no vernacular version existed, but that Valdo in preaching translated for his hearers, *i.e.*, probably gave them the glosses which Stephanus had collected for him. Inthemius, however, expressly says, 'libros sacræ Scripturæ maxime Novi Testamenti sibi in linguam Gallicam fecit transferri' (*Annal. Hirsauensis*, ann. 1160, vol. i. p. 442). The MSS. of the Waldensian versions preserved at Zürich, Grenoble, Dublin, and Paris, are not of an earlier date than the 16th century, nor can the version they present claim any high antiquity. That vernacular versions of the N. T., and portions of the Old, existed among the so-called Sectaries of the south of France from an

early period does not admit of doubt; but we are not in circumstances to say anything definite concerning them. Dr. Gilly (p. xxii.) has called attention to the curious fact that an English ecclesiastic in 1345 disposed by will of a copy of the Romance Bible, 'Bibulam (Bibulum?) in Romanam linguam translata' (*Publications of Surtees Soc.* for 1836, vol. ii. p. 10). In the library of the Académie des Arts at Lyons, there is a codex containing the N. T. in Romance, to which is appended the liturgy of the Cathari, indicating its origin among them (Gieseler, *Church Hist.* iii. 409). In the north of France also we have some clear traces of vernacular copies of the Scriptures. A translation of the four books of Kings in the dialect of the north of France (*langue d'Oïl*) has been published (Paris 1841, 4to) by M. Leroux de Lincy, who attributes it to the 12th century. M. Reuss has examined and described in the *Revue de Strasbourg*, iv. 1 ff., a codex preserved in the library of that city, which contains in the same dialect, somewhat varied, the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges, with the *Glossa ordinaria et interlinearis* [GLOSSES], and the rest of the historical books of the O. T. with the Psalter without the gloss. As respects the translation said to have been executed, cir. 1250, for Saint Lewis, that of Du Vignier (cir. 1340), that of De Sy (1350), and that of Vaudetar (1372), we can say nothing more than that tradition asserts that such did once exist.

Of translations of parts of Scripture, chiefly the Psalters, into the more modern French, a large number exist in MS., of which a copious list is given by Le Long in his *Bibliotheca Sacra*. About the year 1380 a translation was undertaken by command of Charles V. of France by Raoul de Prailles, of which more than one copy exists. Le Long gives a description of a codex containing it, with some extracts, by way of specimen, of the language; and there is another MS. of it in the British Museum, of which a full description is given in the *Bibliotheca Lansdowniana*, p. 284, ff. The version in these codices does not go beyond Proverbs.

Emerging from these obscurer regions of inquiry we come to those versions which have been printed, and of which it is possible to give a certain account.

1. That of Guiars des Moulins, an ecclesiastic of Picardy. Taking as his basis the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor, a digest of the Bible History with glosses, he freely translated this; adding a sketch of the history of Job, the Proverbs, and probably the other books ascribed to Solomon; substituting for Comestor's history of the Maccabees a translation of this from the Vulgate; and in general conforming the whole more closely to the text of the Vulgate than Comestor had done. The Psalms, Prophets, and Epistles, were not in the work as first issued; and it is uncertain whether the Acts was not also omitted; all these, however, were added in later copies. Many MSS. of this work exist, the most important of which is at Jena. An edition of this Bible, as completed by different hands, was issued from the press by order of Charles VIII. about the year 1487, edited by the king's confessor, J. de Rely, and printed by Verard, Paris, 2 tomes, fol. Twelve editions of this, some at Paris and some at Lyons, appeared between 1487 and 1545. This is called *La Grant Bible*, to distinguish it from a work entitled *La Bible pour les simples gens*, which is a summary of the history of

the O. T., and of which several undated editions have been examined. Previous to the edition of 1487, an edition of the N. T., of the same translation as that found in the completed work of Guiars, but not by Guiars himself, was printed at Lyons by Barth. Buyer, fol., and edited by two Augustinian monks, Julien Macho and Peter Farget; it is undated, but is referred to the year 1478, and justly claims to be the *Editio Princeps* of the French Scriptures.

2. In the year 1523, appeared at Paris, from the press of Simon De Colines, an anonymous translation of the N. T., which was often reprinted, and to which in 1525 was added the Psalter, and in 1528 the rest of the O. T. (together 7 vols. 8vo), the last portion being issued at Antwerp, in consequence of attempts on the part of the French clergy to prevent its appearance. Tradition ascribes this version to Jacques Le Fevre d' Etaples, who had before this distinguished himself by a Latin translation of St. Paul's Epistles, and by exegetical works on the Gospels and Epistles; and there is no reason to question the justice of the ascription. This version is made from the Vulgate with slight variations in the N. T., where the author follows the Greek. The complete work appeared in one vol. fol., at Antwerp, in 1530, and again from the same types in 1532. It was placed in the *Papal Index*, in 1546; but in 1550 it was re-issued at Louvain in fol., edited by two priests, Nicolas de Leuze, and Franz van Larben, who corrected the style, and struck out all that savoured of what they deemed heresy. Of this corrected version many editions have been issued.

3. The first French Protestant version was prepared by Pierre Robert Olivetan, a relation of Calvin, and was printed at Serrieres near Neuchâtel in Switzerland, in 1535, fol. Of this edition very few copies survive. It was reprinted at Geneva in 1540, at Lyons in 1541, and, with a few emendations from the pen of Calvin, again at Geneva in 1545. In 1551, a thoroughly revised edition, with the addition of some of the Apocryphal books by Beza, and a new translation of the Psalms by Budé, was issued at Geneva. It has been often reprinted since. An edition for the use of the Vaudois, and for which they subscribed 1500 golden crowns, was printed at Neuchâtel in 1556. This translation was made for the O. T., from the Latin version of Santes Pagninus, and for the N. T. after the versions of Lefevre and Erasmus. In its first form it was very imperfect, and even after the revisal of Calvin, and the emendations of subsequent editors, it remained behind the requirements of an authorized version.

4. To remedy the defects of Olivetan's version and produce one more suited to the wants of the age, the Venerable Company of Pastors at Geneva undertook a thorough revisal of the work with the special aid of Beza, Goulart, Fay, etc., and under the editorial care of Cornelius Bertram. This appeared in 1588. In this revision *Seigneur*, which, in all the other Protestant versions is rendered by a word equivalent to *Lord*, is throughout translated *L'Eternel*. Revised editions have been issued by the Venerable Company in 1693, 1712, 1726, 1805, and of the N. T. in 1833; the two last very modernized in style. This claims to be the most elegant of the French versions, but it is far from being an adequate rendering of the original.

5. The Bible of Diodati, Gen. 1644; of Des-

marets, Amst. 1669; of Martin, Utr. (N. T.) 1696, (Bible) 1707, 2 vols. fol.; of Roques, Basle 1744; Osterwald, Neuch. 1744, are revisions of Olivetan's text undertaken by individuals. Of these Osterwald's is the most thorough, and may be viewed as occupying the place in the French Protestant Church of an authorized version, though Martin's is the one most esteemed by the more orthodox of its members, while that of Desmarets is sought by those who attach value to fine paper and printing. A carefully revised edition of Osterwald's Bible, with parallels by the Rev. W. Mackenzie, has just been issued by the French Bible Society, Par. 1861.

6. Of avowedly new translations from the original by individuals may be mentioned that of Seb. Chastillon (Castalio) 2 tomes fol., Bas. 1555, in which the translator aimed to impart classical elegance to the style, but which was universally regarded as neither conveying the just sense of the original nor being in accordance with French idiom; that of Le Clerc, 2 vols. 4to, Amst. 1703, in the interests of Arminianism; that of Le Cene, published after his death in 2 vols. fol., Amst. 1741, deeply marked by Socinian leanings; and that of Beausobre and L'Enfant, 2 vols. 4to, Amst. 1718. This last is by much the best, and has been repeatedly reprinted [BEAUSOBRE].

7. Of Roman Catholic versions of the Bible the first is that of René Benoist, a member of the theological faculty at Paris, which appeared in 1566. It was condemned by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1575, and involved the author in much trouble because of its supposed Protestant leanings. It is in fact only a slightly altered transcript of the Geneva Bible. A revised edition, conformed to the Vulgate, was proposed and issued by the divines at Louvain. Four translations of the N. T. had appeared before this, viz., that of Claude Deville, 1613; that of Jacques Corbin, an advocate of Paris, 1643; that of Michel de Marolles, Abbé of Villeloin, 1649; and in 1666 that of Denys Amelotte, a priest of the oratory, whose hatred of the Jansenists and desire to damage their version, then in the press, prompted him to a work for which he was wholly unfit, and the blunders of which drew down on him the unsparring criticism of Richard Simon, a priest of his own order. Marolles had begun a translation of the O. T., but it was suppressed after the printing had proceeded as far as Lev. xxiii. A translation of the N. T. by the Theologians of Louvain appeared in 1686; of this only a few copies exist. All these are made from the Vulgate. So also is the famous Jansenist translation begun by Antoine Lemaître, and finished by his brother Isaac Louis Lemaître de Sacy, aided by Antoine Arnauld, P. Nicole, etc. The N. T. was first published in 2 vols. 8vo. in 1667, and subsequently the O. T., nominally at Mons, but really at Amsterdam. It is variously styled the Version of Mons, the Version of Port Royal, but now commonly the Version of De Sacy. Many editions of it have appeared, with and without notes; the best is that of Fossé and Beaubrun, Par. 1682, 3 vols. 8vo; a beautifully illustrated edition was issued at Paris in 1789-1804, in 12 vols. 8vo. It was with an edition of this version, altered so as to be more conformed to the Vulgate, that Quesnel published his *Reflections*, 1671-80. The translation of Calmet, in his *Commentaire Littéral et Critique*, Paris, 1724, may be also viewed as a revised edition of the Mons Bible. Antoine Godeau

Bishop of Grasse, published a translation made from the Vulgate, in 2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1668. It holds a middle place between a literal version and a paraphrase. The translation of Nic. Legros was published anonymously at Cologne in 1739, and afterwards with his name in several editions. Of the N. T., a translation, from the pen of Richard Simon, appeared anonymously in 1702 at Trevoux. This version was charged by Bossuet with Socinian leanings, and was condemned by Cardinal de Noailles. Of the translation by Huré, 1702, and that by the Jesuits Bouhours, Tellier, and Bernier, between 1697 and 1703, it may suffice to make mention.

8. In our own day several versions of the Psalms have appeared in France. A translation of the whole Bible from the Vulgate, by Eugene Geronde, in 23 vols. 8vo, appeared at Paris between 1820 and 1824. This has been frequently reprinted, and has excited much attention, some of the journals vehemently commending it, while by others it has been no less severely criticised. The latest appearance in this department is the translation of the Gospels by La Mennais, 1846, the style of which is admirable, but the notes appended to it are in the interest of Socialism. But the most important work of this kind is undoubtedly the translation from the Hebrew of the O. T. by S. Cahen, *La Bible: Traduction Nouvelle avec l'Hebreu en regard, &c.*; 18 vols. 8vo, Par. 1832-39 [CAHEN]. (Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*; Simon, *Hist. Crit. du N. T.*, liv. ii.; Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*; Horne, *Introduction*, vol. ii. pt. 2; Reuss, *Geschichte des V. T.*, sec. 466, etc., and art. *Romanische Bibelübersetzungen*, in Herzog's *Encyclopædie*).—W. L. A.

FRIEDLÄNDER, DAVID, was born in Königsburg in 1749. Attracted by the great reformation in Judaism, and the revival of Hebrew literature, which were carried on by Mendelssohn and his associates in Berlin, Friedländer came to the metropolis of Prussia in 1770, where he at once lent his powerful influence to the aid of the Society for the promotion of Biblical literature. His contribution to the great Bible-work started by Mendelssohn, is קהלת, *Das Buch Koheleth, im Original, mit dem hebr. Commentar Mendelssohns u. die Uebersetzung David Friedländers*, Berlin, 1770. [MENDELSSOHN.] He died in 1834 in Berlin.—C. D. G.

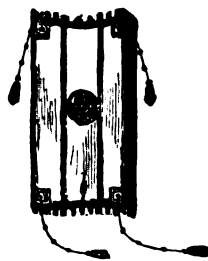
FRINGES, or FRINGED GARMENTS (צִיצִית, קפדאָדע, Sept. and N. T.) The law respecting fringes is contained in Num. xv. 38-41, and Deut. xxii. 12. Here the children of Israel are enjoined to append fringes or tassels (צִיצִית, גְּדִילִים), consisting of several threads, to the four corners (כַּסּוֹת, בָּנָךְ) of their outer garment (אֶרְבַּע כַּסּוֹת), put one distinguishing thread of deep blue in each of these fringes (וַתִּתְּנוּ עַל צִיצִית הַכֵּנָה פָּתִיל תְּכֵלֶת).*

* The A. V., following the Vulg., Coverdale, Matthew's Bible, the Geneva Version, and the Bishops' Bible, renders פָּתִיל here by *ribbon*, which entirely mars the sense of the passage. It needs hardly to be remarked, that the Sept., the Chaldee, and all the Jewish interpreters who knew from practice what it meant, rightly render it *thread*.

and constantly look at them (וּדְאִיתֶם אֹתָם), in order to be put in mind thereby (וּתְזַכְּרֶתֶם) of God's commandments, to keep them. What number of threads each of these symbolical fringes is to have besides the said blue one, of what material, or how they are to be made, the injunction does not say; like most of the Mosaic laws, it leaves the particulars to be determined by the executive powers according to the peculiar circumstances of the time.

Guided by the fact that they are symbolical, tradition, in determining the manner in which these fringes are to be made, endeavoured to act in harmony with their spiritual import, and hence fixed that each of these four צִיצִית = fringes or tassels, for the four corners of the garment, should consist of eight threads of white wool, the emblem of purity and holiness (Is. i. 18); that one of these threads is to be wound round the others, first *seven* times, and then a double knot to be made; then *eight* times, and a double knot (15 = י"ה); then *eleven* times (= ו"א), and a double knot; and finally *thirteen* times (= אָחֵד), and a double knot, so as to obtain from the collective number of times which this thread is wound round, the words אָחֵד אָחֵד, constituting the creed which was the distinguishing mark of the Hebrew nation, and which was inscribed on their banners, whilst the five knots represent the five books of the Law. As the Law, however, is said to contain 613 commandments [EDUCATION], and as the design of these fringes is to remind the Jews of all these commandments (אֵת כָּל מִצְוֹת), tradition has so arranged it, that the word צִיצִית, which is numerically 600, with the 8 threads and 5 knots, should exactly comprise this number, and thus constitute a perfect symbol of the Law.

Originally, as we have seen, this fringed or tasseled garment was the outer one. It was more like a large oblong piece of cloth, with a hole in the centre through which the head was put, thus dividing it into two halves, one covering the front, and the other the back of the body, like a tunic.



250.

But when the Hebrews began to mix with other nations, and especially when they were dispersed and became a byword and a hissing, this ancient badge of distinction which God conferred upon them became the signal of persecution, inasmuch as it indicated that the wearer of it was a Jew, on whom Christians thought they ought to avenge the blood of Christ. Hence the Israelites found it necessary to discard the fringed garment as an outer dress, and to wear it in a smaller size, and a somewhat altered form, as an under garment, in order to conceal it from their persecutors.

This under fringed-garment is called אֶרְבַּע

כנפות, the four-cornered dress, or simply ציצית, fringes or tassels, and is worn by every orthodox Jew to the present day.

But though the Jews have been compelled to relinquish the large outer fringed-garment as a permanent article of apparel, they still continue to wear it in a somewhat modified form, at their



morning prayers, and call it טלית, *Talith*, i.e., cover or wrapper.



This *Talith*, or fringed wrapper, is generally made of a white woollen material; the wool must be spun by Jews for this express purpose. It has three or more blue stripes running in parallel lines across the whole garment, at the right and left side. In some cases, however, the *Talith* is also made of silk. Every married Jew must wear it at morning prayer; a single man can do what he likes. When putting it on, the following prayer is offered: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord, King of the universe, who hast sanctified us with thy commandments, and enjoined us to array ourselves with fringes.' The Jews attach the utmost importance to the fringed garment. Thus it is related in the Talmud, that 'R. Joseph asked R. Joseph b. Rabba, which commandment has your father admonished you to observe more than any other? He replied, the law about the fringes. Once when my father, on descending a ladder, stepped on one of the threads and tore it off, he would not move from the place till it was repaired' (Sabbath, 118, b). Some of the rabbins go so far as to say, that the law respecting the fringes is as important

as all the other laws put together (comp. Rashi on Numb. xv. 41). It was for this reason that the woman with the issue of blood (Matt. ix. 20), and the inhabitants of Gennesaret (*ibid.* xiv. 36), were so anxious to touch a fringe of our Saviour's garment (κράσπεδον τοῦ ἱματίου). This superstitious reverence for the external symbol, with little care for the things it symbolised, led the Pharisees to enlarge their fringes, believing that the larger they made the tassels, the better they did God's service; and this it was that our Saviour rebuked: comp. Matt. xxiii. 5.

Literature.—Maimonides, *Jod Ha-Chesaka, Hilchoth Tzitith*, vol. i. p. 100, a, etc.; *Orach Chajim*, sect. viii.; the Hebrew Prayer Book, with all the laws respecting the Jewish ritual, called *Derech Ha-Chajim*, Vienna, 1859, p. 21, a, etc.—C. D. G.

FROG. [TSEPHARDEA.]

FRONTLETS. [PHYLACTERIES.]

FRUITS. פֶּרִי *peri*, fruit in general, vegetable or animal (Deut. vii. 13, *bis*; xxviii. 51, *bis*). It originated the English word 'fruit,' by the פ being sounded as *ph*, and subsequently converted into *f*. The Hebrews had three generic terms designating three great classes of the fruits of the land, closely corresponding to what may be expressed in English as, 1. *Corn-fruit*, or field produce, דָּגָן; 2. *Vintage-fruit*, תְּיֹבֶה; 3. *Orchard-fruit*, תְּאֵנָה.

Referring to the separate articles under these heads, we shall here simply exhibit their relative positions.

a. They are found mutually associated in nineteen places. *Dagan* occurs with *tirosk* alone eleven times; with *yayin* only once, and there (Lam. ii. 12) *yayin* is used for grapes. *Tirosk* occurs thirty-eight times; in thirty places it is associated with the confessedly generic word *dagan*; in twenty-one with *yitzhar*; and it is found only six times without either *dagan* or *yitzhar*.

b. *Tirosk* occurs seven times with *rayshyth* or *biccor*, 'first-fruits;' ten times with *terobhah*, 'offerings,' or *magnasayr*, 'tithes,' which were mainly the first of gathered fruits and grain in their natural state.

c. *Tirosk* is connected with *yayin* in three passages only twice by way of climax merely (Hos. iv. 11; Is. xxiv. 7-10), and once (Mic. vi. 15) as the yielder of wine, not wine itself.

d. *Tirosk* is not directly united with *shemen* (oil) in a single place.

e. The three terms are constantly and closely connected with expressions indicating increase of vegetable produce, or the spontaneous growth of the fruits of the earth, or the increase of objects of culture, especially the fruits of the field and the vineyard; they also occur in connection with terms expressive of fruitful or animal produce, sometimes with the vine, olive, fig, or palm tree, but scarcely ever with their specific fruit, or with particular articles of diet; still more rarely are they connected with terms evincing the process of preparing or preserving them, or the vehicle or mode of their consumption. In all these respects they present a complete contrast to terms denoting specific products or artificial preparations, as *yayith* (olive), *shemen* (oil), *yayin* (wine), or *lekhem* (food or bread).

f. In the very rare instances in which they do

occur in connection with specific articles or circumstances, *special* reasons obviously exist for the fact, confirmatory of the view advanced as to their generic signification. The exceptions prove the rule.

g. Lastly, though the three terms are employed throughout a period of one thousand years (Num. xviii. 12, B.C. 1489, to Neh. xiii. 12, B.C. 409) by a series of fourteen authors, the bulk of whom also use *yayin* and *shemen*, occasionally in conjunction, yet not in one instance have they crossed *tirosh* with *shemen*, or *yayin* with *yitzhar*. On the contrary, the triad of generic terms have been cautiously and correctly discriminated from words merely denoting some of their species, or artificial preparations from them.

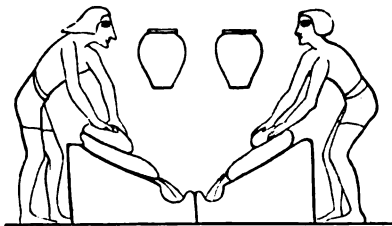
The term קַיִץ *kayits*, 'summer-fruits,' appears to denote those less important species of fruit which were adapted only to immediate consumption, or could not be easily or conveniently conserved for winter use (Jer. xl. 10, 12). *Kayits* may have been included as a species under the head of Orchard-fruit: it would seem to indicate either the existence of some contrasted term, as 'winter-fruits,' or to imply that the products of the class under which it ranked as a species were generally distinguished by their capability of being preserved throughout the year. It is conceived that the products denoted by the third of the generic terms above noticed were chiefly characterized by their capacity of being stored up and *preserved* like our own orchard-fruit; and thus their generic name might be inclusive of *kayits*, 'summer-fruits,' though mainly and originally referring to 'winter-fruits.'—F. R. L.

FULKE, WILLIAM, was born about the year 1538, probably in London. Of his parentage and early life nothing is certainly known. From Christ's Hospital, where he is supposed to have received the rudiments of his education, he removed to St. John's College, Cambridge, in the year 1555. After taking his B.A. degree, he spent six years in the study of the law at Clifford's Inn; but preferring divinity, he was admitted to holy orders; he took his M.A. in 1564, in which year he was elected to a fellowship of his college. To the study of theology he added an accomplishment which was rare at that time, a sound knowledge of the Oriental languages. He proceeded to his B.D. degree, but was shortly afterwards ejected from his college for too strong a leaning to the principles of puritanism. Upon this he commenced a course of lectures and disputations, which were attended by a numerous class of students. It was not long before he experienced a favourable turn in his affairs, having attracted the friendly notice of Queen Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Leicester. Through his means he was presented, Aug. 10, 1571, to the rectory of Warley in Essex, and soon afterwards, March 1573, to that of Dennington in Suffolk. Fulke obtained an honorary D.D. on being appointed chaplain to the Earl of Lincoln, when that nobleman went to Paris as British ambassador. The same influence probably contributed to Dr. Fulke's advancement to the mastership of Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1578. Having filled the office of Vice-Chancellor, and governed his college for eleven years, he died in August 1589. No less than twenty-six treatises were published by him, besides some works known

to exist among the Harleian MSS. The characteristic of all his writings was polemical zeal in defence of the Protestant cause, of which he was one of the most able apologists of his time. Although controversy was his calling, three of his works deserve to be mentioned here from their Biblical character. We mention them in the order of their publication. (1.) *In sacrum Divi Johannis Apocalypsim prælectiones*, London, 1573, 4to. Translated into English by George Gyfford, London, 1573, 4to. (2.) *The text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated out of the Vulgar Latine by the Papists of the traitorous Seminarie at Rheims, with arguments of bookes, chapters, and annotations, pretending to discover the corruptions of diuers translations, and to clear the controuersies of these days. Whereunto is added the translation out of the original Greeke, commonly used in the Church of England, &c.*, by William Fulke, D.D., London, 1580, 1589, 1601, 1617, 1633, folio. This work may be said to embody the whole popish controversy respecting the Scriptures, and as it gives in parallel columns the Rheinish translation of the Vulgate, and the Bishops' translation, it enables the reader to make an easy comparison of their respective merits. Fulke was a very able man, and his work is entitled to a place in every critical library. Mr. Charles Butler, though a Romanist, candidly commends it as very curious and deserving of attention. This polemico-biblical work, which is a good voucher of the advanced learning of the Elizabethan divines, has been lately reprinted at New York, without the two rival versions. By the help of a close but clear type, however, the whole of Dr. Fulke's unanswered and unanswerable confutation is comprised in a convenient 8vo volume. (3.) *A Defence of the sincere and true translations of the Holy Scriptures into the English tongue, against the cavills of Gregory Martin*, by William Fulke, D.D., master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. This is the title (slightly abridged by being weeded of some vituperative epithets) of a work which has done good service in the Romish controversy since its first publication in the year 1583, and which may still be read with interest, for the proofs it affords of the existence of a sound and vigorous criticism in the age of the learned author. Fulke's book is rendered the more interesting by incorporating in its pages the attacks on our early translations of the Scriptures, made by one of the most learned controversialists of the time, Gregory Martin, one of the divinity professors in the English [Romanist] College of Rheims. The Parker Society reprinted Fulke's defence, including Martin's assaults, in 1843, with great care and accuracy, under the superintendence of the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, who enriched the edition with some valuable notes, and a revision of the numerous quotations. Fulke's work seems to have settled the controversy until the time of our James II., when a Romish writer, named Thomas Ward, revived it by the publication of what was little more than an abridgment of Gregory Martin's volume, entitled, *Errata of the Protestant Bible*. This work of Ward's has been often reprinted in Ireland in the present century; but has called forth able refutations by the Rev. Drs. Ryan and Grier.—P. H.

FULLER. At the transfiguration, our Sa-

jour's robes are said to have been white, 'so as no fuller on earth could white them' (Mark ix. 3). Elsewhere we read of 'fullers' soap' (Mal. iii. 2), and of 'the fullers' field' (2 Kings xviii. 17). Of the processes followed in the art of cleaning cloth and the various kinds of stuff among the Jews, we have no direct knowledge. In an early part of the operation they seem to have trod the cloths with their feet, as the Hebrew *Ain Rogel*, or En-rogel, literally Foot-fountain, has been rendered, on Rabbinical authority, 'Fullers' fountain,' on the ground that the fullers trod the cloths there with their feet. A subsequent operation was pro-



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bably that of rubbing the cloth on an inclined plane, in a mode which is figured in the Egyptian paintings, and still preserved in the East.

FULLER, ANDREW, was born at Wicken, near Ely, Cambridgeshire, Feb. 6, 1754. He became pastor of the Baptist Church at Soham, in 1775, and removed to Kettering, in Northamptonshire, in 1782. He was one of the founders of the Baptist Missionary Society, and acted as its secretary from its formation, Oct. 2, 1792, to his death, May 7, 1815. His education was extremely limited, and his early associations were very unfavourable to enlarged views of religion, or to mental improvement in general. But the native vigour of his mind surmounted every obstacle, and raised him to be one of the ablest theologians of his day; while the sagacity, firmness, and energy of his character, admirably fitted him for his position in relation to the cause of missions. His writings are numerous; but his reputation as an author is chiefly founded on *The Gospel its own witness*; and *The Calvinistic and Socinian systems compared*.

The only other productions of his pen that demand special mention in the present work are his *Expository Discourses on the Book of Genesis*, (1806, 2 vols. 8vo), and a similar volume *On the Revelation* (1815). For learned criticism he was wholly unfitted; but for questions not involving scholarship, he possessed some of the most valuable qualifications of a Biblical expositor, masculine sense and acuteness, independence in forming his opinions, combined with a profound reverence for divine truth. An uniform edition of his works appeared soon after his decease, edited by his most intimate friend Dr. Ryland, with a copious biography; a second edition was published by his son Andrew Gunton in 1857, 5 vols. 8vo, including a number of miscellaneous pieces collected from various periodicals; a third edition in one vol. royal 8vo was issued in 1850. His works on Deism and Socinianism have also been reprinted by Mr. Bohn in his Standard Library.—J. E. R.

FULLER, NICHOLAS, was born in 1557 at Southampton; and was educated first at the Grammar School of that town, and afterwards at Hart Hall, Oxford. To ripe scholarship in the ordinary learning of the time, he added the unusual acquirement of a thorough knowledge of Hebrew and its cognate languages. His attainments have been commended by many eminent authorities, and his writings, though not voluminous, procured for him the respect of the learned at home and abroad (comp. Bochart *Hieros.* [ed. Leusden] p. 17, and *passim*; Grotius on Luke ii. 49; Poole, *Synopsis* on Exod. xxix. 13; Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*; Orme, *Biblioth. Bibl.*, etc.). Our author is one instance, out of not a few, which have occurred and do still occur, of high-minded men, who toil on amidst poverty and neglect, sustained by the confidence that the labour which they bestow on a good pursuit, though it fail to requite them beyond the pleasure it inspires, may be not in vain. Fuller, to defray the expenses of his 'education, was amanuensis or scribe to Dr. Horne, bishop of Winchester, afterwards he attended, as tutor servant, on Sir Henry Wallop to Oxford; and returning thence, was made minister of Allington, near Salisbury, where he had a benefice rather than a living, so small were the revenues thereof' (Fuller's *Worthies of England* [by Nuttall], vol. ii. p. 19). It was here that, in the hours he could spare from tuition, to which he resorted to supplement the insufficiency of his clerical income, he wrote his six books of *Miscellanea Sacra*, or disquisitions of various extent but of unvarying acumen and learning, in which (as Thomas Fuller quaintly, but correctly says of him), 'he was happy in pitching on not difficult trifles, but useful difficulties, tending to the understanding of Scripture.' The first three books of this work were published at Heidelberg, 8vo, 1612, with a dedication addressed to Sir H. Wallop. The author, who seems to have resorted to a foreign publisher because of his poverty, was sadly disappointed at the miserable manner in which his book was given to the world. A second edition, with the addition of a fourth book and a dedication to his friend Lake, afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells, appeared at Oxford, 1615; this was reprinted in London and at Heidelberg in 1618: two more books were added in the next edition, with a dedication to Bishop Andrews, in whom Fuller had found a Maccenas; and reprints of this appeared at Leyden, in 1622, and Strasburg, 1650, with the title *Miscellanea Theologica* in place of *M. Sacra*. This change (for which the author was not responsible) was not a happy or correct one; for the work is not *theological* in its character, though full of *sacred* subjects. In the one hundred and twenty articles or treatises, of which the entire work consists, the author illustrates and comments on many passages and prominent words of Holy Scripture, involving inquiries of natural history and archæology, as well as of sacred criticism and exegesis. He seems to have furnished his mind with information derived from many varied sources. The entire *Misc. Sacra* is reprinted in the *Critici Sacri* among the dissertations in the 8th volume. Poole has also transferred to the pages of his *Synopsis* the substance of Fuller's treatises.

Besides his learning, which has been often commended for its 'accuracy,' there is much good sense, kindly manner, and modesty in Fuller's writings, which he humbly describes as 'a widow's

mite thrown into the treasury as an offering to God, and for the use of the studious.' His modest volume, which was in general so well received, excited the jealousy of Drusius, the Belgian critic, who accused him of plagiarism. To this Fuller replied in the *Appendix Apologetica*, subjoined to his *Miscellanea Sacra*, which is the very model of a refutation. His answer to Drusius is as gentle as it is effective; firmly vindicating his own character as his dearest possession, but most sorry that it must needs be against the aspersions of a man whom his labours in the same field had made him so greatly to respect. Bishop Andrewes lost no time in rewarding the long neglected but most meritorious scholar who had been thrown in his way; he gave him the valuable living of Bishop's Waltham in Hampshire—but it was too late. Fuller lived only a year or two to enjoy this with a prebendal stall in the neighbouring cathedral of Salisbury, which had been previously bestowed upon him. He died about the year 1626 (Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 20). In the last of his published writings he expresses an intention (*ἐὰν περ ἐκέρπηγῃ ὁ Θεός*) of completing certain other 'Opuscula' for the press—these probably are the two MSS. which are said to be still extant in the Bodleian Library (see A. à Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* by Bliss.)—P. H.

FULLER, THOMAS, D.D., was born at Aldwinkle in Northamptonshire, in June 1608, and died in London 16th Aug. 1661. He was successively curate of St. Benet's, Cambridge, prebendary of Salisbury, rector of Broadwindsor, Dorsetshire, lecturer at the Savoy, London, and, during the Commonwealth, for a time perpetual curate of Waltham, and afterwards vicar of Cranford. After the Restoration, he returned to the Savoy, and was restored to his prebend. Though his life was comparatively short, and was cast on troublous times, not many authors have been so remarkable for the number and elaboration of the works they have produced. His claims to be numbered among Biblical scholars rest chiefly on his *Pisgah-sight of Palestine, and confines thereof; with the history of the O. and N. Testaments acted thereon*, fol., Lond. 1662. Perhaps no work was ever written on such a subject so sparkling with wit, and so full of quaint and humorous remark as this; at the same time preserving so much of faithful adherence to the subject of which the author professes to treat. The work is not confined to Biblical topography, but handles many points of history and archaeology; it is also illustrated by maps and engravings, which are as quaint in their way as the text they are meant to illustrate. Fuller published also *A Comment on the book of Ruth*, Lond. 1654, being the substance of lectures delivered at St. Benet's twenty-four years before; *A Comment on the first eleven chapters of Matthew's Gospels, concerning Christ's temptations*, Lond. 1652; and *Notes on Jonah*, appended to a volume of sermons, Lond. 1656. His fame rests chiefly on his *Holy and Profane State*, his *Holy War*, his *Church History of Britain*, and his *History of the Worthies of England*.—W. L. A.

FULLER'S FIELD (שִׁדְרֵי כֹלֶם; Sept. ἀγρὸς τοῦ γράβου). This place is three times mentioned in the Bible, and always in the same connection. 'The conduit of the upper pool which is in the highway of the fuller's field' (2 Kings xviii. 17. 1s.

vii. 3; xxxvi. 2). Its position is not defined; but we can gather that it was on one of the leading roads, to which it also gave its name; that it was on the 'conduit' or canal connected with the 'upper pool,' and that it was near Jerusalem. The heralds of the king of Assyria spake in the hearing of the people on the wall from 'the highway of the Fuller's Field' (2 Kings xviii. 17, 26). There can be little doubt that the 'upper pool' is the cistern now called Birket el-Mamilla, at the head of the valley of Hinnom, a short distance west of the Yafa gate (*Handbook for S. and P.*, 99, 136.) Hezekiah conveyed the waters from it by a subterranean aqueduct to the west side of the city of David (2 Chron. xxxii. 30). The natural course of this aqueduct was along the ancient road to the western gate beside the castle; and this was the road by which the Assyrian ambassadors would doubtless approach the city, coming as they did from Lachish. The position of the Fuller's Field is thus indicated. It lay on the side of the highway west of the city. The fullers' occupation required an abundant supply of water, and an open space for drying the clothes. We may, therefore, conclude that their 'field' was beside, or at least not far distant from the upper pool.

Dr. Williams, and some others who follow him, affirm that the Fuller's Field, and the fountain or pool of Gihon, were somewhere on the plateau north of the Damascus gate, and near, if not in the upper part of the valley of the Kidron. But this view is opposed to 2 Chron. xxxii. 30; and no amount of reasoning can get over the plain statement of that passage, that Hezekiah 'stopped the upper outflow (or spring כְּנֶזֶר) of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David.' Now this would be a physical impossibility if we place Gihon elsewhere than on the west side of the city. (See, however, William's *Holy City*, ii. 471, sq.; Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. *Gihon* and *Jerusalem*; Barclay's *City of the Great Kings*.)—J. L. P.

FULLERS' FOUNTAIN. [EN-ROGEL.]

FULLERS' SOAP. [BORITH.]

FUNERALS. [BURIAL; MOURNING.]

FURNACE. The furnaces mentioned in the Bible were of various kinds. 1. אֶפְרַיִם, according to Ges., for אֶפְרַיִם, from the root אָפַן, to smoke, with א as a formative prefix. But Fürst says, non ex אֶפְרַיִם ortum, sed ex radice אָפַן, addita terminatione nominali UN . . . Somniant, qui hujus modi vocabula e duobus coaluisse arbitrantur (*Concord. Vet. Test. Heb. et Chal.*) Dan. iii. 6, 11, 15. A large kind of furnace having a wide open mouth above, with an opening near the bottom to allow the metal, or other material, to run out. The employment of the furnace as an instrument of punishment seems to have been a favourite method with the King of Babylon, as it has continued to be in Persia down to recent times. 'During the death of 1662,' says Chardin, 'I saw such ovens heated in the royal square at Ispahan to terrify the bakers, and to deter them from deriving advantage from the general distress' (quoted by Kitto). References to the same mode of punishment are found in Jer. xxix. 22, and Hos. vii. 7.

2. כִּבְשָׁן, from the root כִּבַּשׁ, to subdue, so called from its subduing metals or other materials thrown into it (Gen. xix. 28; Exod. ix. 8, 10; xix. 18). From the occurrence of this word in Exod. ix. it seems to denote a furnace or kiln for baking bricks, although it may have been also used for smelting metals.

3. כִּבּוּר, from the verb of the same form, meaning to boil up, although Furst takes it in the sense of boring, or hollowing out, 'a profunditate vel cavitate,' a furnace for smelting metals certainly. Thus, Ezek. xxii. 20, 22, 'the house of Israel are brass, and tin, and iron, and lead in the midst of the furnace,' כִּבּוּר; Prov. xvii. 3; xxvii. 21, 'the furnace,' כִּבּוּר, 'for gold.' See also Is. xlviii. 10; Deut. iv. 20; where the word is used metaphorically.

4. תַּנּוּר = a furnace of fire, compounded, according to Ges., of תָּנָה, i. q., תַּנְאָה, or תַּנְחָה, an oven, and נֹר, Chal., a fire; to which, however, Furst objects, maintaining that 'ex נֹר, crebro illo Substantivorum additamento rite formatum,' properly, an oven for baking bread, although it seems to have been used for other purposes. In its wider acceptance it occurs Gen. xv. 17; Is. xxxi. 9; Mal. iii. 19 (iv. i). In its special reference, it is found Ex. vii. 28, (viii. 3); Lev. xxvi. 26; Hos. vii. 4. 'The Tannur is a large round pot of earthen or other materials, two or three feet high, narrowing towards the top; this being first heated by a fire made within, the dough or paste is spread upon the sides to bake, thus forming thin cakes.' Of the Gr. κλίσανος, 'by which the LXX. render this word,' Jerome says, on Lam. v. 10, *Clibanus* est coquendis panibus aeni Vasculi diducta rotunditas, quae sub urentibus flammis ardet intrinsecus' (Ges. in Verb.) 'The tower of the furnaces,' מִגְדֹּל הַתַּנּוּרִים, upon, or near the walls of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 11; xii. 38), should perhaps rather be, tower of the ovens, if not taken as a proper name, *Migdol-Hattannurim*.

5. Κάμνος, by which the first three of the preceding words are usually rendered by the LXX., occurs in the Apocrypha and N. T. to denote furnaces of different sorts, e. g., the Potter's furnace (Sirach xxvii. 5; xxxviii. 30). The Egyptian potter's furnace, as represented in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, resembled a chimney in shape, and was about six feet high (ii. 108). It is also used of the Smith's furnace (Sirach xxxviii. 28; Apoc. i. 15). The word is used indefinitely (Apoc. ix. 2), where there is a reference to Gen. xix. 28; and in Matt. xiii. 42, 50, where there is an obvious reference to Dan. iii. —I. J.

G.

GAAL (גַּל) miscarriage; Sept. Γαλ), son of Ebed. He went to Shechem with his brothers when the inhabitants became discontented with Abimelech, and so engaged their confidence that they placed him at their head. At the festival at which the Shechemites offered the first-fruits of their vintage in the temple of Baal, Gaal, by apparently drunken bravadoes, roused the valour of the people, and strove yet more to kindle their wrath against the absent Abimelech. It would seem as if the natives had been in some way inti-

mately connected with, or descended from, the original inhabitants; for Gaal endeavoured to awaken their attachment to the ancient family of Hamor, the father of Shechem, which ruled the place in the time of Abraham (Gen. xxxiv. 2, 6), and which seems to have been at this time represented by Gaal and his brothers. Although deprived of Shechem, the family appears to have maintained itself in some power in the neighbourhood; which induced the Shechemites to look to Gaal when they became tired of Abimelech. Whether he succeeded in awakening among them a kind feeling towards the descendants of the ancient masters of the place, does not appear; but eventually they went out under his command, and assisted doubtless by his men, to intercept and give battle to Abimelech, when he appeared before the town. He, however, fled before Abimelech, and his retreat into Shechem being cut off by Zebul, the commandant of that place, he went to his home, and we hear of him no more. The account of this attempt is interesting, chiefly from the slight glimpse it affords of the position, at this period, of what had been one of the reigning families of the land before its invasion by the Israelites (Judg. ix. 26-48) B.C. 1026.—J. K.

GAASH (גַּאשׁ, shaking, earthquake; Sept. Γαᾶδδ, Γαδδ), the name of a hill (גַּד), part of the Ephraim range, on the north side of which Joshua was buried (Josh. xxiv. 30; Judg. ii. 9). In 2 Sam. xxiii. 30, and 1 Chron. xi. 32, mention is made of the גַּאשׁ, the ravines, valleys, or wadys running down from Gaash (A. V. 'brooks of Gaash'), as the designation of the locality whence came Hiddai or Hurai, one of David's heroes. The hill has not been identified.—W. L. A.

GABA. [GEB.]

GABBATHA occurs John xix. 13, where the Evangelist states that Pontius Pilate, alarmed at last, in his attempts to save Jesus, by the artful insinuation of the Jews, 'If thou let this man go, thou art not Caesar's friend,' went into the pretorium again, and brought Jesus out to them, and sat down once more upon the βῆμα or tribunal, in a place called Λιθόστρωτον, but in the Hebrew Gabbatha. The Greek word, signifying literally stone-paved, is an adjective, and is generally used as such by the Greek writers; but they also sometimes use it substantively for a stone pavement, when ἔδαφος may be understood. In the Septuagint it answers to רֶצֶף (2 Chron. vii. 3; Esther i. 6). Jerome reads 'Sedit pro tribunali in loco qui dicitur Lithostrotos.' The Greek word, as well as the Latin, is frequently used to denote a pavement formed of ornamental stones of various colours, commonly called a tessellated or mosaic pavement. The partiality of the Romans for this kind of pavement is well known. It is stated by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 64) that, during the time of Sylla, the Romans decorated their houses with such pavements. They also introduced them into the provinces. Suetonius relates that Julius Cæsar, in his military expeditions, took with him the materials of tessellated pavements, ready prepared, that, wherever he encamped, they might be laid down in the pretorium (Casaubon, *ad Sueton.* p. 38, etc., edit. 1605). From these facts it has been inferred by many eminent writers, that the τῶρος

Λιθόστρωτος, or place where Pilate's tribunal was set on this occasion, was covered by a tessellated pavement, which, as a piece of Roman magnificence, was appended to the prætorium at Jerusalem. The emphatic manner in which St. John speaks of it agrees with this conjecture. It further appears from his narrative that it was *outside* the prætorium; for Pilate is said to have 'come out' to the Jews, who, for ceremonial reasons, did not go into it, on this as well as on other occasions (John xviii. 28, 29, 38; xix. 4, 13). Besides which, the Roman governors, although they tried causes, and conferred with their council (Acts xxv. 12), *within* the prætorium, always pronounced sentence in the open air. May not then this tessellated pavement, on which the tribunal was now placed, have been inlaid on some part of the terrace running along one side of the prætorium, and overlooking the area where the Jews were assembled, or upon a landing-place of the stairs, immediately before the grand entrance?

It has been conjectured that the pavement in question was no other than the one referred to in 2 Chron. vii. 3, and by Josephus, *De Bell. Jud.* vi. 1. 8, as in the *outer court of the temple*; but though it appears that Pilate sometimes sat upon his tribunal in different places, as, for instance, in the open market-place (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 9. 3), yet the supposition that he would, on this occasion, when the Jews were pressing for a speedy judgment, and when he was overcome with alarm, *adjourn* the whole assembly, consisting of rulers of every grade, as well as the populace, to *any* other place, is very unlikely; and the supposition that such place was *any* part of the temple is encumbered with additional difficulties. The word Gabbatha remains to be considered. It is not certain that St. John intends Λιθόστρωτος as a translation or interpretation of Gabbatha; he may simply mean that the same place was called by these two names in Greek and Hebrew respectively. Yet it may be said that the names אֲבָתָה and Ἀβαθών, which he introduces in a similar way (Rev. ix. 11), are synonymous; and if the word Gabbatha be derived, as Lightfoot suggests (*in loc.*), from גַּב, 'a surface,' it may correspond to the idea of a pavement; but if, as is usual, it be derived from גָּבַהּ, 'to be high or elevated,' it may refer chiefly to the *terrace*, or uppermost landing of the stairs, which might have been inlaid with a tessellated pavement. Schleusner understands an elevated mosaic pavement, on which the βήμα was placed, before the prætorium. The most natural inference from St. John's statement is, that the word Gabbatha is 'Hebrew,' or rather Aramaic. The Syriac version, instead of Gabbatha, reads Gepiptha

[גִּפְתָּה, *lorica, peribolus*. The double *b* in Gabbatha is an objection to its being derived from גָּבַהּ; it is more properly derived from גַּב in the sense of *back*, or *top*. The Aramaic and Greek words are different names of the same place.] (*Disser. De Λιθοστρώτω*, a Conrad Iken, Bremæ, 1725; Lightfoot's *Works*, vol. ii. pp. 614, 615, Lond. 1684; Hamelsveld, *Bibl. Geogr.* ii. 129; Seelen, *Meditt. Exeg.* i. 643; Jahn's *Archæol. Bib.*.)—J. F. D.

GABISH (גַּבִּישׁ). This word occurs Job xxviii. 18, where it is translated in the A. V. 'pearls.' The LXX. retains it untranslated γαβῖς, while the

Vulg. renders it by *eminentia*—a rendering which rests on its supposed derivation from גָּבַהּ, *to be high*.

The Targum represents it by בִּירְלִין, but this probably, like the Arab. بلور, which is the same word slightly transposed, denotes not merely *beryl* but also *chrystal*. This last is what most modern scholars are agreed upon as the proper equivalent of גַּבִּישׁ. Gesenius and Fürst derive it from גָּבַשׁ, *to freeze, congeal*; hence אֶלְגִּישׁ, *hail* (Ez. xiii. 11); and hence, from the similarity of chrystal to ice, the meaning *chrystal*; comp. κρύσταλλος and Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 2. It must be confessed, however, that the conclusion here rests on somewhat precarious grounds. The only authority for the verb גָּבַשׁ is in its supposed derivatives; and of not one of these is the meaning even tolerably certain, as all are ἀπὸ λεγόμενα. The reasoning, in fact, is throughout in a circle; the verb is held to convey the idea of congelation, because the derivatives contain it, and this meaning is ascribed to these derivatives because it is contained in the verb.

Gesenius adduces also the Arab. جَبَس, *to freeze*, but this sense is of dubious legitimacy, the verb properly meaning *to raze* or *crop*. Dr. Lee (*Book of Job*, in loc.; and *Heb. Lex.* in v.) takes it to mean *heavy*, and hence *precious*; and understands it of some valuable metal. Some of the Rabbins understood by it a *valuable garment*; see Castell, *Lex. Heptagl.* in voc.—W. L. A.

GABRIAS (Γαβρίας, LXX.; Γαβriel, FA.) According to Tobit i. 14, the brother of Gabael, the person with whom Tobit left in trust (παραθήμην) ten talents of silver; but in iv. 20, Gabael is said to be the son of Gabrias. No light is thrown on this discrepancy by the various readings and versions of this book. The Vulg. in both passages differs widely from the LXX. The old Latin has in the first passage, *Et commendavi Gabelo fratri meo filio Gabahel*, and in the second, *Gabelo filio Gabahel*. See Fritzsche, *Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apocryphen*.—J. E. R.

GABRIEL (גַּבְרִיאֵל, *the mighty one* [or *hero*] of God), the heavenly messenger who was sent to Daniel to explain the vision of the ram and the he-goat (Dan. viii.), and to communicate the prediction of the Seventy Weeks (Dan. ix. 21-27). Under the new dispensation he was employed to announce the birth of John the Baptist to his father Zechariah (Luke i. 11), and that of the Messiah to the Virgin Mary (Luke i. 26). Both by Jewish and Christian writers, Gabriel has been denominated an archangel. The Scriptures, however, affirm nothing positively respecting his rank, though the importance of the commissions on which he was employed, and his own words, 'I am Gabriel, that stand in the presence of God' (Luke i. 19), are rather in favour of the notion of his superior dignity.

In the Book of Enoch, 'the four great archangels, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Uriel' are described as reporting the corrupt state of mankind to the Creator, and receiving their several commissions. To Gabriel he says, 'Go, Gabriel, against the giants, the spurious ones, the sons of fornication, and destroy the sons of the watchers from among the sons of men' (*Greek Fragment of*

the *Book of Enoch*, preserved by Syncellus in Scaliger's notes on the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, Amstel. 1658, p. 404). In the rabbinical writings Gabriel is represented as standing in front of the divine throne, near the standard of the tribe of Judah (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talmud.* s. v. אוריאל). The rabbins also say that he is the Prince of Fire, and appointed to preside over the ripening of fruit; that he was the only one of the angels who understood Chaldee and Syriac, and taught Joseph the seventy languages spoken at the dispersion of Babel; that he and Michael destroyed the host of Sennacherib, and set fire to the temple at Jerusalem (Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*, th. ii. ss. 365, 379, 380, 383).

By the Mohammedans Gabriel is regarded with profound veneration. To him, it is affirmed, a copy of the whole Koran was committed, which he imparted in successive portions to Mohammed. He is styled in the Koran, the Spirit of Truth, and the Holy Spirit. In his hands will be placed the scales in which the actions of men will be weighed at the last day (Sale's *Koran*; D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*).—J. E. R.

GABRIEL SIONITA, a Maronite, born in 1577 at Edessa, a village in the Lebanon: when seven years old he was sent to Rome, and there received his first instruction at the Maronite College. He then devoted himself chiefly to the study of Oriental languages, and by some of his writings came under the notice of the then French ambassador in Rome, Savary de Brèves. The latter, at the instance of Cardinal Perrone, and the librarian at the Royal Library in Paris, De Thou, who were both anxious to carry out their favourite plan of printing a new comprehensive Polyglott Bible, secured the services of both Gabriel and another Maronite, Johannes Esronita, for the new work. Gabriel arrived in Paris in 1614, and was forthwith appointed Professor of Arabic—his mother-tongue—at the Collège de France, and endowed with a rich salary. The two Maronites commenced their Biblical labours, which chiefly consisted in their revising all the Oriental texts, and adding Latin translations to them. In the meantime the Cardinal and De Thou, who had taken the greatest interest in the proposed Polyglott, died, and the scheme was abandoned. Gabriel, who had finished his share of the work, addressed himself to the synod assembled at Blois, in 1619, asking for a subsidy which should enable him either to print the entire Polyglott, or at least to publish the Oriental texts. The synod immediately granted his prayer, and assigned 8000 livres for the purpose of furthering his undertaking; but somehow the money never reached his hands, and he not indistinctly hints at its having gone into the wrong pocket. After this he was involved in a series of troubles and vexatious disputes with Le Jay, the editor of the Polyglott, which ended in his being sent for six months to Vincennes. From this he was released only on the condition that he would now unremittingly work at the Polyglott until it should be completed. He kept his word most conscientiously, but three years after it was finished he died, in 1648, a broken old man, at Paris, which he had hardly ever left since he had first arrived there. His exact share in the work (contained in vol. vii. ff. of the Polyglott) consists in the collation of the various

Arab. and Syr. MSS., in the revision of the printed texts, and in the addition of Latin translations to all the Biblical books save Ruth (done by A. Echellensis) and the four Gospels, which he merely revised from Raymundus. The judgments on his achievements vary; but it would appear, both from the mistakes he corrected as from those he left (Cf. Eichh. *Intr.*), that neither the high-flown praise nor the exaggerated blame bestowed upon them are deserved; but that Gabriel did just what would be expected from a man possessed of a fair knowledge of Arabic and Syriac, but only partially acquainted with Hebrew and Latin, and whose acquisitions generally were on a par with the good scholars of the time. He has, in three small pamphlets, told the whole story of his appointments and disappointments, his squabbles and successes. Besides his contributions to the Polyglott may be mentioned the following works, some of which he published, together with Joannes Ezronita and Victor Szialac,—*Liber Psalmorum Davidis ex arabe idiomate in Latinum translatus*, Rome, 1614; *Grammatica Arabica Maronitarum in libros V. divisa*, Paris, 1616, which, however, contains only one book of reading-lessons; *Geographia Nubienensis*, etc., a very faulty Latin translation of a still more faulty, abridged text of Edrisi (published in Rome in 1592), Paris, 1619. Nor is there much to be said for the appendix of their own, which the translators, Gabriel and Joannes Ezronita added to this last work, entitled, *De nonnullis Orientalium urbibus*, etc.—*Liber Psalmorum ex idiomate Syra in Latinum translatus*, Paris, 1625; *Veteris philosophi Syri de sapientia divina, poema enigmaticum Syr. et Lat.*—*Testamentum et pactioes inter Mohammedem et Christiana fidei cultores*, Paris, 1634, etc.—E. D.

GAD (גָּד; Sept. Γάδ). 1. The son of Jacob and Zilpah, Leah's maid. His name is explained in the story of his birth, and the explanation is confirmed by a subsequent allusion—'Zilpah bare Jacob a son, and Leah said a troop cometh, and she called his name Gad' (Gen. xxx. 11). The passage is rendered somewhat obscure by the fact that the *Kethib* has גָּדִי, which the Sept., Vulg., and some modern commentators render 'in felicity'; whereas the Masoretic *Keri* gives גָּד בָּה as the true reading, and is followed by our A. V. That the latter reading is the true one may be seen by comparing the passage with Gen. xlix. 19, where the word גָּד must bear the signification of 'a troop.' Of the personal history of this patriarch no details are given. His name is not once mentioned except in those lists where the sons of Jacob are all enumerated. All we know of him is that he had seven sons at the time Jacob and his family migrated to Egypt (xlii. 16).

The materials for the history of the tribe of Gad are very scanty. In Jacob's prophetic blessing there is a characteristic play upon the name, and one of the most remarkable examples of paronomasia in the Bible יָגֵד יְנֻדָּנוּ הוּא יָגֵד עֵקֶב (Gen. xlix. 19). No translation can do justice to it. Stanley's rendering approaches the force and point of the original: 'Gad is a troop of plunderers; a troop of plunderers shall plunder him, but he shall plunder at the last' (*S. and P.*, 320). The troops destined to plunder him were the wild hordes of Arabs and Ammonites by whom his borders were infested, whose incursions were frequent,

and whose defeat and slaughter were signal (Judg. x, xi.) The tribe numbered 45,650 fighting men at the time of the Exodus; and during the wilderness journey it decreased to 40,500 (Num. i. 25; xvi. 18). The Gadites, like their brethren of Reuben and Manasseh, had retained while in Egypt their old pastoral habits, and were very rich in cattle (xxxii. 1). When the Israelites approached Canaan after the long pilgrimage through the rugged defiles of Sinai, and across the arid plains of Western Arabia, the rich pasture lands of Gilead, with its forests, streams, and glorious scenery, immediately attracted the attention of these tribes; and they 'came and spake unto Moses . . . saying . . . (this) country . . . is a land for cattle, and thy servants have cattle; wherefore . . . let this land be given unto thy servants for a possession' (xxxii. 2-5). Their request was granted; and the two tribes and half settled east of Jordan. They had probably an additional object in making this choice. The country west of the river was of narrow limits. It was not so well suited for the freedom and nomad habits of pastoral life. The Gadites and their brethren wished a wider range for their vast flocks than Palestine afforded; and they saw the great eastern plains open to them. At one period this tribe occupied the country as far east as Salchah (1 Chron. v. 11-16).

The territory which fell to the lot of the Gadites is one of the most beautiful in Syria. On the south it was bounded by the valley of Heshbon; on the west by the Jordan; and on the east by the plain of Arabia (Josh. xiii. 24, sq.). Its northern boundary is somewhat more difficult to define. Gad possessed the whole Jordan valley as far as the sea of Galilee (xiii. 27); but among the mountains eastward the territory extended no farther north than the river Jabbok. The border seems to have run diagonally from that point across the mountains by Mahanaim to the southern extremity of the Sea of Galilee (Josh. xii. 1-6; xiii. 26, 30, 31; Deut. iii. 12, 13 (see Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 252). As seen from the west this region is a continuous range of purple-tinted mountains, rising abruptly from the chasm of the Jordan, intersected by deep ravines, and partially clothed with oak forests, and jungles of evergreen shrubs. When viewed from the east the appearance is altogether different. It is a low, irregular ridge, in some places not rising more than a hundred feet above the high, bleak plateau of Arabia. The soil among the mountains and in the picturesque glens is fertile, and the pastures are more luxuriant than in any part of Syria. The territory also embraced a number of places remarkable in the sacred and civil history of the patriarchs, judges, and kings; such as Mahanaim, Peniel, Ramoth-Mizpeh, Galed, Succoth, and Rabbath-Ammon.

The Gadites were a warlike race, and they bravely aided their brethren in the conquest of Canaan. Leaving their women and children in their strongholds east of the Jordan, they crossed over armed, and with Reuben and Manasseh led the van in the long campaign under Joshua (Josh. iv. 12, 13; xxii. 1-4). The position of their territory compelled them to keep up their warlike spirit and training in after ages. The Ammonites, whose country they possessed, hung upon their eastern border (Judg. x. 17); and the wild hordes of the Arabian desert made periodical raids upon their pastures and flocks (chaps. vii., viii.) Though

often sorely pressed by these fierce plunderers, yet they nobly defended their country, and more than once bore back the tide of conquest on their assailants. One of their greatest victories was that gained over the descendants of Ishmael, the tribes of Jetur, Nephish, and Nodab, from whom they took enormous booty (1 Chron. v. 19-22). The Gadites were well described at that time as 'valiant men, men able to bear buckler and sword, and to shoot with bow, and skilful in war' (ver. 18). This country too produced many eminent men. Jephthah the Gileadite ranks high among the heroes of Israel; and 'Elijah the Tishbite of the inhabitants of Gilead,' was one of the grandest characters the world ever saw. It may be that he owed some of those qualities for which he was distinguished to the habits and state of his native country—his wonderful physical strength; his powers of enduring fatigue, hunger, and thirst; his dress in every respect resembling that of a modern inhabitant of Gilead; his wandering mode of life; and his apparent dislike to the restraints of society. Gilead was a land of roving shepherds, and moving camps, and mountain castles, and wild adventure (GILEAD).

The Gadites were devotedly attached to both Saul and David. Some of their mighty men followed the fortunes of the latter in their darkest period—men of whom it is said that they were 'men of war for the battle, that could handle shield and buckler, whose faces were the faces of lions, and who were swift as the roes upon the mountains' (1 Chron. xii. 8). The taking down the bodies of Saul and Jonathan from the battlements of Bethshean was an act of noble daring and grateful recompense. Among the Gadites David afterwards found an asylum when he fled from Absalom; and in their territory the battle was fought which regained him his throne (2 Sam. xlvii., xviii.). The Gadites suffered much during the ascendancy of the warlike monarchs of Damascus. At length the whole country was overrun by the armies of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, and the people carried away captive (2 Kings xv. 29). Soon afterwards the Ammonites appear to have taken possession of the land; and Jeremiah was then commissioned to pronounce that prophetic doom which we now see so fearfully executed on the cities and villages of Gilead (Jer. xlix. 1, seq.) In addition to those already named, the following works may be consulted—*Reland, Pal.*, p. 162, seq.; *Stanley, Sin. and Pal.*, p. 319; *Kalisch on Gen. xlix. 19; Handbook for Syr. and Pal.*, 295, 308, seq.; *Burckhardt, Travels in Syria*, 345, seq.; *Irby and Mangles' Travels*.—J. L. P.

2. A prophet contemporary with David, and probably a pupil of Samuel, who early attached himself to the son of Jesse (1 Sam. xxii. 5). Instances of his prophetic intercourse with David occur in 2 Sam. xxiv. 11, seq.; 1 Chron. xxi. 9, seq.; 2 Chron. xxix. 25. Gad wrote a history of the reign of David, to which the author of the Second Book of Samuel seems to refer for further information respecting that reign (1 Chron. xxix. 29), B.C. 1062-1017.

GAD (גָּד; Sept. *δαμδον*, or, according to the reading of Jerome and of some MSS., *ρύχη*) is mentioned in Is. lxx. 11. The word admits of two different significations. If it be derived from

גַּד in the sense of *to cut*, it may mean *a lot*, and, by a combination with the Arabic جَد, which means *to be new, to occur, to be fortunate*, may be legitimately taken to denote *fortune*. Indeed, some find this 'fortune,' although not as an idol, in Gen. xxx. 11, where the Sept. has rendered the Kethib גַּד by ἐν τύχῃ, which is approved by Selden, and especially by Tuch, who does not even wish to change the punctuation, but ascribes the Qametz to the influence of the pause (*Comment. über die Genesis*, ad loc.) This is the sense in which Gesenius, Hitzig, and Ewald have taken *Gad* in their respective versions of Isaiah. All render the clause, 'who spread a table to Fortune.' This view, which is the general one, makes Fortune in this passage to be an object of idolatrous worship. There is great disagreement, however, as to the power of nature which this name was intended to denote; and, from the scanty data, there is little else than mere opinion on the subject. The majority, among whom are some of the chief rabbinical commentators, as well as Gesenius, Münter, and Ewald, consider *Gad* to be the form under which the planet Jupiter was worshipped as the greater star of good fortune (see especially Gesenius, *Comment. über den Jesaia*, ad loc.) Others, among whom is Vitringa, suppose *Gad* to have represented the Sun; and Movers, the latest writer of any eminence on Syro-Arabian idolatry, takes it to have been the planet Venus (*Die Phönizier*, i. 650).

On the other hand, if *Gad* be derived from גַּד in the sense of *to press, to crowd*, it may mean *a troop, a heap* (to which sense there is an allusion in Gen. xlix. 19); and Hoheisel, as cited in Rosenmüller's *Scholia*, ad loc., as well as Deyling, in his *Observat. Miscell.* p. 673, have each attempted a mode by which the passage might be explained, if *Gad* and *Meni* were taken in the sense of *troop* and *number*.—J. N.

GAD (גַּד) occurs in two places in Scripture, in both of which it is translated *coriander*, viz., Exod. xvi. 31, Num. xi. 7. The manna which fell in the desert, and on which the Israelites were fed during their sojourn there, is usually described, from a collation of the different passages, in which it is mentioned as white, round, and like *gad*, which last has almost universally been considered to mean 'coriander' seed, though some prefer other seeds. The chief and indeed only proof of *gad* signifying the coriander, has been adduced by Celsius (*Hierobot.* vol. ii. p. 81): 'Γολδ, quod Africanis *coriandrum* est, ut docet auctor ignotus sed utilissimus, qui Dioscoridem synonymis exoticis auxit et illustravit. Αἰγύπτια, inquit, ὄχιον, Ἀφροί γολδ: coriandrum Ægyptii ὀχιον appellat, Afri goid.' This passage Sprengel incorporates with the text of Dioscorides as well as the other synonyms, which are supposed by others, as above, to be additions by another but unknown ancient author. Rosenmüller, referring to this passage, observes: 'the Africans, i.e. Carthaginians, whose language, the Punic, was cognate with the Hebrew, called the coriander Γολδ, which word is not at all different from the Hebrew *gad*.' Celsius states that the coriander is frequently mentioned in the Talmud. It was known to and used medicinally by Hippocrates: it is mentioned by

Theophrastus, as well as Dioscorides, under the name of κόριον or κοριαννον; and the Arabs, in their works on *Materia Medica*, give *korion* as the Greek synonym of coriander, which they call كزبرة *kuseereh*, the Persians *kushneez*, and the natives of India *dhunya*. It is known throughout



254. *Coriandrum sativum*.

all these countries, in all of which it is cultivated, being universally employed as a grateful spice, and as one of the ingredients of currie-powder. It is also common in Egypt (Prosper Alpinus, *De Plantis Ægypti*, c. xlii. p. 61). Pliny also, long before, mentioned 'coriandrum in Ægypto præcipuum.' It is now very common in the south of Europe, and also in this country, being cultivated, especially in Essex, on account of its seeds. The coriander is an umbelliferous plant, the *Coriandrum sativum* of botanists. The fruit, commonly called seeds, is globular, greyish-coloured, about the size of peppercorn, having its surface marked with fine striae. Both its taste and smell are agreeable, depending on the presence of a volatile oil, which is separated by distillation.—J. F. R.

GADARA (Γαδάρ). A city of Peræa, and one of its ancient capitals. It stood on the northern end of the mountains of Gilead, five miles east of the river Jordan, and about six from the Sea of Galilee. It is only mentioned in Scripture in connection with the miracle performed by our Lord on the demoniacs. The story is told by three of the Evangelists. Matthew, according to the *Textus Receptus*, says it occurred in the country of the *Gergesenes* (Γεργεσενῶν; viii. 28); while Mark (v. 1) and Luke (viii. 26) call it the country of the *Gadarenes* (Γαδαρηνῶν). We shall first endeavour to remove this apparent contradiction. The name of the place must be ascertained before an attempt is made to identify and describe it.

On examining the MS. authorities for the text of Matthew's gospel, we find them strangely divided about this word. Seven Uncials have Γεργεσενῶν, the reading of the *T. R.*, but none of these is older than the eighth century. One, the *Cod. Beza*, has

Γερασσηῶν; four have Γαδαρηῶν; but these include the most ancient and valuable extant, B. and C.; and the Sinaitic MS., according to Tischendorf, has Γαζαρηῶν, manifestly a corruption of the same reading (*Notitia Edit. Cod. Bib. Sinait.*, p. 15). The weight of MS. evidence is thus decidedly in favour of Γαδαρηῶν. The ancient versions are nearly equally balanced; the Syriac having *Gadara*, and the Latin *Gerasa*. Origen is the first writer who mentions the reading Γεργεσηῶν. He states that the common reading was Γερασά; but that in a few (ἐν ὀλίγοις) he found Γαδαρ. He thought, however, that both these cities were too far distant from the Sea of Galilee to meet the requirements of the narrative, and consequently he conjectures that *Gergesa*, which he says lay upon the shore, must be the place referred to (*Comment. in Joh.*) Now in a question of this kind conjecture cannot be admitted. We must implicitly follow the most ancient and credible testimony, which clearly pronounces in favour of Γαδαρηῶν. This reading is adopted by Tischendorf, Alford, and Tregelles (see their Greek Testaments, *in loc.*)

In Mark v. 1, ancient authorities are nearly equally balanced between the readings Γερασσηῶν and Γαδαρηῶν. The former is the reading of the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS., and of the Latin versions; while the latter is that of the Alexandrine and seven other Uncials, and of the Syriac versions (Tregelles' *Account of the Printed Text*, p. 192; Tisch., *Notitia, ut sup.*) The same is the case in reference to Luke viii. 26; and all the best critics adopt there also the reading Γερασσηῶν, as that of the highest authority (See Alford's *Greek Test.*, vol. i.; *Prolegomena*, p. 95, 4th ed.; Kuinzel, *Commentar.* *in loc.*)

Whatever may be the true reading in these two passages, there can be no doubt that the city (πόλις) out of which Luke says the demoniac came was *Gadara*. Matthew and Mark represent him as coming out of the tombs (μνηστέον), and *Gadara* has a large number of rock-hewn tombs. Origen indeed affirms that the demoniacs were natives of *Gergesa*, which was situated on the shore of the lake; but we do not hear elsewhere of any such city, for though Josephus mentions the Gergashites (*Antiq.* i. 6. 2), yet it appears that their towns had been all destroyed at the time of the conquest of Palestine by the Israelites (Deut. vii. 1; Josh. xiv. 11; see, however, GERGESA).

Gadara was a large and splendid city, for a time the capital of *Peræa* (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iv. 7. 3). Eusebius describes it as situated opposite to Scythopolis and Tiberias, on a mountain, at whose base, three miles distant, are warm springs (*Onomast.* s. v. *Aetham and Gadara*). Pliny says it was on the banks of the Hieromax (*H. N.* v. 18); and Josephus adds that it was sixty stadia distant from Tiberias (*Vit.* 65). With such clear data, we can have no difficulty in identifying it with the modern ruins of *Um Kais*.

Gadara does not appear to have been a city of high antiquity. It is not mentioned either in the O. T. or Apocrypha; and Josephus calls it a Grecian city (πόλις Ἑλληνική). Another ancient writer referred to by Reland (*Pal.* 1013), terms it Γάδαρα Ἀσσυρία. These statements, when connected with the fact that it was one of the chief cities of the Decapolis, seem to indicate that *Gadara* was founded, and mainly inhabited by foreign and probably Grecian colonists. The first

historical notice we find of it is in a quotation by Josephus from Polybius, to the effect that when Antiochus the Great conquered Scopus, the general of Ptolemy (B.C. 198), he obtained possession of *Gadara* (*Antiq.* xii. 3. 3). At a long subsequent period the city fell into the hands of the Jews, and was destroyed by them, but rebuilt by Ptolemy in B.C. 63 (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* i. 7. 7). When Gabinius was appointed pro-consul, he changed the government of Judæa by dividing the country into five districts, in each of which he created a superior council. *Gadara* was capital of one of them (i. 8. 5). Augustus gave the city to Herod the Great; but after Herod's death, it was separated from the government of Archelaus, and annexed to the province of Syria (*Antiq.* xvii. 11. 4). It was captured and sacked by the Jews, in revenge for the massacre of their brethren at Cæsarea (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 18. 1). At the commencement of our era it contained a small Jewish community (ii. 18. 6), who increased so much in wealth and power, that they attempted to defend the town against Vespasian; but he captured it, and reduced it and the surrounding villages to ashes (iii. 7. 1). It was captured a second time by him (iv. 7. 3). At a later period it rose to considerable importance, and became one of the most beautiful towns of Syria. It was for several centuries the seat of a bishopric (*Geogr. Sac. S. Paul.* p. 307; Reland *Pal.* 776). It fell to ruins soon after the Mohammedan conquest, and has now been deserted for centuries, with the exception of a few families of shepherds, who occasionally find a home in its rock-hewn tombs.

The above historical sketch will serve to illustrate the narrative of the Demoniacs. Christ crossed the Sea of Galilee 'to the territory of the Gadarenes,' which extended down to the shore. It will be observed that there is nothing in the Gospels to indicate that the city itself was near the lake. If the reading *Gerasenes* be the true one in Mark and Luke, it is still geographically accurate. In the time of our Lord, *Gerasa* was capital of northern *Peræa*, and its province included that of *Gadara* (GERASA). The Demoniacs, we are told, had their dwelling 'in the tombs' (ἐν τοῖς μνημασιν), which abound in the immediate neighbourhood of the ruins. The herds of swine were either the property of the Gentile inhabitants, or were kept by the Jews for their use. It is not stated where the swine were feeding, but it was near the scene of the miracle, and most probably on the high point of land which separates the ravine of the Hieromax from the lake. From that there is a long and 'steep' descent to the shore, and down this the swine may have rushed.

The ruins of *Gadara* occupy a narrow and high ridge, which projects from the mountains of Gilead. On its northern side is the deep valley of the Hieromax, now called Sheriat el-Mandhūr; on the west is the Jordan valley; and on the south is a glen called Wady el-Arab, running parallel to the Hieromax. The ruins crown the ridge, and as it declines in elevation towards the east, the site is strong and commanding. The space occupied by the city is about two miles in circuit; and there are traces of the ancient wall all round. On the northern slope is a large theatre, a view of which is given in Traill's Josephus (i. 145). *Gadara* had, like Palmyra, Damascus, and other eastern cities, a *via recta*, or 'straight street,' lined with

colonnades. Many of the bases remain *in situ*, though the shafts have fallen. A sketch of this street is given in the same work, shewing the theatre and acropolis in the background (ii. 16). The buildings of the city are all in ruins. Not a house, nor column, nor wall, remains standing; though the old pavement of the streets is almost perfect, shewing the marks of the chariot wheels in the stones, as at Pompeii. The necropolis is on the north-east declivity. The tombs are excavated in the limestone rocks, and consist of chambers of various sizes, some above twenty feet square, with deep recesses in the sides for bodies. The doors are made of heavy slabs of stone, like those in the ancient houses of Bashan (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 54). A few of them are in their places, and are ornamented with panels. There are, besides, many beautifully sculptured sarcophagi scattered over the surrounding heights.

The identity of Um Keis and Gadara has been disputed by some writers; but the clear description of Eusebius, Josephus, and Pliny, and especially the existence of the celebrated warm springs at the base of the mountain, beside the river Hieromax, remove all possibility of mistake. Full descriptions of Um Keis are given by Burckhardt, Buckingham, and Irby and Mangles. The student may also consult Reland's *Palästina*, Traill's *Josephus, Handbook for S. and P.*, and Lord Lindsay's *Travels*.—J. L. P.

GALANTE, ABRAHAM B. MORDECAI, a celebrated Kabbalist and commentator of the sixteenth century, and disciple of Moses Cordovera. His father's name was originally Mordecai Angelo (אנגלי), but he received the appellation Galante, or rather *Galant'uomo*, in Rome, where he resided, because of his beautiful appearance and manners, and when his family afterwards emigrated to Safed, in Upper Galilee, they retained this name. Abraham Galante wrote (1) a commentary on the *Sohar*, entitled *יקר ירח*, extending over the whole Pentateuch, of which the first part, embracing Genesis, was published under the title *הורי חומה*, Venice 1655, and (2) a commentary on the Book of Lamentations, called *קִינֵת סְתָרִים*, which was published with additions by Ibn-Shoëb under the title *קול בוכים*, Venice 1589, of which a second edition appeared in Prag, 1621. Galante died about 1600.—C. D. G.

GALANTE, MOSES B. MORDECAI, brother of the preceding commentator, and president of the celebrated Rabbinic College at Safed. The works of this author which relate to the Bible are (1) *ספתת הזוהר*, an *Index to the Sohár*, in which are given all the passages of the O. T. explained in the *Sohár*. This work is extremely useful to those who are engaged in writing Christological treatises, inasmuch as it enables them to see how the Messianic passages are treated in the Talmud of the Kabbala. It was first published in Venice, 1666, and then at Frankfort-on-Maine, 1681; and (2) a commentary on Ecclesiastes, entitled *קהלת יעקב*, published in Safed, 1578, which is profusely illustrated with passages from the *Sohár*. Galante died between 1596 and 1608. Robinson (*Biblical Researches in Palestine*, London 1856, vol. ii. p. 430) places his death in 1618, which is too late. Comp. Steinschneider, *Cata-*

logus Lib. Heb. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana, Col. 1816.—C. D. G.

GALATIA (Γαλατία). This name is employed in two senses by ancient writers. *First*, to denote the country inhabited or possessed by the eastern *Galli*; *τῇ Γαλατικῇ χώρᾳ*, as St. Luke calls it (Acts xvi. 6). And *secondly*, as the name of the later Roman province. It will be necessary here to consider each in succession, as the word is evidently used in both senses in the N. T.

The *Galli*, or *Keltæ* (Κέλται, *Celts*), for the names are identical, originally emigrated from Gallia. In the fourth century B.C., sections of three tribes of Galli, the *Tectosages*, whose home was near the Pyrennees, the *Trocmi*, and the *Tolistobogii*, left their native country, crossed to the banks of the Danube, and then struck southward into Greece. After some fierce contests with the Greeks at Thermopylae, at Delphi, and other places, they were forced to retire to the shores of the Hellespont (Strabo iv. p. 129, *sq.*; Pausan. i. 16; x. 19; Justin xxiv.) One of their tribes crossed the straits in boats obtained from Antipater of Macedonia; and the others were carried across by Nicomedes I., king of Bithynia, on condition they should aid him against his enemy Zybœtas (Memnon, *ap. Phot.*; Liv. xxxviii. 16; circa B.C. 270). Having thus obtained a footing in Asia Minor, they led a wandering life for many years. At one time we find them employed as mercenaries by the native princes in their wars against each other; at another we find them warring on their own account, and living on plunder. They soon became the terror of the whole peninsula, marching from city to city, and from province to province, and leaving desolation and death in their track. They were at length opposed and defeated by Antiochus, king of Syria, who, in consequence of the victory over them, obtained the name *Soter*, or 'Saviour' (Appian, *Syriac.* 65). Soon afterwards they sustained a still more signal defeat from Attalus, prince of Pergamum; and they were then compelled to retreat to the mountainous region in the centre of Asia Minor, between the rivers Sangarius and Halys, where they settled about B.C. 230 (Liv. l. c.; Strabo, xiii. p. 429). Here, however, they still followed their old habits, plundering all within their reach; and it was not until the Roman rule was extended over western Asia that they were completely subdued. The pro-consul Manlius attacked them in their strongholds, defeated the tribes in succession, summoned their chiefs to meet him on the shores of the Hellespont, where he dictated his own terms, and sent them back to their mountains humbled and submissive (B. C. 189; Liv. xxxviii. 40).

The country now colonized by these warlike tribes was called *Galatia*, or *Gallogracia*. Its boundaries cannot be accurately determined, as it embraced portions of several provinces. The *Tectosages* made the strong city of Pessinus their capital, and occupied the region on the borders of Phrygia and Bithynia. The *Tolistobogii* settled around Ancyra, and extended as far east as the banks of the Halys. The *Trocmi* seized the fertile region along the east side of the Halys. Tavium was their chief city, and they encroached considerably on the provinces of Pontus and Cappadocia (Memnon, *ap. Phot.*) Pliny says the Galli were divided into peoples and tetrarchies, numbering 195 (v. 42). Each tribe had four tetrarchies; and the

twelve tetrarchies had a council of 300 members, who exercised supreme authority over the nation; but Strabo tells us that in his days the whole power devolved first on three men, then on two, and finally on one, who was proclaimed king (xii. p. 390). Their first monarch was Deiotarus, who, having espoused the cause of Pompey, was stripped by Cæsar of his tetrarchy and kingdom. Cicero defended him in a noble speech, which is still extant (*pro Deiot.* 13).

Though the Galli were the dominant race in Galatia, they were mixed with Phrygians and other native tribes. A large number of Greeks, also, who had followed the conquests of Alexander, settled among them—hence the name *Gallogræcia*. Greek soon became the common language of all; but the Galli, as we learn from Jerome, retained their own language even down so late as the fourth century, —‘Galatos excepto sermone græco, quo omnis oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem habere quam Treviros’ (*Hieron. Prol. in Epist. Gal.*) The Galli were fierce, restless, and warlike. They were impatient of all foreign restraint, and eagerly seized on every opportunity to throw off the yoke of Rome. They appear to have had little religion of their own; and they adopted the superstitions of the Phrygians and the mythology of the Greeks with an easy indifference. The character given to them by Thierry strikingly illustrates many passages in Paul’s epistle—‘Une braveure personnelle que rien n’égalait . . . un esprit franc, impétueux, ouvert à toutes les impressions, éminemment intelligent; mais, à côté de cela, une mobilité extrême, point de constance, une répugnance marquée aux idées de discipline et d’ordre’ (*Histoire des Gaulois*, Int. iv.)

When Galatia was constituted a Roman province under M. Lollius (circa B.C. 22; *Eutrop.* vii. 10), its boundaries were greatly enlarged. They are given by Ptolemy (v. 3). It had Bithynia and Phrygia on the west; Pamphylia on the south; Cappadocia and Pontus on the east; and the Euxine on the north. Its line of coast reached from Cyturus in Bithynia to the mouth of the Halys. It thus included the whole of Paphlagonia, with large sections of Phrygia, Lycaonia, and Cappadocia. It extended from the Black Sea to the range of Taurus.

Luke records two visits of the Apostle Paul to Galatia; and in a previous missionary tour he had passed through the southern border of the Roman province to Iconium and Antioch (Acts xiv. 21). Silas accompanied him on his first visit to Galatia proper, which Luke terms *τῆς Γαλατίας χώρας*, that is, ‘the region of the Galli,’ not including those districts which were now politically united with it (Acts xvi. 6; Conybeare and Howson, i. 292). No town is mentioned; but the probability is he visited Ancyra, the capital, and numerous other places, for it appears he founded ‘churches.’ He was received everywhere with readiness and hospitality (Gal. iv. 15). He was evidently suffering at the time from sickness; and he bears grateful testimony to the kindness of the people (verses 13, 14). The changeableness of their character and views was soon exhibited, however, in abandoning the sound doctrine of the apostle, and adopting some new one (i. 6). When among them, he tells us, they received him ‘as an angel of God;’ but no sooner had he departed than they were led to regard him ‘as an enemy’ (iv. 14-16). Of his second

missionary journey to ‘the region of Galatia,’ we have no details farther than that ‘he went over all the region of Galatia and Phrygia in order’ (Acts xviii. 23). It would seem from these facts that the Epistle to the Galatians was addressed to those churches which Paul had established among the Galli, and the Greek-speaking population of Galatia proper. Peter’s first epistle is addressed ‘to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia’ (1 Pet. i. 1). Every place named is a Roman province; and we may, therefore, conclude that the Apostle refers to the extended province as described by Ptolemy.

The best work on the Galli is that of Thierry, *Histoire des Gaulois*. For the geography of Galatia consult Livy, xxxviii; Ptolemy, v. 4; Strabo, xii. and xiii.; Conybeare and Howson’s *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, i. 261, sq.; Hamilton’s *Researches in Asia Minor*.—J. L. P.

GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE. The Pauline origin of this epistle is attested not only by the superscription which it bears (i. 1), but also by frequent allusions in the course of it to the great Apostle of the Gentiles (comp. i. 13-23; ii. 1-14), and by the unanimous testimony of the ancient church (Lardner, *Works*, vol. ii. 8vo). It is corroborated also by the style, tone, and contents of the epistle, which are perfectly in keeping with those of the apostle’s other writings.

The parties to whom this epistle was addressed are described in the epistle itself as ‘the churches of Galatia’ (i. 2; comp. iii. 1). Into this district the Gospel was first introduced by Paul himself (Acts xvi. 6; Gal. i. 8; iv. 13, 19). Churches were then also probably formed; for on revisiting this district some time after his first visit it is mentioned that he ‘strengthened the disciples’ (Acts xviii. 23). These churches seem to have been composed principally of converts directly from Heathenism, but partly, also, of Jewish converts, both pure Jews and proselytes. Unhappily, Judaizing teachers had visited these churches, and had succeeded in infecting them with a zealous desire to incorporate the rites and ceremonies of Judaism with the spiritual truths and simple ordinances of Christianity. So active had this party been in disseminating their views on this head through the churches of Galatia, that the majority at least of the members had been seduced to adopt them (i. 6; iii. 1, etc.) To this result it is probable that the previous religious conceptions of the Galatians contributed; for, accustomed to the worship of Cybele, which they had learned from their neighbours the Phrygians, and to the theosophistic doctrines with which that worship was associated, they would be the more readily induced to believe that the fulness of Christianity could alone be developed through the symbolical adumbrations of an elaborate ceremonial (Neander, *Apostol. Zeitalter*, s. 400, 2te Aufl.) From some passages in this epistle (e. gr. i. 11-24; ii. 1-21) it would appear also that insinuations had been disseminated among the Galatian churches to the effect that Paul was not a divinely-commissioned apostle, but only a messenger of the church at Jerusalem; that Peter and he were at variance upon the subject of the relation of the Jewish rites to Christianity; and that Paul himself was not at all times so strenuously opposed to those rites as he had chosen to be among the Galatians.

Of this state of things intelligence having been conveyed to the apostle, he wrote this epistle for the purpose of vindicating his own pretensions and conduct, of counteracting the influence of these false views, and of recalling the Galatians to the simplicity of the Gospel which they had received. The importance of the case was probably the reason why the apostle put himself to the great labour of writing this epistle with his own hand (vi. 11).

The epistle consists of *three* parts. In the *first* part (i.-ii.), after his usual salutations, Paul vindicates his own apostolic authority and independence as a directly-commissioned ambassador of Christ to men, and especially to the Gentile portion of the race; asserting that the Gospel which he preached was the only Gospel of Christ—expressing his surprise that the Galatians had allowed themselves to be so soon turned from him who had called them to a different Gospel—denouncing all who had thus seduced them as troublers of the church, perverters of the doctrine of Christ, and deserving, even had they been angels from heaven, to be placed under an anathema instead of being followed—maintaining the divine origin of his apostolic commission, which he illustrates by the history of his conversion and early conduct in the service of Christ—and declaring that, so far from being inferior to the other apostles, he had ever treated with them on equal terms, and been welcomed by them as an equal. Having in the close of this part of the epistle been led to refer to his zeal for the great doctrine of salvation by the grace of God through faith in Christ, he enters at large, in the *second* part (iii.-iv.), upon the illustration and defence of this cardinal truth of Christianity. He appeals to the former experience of the Galatians as to the way in which they had received the Spirit, to the case of Abraham, and to the testimony of Scripture in support of his position that it is by faith and not by the works of the law that men are accepted of God (iii. 1-9). He proceeds to remind them that the law has brought a curse upon men because of sin, a curse which it has no power to remove, and from which the sinner can be redeemed only through the substitutionary work of Christ, by whose means the blessing of Abraham comes upon the Gentiles. And lest any should object that the law being of more recent origin than the covenant must supersede it, he shews that this cannot be the case, but that the covenant must be perpetual, whilst the law is to be regarded only in the light of a temporary and intercalary arrangement, the design of which was to forward the fulfilment of the promise in Christ (10-29). The relation of the Jewish church to the Christian is then illustrated by the case of an heir under tutors and governors as contrasted with the case of the same person when he is of age and has become master of all; and the Galatians are exhorted not willingly to descend from the important and dignified position of sons to that of mere servants in God's house—an exhortation which is illustrated and enforced by an allegorical comparison of the Jewish church to Ishmael, the son of Hagar, and of the Christian to Isaac, the son of Sarah, and the Child of Promise (iv. 1-31). The *third* part of the epistle (v.-vi.) is chiefly hortatory and admonitory: it sets forth the necessity of steadfast adherence to the liberty of the Gospel in connection with obedience to the moral law as a rule of duty, the importance of mutual forbearance and love

among Christians, and the desirableness of maintaining a firm adherence to the doctrine of Christ and Him crucified. The epistle concludes with benedictions and prayers.

Respecting the time when and the place where this epistle was written, great diversity of opinion prevails. Marcion held this to be the earliest of Paul's epistles (Epiphanius, *Adv. Hæres.* xlii. 9); and Tertullian is generally supposed to favour the same opinion, from his speaking of Paul's zeal against Judaism displayed in this epistle as characteristic of his being yet a neophyte (*Adv. Marc.* i. 20); though, to us, it does not appear that in this passage Tertullian is referring at all to the *writing* of this epistle, but only to Paul's personal intercourse with Peter and other of the apostles mentioned by him in the epistle (ii. 9-14). Michaelis also has given his suffrage in favour of a date earlier than that of the apostle's second visit to Galatia, and very shortly after that of his first. Koppe's view (*Nov. Test.*, vol. vi. p. 7) is the same, though he supposes the apostle to have preached in Galatia *before* the visit mentioned by Luke in Acts xvi. 6, and which is usually reckoned his first visit to that district. Others, again, such as Mill (*Proleg. in Nov. Test.*, p. 4), Calovius (*Biblia Illust.*, t. iv. p. 529), and, more recently, Schrader (*Der. Ap. Paulus*, th. i. s. 226), place the date of this epistle at a late period of the apostle's life: the last, indeed, advocates the date assigned in the Greek MSS. and in the Syriac and Arabic versions, which announce that it was 'written from Rome' during the apostle's imprisonment there. The majority, however, concur in a medium view between these extremes, and fix the date of this epistle at some time shortly after the apostle's second visit to Galatia. This opinion appears to us to be the only one that has any decided support from the epistle itself. From the apostle's abrupt exclamation in chap. i. 6, 'I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you,' etc., it seems just to infer that he wrote this epistle not very long after he had left Galatia. It is true, as has been urged, that *ὄντω ταχέως* in this verse may mean 'so quickly' as well as 'so soon'; but the abruptness of the apostle's statement appears to us rather to favour the latter rendering: for, as a complaint of the *quickness* of their change respected the *manner* in which it had been made, and as the apostle could be aware of that only by report, and as it was a matter on which there might be a difference of opinion between him and them, it would seem necessary that the *grounds* of such a charge should be stated; whereas if the complaint merely related to the shortness of time during which, after the apostle had been among them, they had remained steadfast in the faith, a mere allusion to it was sufficient, as it was a matter not admitting of any diversity of opinion. We infer, then, from this expression, that this epistle was written not long after Paul had been in Galatia. The question, however, still remains, which of the two visits of Paul to Galatia mentioned in the Acts was it after which this epistle was written? In reply to this Michaelis and some others maintain that it was the *first*; but in coming to this conclusion they appear to have unaccountably overlooked the apostle's phraseology (iv. 13), where he speaks of circumstances connected with his preaching the Gospel among the Galatians, *τὸ πρότερον*, the *former time*, an expression which clearly indicates

that at the period this epistle was written, Paul had been at least *twice* in Galatia.* On these grounds it is probable that the apostle wrote and despatched this epistle not long after he had left Galatia for the second time, and, perhaps, whilst he was residing at Ephesus (comp. Acts xviii. 23; xix. 1, *seq.*) The reasons which Michaelis urges for an earlier date are of no weight. He appeals, in the first place, to chap. i. 2, and asks whether Paul would have used the vague expression, 'all the brethren,' without naming them, had it not been that the parties in question were those by whom he had been accompanied on his first visit to Galatia, viz., Silas and Timothy, and, 'perhaps, some others.' The answer to this obviously is, that had Paul referred in this expression to these individuals, who were known to the Galatians, he was much more likely on that very account to have named them than otherwise; and besides, the expression 'all the brethren that are with me' is much more naturally understood of a considerable number of persons, such as the elders of the church at Ephesus, than of *two* persons, and, 'perhaps, some others.' Again, he urges the fact that, about the time of Paul's first visit to Galatia, Asia Minor was full of zealots for the law, and that consequently it is easier to account for the seduction of the Galatians at this period than at a later. But the passage to which Michaelis refers in support of this assertion (Acts xv. 1) simply informs us that certain Judaizing teachers visited Antioch, and gives us no information whatever as to the time when such zealots entered Asia Minor. In fine, he lays great stress on the circumstance that Paul, in recapitulating the history of his own life in the first and second chapters, brings the narrative down only to the period of the conference at Jerusalem, the reason of which is to be found, he thinks, in the fact that this epistle was written so soon after that event that nothing of moment had subsequently occurred in the apostle's history. But even admitting that the period referred to in this second chapter was that of the conference mentioned Acts xv. (though this is much doubted by many writers of note), the reason assigned by Michaelis for Paul's carrying the narrative of his life no further than this cannot be admitted: for it overlooks the design of the apostle in furnishing that narrative, which was not certainly to deliver himself of a piece of mere autobiographical detail; but to shew from certain leading incidents in his early apostolic life how from the first he had claimed and exercised an independent apostolic authority, and how his rights in this respect had been admitted by the pillars of the church, Peter, James, and John. For this purpose it was not necessary that the narrative should be brought down to a lower date than the period when Paul went forth as the apostle of the Gentiles, formally recognised as such by the other apostles of Christ. This fact, then, is as little in favour of Michaelis's theory as

any of his other arguments. Conybeare and Howson have advocated the opinion that this epistle was written from Corinth at the same time as the Epistle to the Romans; but as they rest this almost exclusively on the improbability that two epistles so closely resembling each other in subject should have been written at a long interval from each other, their suggestion cannot be allowed to have much weight, in opposition to the reasons which sustain the commonly received opinion. There is certainly no reason in the nature of things why Paul should not have written twice on the same subject at distant periods; and when the Epistle to the Galatians is compared with that to the Romans, the similarity between the two is such as rather to suggest that the latter is the development, at a later period, and in a more systematic form, of thoughts more hastily thrown out to meet a pressing emergency, in the former.

Commentaries.—Augustine (*Opp.*, ed. Benedict., tom. iii.; ed. Erasm. tom. iv. p. 1211); Jerome (*Opp.*, ed. Vallars., tom. vii., ed. Francof. ad Moen. 1684, tom. ix., p. 280); Luther (*Opp.* Jen. tom. i. iii.); Baumgarten, 1767; Semler, 1779; Koppe (*Nov. Test. Kopp.* vol. vi.) 1791, 2d ed.; Morus, 1795; Borger, 1807; Winer, 1821, 3d ed. 1829; von Flatt, 1828; Rückert, 1833; Usteri, 1833; Matthies, 1833; Brown, 1853; Elliott, 1854, 2d ed. 1859; Bagge, 1856; besides the more general commentaries of De Wette, Olshausen, Meyer, Bloomfield, and Alford.—W. L. A.

GALBANUM. [CHELBENAH.]

GALGALA (Γάλαλα). In 1 Maccab. ix. 2, the army of Demetrius is said to have gone by the way leading to this place, on their march to Jerusalem, when they besieged Maseloth, which is in Arbela. Were we sure of these places, it would help us more certainly to determine the site of Galgala; but this can hardly be said to be the case. Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* iii. 2, p. 370, note 2) thinks that the village Dshildshilja (Jilgilija), west of Bethel and north of Jerusalem (Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 81), is the place meant; but in order to sustain this view he is obliged to suppose the operations of the campaign to have been confined to Judea, contrary to the express statement of Josephus, who places them in Galilee (*Antiq.* xii. 11. 1). If Arbela be the modern Irbid, Galgala is probably the Gilgal near Jericho. In the margin of the A. V., for Galgala is substituted Galilee; and this, Michaelis holds for the true reading. In Josh. xii. 23, it is supposed that גלגל is for גליל, and so the LXX. give it in the Vat. text, which would shew that these two words were sometimes confounded. If this reading were adopted, it would remove all difficulty. Γάλαλα, however, is the invariable representative of the Hebrew גלגל, in the LXX.—W. L. A.

GALICHO OR GALIKO (גלכיקון = Gallaeus)

ELISHA B. GABRIEL, a Jewish commentator who lived about 1552 to 1583, and was president of the Rabbinic College at Safed in Upper Galilee. His exegetical works are (1) a commentary on Ecclesiastes באור על קהלת, published in Venice, 1578, in which he divides the book into *twenty-seven* sections, according to the number of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet, including the finals. An analysis and specimen of this commentary are given by

* Prof. Stuart says, in bar of this conclusion, that 'πρότερον means only a time antecedent to that in which he (Paul) wrote.' (*Notes to Fosdick's Translation of Hug's Introd.*, p. 748). Usteri also, and Fritzsche, adopt the same view. But if Paul had been only *once* in Galatia before writing this epistle, he would not have used πρότερον at all; in such a case this would have been a superfluous addition.

Ginsburg, *Historical and Critical Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, Longman, 1861, p. 67, etc. The edition of Galiko's Commentary, published in 1548, mentioned by Bartolucci (*Bibl. Magna Rabbinica*, vol. i. p. 118), is not extant; (2) a commentary on the Book of Esther באור על אסתר, published in Venice, 1583, which is very diffuse and Kabballistic; and (3) a commentary on the Song of Songs, פירוש שיר השירים, with the Hebrew text and points, also published in Venice, 1587. In this commentary Galiko had an excellent opportunity of displaying his genius for allegorical exposition. —C. D. G.

GALILEE (גליל and גלילה; Sept. and N. T.

Γαλιλαία). In the O. T. this name is given to a small 'circuit' among the mountains of Naphtali; and in the N. T. to a large province embracing the whole of Northern Palestine. It is first mentioned by Joshua, who describes Kedesh as 'in Galilee in Mount Naphtali' (xx. 7). Its limited extent is indicated in 2 Kings xv. 29, where the historian detailing the conquests of Tiglath-pileser states that 'he took Ijon, and Abel-Beth-Maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali.' Galilee, therefore, did not extend beyond the bounds of Naphtali; and a comparison with other passages shews that it embraced only the northern section of that tribe, or at least that the name was at first confined to that district (Josh. xx. 7; xxi. 32; Joseph. *Antiq.* v. i. 18). The region thus lay on the summit of a broad mountain ridge. Here were situated the towns which Solomon offered to Hiram as payment for his services in procuring timber and stones for the temple. Hiram, however, whose great want was grain for his island city, and who doubtless expected a portion of some of the rich plains of central Palestine, could not conceal his disappointment when he saw the mountain towns and their rugged environs, and declined them as useless (CABUL; comp. 1 Kings ix. 11, and 2 Chron. viii. 2). At this period Galilee, though within the allotted territory of Naphtali, does not appear to have been occupied by the Israelites. It was only after Hiram had declined the towns that Solomon rebuilt and colonized them (2 Chron. i. c.). Hazor, the great stronghold and capital of the northern Canaanites, lay within or near Galilee; and, though Joshua had captured and burned it (Josh. xi.), yet during the rule of the Judges it was possessed by a king Jabin, whose general, Sisera, dwelt in the neighbouring Harosheth of the Gentiles (Judg. iv.). The presence of these powerful and warlike tribes, and the natural strength of the country, sufficiently account for the continued occupation of the old Gentile inhabitants. David subdued, but did not expel them. Solomon, as has been seen, took some of their towns; but they remained among these rugged mountains in such numbers, that in the time of Isaiah the district was called 'Galilee of the Gentiles' (Is. ix. 1).

The word גליל signifies a 'circuit' or 'ring,' and may at first have been given to one of the little circular plains among the mountains of Naphtali. There is such an one just beside Kedesh. Afterwards, as was the case with other names, this was extended to a wider and wider region. There is some indication in Scripture that it was used in a more extended sense in the time of Tiglath-pileser than in that of Joshua. May it not be that in the

days of Isaiah the name had come to be applied, perhaps somewhat vaguely, to the country extending south of Naphtali, and that the ancient territory was therefore distinguished by him as 'Galilee of the Gentiles.' In 1 Maccab. v. 15 and 17, this distinction appears to be made. 'Galilee of the Gentiles' had then a large heathen population (1 Maccab. v. 21-23; Strabo, xvi. p. 523). Josephus makes the same distinction though under a slightly different name. He divides Galilee into *Upper* and *Lower*, ἡ ὕψω καὶ ἡ κατὰ Γαλιλαία; and in one place he seems to consider the former as constituting the whole of Galilee proper (Reland, *Pal.* 182 and 306; Euseb. *Onomast.*, s. v. *Galilaea*; Lightfoot, *Opp.* ii. 488, seq.).

In the beginning of our era Palestine was divided into three provinces, Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee. Josephus thus describes Galilee, — 'There are two Galilees, the Upper and the Lower, which are environed by Phœnicia and Syria. They are bounded on the west by the territory of Ptolemais and Carmel, a mountain belonging formerly to the Galileans, but at present to the Syrians. On the south Samaria and Scythopolis, as far as the Jordan, form their limits. Towards the east Hippene and Godaris, Gaulanitis and the frontiers of Agrippa's kingdom; while Tyre and its dependencies constitute their northern border. Lower Galilee extends in length from Tiberias to Zabulon, adjacent to which, on the sea-coast, is Ptolemais. In breadth it stretches from a village called Xaloth, lying in the Great Plain, to Bersabe; commencing from which is measured, also, the breadth of Upper Galilee, as far as the village of Baca, which bounds the land of the Tyrians. In length it runs from a village in the vicinity of the Jordan to Meroth' (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 3. 1). A comparison of this with some other passages enables us to fix the boundaries still more accurately. The western border ran along the narrow strip of coast land belonging to Phœnicia. The southern border is marked by Carmel, the northern range of Samaria and the towns of Scythopolis, for, though he says Xaloth, which lies near the base of Tabar, is on the border, yet in another passage he states that Ginea (now *Zenin*) lay between Samaria and Galilee (*Antiq.* xx. 6. 1). Galilee thus included the whole plain of Esdraelon. The Jordan was its eastern border, separating it from the provinces named. Its northern limits are uncertain. Perhaps a line drawn from Banias westward to the angle formed by the Litany, and then along the banks of that river to the Phœnician plain, would mark its boundary with a near approach to accuracy.

The province of Galilee is thus about fifty miles long by twenty-five wide. Its northern division, called 'Upper Galilee,' and 'Galilee of the Gentiles,' consists of a broad mountain ridge, a continuation of the Lebanon range. On the summit is a tract of undulating table-land, diversified by wooded heights and smooth green plains. In the centre of this table-land stood Kedesh-Naphtali. Among its rich pastures Heber, the Kenite, sojourned, when Sisera, fleeing from the carnage on Esdraelon to his home at Harosheth, took refuge in the tent of Jael and was slain (Judg. iv.). On the east the mountains break down abruptly into the deep basin of the upper Jordan. On the west the slopes are more gradual, and long ravines of singular beauty and wildness wind down to the sea-coast and the plain of Acre. These western decli-

vities, once the possession of Asher, who 'dipped his foot in oil' (Deut. xxxiii. 24), are still celebrated for their olive groves. The town of Safed, perched on the culminating point of the mountain chain to the south, is one of the four sacred cities of the Jews. It is the centre of a wide volcanic region, and has frequently been the scene of most destructive earthquakes. The last occurred in 1837, when nearly five thousand of its inhabitants were buried in the ruins of the town (Robinson's *B. R.* ii. 420-32; *Hand-book for S. and P.* 438).

The southern slopes of the mountain range, from the castellated heights of Safed to the broad plain of Esdraelon, afford some of the richest and most picturesque scenery in Palestine. Forests of evergreen oak sweep round the flanks of the hills in graceful belts, and line the sides of the valleys, leaving open glades, and undulating expanses of green grass, such as are seen in English parks. Here, too, are upland plains, like vast terraces, with rich soil and rank vegetation. The largest is now called el-Battauf; and on its northern border lie the ruins of Cana of Galilee, while on its southern are those of Sepphoris. There are others to the eastward, along the brow of the hills that encircle Tiberias, and extending down to Tabor. These are separated from the great plain of Esdraelon by a line of rocky but picturesque hills, which culminate on the east in the dome of Tabor. Esdraelon stretches out beyond them like a sea of verdure, laying in the distance the base of Carmel and the mountains of Samaria.

Lower Galilee was a land of husbandmen, famed for its corn-fields, as Upper Galilee was for its olive groves, and Judæa for its vineyards. The rich soil remains, and there are still some fields; but its inhabitants are few in number, and its choicest plains are desolated by the wild Bedouin (*Handbook for S. and P.*, 355). Galilee was, and is, also remarkable for the variety and beauty of its wild flowers. In early spring the whole country is spangled with them, and the air is filled with their odours. Birds, too, are exceedingly numerous. The rocky banks are all alive with partridges; the meadows swarm with quails and larks, 'the voice of the turtle' resounds through every grove, and pigeons are heard cooing high up in the cliffs and glen-sides, and are seen in flocks hovering over the corn-fields. The writer has travelled through Galilee at various seasons, and has always been struck with some new beauty—the delicate verdure of spring and its blush of flowers; the mellow tints of autumn, and the russet hues of the oak forests in winter, have all their charms (*Handbook for S. and P.*, 363, 416, 420, 424; Stanley, *S. and P.*, 355, sq.; Van de Velde, ii. 403, sq.; Robinson's *B. R.* iii.)

The northern tribes inhabiting Galilee were taken captive by the Assyrians; but a large number returned with their brethren of Judæa in the time of Cyrus. Galilee had a dense Jewish population at the commencement of our era, yet the foreigners settled among them, and their continual intercourse with Greeks and Phœnicians, produced a marked effect both on their language and habits, and tended also to allay those feelings of pride and fanaticism which were so characteristic of the Jewish race, and which were so strongly developed in Judæa. 'Galilean' was a term of reproach among the southern Jews (Matt. xxvi. 73;

John vii. 52; Buxtorf's *Lexicon*, s. v. גלילי; Lightfoot, *Opp.* ii. 492, sq.) On the death of Herod the Great, the province of Galilee was given by Cæsar to his son Antipas (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 6. 3). It was at that time the most densely peopled part of Palestine. Josephus tells us that it contained more than 200 cities and villages, so crowded with men that the smallest of them contains above 15,000 inhabitants (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 1-3).

These facts all tend to illustrate the writings of the Evangelists. Galilee was the home of Jesus. His mother dwelt in Nazareth. To it she returned again from Egypt, and there she lived with Jesus till he began to be about thirty years of age (Matt. ii. 22, 23; Luke ii.). After his baptism and temptation Jesus came back to Galilee; and though he frequently visited other provinces, this was emphatically his own country, where the greater part of his public life was spent, and most of his miracles were performed. Here, also, he appeared to his disciples after the resurrection (See Well's *Sacred Geography*, ii. 143). When our Lord entered on his public ministry, and declared his divine mission, he was met with the indignant and insulting remark, 'Search and look; for out of Galilee ariseth no prophet' (John vii. 52). In Galilee his mission was successful. Thousands from its teeming population followed him wherever he went, and hung eagerly upon his lips. In no other part of Palestine could he have found such a sphere for his works and words of mercy. The villages were filled with industrious peasants; the towns were crowded with a manufacturing population; the sea swarmed with busy fishermen. He had a word for all. By parables and illustrations suitable to the circumstances, and pleasing to the tastes of each class, he sought to rivet their attention, enlighten their minds, and touch their hearts. The Gospel was likened to 'seed' sown. Some fell on stony ground, such as is seen on every bank; some fell on those hard, beaten paths that wind through the open fields of Galilee; some fell among thorns, which spring up so rankly on the plains. The wild birds that hover over the fields, and the tares (Arab. *suwân*) that may still be seen in them, were pressed into the service of the Gospel. Thus did our Lord teach the husbandmen. Turning to the commercial towns-folk, he likened the kingdom of heaven to 'a merchantman seeking goodly pearls;' and then to the fishermen on the lake he likened it to 'a net cast into the sea.' The minds of these people were more free from prejudice, and more open to conviction, than the self-righteous Pharisees and rationalistic lawyers of the capital. Hence most of our Lord's disciples were Galileans (See Rohr's *Hist. Geographical Account of Palestine*, in *Biblical Cabinet*, p. 94, sq.; Stanley, *S. and P.*, 418; *Handbook for S. and P.*, 424, sq.) The first three Gospels are chiefly occupied with the history of our Lord's teachings in Galilee, and many of their peculiarities, as contrasted with the Gospel of John, are owing to this fact (Alford, *Proleg. to Matt.*) The features of the country, its scenery its products, the character and occupations of its people, had all their influence upon the teachings of our Lord, and come out strikingly in the Gospel narratives.

Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee in the time of our Lord, was a weak but crafty voluptuary.

His incestuous intercourse with his brother's wife brought upon him the stern rebuke of the Baptist. He was present at Jerusalem during the trial of Jesus, but declined to interfere (Luke xxiii.) Antipas was the founder of Tiberias, and there he chiefly resided. In Galilee the Jews made an obstinate resistance against the Romans. Their leader was Josephus the historian, and he fortified the principal cities and natural strongholds, as Tiberias, Tarichæa, Sepphoris, Jotopata, Mount Tabor, etc. (*Vita*, xxxvii. 2; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 20. 6). But after a long and harassing campaign the province was completely subdued by Titus (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 2. 5). At a subsequent period, when Jerusalem was destroyed, and the Jewish nation scattered, the Sanhedrim was re-established at Tiberias; and from the 2d to the 6th century Galilee was the chief seat of Jewish learning. It contained a large and wealthy Jewish population. Traces of their splendid sacred edifices still exist at Tell Hum, Irbid, Kedesh, Kefr

Birim, and other places (*Handbook for S. and P.*, pp. 428, 432, 443, etc.; Robinson's *B. R.* iii. 71-74). The fairest and richest parts of Galilee are now utterly waste; its greatest cities are heaps of ruin, and the miserable remnant of its population are oppressed and spoiled by the Eastern Arabs, who make their periodical raids as their forefathers did 3000 years ago (*Judg.* vi.; see *Handbook*, 355).—J. L. P.

GALILEE, SEA OF (ἡ θάλασσα τῆς Γαλιλαίας); also called 'The Sea of Tiberias' (τῆς Τιβεριοῦδος), and 'The Lake of Gennesareth' (ἡ λίμνη Γεννησαρὲτ), and emphatically 'The Sea' (ἡ θάλασσα, Matt. iv. 15). In the O. T. the only name given to this lake is 'The Sea of Cinnereth' (יַם כִּנְרֶת, or כְּנָרוֹת). It is a remarkable fact that in the whole of the O. T. it is only mentioned three times; and then incidentally in giving the boundaries of the tribes east of the Jordan (*Num.* xxxiv.



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11; *Josh.* xii. 3; xiii. 27); while it forms one of the most prominent names in N. T. history. The prophets never allude to it. It would almost seem as if they had been ignorant of its existence. Their attention was directed to other scenes and localities.

The ancient name *Cinnereth* was derived from a fenced city situated somewhere on its western shore; adjoining this city was a little territory of the same name (CINNERETH). By a change in the pronunciation, and a corruption therefrom, this became among the later Jews גֶּנֶסָר, *Genesar*.

Hence the Greek Γεννησάρ of the Apocryphal writers and Josephus (1 Maccab. xi. 67; Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iii. 10. 8), and the Γεννησαρὲτ of the Evangelists. The theories of the Rabbins regarding the origin of this name are given by Lightfoot (*Opp.* i. 498), and are elsewhere referred to (GENNESARET). The lake got its other names from the province of *Galilee*, which extended along its whole western shores; and from the city of Tiberias founded by Herod Antipas.

The Sea of Galilee is described particularly by

Pliny and Josephus. The former says, the Jordan discharges itself into a lake, by many writers known as *Genesera*, sixteen miles long and six wide; which is skirted by the pleasant towns Julius and Hippo on the east, of Tarichea on the south (a name which is by many persons given to the lake itself), and of Tiberias on the west' (v. 15). Josephus refers to other features. 'The lake of Gennesareth derives its appellation from the adjacent district. It is 40 furlongs (five Roman miles), broad, by 140 (17½ miles) long. Its waters are sweet, and extremely pleasant to drink, as they flow in a clearer stream than the muddy collections of marshes, and they can be drawn free from impurities, being throughout confined by abrupt and sandy shores. They are of a medium temperature, milder than those of the river or the fountain; yet uniformly colder than might be expected from the expanse of the lake. . . . The kinds of fish found here differ from those elsewhere met with' (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 10. 7).

Recent measurements have shewn that the dimensions of the lake have not been quite correctly given by either writer. Its extreme length

is 12½ geographical miles, and its breadth 6; equal to about 16 by 7½ Roman miles. It is of an oval shape, or rather the form of an egg, with the large end to the north. The Sea of Galilee has none of those picturesque or sublime features for which the lakes of Italy and Switzerland are justly celebrated; it has not even the stern grandeur of the Dead Sea. The shores are singularly uniform. There are no bold cliffs jutting far out into deep water; there are no winding bays running away inland. The bed of the sea is like a huge basin. Along its eastern and western sides the banks rise steep, bare, and rugged, to the height of nearly 2000 feet; and their tops, especially those on the east, are as level as a wall. At the north and south ends, where the Jordan enters and passes out, there are wide openings, through which views are gained up and down the valley. Yet nature has not left this scene altogether destitute of ornament. The scenery is not quite so dreary, nor are the hues of the landscape so dead and sombre as Dr. Traill would have us imagine (Traill's *Josephus*, ii. p. cvi.) True, when the sun is high and the sky cloudless, and when the pilgrim looks down from the top of the mountains, there is a dreariness in the landscape, and a uniformity of cold gray colour, which wearies the eye; but let him go down to the shore and wait till the sun declines, and he will be enchanted with the deep ethereal blue of the smooth water, and the tints, 'rose-coloured, pearl-gray, and purple, blended together,' and thrown in soft shades over the sides of the encircling hills. The pale blue cone of Hermon, with its glittering crown of snow, forms a glorious back-ground (Van de Velde, ii. 388; Robinson, ii. 380, *sq.*; Stanley, 362; *Handbook for S. and P.*, 418). Round the whole shore, with only one or two short interruptions, there is a broad strand of white pebbles, mixed with little shells. The Jordan enters at the extreme northern end of the lake, and leaves again at the southern. The utter loneliness and absolute stillness of the scene are exceedingly impressive. It seems as if all nature had gone to rest, languishing under that scorching heat. How different it was in the days of our Lord! Then all was life and bustle along the shores; the cities and villages that thickly studded them resounded with the hum of a busy population; while from hill-side and corn-field came the cheerful cry of shepherd and ploughman. The lake, too, was dotted with dark fishing-boats, and spangled with white sails. Now, a mournful and solitary silence reigns alike over sea and shore. The cities are in ruins. Capernaum, Chorazin, the two Bethsaidas, Hippo, Gamala, and Tarichea, are completely deserted. Tiberias and Magdala are the only inhabited spots; and for several miles inland in every direction the country looks waste and desolate. The inhabitants—merchants, fishermen, and peasants—are nearly all gone. The few that remain in the shattered houses of Tiberias, and the mud hovels of Magdala, and the black tents of the wandering Bedawin, seem worn and wasted by poverty and sickness. When the writer last visited it (1858), the Sea of Galilee could just boast of one small boat, and it was so rotten and leaky as not to be sea-worthy. The fish, however, are as abundant as ever; for though only little hand-nets are used, a considerable sum is paid to the government for the privilege of fishing (Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, 332; Robinson, ii. 386). It was observed

by Hasselquist that some of the same species of fish are found in the Sea of Galilee as in the Nile (*Travels*, p. 158); the same fact had been noted by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 10. 8). The kinds referred to are *Cyprinus Benni*, *Silurus*, *Mormyrus*, etc. (See Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 113; Robinson, ii. 386).

The most remarkable fact in the physical geography of the Sea of Galilee, is its great depression. Its surface is about 650 feet (some make it as much as 845) below the level of the ocean! (Van de Velde's *Memoir of Map of Palestine*, p. 181). This has a marked effect on the temperature, climate, and natural products. The heat is intense during the summer months. The harvest on the shore is nearly a month earlier than on the neighbouring high lands of Galilee and Bashan. Frost is unknown, and snow very rarely falls. The trees, plants, and vegetables, are those usually found in Egypt; such as the palm, the lote-tree (*Zizyphus lotus*), and the indigo plant, etc. (Robinson, ii. 388; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* iii. 10. 7 and 8). Though the whole basin of the lake, and indeed the Jordan valley, is of volcanic origin, as evidenced by the thermal springs and the frequent earthquakes, yet the main formation of the surrounding wall of mountains is limestone. A large number of black stones and boulders of basaltic tufa are scattered along the slopes and upland plains, and dykes of basalt here and there burst through the limestone strata in the neighbourhood of Tiberias and along the northern shore (See Robinson, *l. c.*; Hasselquist, p. 283; Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 112, 151).—J. L. P.

GALL. Two distinct Hebrew words are rendered by this term in the A. V. 1. מָרָה (once מָרָה, Deut. xxxii. 32); LXX. χολή, θυμός, πικρός, ἀγρωστis, the name of a bitter plant, classed with wormwood (Deut. xxix. 17 (18); Lam. iii. 19; Amos vi. 12) of an intensely disagreeable taste (Ps. lxxix. 22 (21)); and described as growing up quickly and luxuriantly (Hos. x. 4). It is used to denote *extreme bitterness* (Deut. xxxii. 32), also *poison* (Deut. xxxii. 33; Job xx. 16); in both which places it expresses the poisonous and destructive nature of sin, which, however, is swallowed down by the wicked as if it were wine. Thus the word is always used in a figurative sense. For the plant itself, see ROSH. מָרָה never denotes the animal secretion called gall.

2. מָרָה and מָרָה; LXX. χολή, κακὰ, δαιτῆα; literally *bitterness* (e.g., Deut. xxxii. 32; Job xiii. 26). Hence it is used for the gall of the human body, a substance of extreme bitterness (e.g., Job xvi. 13; xx. 25), and for the *poison* of serpents (Job xx. 14).

In the N. T. the word gall, χολή, occurs twice: once in connection with the crucifixion of Jesus (Matt. xxvii. 34), 'They gave him vinegar to drink mingled with gall' (in Mark xv. 23, 'wine mingled with myrrh'), where it denotes the juice of a bitter herb, which, being mingled with vinegar or sour wine, formed a drink intended to produce stupefaction and insensibility to pain, but which Jesus, desiring to endure the full bitterness of death for us, having tasted, would not drink (see Wordsworth and Alford, *in loc.*). In the second case the word is used respecting Simon the magician (Acts viii. 23), 'I perceive that thou art in the gall

of bitterness,' *eis cholēn pikrias*—'fallen into the gall of bitterness,' where it expresses the poisonous moral condition into which the sorcerer had sunk, in allusion to the notion of the ancients that the poison of the serpent existed in the gall—*χολή ἀσπίδος ἐν γαστρὶ αὐτοῦ* (Job xx. 14).—L. J.

GALLERY. Three Hebrew words are thus translated in the A. V. 1. *רִיחַיִּים*, Ezek. xli. 15, 16; xlii. 3, 5. The proper meaning of this word is very doubtful; even Jarchi says, 'I know not what this is,' and Kimchi leaves the explanation of the whole passage in which it occurs to be given 'in the future time by Elias.' The LXX. render it in the one chapter by *τὰ ἀνδρῶτα*, and in the other by *τὰ περιστῦλα*; the Targ. gives *רְחֵימֵי*, 'its corners,' as the equivalent; and the Syr. *ܥܒܠܐ*, which Castell says, means *balaustia adificiorum*. Modern opinions are divided between *pillars* or *columns* (Villalpandus, Cocceius), and *gallery* or *terrace* (Gesen., Fürst, Hävernick, Hitzig.)

2. *רִיחַיִּים* (Song i. 17, in the marg. of A. V.) This is the textual reading for which the K'ri is *רִיחַיִּים*, a reading which many codices also give. The meaning of this, however, as well as of the other, is doubtful. Some, tracing it to the obsolete root *רָחַם*, retained in the Aram. *ܪܚܡܐ* (*רִחַם*), to *run*, *renuere* by *rafters*, 'qui nomen habent a currendo quod de trabe in trabem incurunt' (Vatablus, L. Capellus); while others, comparing it with *רִיחַיִּים*, Gen. xxx. 38 ('gutters,' A. V.), Exod. ii. 16 ('troughs,' A. V.), render it by *laqueare*, *lacunar*, because the lacunae are like canals (Gesenius, Heiligstedt). Hengstenberg makes it *das belaufene*, the *betrod* or *walked over*, and understands it of the floor which, in the temple, was made of cypress wood (1 Kings vi. 15); but to *run* is not the same thing as to *be run upon*, and though *רִיחַיִּים* signifies the former, it does not signify the latter; besides, there is nothing about the temple here. Ewald adheres to the textual reading, which he takes to be a plural, and consequently to be read *רִיחַיִּים*, or

רִיחַיִּים; and he traces it to the Arab. *خراط* *Kharat*, *dolare*, whence comes *مخروط*, turned or *carved* work; but this labours under the objection of requiring us to suppose a transposition of the initial letters in the Hebrew word. The LXX. gives *φατρινώματα*, and the Vulg. *laquearia*. We incline to adopt the K'ri with Ewald's suggestion, that it is plural and not singular; which produces an accordance between the Hebrew text and the versions.

3. *רִיחַיִּים* (Song. vii. 6 [A. V. 5]). From founding this word with *רִיחַיִּים*, our translators have rendered it by *gallery*. It signifies here, *curled* or *crisped hair*, locks: '*Rex captus est cincinnis*, i. e., pulchritudine cincinnorum tuorum, etc., Heiligstedt, in loc.—W. L. A.

GALLIM (*גַּלִּים*: Sept. *Γαλλίμ*). We read in 1 Sam. xxv. 44 that Saul gave his daughter Michal, 'David's wife, to Phalti, the son of Laish, which was of Gallim.' Isaiah shews the position of this ancient place when describing in prophetic vision

the advance of Sennacherib's army upon Jerusalem. Every stage of the conqueror's march is portrayed with such clearness, that any traveller can even now follow the line, as the writer has done (Is. x.). The army is supposed to leave the main road near Bethel, and to diverge to the eastward. Michmah, Geba, Ramah, and Gibeah, are passed in succession. Then follow *Gallim*, Laish, and Anathoth, so close together that the cry of the one could be heard in the others. Gallim must, therefore, have been situated on the brow of one or other of those rocky glens which run down into the wilderness east of Gibeah and north of Anathoth. It was probably a very small village or castle. Its site was unknown to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* s. v.); and recent researches have failed to discover it. The little village of Hizmeah would suit the circumstances of the narrative so far as situation is concerned; but there is nothing else to indicate identity (See *Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 214; Stanley *S. and P.*; p. 202; Reland, p. 784).—J. L. P.

GALLIO (*Γαλλίω*). Junius Annæus Gallio, elder brother of Seneca the philosopher. His name was originally M. Ann. Novatus, but changed to Jun. Ann. Gallio in consequence of his adoption by Jun. Gallio the rhetorician ('pater Gallio,' Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* iii. 1, sec. 21; ix. 2, sec. 91). Seneca dedicated to him his treatise *De Vita Beata*, and in the preface to the fourth book of his *Naturales Quaestiones* describes him as a man universally beloved ('nemo mortalium uni tam dulcis est, quam hic omnibus'); and who, while exempt from all other vices, especially abhorred flattery ('inexpugnabilem virum adversus insidias, quas nemo non in sinum recipit'). According to Eusebius, he committed suicide before the death of Seneca ('Junius Gallio, frater Senecæ, egregius declamator, propria se manu interfecit,' *Thesaurus Temporum*, etc., p. 161, Amstel. 1658); but Tacitus speaks of him as alive after that event (*Annal.* xv. 73), and Dion Cassius states that he was put to death by order of Nero. He was *Proconsul* (*ἀνθυπατεύωντος*, Tex. rec. *ἀνθυπάρχου ὄντος*, Lachmann) of *Achaia* (Acts xviii. 12) under the Emperor Claudius, when Paul first visited Corinth, and nobly refused to abet the persecution raised by the Jews against the apostle. Dr. Lardner has noticed the strict accuracy of Luke in giving him this designation, which is obscured in the A. V. by the use of the term *deputy* (*Credibility*, part i. book i. ch. i.; *Works*, i. 34).—J. E. R.

GAMAL (*גַּמַּל*). [**CAMEL**] From this comes the pr. n. **GEMALLI** (*גַּמְלִי*), *camel-man*, Num. xiii. 12).

GAMALIEL (*גַּמְלִיֶּה*; Sept. *Γαμαλιήλ*; *reward of God*, Gesen.; *El is rewarder*, Fürst). A descendant of Joseph and leader of the tribe of Manasseh (Num. i. 10; ii. 20; vii. 54, 59; x. 23).—†.

GAMALIEL I. (*גַּמְלִיֶּה*, *Γαμαλιήλ*, i. e., *the gift or benefit of God*), son of Simon, grandson of Hillel of the royal family of David, and the celebrated teacher of the Apostle Paul (Acts xxii. 3).

He was called Gamaliel the elder (*גַּמְלִיֶּה הַזֶּקֶן*), to distinguish him from his grandson Gamaliel II., and became president of the Sanhedrin (*נֹשֵׁב*), A. D. 30, which shews that he must at least have

been born in the first year of the Christian era, since he could hardly have succeeded to so eminent and responsible a position under thirty years of age. It is greatly to be regretted that it is now utterly impossible to form an adequate estimate of the character, religious sentiments, and intellectual endowments of the Rabbi who educated the great Apostle of the Gentiles, and so much contributed to the development of his character. For since the separation of Shammai from Hillel I., and his formation of a distinct school [EDUCATION], the theological disquisitions and opinions of the different heads of these colleges have mostly come down to us in the collective name of the *school of Shammai and the school of Hillel*; so that it is not stated whether the conclusions reported as having been arrived at in the school of Hillel belong to the presidency of Simon I., Gamaliel I., Simon II., or to the days of Hillel himself. Hence it is very hazardous to say which of the maxims of the school of Hillel belong to Gamaliel. From the fragments, however, which have his name attached to them, we see that Gamaliel was endowed with great intellectual powers, a fondness for study and for definitely settling every point of difficulty, refined taste, and good judgment, that he was humane, anxious to ameliorate the condition of the helpless, a strict Pharisee, yet liberal-minded, and averse to persecute those who differed from him, and that he had a very high opinion of his office. His mental powers, tastes, and liberal-mindedness, may be seen from the fact that he extended his studies to Greek literature, and infused into the minds of his disciples a taste for the Greek poets (Acts xvii. 28; 1 Cor. xv. 33; Tit. i. 12). His liberal sentiments may also be seen from the law which he passed with regard to the observance of the Sabbath. Though it had been determined since the days of Judas Maccabæus that it was allowable to carry on defensive war on the Sabbath, yet it was still a matter of doubt whether the soldiers who, at the termination of the war, were more than a Sabbath-day's journey (i.e., 2000 paces), from their homes, might return home and carry their weapons on the Sabbath. Gamaliel decreed that all persons called to assist either at hostile invasions, or inundations, or fires, or at the falling down of houses, or even at childbirth, might walk 2000 paces in any direction (Erub. 45, a). Far in advance of his times were his humane laws that the poor heathen should have the same right as the poor Jews to gather the gleanings after the harvest, and that the Jews on meeting heathen should greet them—'Peace be with you,' even on their festival days, when they are mostly engaged in worshipping their idols. It was owing to these laws, which redound to the honour of Gamaliel, that it afterwards became customary to make equal provisions for the poor heathen and Jews, to attend to the sick heathen, to bestow the last honours upon their dead, and to comfort their mourners, in towns which were inhabited by both Jews and Gentiles (Gittin, 59 b, 61, ff.; Jerusalem Gittin, c. v.) This contrasts very strikingly with the conduct of Christians towards the Jews, and towards each other, even in the present day, and accounts for the humane, prudent, and liberal advice which he gave to the Sanhedrin respecting the treatment of the followers of Christ (Acts v. 34, ff.) Gamaliel also exerted himself for the relief of wives and widows

from the abuses to which they were exposed on the part of unprincipled husbands and children. Thus, up to his time a husband who had sent a bill of divorce to his wife could recall it at the first court of justice, and thereby subject the woman and the family to great inconvenience. Gamaliel declared this recall as nugatory (Gittin, 32). Owing to the several names by which individuals were called in those days, some Hebrew and some Greek, a designed or undesigned omission of one on the part of a witness, or the husband when signing the bill of divorce, not unfrequently exposed the woman to the mercy of unprincipled men, inasmuch as the divorce in such a case might be invalid. Gamaliel ordered that the clause, 'and every other name which describes the person,' should be added to the signature (Gittin, 34). He also passed a law which protected widows against unscrupulous children who might wish to rob her of the portion due to her from the *Kethuba* (כתובה).

Gamaliel had so exalted an opinion of his office that he would not delegate to any one the power of declaring the year intercalary. Thus, when he on one occasion went to Syria, the members of the Sanhedrin had to declare the year intercalary, *subject to his approval*; and when Gamaliel returned, he said, 'I am satisfied therewith: and the year was intercalary' (Mishna, Edujoth, vii. 7; Sanhedrin, ii. 6). The decrees on such occasions Gamaliel would write from the temple, a specimen of which is given Sanhed. Tosif. c. 11; Jerusalem Sanhedrin, 18 a:—'To our brethren the exiles in Babylon, Media, Greece, and all other exiles of Israel, greeting! We make known unto you that the lambs of this year are still tender, the pigeons are not yet fledged, the spring is altogether late; it hath, therefore, pleased me and my companions to lengthen the present year by thirty days.' No wonder that he was the first who was honoured by his brethren with the title of *Rabban* (רַבָּן), i.e., our master, which henceforth became the appellation of all the presidents (רִבְנֵי), and that the national homage was expressed in the hyperbolic saying, 'With the death of Gamaliel the reverence for the law ceased, and purity and abstinence (Pharisaism) died away' (Mishna, Sota, ix. 15). Gamaliel died about 50 A.D. That he was a secret believer in Jesus, and was openly baptised before his death by St. Peter and St. Paul is now rejected as fabulous by all writers who are acquainted with Jewish history (comp. Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Test.*, Lipsiæ, 1832, p. 501, and the elaborate footnote; Neander, *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church*, ed. Bohn, vol. i. p. 46, ff.) The 'well-known prayer against Christian heretics,' which we are told by Conybeare and Howson was 'composed or sanctioned by him,' i.e., Gamaliel, and the story about 'Onkelos, the author of the celebrated Targum, raising a funeral-pile of rich materials,' etc. (*The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, Lond. 1854, vol. i., p. 62, ff.), are now acknowledged to refer to Gamaliel II., the grandson of the Apostle's teacher (comp. Graetz, in *Frankel's Monatschrift*, vol. i. p. 320, ff.; *Geschichte der Juden*, Leipzig, 1856, vol. iii. p. 289, ff.; vol. iv. pp. 114, 152; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, Leipzig, 1857, vol. i. p. 281, ff.; and especially the masterly work of Frankel, entitled, *Hodegetica in Mischnam*, Lipsiæ, 1859, p. 57, ff., where all the fragments about Gamaliel

have been studiously collected. See also the article GAMALIEL II.)—C. D. G.

GAMALIEL II. B. SIMON II., also called GAMALIEL OF JABNE, or the *younger*, to distinguish him from his grandfather Gamaliel I., was born about A.D. 50, succeeded to the presidency or patriarchate about A.D. 80, and died about 116 [EDUCATION]. He was the teacher of both Aquila, the Greek translator of the O. T., and Onkelos, the Chaldee translator of the Pentateuch; and we have records of his encounters with Christians and infidels, which shew the state of Biblical interpretation in the Apostolic age. The great maxim which he propounded to his disciples was, 'Get thee a teacher, eschew that which is doubtful, and do not multiply uncertain tithes' (Aboth. i. 16), and this lesson of being well grounded in the word of God by the aid of regular teachers, had its desired effects, as may be seen even from the conduct of his daughter. Thus, on one occasion a heathen philosopher derided the Biblical account of the creation of Eve, remarking to Gamaliel, 'Your God, in the creation of the woman, went to work like a thief, inasmuch as he secretly abstracted a rib from the man;' whereupon Gamaliel's daughter begged him to secure her redress against robbers who had robbed her of a silver pitcher, and left behind a golden one. The heathen philosopher remarked, 'I should not mind if such a misfortune were to befall me every day.' 'This being the case,' said Gamaliel's daughter, 'Adam ought to be glad that God took a rib and gave him a wife for it.' 'But why did God do it secretly?' 'That Adam,' said she, 'might not see the rough material, but be surprised with the perfected beauty' (Sanhedrin, 39). On another occasion a heathen philosopher remarked to him, 'Your Law says, 'God is a jealous God.' Why, then, does he manifest his jealousy against idolators, and not against the idols?' Whereupon Gamaliel spake a parable. 'There is a king who has a son that delights in calling his dog by the name of his own royal father. Now, with whom will the king be angry, with the dog or with his son?' Then said the heathen philosopher, 'Why does not God destroy these idols if they are such worthless things?' Quoth R. Gamaliel, 'If the heathen simply worshipped useless things, God might do it, but they worship the sun, moon, the water, etc., and shall God destroy the world because of fools?' (Aboda Zara, 54 a, 55 a). On another occasion, again, 'a Christian believing that 'life and immortality are brought to light in the Gospel' (2 Tim. i. 10), extolled the doctrines of the N. T. by questioning Gamaliel, 'How do you know [without the N. T.] that the dead will rise?' To this Gamaliel replied: 'From the words, "the land which the Lord sware unto your fathers to give THEM" (Deut. xi. 21), but as the fathers were dead, the promise must have premised a resurrection when alone the land could be given to these fathers' (Sanhedrin, 90 b). This shews the force of the interpretation and argument used by Christ in Matt. xxii. 32. These frequent attacks upon Judaism by Christians, and the rise of different heretical sects among the Jews, caused to a great extent by heathen philosophers who were now enabled to read the Jewish Scriptures in the Greek version, made this Gamaliel sanction the famous prayer against all heretics which has wrongly been

ascribed to Gamaliel I. The vigorous measures, however, which Gamaliel adopted to establish uniformity of faith and practice greatly embittered the Jewish community, and resulted in his temporary deposition from the presidency, and the election of R. Eleazar b. Azzariah in his stead [EDUCATION]. This circumstance, as we shall see, deeply affects the history of the O. T. Canon.

About twenty years before Christ, Shammai, a disciple of Hillel, and others, who entertained opinions upon several subjects adverse to those of their master, founded a separate school, which went by the name of the *School of Shammai* in opposition to the *School of Hillel*. The interpretations of Scripture, and the decisions peculiar to each school, were orally transmitted by the respective members. This was all the more easy in the school of Hillel since its presidency became hereditary. When, however, the direct lineal descendant was deposed, and Eleazar inducted as president, the Sanhedrin determined to re-examine all the opinions which Gamaliel affirmed to belong to his ancestral school. For this purpose, the college, which then consisted of the unusual number of seventy-two members, took down most carefully the depositions of upwards of twenty-two persons who were in possession of traditions, and according to these depositions decided which opinions were in harmony with the most ancient traditions *irrespective of schools*; and to their honour be it said that in the course of this examination the Sanhedrin not unfrequently abandoned some of their own opinions for those of the school of Shammai, which they found more in harmony with the oldest traditions. This collection of depositions is called *Edajoth* (עדייות collection of witness) or *Bechirah* (בכירה selection). Among the decisions reconsidered was the opinion about the book of *Ecclesiastes* and the *Song of Songs*, which constituted one of the differences between the school of Shammai and that of Hillel, the former excluded them from the Canon as not emanating from the Holy Ghost (מרוח קודש) but from Solomon's own wisdom, whilst the latter included them in the Canon as being inspired productions; and after a minute investigation of the evidence it was found that according to the most ancient traditions these books were regarded as inspired, and hence the *former decision* of the school of Hillel was confirmed, viz., that the said books should be *retained* in the Canon (Jadim, iii. 5; Edajoth, v. 3). If we bear in mind that this investigation took place almost in the apostolic age, that the said books were *then* in the Canon, that the question was whether they should be *retained*, and that it was then found necessary to retain them in harmony with the ancient traditions, few, if any, will doubt that *Ecclesiastes* and the *Song of Songs* were in the Canon anterior to the Christian era.

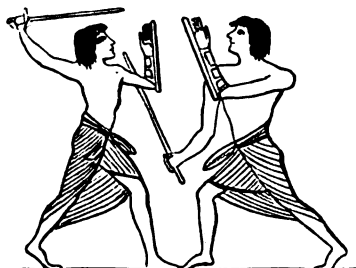
Gamaliel soon became reconciled with those whom he had offended by his mistaken zeal for uniformity of faith and practice, and was reinstated in his office as president of the Sanhedrin. It must not, however, be supposed that he was an intolerant bigot. The fact that he cultivated Greek literature and that he had free intercourse with both heathen philosophers and Jewish Christians would of itself be a sufficient proof that he was liberal in his sentiments. He even went so far as to bathe at Ptolemais in a bath which was adorned with a statue of the beautiful goddess Aphrodite; and when a philosopher (*i.e.*, a Jewish Christian)

asked him how he could reconcile it with his religion, Gamaliel replied that the statue was not to be worshipped but to adorn the building, as is evident from the little regard paid to it, that it had been made for the bath and not the bath for it, and that it would be absurd to be prevented thereby from using the enjoyments of nature (Aboda Zara, iii. 4). The last deed of Gamaliel beautifully illustrates his character. It was customary among the Jews to bury their dead in costly apparel, and to such an extravagant extent was this practised that it became a most serious matter when a burial occurred in a family. Gamaliel ordered in his last will and testament that he should be buried in simple white linen. This had its desired effect, and did away with the obnoxious practice, as no family could henceforth feel it a degradation to have their dead buried in a simple manner when the highest functionary of the Jewish people was interred in such inexpensive shrouds (Kethuboth, 8, b; Tosifta Nidda, towards the end); and the Jews to the present day bury all their dead, high and low, rich and poor, in shrouds made of the same inexpensive white linen. Gamaliel died about A. D. 116, and though he was buried in the simple manner which he desired, yet so great was the regard in which he was held, that Onkelos, his disciple, and Chaldee translator of the Pentateuch, shewed him royal honours, and burned at his funeral costly garments and furniture to the amount of *seventy Tyrian mina* (שבעים סנה צור), i.e., about twenty-one pounds sterling, such a funeral-pile as was raised at the burial of a king (Aboda Zara, 11 a; Semachoth, c. viii.; Tosifta Sabbath, c. viii.) This incident, as well as several others ascribed to Gamaliel I. in Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul* (vol. i. p. 61, etc., London 1856), refers to Gamaliel II., comp. Landau, in *Frankel's Monatschrift*, vol. i. p. 273 ff., 323 ff.; Graetz *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iv. p. 31 ff., 152 ff.; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, vol. ii., Leipzig 1858, p. 25 ff., 45 ff.; Frankel, *Hodegetica in Mishnam*, Lipsiz, 1859, p. 69, ff.—C. D. G.

GAMES. If by the word are intended mere secular amusements which are the natural expression of vigorous health and joyous feeling, fitted, if not designed, to promote health, hilarity, and friendly feeling, as well as to aid in the development of the corporeal frame, we must look to other quarters of the globe, rather than to Palestine, for their origin and encouragement. The Hebrew temperament was too deep, too earnest, too full of religious emotion, to give rise to games having a national and permanent character.

Games, however, are so natural to man, especially in the period of childhood, that no nation has been or can be entirely without them. Accordingly a few traces are found in the early Hebrew history of at least private and childish diversions. The heat of the climate too in Syria would indispose the mature to more bodily exertion than the duties of life imposed, while the gravity which is characteristic of the Oriental character might seem compromised by anything so light as sports. Dignified ease therefore corresponds with the idea which we form of Oriental recreation. The father of the family sits at the door of his tent, or reclines on the housetop, or appears at the city gate, and there tranquilly enjoys repose, broken by conversation, under the light and amid the warmth of the bright

and breezy heavens, in the cool of the retiring day, or before the sun has assumed his burning ardours (Deut. xvi. 14; Lam. v. 14). Even among the active Egyptians, whose games have been figured on their mural tablets, we find little which suggests a comparison with the vigorous contests of the Grecian games. One of the most remarkable is the following (No. 256), shewing what appears to be play with the single-stick.



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Zechariah (viii. 5) alludes to the sportiveness of children in the streets as a sign and consequence of that peace and prosperity which are so free from alarm that the young take their usual games, and are allowed entire liberty by their parents:—'and the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof' (comp. Jer. xxx. 19). An interesting passage, illustrative of these street-amusements, is found in Matt. xi. 16:—'This generation is like unto children sitting in the markets and calling unto their fellows, We have piped unto you and ye have not danced, we have mourned unto you and ye have not lamented.'

That the elegant amusement of playing with tamed and trained birds was not unusual may be learnt from Job xli. 5:—'Wilt thou play with him (leviathan) as with a bird?' Commenting on Zech. xii. 3, Jerome mentions an amusement of the young, which we have seen practised in more than one part of the north of England. 'It is customary,' he says, 'in the cities of Palestine, and has been so from ancient times, to place up and down large stones to serve for exercise for the young, who, according in each case to their degree of strength, lift these stones, some as high as their knees, others to their middle, others above their heads, the hands been kept horizontal and joined under the stone.'

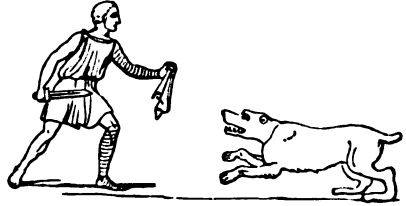
Music, song, and dancing were recreations reserved mostly for the young or for festive occasions. From Lam. v. 16, 'the crown is fallen from our head,' it might be inferred that, as among the Greeks and Latins, chaplets of flowers were sometimes worn during festivity. To the amusements just mentioned frequent allusions are found in holy writ, among which may be given Ps. xxx. 11; Jer. xxxi. 13; Luke xv. 25. In Is. xxx. 29, a passage is found which serves to shew how much of festivity and mirth was mingled with religious observances; the journey on festival occasions up to Jerusalem was enlivened by music if not by dancing:—'Ye shall have a song as in the night when a holy solemnity is kept; and gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to come into the mountain of the Lord, to the mighty one of Israel.' A passage occurs in 2 Sam. ii. 14, which may indicate the practice among the ancient Israelites of

games somewhat similar to the jousts and tournaments of the middle ages. On the subject of dancing see Michaelis (*Mos. Recht*, art. 197). No trace is found in Hebrew antiquity of any of the ordinary games of skill or hazard which are so numerous in the western world.

The Grecian influence which made itself felt after the exile, led to a great change in the manners and customs of the Hebrew nation. They were soon an almost different people from what we find them in the days of their national independence and primitive simplicity. In Macc. i. 14, we find evidence that the Grecian games were introduced; and that a gymnasium was built under Antiochus Epiphanes:—‘They built a place of exercise at Jerusalem, according to the custom of the heathen.’ Comp. 2 Maccab. iv. 12, 13, 14, where special mention is made of the prevalence of ‘Greek fashions,’ and ‘the game of Discus;’ though, as appears clearly from the last passage (v. 17), these practices were considered contrary to the Mosaic institutions, and were hateful to pious Israelites. The Herodian princes had theatres and amphitheatres built in Jerusalem and other cities of Palestine, in which were held splendid games, sometimes in honour of their Roman masters. We cite a remarkable passage to this effect from Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 8. 1):—‘Herod revolted from the laws of his country, and corrupted the ancient constitution by introducing foreign practices, while those religious observances which used to lead the multitude to piety were neglected. He appointed solemn games to be celebrated every fifth year in honour of Cæsar, and built a theatre at Jerusalem, as also a very great amphitheatre in the plain—both costly works, but contrary to Jewish customs. He also called men together out of every nation; wrestlers and others, who strove for prizes in these games, were invited by the hope and reward of victory. The most eminent were got together, for the rewards were very great, not only to those that performed their exercise naked, but to musicians also. He moreover offered no small rewards to those who ran for prizes in chariot-races, when they were drawn by two, three, or four pairs of horses. He made also great preparation of wild beasts and even of lions in great abundance, and of such other beasts as were either of uncommon strength or rarely seen. These fought one with another, or men condemned to death fought with them. Above all the rest the trophies gave most displeasure to the Jews, who imagined them to be images.’ (See also *Antiq.* xvi. 5. 1; xix. 7. 4; xix. 8. 2; Eichhorn, *De Judeor. re scenica*, in the *Comment. Gotting. Ræ.*) The drama does not appear to have been introduced, but Jews were in foreign countries actors of plays (Joseph. *Vita*, sec. 3). The passage already cited (see the original) is full of evidence how distasteful these heathenish games were to the more sound-minded part of the nation.

The fact that, as we have seen, the games of the amphitheatre were celebrated even in Jerusalem, serves to make it very likely that Paul in 1 Cor. xv. 32; iv. 9, alludes to these detestable practices, though it is not probable that the apostle was himself actually exposed to the fury of the raging animals. Contrary to the opinion of some writers, the reference to these combats appears to us very clear, though it was only metaphorically that Paul ‘fought with beasts at Ephesus.’ The word which the apostle (1 Cor. xv. 32) uses is emphatic and

descriptive, *θηριομαχῆσα*. The *θηριομαχία* or beast-fight (*venatio* in Latin) constituted among the Romans a part of the amusements of the circus or amphitheatre. It consisted in the combat of human beings with animals. The persons destined to this barbarous kind of amusement were termed *θηριομαχοί*, *bestiarii*. They were generally of two classes—1. Voluntary, that is, persons who fought either for amusement or for pay: these were clothed and provided with offensive and defensive weapons.



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2. Condemned persons, who were mostly exposed to the fury of the animals unclothed, unarmed, and sometimes bound (Cic. *Pro Sext.* 64; *Ep. ad Quint. Frat.* ii. 6; Senec. *De Benef.* ii. 19; Tertull. *Apol.* 9). As none but the vilest of men were in general devoted to these beast-fights, no punishment could be more shameful and cruel than what was frequently inflicted on the primitive Christians, when they were hurried away ‘to the lions’ (as the phrase was), merely for their fidelity to conscience and to Christ, its Lord. Ephesus appears to have had some unenviable distinction in these brutal exhibitions (Schleusner, *in voc.*), so that there is a peculiar propriety in the language of the apostle.

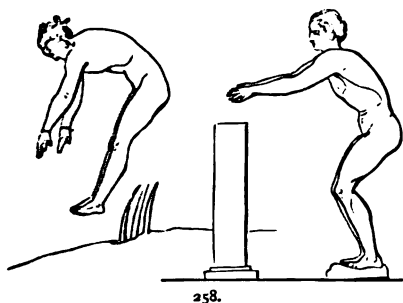
Of these beast-fights the Romans were passionately fond. The number of animals which appear to have been from time to time engaged in them, is such as to excite in the reader’s mind both pity and aversion.

The N. T., in several places, contains references to the celebrated Grecian Games, though it may be allowed that some commentators have imagined allusions where none were designed. As might, from his heathen learning, be expected, it is Paul who chiefly supplies the passages in question; comp. Gal. ii. 2, v. 7; Phil. ii. 16; Heb. xii. 1, xii. 4; Phil. iii. 14; 2 Tim. ii. 5; and especially in 1 Cor. ix. 24-27. In the O. T. two passages contain a clear reference to games; Ps. xix. 5; Eccl. ix. 11.

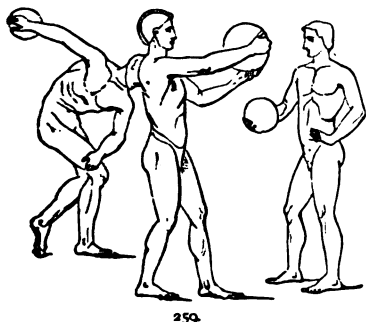
As tending to illustrate these scriptural allusions, we shall describe some of the exercises in which the competitors engaged in the great games of Greece:—

1. *The Gymnastic Exercises.*—These were laid down in a well-planned systematic series, beginning with the easier (*κοίφα*), and proceeding on to the more difficult (*βαρέα*). Some of these were specially fitted to give strength, others agility; some educated the hands, others the feet. Among the lighter exercises were reckoned running (*δρόμος*), leaping (*ἄλμα*), quiting (*δρακος*), hurling the javelin (*ἀκόντιον*). When skill had been obtained in these, and the consequent strength, then followed a severer course of discipline. This was two-fold—1, simple; 2, compound. The simple consisted of wrestling (*πάλη*), boxing (*πυγμή*): the compound we find in the Pentathlon (the five contests), and the

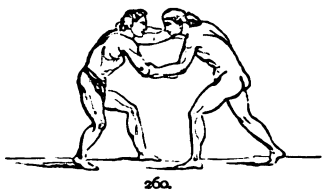
Pankration (or general trial of strength). The Pentathlon was made up of the union of leaping, running, quoiting, wrestling, and hurling the spear;



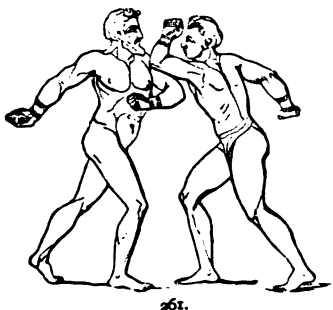
the Pankration consisted of wrestling and boxing. It is not necessary here to speak in detail of the



distinctions which Galen makes between the ordinary motions of the body and those which were



required in these exercises, since the names themselves are sufficient to make manifest how manifold,



severe, long, and difficult the body discipline was, and the inference is easy and unavoidable that the

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effect on the bodily frame must have been of the most decided and lasting kind.

In 1 Cor. ix. 26 Paul speaks of fighting not as one who beateh the air; alluding to the preludial exercises, trials of individual and of comparative strength, which took place in the course of training. These runnings and boxings had no immediate aim or result, and implied no real competitor; hence the propriety of the terms which the sacred writer employs. Statius (*Theb.* vi. 587) has given a lively picture of some of the practices by which the runners endeavoured to give suppleness and agility to their limbs:

tunc rite citatos

Explorant, actuante gradus, variasque per artes
Exstimulant docto languentia membra tumultu.
Poplite nunc flexo sidunt, nunc lubrica torti
Pectora collidunt plausu; nunc ignea tollunt
Crura, brevemque fugam necopino fine reponunt.

After the herald had called the competitors into the lists, they sometimes tried their strength and exercised their frames, by running out and back on the course. Virgil (*Æn.* v. 376) represents Dares as displaying the size and flexibility of his arms prior to his combat with Eryx:

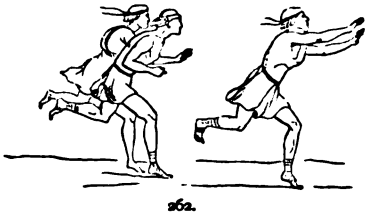
Ostenditque humeros latos, alternaque jactat
Brachia protendens, et verberat ictibus auras,

where, in *verberat ictibus auras*, we have even a verbal agreement with the apostle's phraseology. (Compare *Æn.* v. 446). Among the proprieties of language for which the passage in 1 Cor. ix. is distinguished, may be placed the term which Paul employs to describe the prize. It is the specific word used in the case, namely *βραβεῖον*: this was the customary term, the employment of which was rendered proper from the name of the officers, *βραβεύων*, who gave the conqueror his crown. The entire passage indeed is singularly happy in its phraseology, thereby adding confirmation to the grounds on which the authority of the epistle rests. We cannot, however, think one word well rendered in our English version, *ἀδόκιμος*, 'castaway'; or, if this be a good rendering, the apostle has at least failed in strict verbal propriety; for who were they in connection with the games who were, or were termed, castaway? *Δοκιμασία* was the term employed to describe the severe scrutiny which candidates for office underwent at Athens. Persons who were found unfit were termed *ἀδόκιμοι*, and as this decision was a declaration of civic and social incapacity, not to say of moral turpitude, the word came to mean 'dishonoured.' This, or the word *rejected*, seems the proper rendering in the last verse of the ninth chap. of 1 Corinthians. The apostle's fear evidently was, lest, after having put others on this noble undertaking, he himself should be at last found unfit to engage therein; for the allusion seems to be derived from the preparatory exercises of which he is immediately speaking, and not from the issue of the contest; and at the end of these preparatory exercises, a very severe examination had to be undergone by such as wished to 'run the race.' This interpretation may perhaps serve to set the apostle's humility in a strong light; since he expresses his fear lest he should not be even admitted to enter the lists for 'the glorious prize.' If, however, any one prefers referring the word to the final issue of the contest of life, then the same meaning remains, and the apostle says,

that, after all his striving, he may lose the crown, proving at last unequal to the achievement of the victory.

In writing to the Christians at Corinth there was a special propriety, on the part of the apostle, in making allusions to the public games. Corinth was the place where one of the four Greek national games was celebrated, namely, the Isthmian. These games were so called from being held on the isthmus which joins northern with southern Greece—a spot of land most celebrated in Grecian history, alike in martial and commercial matters.

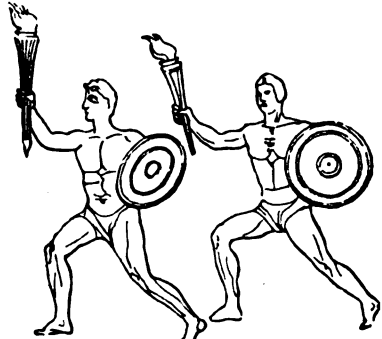
2. *Racing* may be traced back to the earliest periods of Grecian antiquity, and may be regarded as the first friendly contest in which men engaged. Accordingly the Olympic and Pythian, probably also the other games, opened with foot-races. Foot-racing, perfected by systematic practice, was divided into different kinds. If you ran merely to the end of the course (*στάδιον*), it was called stadium; if you went thither and back, you ran the double



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course (*διὰυλος*). The longest course was the *δολιχος*, which required extraordinary speed and power of endurance. What it involved the ancients have left in no small uncertainty. It is sometimes given as seven times over the stadium; at others, twelve times; at others again, twenty; and even the number of four-and-twenty times is mentioned. These lengths will give some idea of the severity of the trial, and serve to illustrate the meaning of the apostle when he speaks of running with patience the race set before him (*ὑπομονή*, *patience, sustained effort*). Indeed, one Ladas, a victor at the Olympic games, in the *δολιχος* or long race, was so exhausted by his efforts that, immediately on gaining the honour and being crowned, he yielded up his breath: a fact which also serves to throw light on Scriptural language, as shewing with what intense eagerness these aspirants (*δολιχοδρόμοι*, long-runners) strove for perishing chaplets (*φθαρτὸν στέφανον*). In the preparatory discipline everything was done which could conduce to swiftness and strength. The exercises were performed with the body naked and well oiled. Minute directions were established in order to prevent foul play (*κακοτεχνία*, *κακουργία*) of any kind, so that all the competitors might start and run on terms of entire equality—illustrating the words of Paul on the necessity of running lawfully. The contest was generally most severe; to reach the goal sooner by one foot was enough to decide the victory. How true and graphic then the descriptions given by Paul: it was, as the apostle states, *ἐν στάδι*, in the race-course, that the contests took place; every one striving for the victory was temperate in all things; nay more, he kept under his body and brought it into subjection. A passage is found in the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus [cap. 29], which shews with what propriety the terms which

the apostle employs were chosen by him: 'You wish to conquer at the Olympic games? so also do I; for it is honourable; but bethink yourself what this attempt implies, and then begin the undertaking. You must subject yourself to a determinate course; must submit to dietetic discipline (*ἀσκήσις*); must pursue the established exercises at fixed hours in heat and cold; must abstain from dainties; must not drink cold water or wine at pleasure; yield yourself unreservedly to the control of the president as to a physician, then go into the struggle; you will have to throw out your hands, twist your ankle, swallow much dust, sometimes be flogged; but so you will conquer.'



263.

It may well be supposed that the competitors employed all their ability, and displayed the greatest eagerness to gain the prize. The nearer, too, they approached to the goal, the more did they increase their efforts. Sometimes the victory depended on a final spring; happy he that retained power enough to leap first to the goal. The spectators, also, used every encouragement in their power, these favouring one competitor, those another:—

'Verbaque dicentum, nunc, nunc incumbere tempus,

Hippomene, propera. Nunc viribus utere totis.'

All these remarks go to shew how wisely Paul acted in selecting the figure, and how carefully he has preserved the imagery which belonged to it. A word employed in the Common Version, 1 Cor. ix. 27, 'Lest when I have *preached* to others I myself should be a castaway'—namely, *preached*, mars the figure. The original is *κηρύξας*—'acted the part of herald,' whose business it was to call the competitors to the contest and proclaim their victory, functions which Paul spent his life in performing.

3. At the Olympic games the prize was simply a chaplet made of wild olive. The crowns were laid on a tripod, and placed in the middle of the course, so as to be seen of all. On the same table there were also exposed to view palm-branches, one of which was given into the hand of each conqueror at the same time with the chaplet. The victors, having been summoned by proclamation, were presented with the ensigns of victory, and conducted along the stadium, preceded by a herald, who proclaimed their honours, and announced their name, parentage, and country.

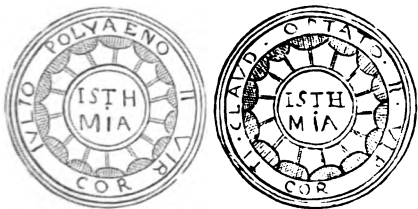
The real reward, however, was in the fame

which ensued. A chaplet won in the chariot-races at Olympia was the highest of earthly honours. What congratulations from friends; how was the public eye directed to the fortunate conqueror; what honour had he conferred on his native city, and for what office was such an one unfit! What intense and deep delight must his bosom have been filled with when the full acclaim of assembled Greece fell upon his ear, coming in loud salutations and applauses from every part of the crowded course! Then came the more private attentions of individual friends. One brought a chaplet of flowers; another bound his head with ribbons. Afterwards came the triumphal sacrifice made to the twelve gods, accompanied by sumptuous feasting. The poet now began his office, gaining, in some cases, both for himself and the happy victor, an unexpected immortality. Music also lent her aid, and his name was sung wherever the noble accents of the Greek tongue asserted their supremacy. In order to perpetuate the memory of these great men, their names and achievements were entered into a public register, which was under the care of suitable officers. A no less privilege was that of having a statue of themselves placed either at the expense of their country or their friends, in the sacred grove of Jupiter. A perhaps still greater honour awaited the victor on his return home. The conquerors at the Isthmian games were wont to be received in their chariots, superbly attired, amid thronging and jubilant multitudes.

One or two other privileges belonged to these victors, such as immunity from public offices, and a certain yearly stipend. If to all this be added the strict scrutiny which competitors were obliged to undergo (in the best ages), so that none could enter the lists but such as were of pure Greek blood, and incorrupt in life, none but such as had undergone the required disciplinary training, and (in the case of the chariot and horse-races) none but those who could afford to possess and train horses in a country in which, as in Greece, horses, particularly in the earlier ages, were very scarce and dear; it will be seen that the distinction of the prize was not over-rated, when it was compared with a Roman triumph, nor that the description of Horace is too highly coloured—

palmaque nobilis
Terrarum dominos evehit ad Deos.

At the Isthmian games the prize was parsley during the mythic periods. In later ages the victor was crowned with a chaplet of pine leaves. Parsley, however, appears to have been also em-



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ployed. If the conqueror had come off victorious in the three great divisions—music, gymnastics, and racing—he was in the Pythian, as well as in

the other sacred games, presented also with a palm-branch. The names of about seventy persons are preserved who gained honours at the Isthmian games, among which occurs that of the emperor Nero, who is recorded to have gained the victory in the character of harper and that of herald. On the subject here treated of see West's *Odes of Pindar*, 2d edit.; Potter's *Antiquities of Greece*. By far the best work, however, is Krause's *Die Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen*; and his *Die Pythien, Nemeen und Isthmien*, Leipzig, 1841.—J. R. B.

GAMMADIM (גמדים). This word occurs Ezek. xxvii. 11, and various interpretations have been given of it. The LXX. render it by *φύλακες*, and with this agree the Syr. (ܓܡܕܝܐ *et custodiebant*), and the Arab.; the Vulg. again renders it by *Pygmaei*, and this Rashi, Kimchi, and others adopt. Fürst prefers the former of these, tracing the word to an obsolete root *גמז*, to place or make

to stand, allied to the Arab. *جند*, to be hard or firm, and translates by *Besatzung* (garrison). Luther also follows this, and gives *wächter* as the rendering. The interpretation of the Vulg. rests on the supposed derivation of the word from *גמז*, a span; or *cubit*; and this Michaelis also follows, suggesting that these warriors were so called because at the height at which they stood they seemed pigmies to those below! Theodoret defends the rendering of Aquila, *πυγμαλούς*, deriving it *ἀπὸ τῆς πυγμῆς*, and more rationally explaining it as denoting persons skilled in fight. The Targ. regards it as an ethnological term, and gives *קפודוכאים* *Cappadocians*, reading probably *גמדים* for *גמדים*. Fuller (*Misc. Sac.* vi. p. 698) suggests that they may be the inhabitants of Gamala (Plin. *N. H.* v. 14); and Grotius thinks the inhabitants of Ancon ('nam Ancon est *גמז*') are intended. All this is purely arbitrary. Hävernick (*in loc.*), adopts the meaning *brave, daring ones*, from Syr. *ܓܡܕܝܐ*;

Hitzig prefers the sense of *deserters* from neighbouring countries, or *exiles* (the *גמדים* of Is. lviii. 7), comparing the Syr. *ܓܡܕܝܐ* as applied to the obstinacy of the horse or mule, and identifying it with the Arab. *جراح* warrior; Gesenius

contends for 'bellatores fortes hostes arborum instar caedentes,' deriving the word from Arab. *جند* *amputant*; and Lee thinks it means *short-swordsmen*, deriving it from *גמז*, which he traces to the same Arab. root.—W. L. A.

GANACH. [IBN-GANACH.]

GARDEN [גן, גננה, Sept. and N. T. *κήπος*]. Several gardens are mentioned in the Scriptures, as the garden of Eden (Gen. ii. 8, 9, 10, 15), Ahab's garden of herbs (1 Kings xxi. 2), the royal garden near the fortress of Zion (2 Kings xxi. 18; xxv. 4), the garden of Solomon (Eccl. ii. 5), the royal garden of the Persian kings at Susa (Esther i. 5; vii. 7, 8), the garden of Joseph of Arimathea (John xix. 41), and the garden of Gethsemane

(John xviii. 1). It is clear, from Is. v. 2, and Lam. ii. 6, that gardens were generally hedged or walled, as indeed Josephus expressly states respecting the gardens near Jerusalem (*De Bell. Jud.* v. 7). In Job xxvii. 18; Prov. xxvii. 18; Cant. i. 6; viii. 11; and John xx. 15, gardeners and keepers of gardens by occupation are indicated. [They made use also of a species of *scarcrow* (*πρὸς ἀκρόνιον*, Bar. vi. 70)].

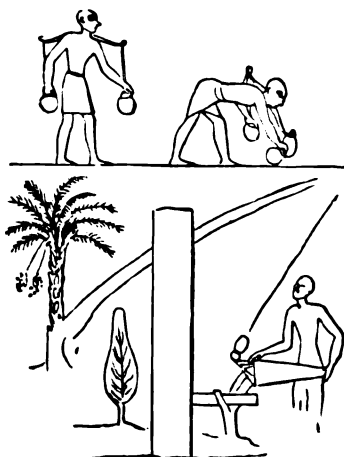
Gardens were planted not only with fragrant and beautiful plants, but with various fruit-bearing and other trees (Gen. ii. 9; Jer. xxix. 5; Amos ix. 14). Thus we find mention of nut-gardens (Cant. vi. 11), pomegranate-gardens (Cant. iv. 13), olive-gardens (Deut. viii. 8; 1 Chron. xxvii. 28), vine-gardens (Cant. iv. 2; viii. 8), a garden of cucumbers (Is. i. 8). Here, however, we are not to suppose that the gardens were exclusively occupied by these fruits, but that they were severally predominant in the gardens to which they gave name. The distinction, for instance, between a vine-garden and a vine-yard would be, that, in the latter, the vine was cultivated solely for use, whereas in the former it was planted for solace and ornament, to cover walls, and to be trained in arbours and on trellises. [We read also of a 'garden of herbs' (Deut. xi. 10; 1 Kings xxi. 2); in these, vegetables for the table were reared, including such aromatic herbs as were used for seasoning (See *FOOD*)].

Gardens were, when possible, planted near streams, which afforded the means of easy irrigation. This explains such passages as Gen. ii. 9, *sq.*, and Is. i. 30. But streams were few in Palestine, at least such as afforded water in summer, when alone water was wanted for irrigation: hence rain-water, or water from the streams which dried up in summer, was in winter stored up in reservoirs spacious enough to contain all the water likely to be needed during the dry season. In fact many of our own large nurseries are watered in the same manner from reservoirs of rain-water. The water was distributed through the garden in numerous small rills, which traversed it in all directions, and which were supplied either by a

shewn in the Egyptian monuments. These rills being turned and directed by the foot, gave rise to the phrase 'watering by the foot,' as indicative of garden irrigation (Deut. xi. 10). The representation (No. 265) very clearly shews the way in which water was raised, by a balanced lever, from the stream or reservoir, and poured into a trough, whence it flowed into the various canals for irrigation. This method is still in use. There is a curious account of ancient garden irrigation in Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xix. 4), which the reader may consult with advantage.

Gardens were dedicated to various uses among the Hebrews, such as we still find prevailing in the East. One most essential difference between them and our own is that they are not attached to or in any way connected with the residence, but are situated in the suburbs. We have known gardens from half a mile to a mile distant from the houses of the persons to whom they belonged. It is manifest that all the gardens mentioned in Scripture were outside the several towns. This is, however, to be understood of regular gardens, for shrubs and flowers were often planted in the open courts of the dwelling-houses.

People repair to their suburban gardens to take the air, to walk, and to refresh and solace themselves in various ways. For their use there is mostly in each garden a kind of summer-house or pavilion, fitted up with much neatness, gaily painted and furnished with seats, where the visitors may sit and enjoy themselves. Here sometimes banquets were and are still given, attended by singing and music, to which there may be an allusion in Is. li. 3. The custom of burying the dead in gardens is indicated in Gen. xxiii. 19,



265. Watering Garden.



266. Garden-houses.

20; 2 Kings xxi. 26; 1 Sam. xxv. 1; Mark xv. 46; John xix. 41, 42; and still occurs sometimes in the east, but is not very prevalent. We find it also among the Greeks (Heliodorus, *Æthiop.* i. 2, p. 35), and the Romans (Suetonius, *Galba*, 20).

It is evident that the gardens of the Hebrews were in a very considerable degree devoted to the culture of medicinal herbs, the preparation of which

continued stream from the reservoir, or had water poured into them by the gardeners, in the manner

In various ways was a matter of much solicitude with them (Jer. viii. 22). This is still the case in the East, where vegetable simples are as much employed in medicine as they were in this country in the times of Gerarde and Culpepper.

It would seem that the Jews were much in the habit of performing their devotions in gardens (Gen. xxiv. 63; Matt. xxvi. 36; John i. 48; xviii. 1, 2). This interesting practice, however, was idolatrously abused; for the worship of idols in these shady seclusions was not of unfrequent occurrence, and is often mentioned in Scripture (1 Kings xiv. 23; 2 Kings xvi. 4; xvii. 10; 2 Chron. xviii. 4; Is. lxx. 3; lxxvi. 17; Jer. ii. 20; iii. 6; Ezek. xx. 28).

The Jews, in their ceremonial treatises, have frequent occasion to mention gardens, chiefly for the purpose of shewing what plants or seeds might or might not be planted or sown together under the law against heterogeneous propagations (Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 9, 11). For that law various reasons have been given, on which we are not required to pronounce any judgment: but it appears to us that the economical grounds which may be collected from the effects which appear to result from the interdicted practices, are quite sufficient in themselves, whether others exist or not. Thus we find enumerated among the radical defects of Hindu husbandry—the barbarous system of sowing two or three species of grain in one field The mode of reaping is equally defective; if two or three species of grain are sown in the same field, the Indian husbandman treads down a great part of his crop in order to collect each kind separately; indeed, so fond is he of this method of proceeding that he pursues it even when the crop is all of one kind, that he may select what he deems the ripest' (Tennant's *Indian Recreations*, in *Edinb. Review*, iv. 320).

The gardens of the Holy Land have been mentioned by travellers in terms too vague and general to afford the basis of a satisfactory description. Dr. Olin seems to have paid most attention to them. Of the gardens near Shechem he says, 'Upon turning an angle in the steep gorge we found ourselves, as if by enchantment, in the midst of fruitful gardens, filled with vegetables, flowers, and fruit-trees, and all in the highest perfection of luxuriance and beauty. Olives, vines, acacias, pomegranates, figs, mulberries, and several species of trees which I did not recognise, are crowded together in small enclosures, forming an impenetrable shade as well as an impenetrable thicket, and yet the capabilities of the soil seem not to be overburdened. Each separate tree and plant thrives to admiration, and seems rather to profit than suffer from the thick dark canopy of branches and foliage, which entirely excludes the sun's rays from the tangled huddle of trunks and roots. A beautiful mountain stream runs through the midst of this forest of gardens, in a channel mostly artificial and sometimes covered; but the water often rises into small fountains, and forms several cascades' (*Travels in the East*, ii. 350). The orange and citron trees which abound in these gardens near Shechem (see Schubert, *Reise ins Morgenlande*, ii. 116) were probably those not recognised by Dr. Olin, from their not being in fruit at the time of his visit.

The mural paintings of the ancient Egyptians afford us much information respecting their gardens and processes of gardening. But the difference of

climate, soil, and produce, in Egypt and Palestine, was too material to justify us in expecting much information from this source respecting the gardens of the Hebrews. As, however, some notions on this head must have been common to both countries, we subjoin the observations of Mr. Wathen on the gardens of Egypt (*Arts, &c., of Ancient Egypt*, p. 108).

The ancient plans of gardens shew that the Egyptians were not less fond than our ancestors of mathematical figures, straight walks, architectural decorations, and vegetable avenues; and that they as thoroughly entered into the idea of seclusion and safety suggested by enclosures within enclosures. It has been remarked that in some old English places there were almost as many walled compartments without, as apartments within doors; and the same may be said of Egyptian country-houses. This principle of seclusion, and an excessive love of uniform arrangement, are remarkably displayed in the plan of a large square garden given in Professor Rosellini's great work (*I Monumenti dell'Egitto*). Here—

'Grove nods at grove, each alley has a brother,
And half the platform just reflects the other.'

The royal garden must have formed a most enviable retreat from 'the intolerable day' of an Egyptian summer. The whole was shut in by an embattled wall. On one side a canal runs along just without the walls. In the centre of the enclosure is an oblong walled vineyard; the vines, planted in rows or avenues, are trailed above on trellis-work forming shady arched walks. The space on one side this central vineyard exactly corresponds to that on the other. In each there is a row of palms, an oblong tank with water-fowl, four flower-beds on a lawn, and an open summer-house on the margin overlooking the pool; an oblong walled compartment of trees; a second tank with water-fowl and flowers; and all along within the wall of circuit a row of trees of three kinds in regular alternations. At one end of the garden next the entrance is a building containing apparently one large room, perhaps for the royal entertainments; at the other end or back is a house of three stories, which commanded a view of the whole. This garden, with its sheltered walks, its groves and tanks of water, its seclusion and privacy, reminds us of the 'fair garden' of Joacim at Babylon, with its baths, its deep shady coverts, and its 'privy gate,' in the apocryphal story of Susannah.

'Obelisks and pylons, with flagstaves and streamers, seem to have been occasionally introduced as garden decorations. In the parched climate of Egypt a large supply of water is absolutely necessary for a thriving vegetation; hence tanks and canals form a chief feature in these villa scenes. With rows of palms laden with fruit on their margin, they recall Jeremiah's poetical comparison of 'the man that trusteth in the Lord' to a 'tree planted by the waters, and that spreadeth out her roots by the river, and shall not see when heat cometh, but her leaf shall be green; and shall not be careful in the year of drought, neither shall cease from yielding fruit,' contrasted with 'the man who trusteth in man,' who is 'like the heath in the desert, and shall not see when good cometh; but shall inhabit the parched places in the wilderness, in a salt land and not inhabited' (Jer. xvii. 5-8).—J. K.

GAREB (גָּרֵב, *reviler*). 1. The name of one of David's worthies (2 Sam. xxiii. 38; 1 Chron. xi. 40). He is called 'the Ithrite' הִיִּתְרִי, i.e., a native of Jathir. The rendering Jethrite, Vulg. *ipse Jethrites*, qu. son of Jether, is opposed to the punctuation, to the Syr. version (in the former clause of the verse)

גָּרֵב, to the Targ., and to the fact that in notices of this sort it is usually the birth-place and not the descent that is mentioned. The Syr. reads in the latter clause 'Arab from Lachish.'

2. The name of a hill near Jerusalem (גְּרֵבָה, Sept. *Bovoul Gariβa*, Jer. xxxi. 39). As the root גָּרַב signifies *to scratch*, and the Syr. גְּרֵבָה is the name for *leprosy*, this hill is supposed to have been the place to which lepers were sent out of the city.—W. L. A.

GARIZIM. [GERIZIM.]

GARLIC. [SHOOM.]

GARMENT. [DRESS.]

GARNETT, JOHN, D.D., successively Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and Lady Margaret's preacher; Bishop of Ferns, 1752; Bishop of Clogher, 1758. He died in 1782. His principal work is entitled *A Dissertation on the Book of Job, its nature, argument, age, and author; wherein the celebrated text, ch. xix. 25, is occasionally considered and discussed; to which are added four sermons*, 4to, Lond. 1749. In this work the author 'contends that the Book of Job is an allegorical drama, designed to represent the fall and restoration of a captive Jew, and with a view to recommend the virtue of patience. The author he supposes to have been Ezekiel, and the period of its production subsequent to the Babylonish captivity.' (Orme, *Biblioth. Bib.* p. 200). The dissertation is ably written and ingeniously reasoned, but the hypothesis it is designed to support is a mere fancy, and the author adds nothing to our resources for understanding the book to which it relates.—W. L. A.

GARRISON. This term is used in the A. V. as an equivalent for four Hebrew words, all derived from the same root גָּרַב, or גָּרַב; namely (i.) מְצָבָה; (ii.) מִצֵּב; (iii.) נִצִּיב and (iv.) מִצְבָּה. As to the correctness of so rendering the first and second, there has been no difference of opinion. In 1 Sam. x. 5; xiii. 3, נִצִּיב has been thought to mean a memorial pillar or monument (Thenius *Exeg. isches Handbuch*); but Winer, Gesenius, and Fürst, regard it as synonymous in these passages with מִצֵּב, as appears from comparing 1 Chron. xi. 16 with the parallel passage in 2 Sam. xxiii. 14. It may also be observed that the verb הִצִּיב in 1 Sam. xiii. 3 is very frequently employed in the sense of slaughtering or putting to flight; and, to express the demolition of a pillar, several other words would be more appropriate, such as שָׁרַף, נָחַץ, or עָרַב. The fourth word, מִצְבָּה, translated *garrisons* in Ezek. xxvi. 11, probably means in that passage *pillars*; it is very frequently used for *idolatrous images*, Deut. vii. 5; 2 Kings iii. 2; x. 27, etc., but never for *garrisons*.—J. E. R.

GATAKER, THOMAS, B.D., son of Thomas

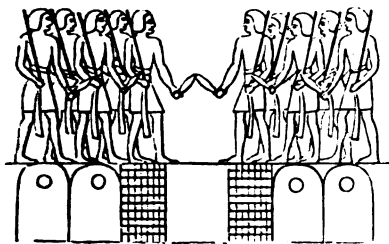
Gataker, rector of St. Edmund's, Lombard Street, was born in London, Sept. 4, 1574. In 1611 he was appointed to the rectory of Rotherhithe, having filled for ten years previously the office of preacher to the society of Lincoln's Inn. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and was held in high esteem by his contemporaries for his great learning. He died July 27, 1654. While at Lincoln's Inn he preached a series of sermons upon the use and abuse of lots, and upon the kindred topics of games of chance and divination. The substance of these he subsequently published under the title, *A Discourse of the Nature and Use of Lots, a treatise historical and theological*, Lond. 1619, 4to. His more important literary labours were undertaken at a later period of his life, and after he had become incapacitated by illness for the discharge of his pastoral duties. Amongst these were—1. *Annotations on Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations*, included in the so-called Assembly's annotations, and of which it is by far the most valuable portion. It forms nearly one-fourth of the entire work. 2. *De Novi Instrumenti Stylo Dissertatio*, Lond. 1648, 4to, which in form is a criticism of the treatise of Seb. Pfochen entitled *Diatrise de lingua Græcæ N. T. puritate*, and in matter is a defence of the views of the Hebraists against those of the Purists. Bound up with this volume is a translation into Latin of the Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch by Francis Tayler, which was published at Gataker's instigation, and has his commendation prefixed. 3. *Cinnus, sive Adversaria miscellanea*, Lond. 1651, 4to. This contains two only out of the six books which it was the author's intention to publish 'Deo favente.' A further portion was published after his death by his son Charles Gataker, and the nature of the work is sufficiently set forth in the title of this volume, *Adversaria Miscellanea in quibus* [sic] *Sacra Scriptura primò deinde aliorum Scriptorum locis aliquam multis Lux redditur*, Lond. 1659, fol. The last three works are included in an edition of Gataker's critical works published by Hermann Witsius, *T. Gatakeri Opera Critica*, Traj. ad Rhen. 1698, fol.—S. N.

GATAM (גַּתָּם, *Ga'tam*; Sept. Γαθῶμ; Alex. Γαθῶμ, Γαθά), a descendant of Esau and head of one of the Edomitic tribes, or the name of the (tribe itself Gen. xxxvi. 11-16). Fürst derives the word from גָּתַם and גַּי, and translates it *burnt* or *parched vale*, regarding the tribe as taking its designation from its locality. Gesenius identifies it with the Arab. جَعْتَم, *puny* or *thin one*. Knobel, referring to the LXX. representation of the word, compares it with جَدَام *jodham*, the name of a tribe inhabiting the Hisma, a part of Mount Sherah. The omission of the y is an objection to this, but not a fatal one, as this sometimes takes place (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 976). Rodiger (*Ibid.* iii. 80) cites from Ibn Duraid, جَعْتَم, *jethamah*, as the name of an Arab tribe.—W. L. A.

GATE, DOOR (שַׁעַר; Chald. תַּרְוָה; Sept. πύλη, αὐλή, ὑπά; גַּת, דֶּלֶת, *valve* or *folding-door*; דְּלָתִים, *folding-doors* or *gates*; פֶּתַח, *an opening, a door*, θύρα, πύλη; סוֹף, *sill* or *threshold*, αὐλή, σταθμός), the entrance to enclosed grounds, buildings, dwell

ing-houses, towns, etc. Thus we find mentioned—
 1. *Gates of cities*, as of Jerusalem, its sheep-gate, fish-gate, etc. (Jer. xxxvii. 13; Neh. i. 3; ii. 3; vii. 3); of Sodom (Gen. xix. 1); of Gaza (Judg. xvi. 3). 2. *Gates of royal palaces* (Neh. ii. 8). 3. *Gates of the Temple*. The temple of Ezekiel had two gates, one towards the north, the other towards the east; the latter closed (Ezek. xliv. 1, 2), the other must have been open. 4. *Gates of tombs* (Matt. xxvii. 60). 5. *Gates of prisons*. In Acts xii. 10, mention is made of the iron gate of Peter's prison (xvi. 27). Prudentius (*Illeptorep. Hymn. v. 346*) speaks of gatekeepers of prisons. 6. *Door (opening) of a cavern* (1 Kings xix. 13). 7. *Gates of camps* (Exod. xxxii. 26, 27; see Heb. xiii. 12). The camps of the Romans had generally four gates; of which the first was called *porta prætoris*, the second *decumana*, the third *principalis dextra*, the fourth *principalis sinistra* (Rosin. *Antiq. Rom. x. 12*; Liv. iii. 5; x. 32; xl. 27). The camp of the Trojans is also described as having had gates (Virgil, *Æn. ix. 724*).

We do not know of what materials the enclosures and gates of the temporary camps of the Hebrews were formed. In Egyptian monuments such enclosures are indicated by lines of upright shields, with gates apparently of wicker, defended by a strong guard.



267. Egyptian Camp-gate.

GATES OF TOWNS.—As the gates of towns served the ancients as places of security [FORTIFICATIONS], a durable material was required for them, and accordingly we find mentioned—1. *Gates of iron and brass* (Ps. cvii. 16; Is. xlv. 2; Acts xii. 10). It is probable that gates thus described were, in fact, only sheeted with plates of copper or iron (Faber, *Archeol. p. 297*); and it is probably in this sense we are to interpret the hundred brazen gates ascribed to the ancient Babylon. Thevenot (*Voyage, p. 283*) describes the six gates of Jerusalem as covered with iron: which is probably still the case with the four gates now open. Other iron-covered gates are mentioned by travellers, such as some of the town gates of Algiers (Pitt's *Letter, viii. p. 10*), and of the towers of the so-called iron bridge at Antioch (Pococke, vol. ii. pt. 1, p. 172). The principal gates of the great mosque at Damascus are covered with brass (Maundrell, p. 126). Gates of brass are also mentioned by Hesiod (*Theog. 732*), by Virgil (*Æn. ii. 480-81*), and by Pliny (*H. N. xxxiv. 3*), and of iron by Plautus (*Pers. iv. 4, 21*).

2. *Gates of stone*, and of pearls, are mentioned in Is. liv. 12, and Rev. xxi. 21, which, it has justly been supposed, refer to such doors, cut out of a single slab, as are occasionally discovered in ancient countries. At Essouan (Syene), in Upper Egypt, there is a granite gateway bearing the name

of Alexander, the son of Alexander the Great (Wilkinson, iii. 403). The doors leading to the several chambers of the so-called 'Tombs of the Kings,' near Jerusalem, were each formed of a single stone seven inches thick, sculptured so as to resemble four panels: the styles, muntins, and other parts were cut with great art, and exactly resembled those of a door made by a carpenter at the present day—the whole being completely smooth and polished, and most accurate in their proportions. The doors turned on pivots, of the same stone of which the rest of them were composed, which were inserted in corresponding sockets above and below, the lower tenon being of course short. This is one of the modes in which heavy doors of wood are now hung in the East. One of these doors was still hanging in Maundrell's time, and 'did not touch its lintel by at least three inches.' But all these doors are now thrown down and broken (Monconys, p. 308; Thevenot, p. 261; Pococke, ii. 21; Maundrell, *sub* March 28th; Wilde, ii. 299; Robinson, i. 530). Similar doors are described by Dr. Clarke (*Travels, pt. ii. vol. i. p. 252*) in the remarkable excavated sepulchres at Telmessus, on the southern coast of Asia Minor; and others were noticed by Irby and Mangles (*Travels, p. 302*) in the sepulchres near Bysan (Bethshan). There are stone doors to the houses in the Haouran beyond the Jordan (Burckhardt, p. 58); and the present writer has repeatedly seen in the north of Persia the street doors of superior houses composed of a single slab of a kind of slate. In the ancient sepulchre recently discovered, as described by Dr. Wilde (*Narrative, ii. 343*), the outer door is formed by a single slab, and moves on horizontal pivots that run into sockets cut in the pilasters at the top, in the manner of a swinging hinge.

3. *Gates of wood.*—Of this kind were probably the gates of Gaza (Judg. xvi. 3). They had generally two valves, which, according to Faber's description (*Archeol. p. 300*), had sometimes smaller doors, or wickets, to afford a passage when the principal gate was closed—a fact which he applies to the illustration of Matt. vii. 13.

Gates were generally protected by some works against the surprises of enemies (Jer. xxxix. 4). Sometimes two gates were constructed one behind another, an outer and inner one; or there were turrets on both sides (2 Sam. xviii. 24, 33; see Faber's *Archeol. p. 301*). The gates of the ancients were generally secured with strong heavy bolts and locks of brass or iron (Deut. iii. 5; 1 Sam. xxiii. 7; 1 Kings iv. 13; 2 Chron. viii. 5; Jer. xiv. 2; xlix. 31; Ps. cxlvii. 13). This was probably done with a view to the safety of the town, and to prevent hostile inroads (Harmer's *Observations, vol. i. p. 188*). The keys of gates, as well as of doors, were generally of wood; and Thevenot observes that gates might be opened even with the finger put into the keyhole—from which Harmer elucidates the passage in the Song of Solomon, v. 4.

The gates of towns were kept open or shut according to circumstances; in time of war they were closed against the inroads of the enemy (Josh. ii. 5), but they were opened when the enemy had been conquered. On festive occasions they were also thrown wide open, to which Ps. xxiv. 7 alludes. This opening of the gates, as well as closing them, was done by means of keys. That near the

gates towers were often constructed, serving for defence against attacks of the enemy, may be inferred from Deut. iii. 5; 2 Sam. xviii. 24; Judg. ix. 35, comp. with 52. So Juvenal (*Sat.* vi. 291) puts the towers of the gates for the gates themselves. Virgil (*Æn.* vi. 554) represents the infernal gate as having a tower. Enemies, therefore, in besieging towns were most anxious to obtain possession of the gates as quickly as possible (Deut. xxviii. 52; Judg. ix. 40; 2 Sam. x. 8; xi. 23; 1 Kings viii. 37; Job v. 4; Is. xxiii. 7; xxviii. 6);



268. Gate of Konieh.

and generally the town was conquered when its gates were occupied by the invading troops (Deut. xxviii. 57; Judg. v. 8). This observation is made also by several Greek and Roman authors (Herodian, *Histor.* i. 12, sec. 14; Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 802, *seq.*) In or near the gates, therefore, they placed watchmen, and a sufficiently strong guard, to keep an eye on the movements of the enemy, and to defend the works in case of need (Judg. xviii. 16; 2 Kings vii. 3; Neh. xiii. 22; see Herodian, *Histor.* iii. 2, sec. 21; Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 265 *seq.*, 335).

We read that some portions of the law were to be written on the gates of towns, as well as on the doors of houses (Deut. vi. 9; xi. 20); and if this is to be literally understood, it receives illustration from the practice of the Moslems in painting passages of the Koran on their public and private gates. Various artificial figures and inscriptions were engraved on their gates by the Romans (Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 26, *seq.*)

Criminals were punished without the gates (1 Kings xxi. 13; Acts vii. 58), which explains the passage in Heb. xiii. 12. The same custom existed among the Romans (see Plaut. *Milit. Glorios.* act ii. sc. iv. 6, 7). At Rome executions took place without the Porta Metia or Esquilina. As to the gate through which Christ was led, before his crucifixion, opinions differ; some taking it to have been the dung-gate (Lamy, *Apparat. Geograph.*, c. 13, sec. 3, p. 321); others, following Hottinger (*Cipp. Hebr.* p. 16) and Godwyn, understand it of

the gate of judgment. But for all that concerns the gates of Jerusalem, we must refer to the article JERUSALEM.

Gates are often mentioned in Scripture as places at which were holden courts of justice to administer the law and determine points in dispute; hence *judges in the gate* are spoken of (Gen. xix. 1; xxiii. 10, 18; xxxiv. 20; Deut. xvi. 18; xvii. 8; xxi. 19; xxv. 6, 7; Josh. xx. 4; Ruth iv. 1; 1 Sam. iv. 18; 2 Sam. xviii. 24; xix. 8; 1 Kings xxii. 10; Job xxix. 7; Prov. xxii. 22; xxiv. 7; Lam. v. 14; Amos v. 12; Zech. viii. 16). The reason of this custom is apparent, for the gates being places of great concourse and resort, the courts held at them were of easy access to all the people; witnesses and auditors to all transactions were easily secured (a matter of much importance in the absence or scanty use of written documents); and confidence in the integrity of the magistrate was ensured by the publicity of the proceedings. There was within the gate a particular place, where the judges sat on chairs, and this custom must be understood as referred to when we read that courts were held *under the gates*, as may be proved from 1 Kings xxii. 10; 2 Chron. xviii. 9. Apart from the holding of courts of justice, the gate served for reading the law, and for proclaiming ordinances, etc. (2 Chron. xxxii. 6; Neh. viii. 1, 3). We see from Prov. xxxi. 23, Lam. v. 14, that the inferior magistrates held a court in the gates, as well as the superior judges (Jer. xxxvi. 10); and even kings, at least occasionally, did the same (1 Kings xxii. 10, comp. with Ps. cxxvii. 5). The gates at Jerusalem served the same purpose; but for the great number of its inhabitants many places of justice were required. Thus we find that Nehemiah (iii. 32) calls a particular gate of this city the counsel-gate, or justice-gate; which seems to have had a preference, though not exclusive, since courts must have been holden in the other gates also. After the erection of the second temple, the celebrated great Sanhedrim, indeed, assembled in the so-called *conclave casura* [*Gasilth*] of the temple; but we find that one of the Synedria of Jerusalem, consisting of twenty-three members, assembled in the east-gate, leading to the court of Israel, the other in the gate looking to the temple mount. The same custom prevails to the present day among other Oriental nations, as in the kingdom of Morocco, where courts of justice are holden in the gate of the capital town (Döpfer, *Theatrum panarum*, p. 9, *sq.*) Respecting the Abyssinians and inhabitants of Hindostan, we are likewise assured that they employed their gates for courts of justice. Homer (*Iliad*, iii. 145, *ff.*) states of the Trojans, that their elders assembled in the gates of the town to determine causes, and Virgil (*Æn.* i. 505) represents Dido as dispensing justice at the gates of a temple. We may refer to J. D. Jacobi's *Dissert. de foro in portis*, Leipzig, 1714, where the custom of holding courts in the gates of towns is explained at large (See also Grævius, *Thesaurus Antiq. Roman.* tom. x. p. 179.)

In Palestine gates were, moreover, the places where, sometimes at least, the priests delivered their sacred addresses and discourses to the people; and we find that the prophets often proclaimed their warnings and prophecies in the gates (Prov. i. 21; viii. 3; Is. xxix. 21; Jer. xvii. 19, 20; xxvi. 10; xxxvi. 10).

Among the heathen gates were connected with sacrifices, which were offered in their immediate

vicinity ; in which respect the hills near the gates are mentioned (2 Kings xxiii. 8). In Acts xiv. 13, the gates of Lystra are referred to, near which sacrifice was offered ; in which passage Camerarius, Dedien, and Heinsius take *πυλῶνας* to mean the town-gate.

The gate was, further, a public place of meeting and conversation, where the people assembled in large numbers to learn the news of the day, and by various talk to while away the too tedious hours (Ps. lxxix. 12). It was probably with this view that Lot sat under the gate of Sodom (Gen. xix. 1) ; which is more probable than the Jewish notion that he sat there as one of the judges of the city.

Under the gates they used to sell various merchandises, provisions, victuals, *e. g.*, at Samaria (2 Kings vii. 1) ; and for this purpose there were generally recesses in the space under them (see Herodian, vii. 6, sec. 6). The same is stated by Aristophanes (*Equit.* 1245, ed. Dind.) of the gates of the Greeks. But with respect to the markets at gates, the present writer would note what has often occurred to his own notice in different parts of the East, which is, that the commodities sold at the gates are almost exclusively country produce, animal or vegetable, for the supply of the city, and not manufactured goods, which are invariably sold in the bazaars in the heart of the town. The gate-markets also are only held for a few hours early in the morning.

On an uproar having broken out at Jerusalem, the heads of the people met under the New-gate (Jer. xxvi. 10), where they were sure to find insurgents. The town-gates were to the ancient Orientals what the coffee-houses, exchanges, markets, and courts of law, are in our large towns : and such is still the case in a great degree, although the introduction of coffee-houses has in this and other respects caused some alteration of Eastern man-

the palace lounged about ; and where persons having suits to offer, favours to beg, or wishing to recommend themselves to favourable notice, would wait day after day, in the hope of attracting the notice of the prince or great man at his entrance or coming forth (Esth. ii. 19, 21 ; iii. 2).

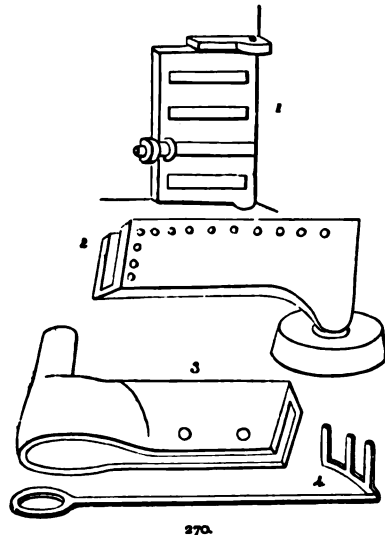
Gates are put figuratively for public places of towns and palaces. The gates of a town are also put instead of the town itself (Gen. xxii. 17 ; xxiv. 60 ; Deut. xii. 12 ; Ps. lxxxvii. 2).

The *gates of death*, and of *hell*, occur in Job xxxviii. 17 ; Ps. ix. 13 ; cvii. 18. Doors and gates of hell are chiefly introduced, Is. xxxviii. 10 ; Matt. xvi. 18 ; Rev. i. 18 ; and the Jews go so far in their writings as to ascribe real gates to hell (Wagenseil, *Sota*, p. 220). Virgil (*Æn.* vi. 127) also speaks of the '*atri janua Ditis*.' The origin of this metaphorical expression is not difficult to explain ; for it was very common to use the word gates as an image of large empires (Is. xxvi. 2) ; and in pagan authors the abode of departed souls is represented as the residence of Pluto (see Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 417, *sq.*) In the passage, then, Matt. xvi. 18, by '*gates of hell*' must be understood all aggressions by the infernal empire upon the Christian church.

DOORS OF HOUSES.—Among the ancient Egyptians doors were frequently stained so as to imitate foreign wood. They were either of one or two valves, turning on pins of metal, and were secured within by bars and bolts. Some of the bronze pins have been discovered in the tombs of Thebes, and two of them, after Wilkinson, are figured in No. 270, figs. 2, 3. They were fastened to the wood



269. Palace-Gate.

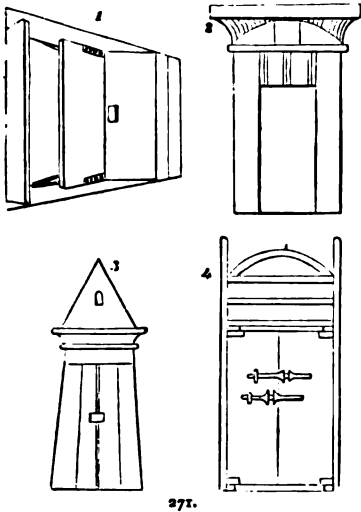


270.

with nails of the same metal. The stone lintels and floor behind the threshold of the tombs and temples still exhibit the holes in which the pins turned, as well as those of the bolts and bars, and the recess for receiving the opening valves. The folding-doors had bolts in the centre, sometimes above as well as below ; a bar was placed across from one wall to the other ; and in many cases they were secured by wooden locks passing over

ners. In capital towns the quidnuncs occasionally sat with the same views near the gate of the royal palace, where also the officers and messengers of

the centre (No. 271, fig. 4) at the junction of the two folds. 'It is difficult (remarks Sir J. G. Wilkinson) to say if these last were opened by a key, or merely slid backward and forward like a bolt; but if they were really locks, they were probably



271.

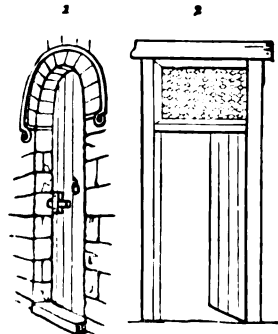
upon the principle of those now used in Egypt, which are of wood, and opened by a key furnished with several pins answering to a smaller number that fall down into the hollow movable tongue, into which the key is introduced when they open or fasten the lock.' For greater security they are also occasionally sealed with a mass of clay. This was also a custom of the ancient Egyptians, as appears from Herodotus (ii. 121); from tombs actually so closed at Thebes; and from the sculptures, as in No. 271, fig. 3, where the door is thus closed and sealed. To this custom there is an allusion in Job [CLAY]. At a later period, when iron came into general use, keys were made of that metal, of the shape shewn in No. 270, fig. 4. Of the kind thus indicated were probably the lock and key which fastened the summer-parlour of King Eglon (Judg. iii. 23, 25). In this case Ehud locked the door, and took away the key; but when the servants became alarmed, they easily opened it with another key; which suggests that the lock, as in ancient Egypt or the modern East, was nothing more than a peculiarly constructed open bolt of wood, which the wooden or metal key was adapted to raise and thrust back. The forms of the Egyptian doors may be seen from the cuts. Fig. 1, No. 270, is from a curious ancient model, in the British Museum, of a small ancient Egyptian house, and may serve to shew very clearly how the doors of small houses were formed, hung, and secured. The elegant cornice of the door, fig. 2, No. 271, will not escape observation; fig. 1 is a remarkable instance of a folding-door. The chief entrance to houses was through a pyramidal pylon on a projecting porch of columns, whose capitals were often ornamented with ribbons. Over the doorway was sometimes a brief hieroglyphical legend (Wathen, p. 101). This last circumstance reminds one of the writing on their doors recommended to the Israelites, as already noticed.

A comparison of the ancient Egyptian doors with those now used in the East will probably suggest no incorrect notion of the provision among the ancient Hebrews in this respect. A sort of intermediate idea arising from this comparison will be found to furnish very satisfactory illustrations of most of the passages of Scripture which relate to the subject. The present cuts require little explanation. No. 272 is a very usual form of the street-



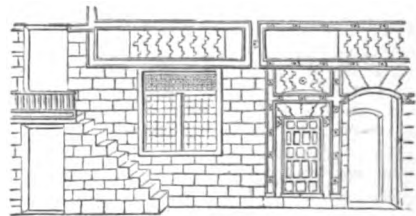
272.

door of a private house. The inscription on the central compartment is usually painted in white or black. It means, 'He (i.e., God) is the Creator, the Everlasting,' and brings strongly to mind the Hebrew custom to which we have more than once alluded. In No. 273 (fig. 2) is another street-door



273.

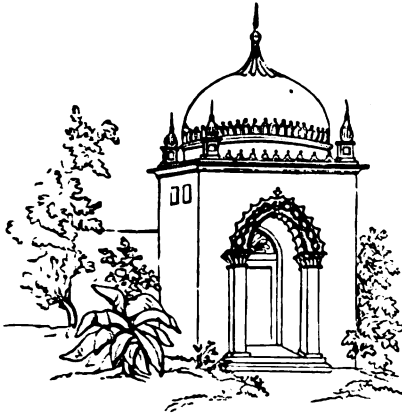
of a more simple character. Doors are generally unpainted throughout Western Asia and in Egypt. The other doors shewn in the cuts belong to the



274.

internal front of the houses, and not to the external frontage or screen. Fig. 2, No. 273, has an open

lattice over the door, and the elegant proportion of the whole entrance claims attention. No. 274 shews different forms of common doors, and the whole piece affords an interesting illustration of the basement of an Eastern house, with the stone steps leading to the gallery, into which all the state rooms and family rooms open. In conclusion, we introduce an engraving intended to illustrate the highly-enriched doorways used in ornamental buildings, such as garden-houses, summer-houses, etc.



275.

In the interior of houses it is not unusual, to see curtains instead of doors, especially in summer. This helps to keep the apartment cool, and also enables servants to enter without noise. This custom originated in the use of tents. Accordingly we find that all the entrances of the tabernacle had curtains, although the framework was of wood (Exod. xxvi. 31-33, 36, 37); and even in the temple a curtain or 'vail' formed the separation between the Holy and the Most Holy place.—J. K.

GATH (גַּת; גֶּת and גֶּתֶה). One of the five royal cities of the Philistines (Josh. xiii. 3). It is first mentioned by Joshua as one of the few places in Palestine in which the giant race of Anak were left after the conquest of Palestine (xi. 22). Goliath, the champion of the Philistines, was a Gittite, and of the Anakim (1 Sam. xvii. 18). Another remarkable man of the same race is mentioned in 2 Sam. xxi. 20-22. When the Philistines captured the Ark of the Covenant they carried it first to the temple of Dagon at Ashdod, thence to Gath, and finally to Ekron (1 Sam. v.) Among the most singular episodes in the history of David was his adventure at Gath, whither he fled from Saul. He thought he would not be recognised, and that as a refugee from the Israelitish court he would be welcomed. But he was at once recognised as the conqueror of Goliath, and his fate appeared to be sealed. However, 'he feigned himself mad in their hands,' and acted so successfully that he deceived Achish the king, and was dismissed (xxi. 10, seq.). To this romantic incident we owe one of the most beautiful odes in the Bible, the 56th Psalm. A few years later David returned to Gath, and was well received by prince and people, probably because they were now fully informed of the deadly hostility which

existed between him and Saul (xxvii.) He appears to have succeeded in attaching so devotedly to his person and cause some of the brave Gittites, that they ever afterwards constituted part of his body-guard, and were his staunchest friends (2 Sam. vi. 10; xv. 18-22, etc.) When David came to the throne he captured Gath; but it does not appear to have remained in possession of the Israelites (1 Chron. xviii. 1; 1 Kings ii. 39). Gath was the scene of many a fierce contest during his reign and those of his two successors (2 Sam. xxi. 20). It was captured by Hazael, King of Syria, during the reign of Jehoash (B.C. 856). The most signal victory ever gained by the Israelites over the Philistines was under the youthful king Uzziah, who dismantled Gath with their other principal fortresses (2 Chron. xxvi. 1-7). The city appears to have been in ruins in the time of Amos (vi. 2); and with the exceptions of an incidental allusion to it in a proverb (Mic. i. 10), we hear no more of it in history. It is not enumerated by the later prophets with the other royal cities of Philistia (Zeph. ii. 4; Zech. ix. 5, 6).

The site of Gath has long been a subject of difficulty and controversy among sacred geographers. Its exact position is not indicated in Scripture. There are, however, some incidental references which point with tolerable definiteness to the district in which it must have stood. From its having been the scene of such frequent contests between the Israelites and Philistines, we conclude that it lay upon the border; that is, in the plain, close to the foot of the hills of Judah. This is corroborated by the words of 1 Sam. vii. 14; 'The cities which the Philistines had taken from Israel were restored from Ekron unto Gath.' The former city we know was upon the north-east border of Philistia; and Gath was thus farther south, on the border also. Again, in 1 Chron. viii. 13 it is said that 'Beriah and Shemah were the heads of the inhabitants of Aijalon, who drove away the inhabitants of Gath.' Aijalon lay at the foot of the mountains near the north-east angle of Philistia; and it would seem that Gath was not far distant from it. In 2 Chron. xi. 8, Gath is mentioned in connection with Shochoh and Adullam, which were a few miles south of Bethshemesh. Josephus places Gath within the tribe of Dan, which did not extend much south of Bethshemesh (*Antiq. v. 1. 22*; Josh. xx. 40). We may also infer that it lay on or near the road leading from Shochoh to Ekron; for when the Philistines fled on the death of Goliath, Saul pursued them by 'the way of Sharaim, even unto Gath and unto Ekron'—the same way led to both cities (1 Sam. xvii. 52).

These various notices point to one district as that in which Gath must have been situated—namely, to the confines of Philistia, lying north-west of Shochoh, and south-west of Bethshemesh. There is, however, one very distinct statement of Jerome which appears to be altogether at variance with this view. In his commentary on Micah he says, 'Geth una est de quibus Pales-tinæ, vicina Judææ confinio, et de Eleutheropoli euntibus Gazam, nunc usque vicus vel maximus' (*Opp. v. 1159*, Migne's edition). This would locate it on the extreme south of the Philistines' territory. But in another place Jerome writes:— 'Ostenditur vicus (Geth) in quinto milliario ab Eleutheropoli euntibus Diospolim' (*Onomast. s. v. Gath*); and to the same effect he writes in his note

on Jer. xxv. 20 (*Opp.* iv. 838). Bonfrerius suggests that there were several places of the same name, and this may account for the discrepancies. Eusebius mentions a Gath (or Γεθθά), between Antipatris and Jamnia (*Onomast.* s. v.); and the Crusaders identified Gath with Jamnia (*Gesta Dei*, p. 886). Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 565) tries to shew that Gath was the ancient name of Eleutheropolis; but his arguments are far from being conclusive.

The writer of this article made a journey to Philistia in 1858, one object of which was to identify, if possible, the site of this ancient city. After a careful examination of the country, he was led to the conclusion that Gath stood upon the hill called by the Crusaders *Alba Specula*, and now *Tell es-Safeh*. Its position answers in every respect to the notices above referred to. It is about seven miles from Bethshemesh, eight from Shochoh towards Ekron, and six north of Eleutheropolis. The site is a most commanding one, and would form, when fortified, the key of Philistia. It is close to the mountains of Judah. The Tell is about 200 feet high, with steep sides, now in part terraced for vineyards—*Gath* signifies a 'wine-press.' On the summit are the foundations of an old castle, probably that built, or rebuilt, by the Crusaders; and all round the hill are great quantities of old building stones. On the north-east is a projecting shoulder, and the declivities below it appear to have been scarped. Here stands the modern village. Its houses are all composed of ancient materials, and around it are ruins and fragments of columns. In the sides of the hill, especially towards the south, a great number of cisterns have been excavated in the limestone rock. They are generally large square chambers with circular openings about three feet in diameter. There can be little doubt that this is the site of the long lost city of Gath (*Handbook for S. and P.*, 252; See Reland, *Pal.* 785).—J. L. P.

GATH-HEPHER (גַּת הַחֶפְרִי, *Gath-hahepher*; Sept. Γαθαχέφρ); also written (in Josh. xix. 13) *Githah-hepher* (גִּיתָה הַחֶפְרִי, with ה local; Sept. Γεθθαέφρ), a town on the north-eastern border of Zebulun, situated between Japhia and Ittah-kazin (Josh. xix. 13). There is only one other reference to it in Scripture, where Jonah the prophet is said to be 'the son of Amittai, of *Gath-hepher*' (2 Kings xv. 25). A very clear topographical notice of Jerome in his preface to the book of Jonah, connected with a local tradition, enables us to identify this ancient town. Jerome says, 'Porro Geth in secundo Saphorim milliario, quæ hodie appellatur Diocæsarea, euntibus Tyberiadem haud grandis est viculus, ubi et sepulchrum ejus ostenditur' (*Opp.* v. p. 1118, Migne's edition). About three miles north-east of Nazareth, and nearly the same distance east of Sepphoris, stands the little village of *Mashhad*. It is on the top of a rocky hill, and is divided by a wady from Kefr Kenna, the traditional Cana of Galilee. Beside it is an old tomb, said by both Muslims and Christians to be that of Jonah the prophet. The name *Mashhad* is always given in Syria to the tomb or shrine of a saint or prophet, where people are accustomed to assemble for worship, and this may probably have supplanted the ancient name Gath-hepher. (See Thomson, *The Land and*

the Book, p. 425; Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 350).—J. L. P.

GATH-RIMMON (גַּת רִמּוֹן; Sept. Γεθρεμμών). 1. A town of Dan, apparently situated in the northern part of the plain of Philistia. It was one of the cities allotted out of that tribe to the Levites (Josh. xix. 45; xxi. 24; 1 Chron. vi. 69). Both Eusebius and Jerome describe it as, in their day, a large village, twelve miles from Diospolis (Lydda), on the road to Eleutheropolis (*Onomast.* s. v. Gethremmon). Robinson suggests that it may be identified with the town of *Geth*, which Jerome places five miles from Eleutheropolis on the way to Diospolis, and with the modern village of Deir Dubban, where there are some remarkable caverns (*Bib. Res.* ii. 67; *Onomast.* s. v. *Geth*). Deir Dubban, however, is more than twenty miles from Lydda, and is consequently much too far south for either the notices of the Bible, or the statement of Jerome. The site of Gath-Rimmon has not yet been discovered. It must be sought for near the base of the mountains east of Ramleh.

2. Another town of the same name (but in the Sept. Γεθαθά, Alex. Βαθαθά), is mentioned in Josh. xxi. 25. It was assigned out of the tribe of Manasseh to the Levites. The parallel passage in 1 Chron. vi. 70 reads בלעם instead of גַּת רִמּוֹן; and some have hence inferred that the latter is an error, having crept into the text through oversight from the preceding verse (See Keil on Joshua, *in loc.*; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, s. v.) It is much more probable, however, that these were both names of one place. In a wine producing country it was natural to give the name *Gath*, 'wine-press,' to a number of places. Bileam, or Ibleam, was situated in the plain of Esdraelon near Megiddo (IBLEAM).—J. L. P.

GAULONITIS. [GOLAN.]

GAZA, or **AZZAH** (עֲזָא; Sept. Γαζά), one of the most ancient towns of Palestine, and the capital and stronghold of the Philistines. It is situated in a sandy plain three miles from the sea, on the southern frontier of Palestine, in lat. 31° 29', and long. 34° 33' (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 66).

Gaza was an important city even before the time of Abraham. We are told in Gen. x. that the border of the Canaanites 'was from Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar, unto *Gaza*.' Its earliest inhabitants of whom we find any mention, though probably not the aborigines, are the *Avim*, who appear to have lived in a semi-nomad state, roving over the neighbouring plain and desert. They were attacked and driven northward by 'the Caphtorim, who came forth out of Caphtor, and they dwelt in their stead' (Deut. ii. 23, with Josh. xiii. 2, 3. See Keil's note on the latter passage). The Caphtorim and Philistines were identical, or at least different families of the same tribe who afterwards amalgamated and formed the powerful nation of whom we read so much in the Bible (comp. Deut. ii. 23; Amos ix. 7; Gen. x. 14; Jer. xlvii. 4). CAPHTORIM; PHILISTINES). The time of the conquest of Gaza by the Philistines is not known. It must have been long before Abraham's time; for they were then firmly established in the country, and possessed of great power (Gen. xxi. 32). Gaza was from the first their principal stronghold.

It was the key of Philistia, and was exposed to the attack of every hostile invader from Egypt, and from the warlike Amalekites who roamed over the desert of Tih. Gaza formed the limits of Joshua's conquests on the south-west. Whether he captured the city itself is uncertain, though it would seem from chap. xi. 22 that he did not. Both city and territory fell to the lot of Judah, and were taken by that powerful tribe; but the Philistines even at that remote period had chariots of iron, and the Israelites were unable to withstand the assaults of these in the open plain, and were thus forced to retire to the mountains (Judg. i. 18, 19). Gaza never afterwards came into their possession. Gaza is sometimes employed in Scripture to denote the limits of the Israelitish territory in this direction, just as Dan, and Beersheba, and Kadesh were in other directions (Judg. vi. 4; Josh. x. 41, etc.) Samson visited Gaza in one of his adventurous incursions in Philistia. The story of the attempt to imprison him in the city, and his escape, carrying with him 'gate, posts, bar, and all,' is well known. The tradition still lingers on the spot. A venerable Muslem pointed out to the writer the site of Samson's gate, and the hill-top to which he carried it. There can be little doubt that the latter is correct. It is the highest point of a ridge of hills, a mile east of the town, and commands a wide view over the whole plain away to the distant mountains that encircle Hebron (Judg. xvi. 1, seq.). It was to Gaza the Philistines took Samson when Delilah betrayed him; and the tragic close of his eventful life has given to the city an imperishable fame. Gaza was always included in those terrible judgments pronounced by the later prophets on the great cities of Philistia; and which are deserving of such special notice from the remarkable minuteness with which they have been fulfilled (See Keith on the Prophecies, 37th ed.; *Handbook for Sin. and Pal.*) 'Baldness is come upon Gaza' (Jer. xlvii. 5); 'I will set a fire upon the walls of Gaza, which shall devour the palaces thereof' (Amos i. 7); 'The king shall perish from Gaza' (Zech. ix. 5). A single glance at the modern town is sufficient to shew how completely its glory, and its power, and its strength, have departed.

After the capture of Tyre, Alexander the Great besieged Gaza. It must have been at that time a place of great strength, for his Greek engineers acknowledged their inability to invent engines of sufficient power to batter its massive walls. Alexander himself was severely wounded in a sortie of the garrison; and it was only after a five months' siege the city was taken (Arrian, *Exped. Alexand.* ii. 26, 27; *Quintus Curt.* iv. 6, 7). Strabo states that Alexander destroyed Gaza, and that it remained deserted until his day (*Geogr.* xvi. p. 522). This however is an error, for the city is often referred to during the wars of the Maccabees. It was visited by Jonathan, and successfully withstood his assault, though he did it much damage (1 Maccab. xi. 61). It remained during these troublous times the principal fortress of southern Palestine (xiii. 43; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 5). About B.C. 96 it was captured by Alexander Jannæus after a year's siege, and razed to the ground (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 3). Gabinius, governor of Syria, rebuilt it (xiv. 5. 3); and Augustus gave it to Herod the Great; but at his death it was annexed to the province of Syria (xv. 7. 3; xvii. 11. 4). About A.D. 65 Gaza was laid in ruins by the Jews, in revenge for the mas-

sacre of their brethren in Cæsarea (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 18. 1). It soon recovered again; and was one of the chief cities of Syria during the reigns of Titus and Adrian (Reland, p. 797; Robinson's *B. R.*, ii. 41).

In the N. T. there is only one reference to Gaza, and it has given rise to much controversy. The angel said to Philip: 'Arise, and go toward the south, unto the way which goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza, which is desert'—*ἀπὸ τῆς ἑρμῆς* (Acts viii. 26). The pronoun *ἑρμῆς* may either relate to *ὁδὸν* (way) or to Gaza. If the former, then it is *the way* which is 'desert'; if the latter, it is *the city*. If we apply it to the city it is difficult to reconcile the statement with the facts of history; except we regard the phrase 'which is desert' as a parenthetic explanation of Luke's, written soon after the destruction of Gaza by the Jews in A.D. 65. Some refer *ἑρμῆς* to the *ancient city* destroyed by Alexander, and affirm that the new city occupied a different site. This, however, affords no real solution of the difficulty, for the two sites could not have been so far apart that it became necessary for the angel to specify which was meant (See Alford, *in loc.*) Whatever may be said about the removal of the city from one site to another, there can be little doubt that the words *ἀπὸ τῆς ἑρμῆς* were intended to describe the road on which Philip should find the eunuch. There were then, as now, several roads leading from Jerusalem to Gaza. Two traversed the rich plain of Philistia; but one ran to Beit Jibrin, and thence direct through an uninhabited waste to Gaza. The note of Dr. Robinson on the point is most important:—'When we were at Tell-el-Hasy, and saw the water standing along the bottom of the adjacent wady, we could not but remark the coincidence of several circumstances with the account of the eunuch's baptism. This water is on the most direct route from Beit Jibrin to Gaza, on the most southern road from Jerusalem, and in the midst of the country now 'desert,' i.e., without villages or fixed habitations' (*B. R.* ii. 515).

Though Christianity was early introduced to Gaza, the city long remained a stronghold of idolatry. In the beginning of the 5th century its bishop received authority to demolish its temples, and build a large Christian Church (Sozomon, *H. E.* ii. 5). In A.D. 634, Gaza was taken by the Muslims; its splendid church turned into a mosque (Elmakin, *Hist. Saracen.* cap. ii. p. 20). From this period it gradually declined under the blight of Islamism; and the Crusaders found it deserted. They built a castle on the hill, which became the nucleus of a new town (*William of Tyre*, xvii. 12).

The modern town is called *Ghuzzeh*, and contains about 15,000 inhabitants. It resembles a cluster of large villages. The principal one stands on the flat top of a low hill, and has some good stone houses, though now much dilapidated. The others lie on the plain below; their houses are mean mud hovels, and their lanes narrow and filthy. The hill appears to be composed in a great measure of the accumulated ruins of successive cities. We can see fragments of massive walls, and pieces of columns cropping up everywhere from the rubbish. The great mosque crowns the hill; and can be distinguished in the distance by its tall minaret and pointed roof. The town has no walls or defences of any kind. Its inhabitants have been long known as a fierce and lawless set of fanatics. Between

Gaza and the sea there is a broad belt completely covered with mounds of drifting sand. A mile east of the town a long ridge of low hills runs parallel to the coast line. Between the sand and the hills the ground is very fertile, and supplies the town with abundance of the choicest fruit and vegetables. A large olive grove covers the section to the northward; while orchards of fruit and palm trees encompass the suburbs.

Some have affirmed that ancient Gaza stood nearer the sea than the modern town, and that the site was changed after the destruction of the city by Alexander. Traces of ruins have been discovered at various places among the sandhills to the west, which are supposed to be those of primeval Gaza. There is nothing improbable in this theory; though the proofs of it are not conclusive, and it is not necessary to a sound interpretation of any prophecy or statement in Scripture. The ruins among the sandhills may be accounted for by the fact that Gaza had a harbour, at which a town called *Mujma* stood; and there would be buildings of various kinds on the road between the two. See, however, *Keith on the Prophecies* (l. c.) The student may consult the following works: Reland, *Palestina*, 787-800; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* iii.; Raumer's *Palestina*; Ritter's *Palestina und Syrien*, iii. 45, sq.; Van de Velde, ii. 179-188; Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 549, sq.—J. L. P.

GAZAM (𐤂𐤆; Sept. *καμμη*; Vulg. *eruca*);

Joel. i. 4; ii. 25; Amos iv. 9; in all which the A. V. renders by *palmerworm*. Bochart observes that the Jews derive the word from 𐤂𐤆 or 𐤂𐤏, 'to shear' or 'clip,' though he prefers 𐤂𐤏 'to cut,' because, he observes, the locust gnaws the tender branches of trees, as well as the leaves. Gesenius urges that the Chaldaic and Syriac explain it as the young unfledged bruchus, which he considers very suitable to the passage in Joel, where the 𐤂𐤏 begins its ravages before the locusts; but Dr. Lee justly remarks that there is no dependence to be placed on this. Gesenius adds that the root 𐤂𐤏 in Arabic, and the Talmud, is kindred with 𐤂𐤏𐤃, 'to shear'—a derivation which, however, applies to most species of locusts. Michaelis follows the Sept. and Vulg., where the word in each most probably means the caterpillar, the larvæ of the lepidopterous tribes of insects (*Suppl. ad Lex.*, p. 290, compared with *Recueil de Quest.*, p. 63). We have, indeed, the authority of Co'mella, that the creatures which the Latins call *erucæ*, are by the Greeks called *καμμαι*, or caterpillars:—'Animalia quæ a nobis appellantur erucæ, græcè autem *καμμαι* nominantur' (xi. 3); which he also describes as creeping upon vegetables and devouring them. Nevertheless, the depredations ascribed to the 𐤂𐤏 in Amos, better agree with the characteristics of the locust, as, according to Bochart, it was understood by the ancient versions. The English word 'palmerworm,' in our old authors, means properly a hairy caterpillar, which wanders like a palmer or pilgrim, and from its being rough, called also 'beareworm' (Mouffet, *Insectorum Theatrum*, p. 186).

GAZARA (ἡ Γάζα; τὰ Γάζα; *Gazara*), the name of a town of importance in the history of the wars of the Maccabees. Its site is placed near Azotus (Γάζα ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρίων Ἀζώτου, 1 Maccab. xiv. 34), and it is nearly always mentioned in con-

nection with Joppa and Jamnia (1 Maccab. xiv. 34, xv. 28, 35; iv. 15; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 7. 4; xiii. 6, 6; 9. 2; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 2). The Gaza in 1 Maccab. (xiii. 43) and the Gadara in Josephus (*Antiq.* v. 1. 22; xii. 7. 4) should doubtless be read Gazara (cf. Prideaux, *Connection*, lib. iv. p. 267, note; Reland, *Palest.*, s. v. *Gadara*). It may perhaps be identified with the Gadaris of Strabo (xvi. 2, Didot, ed., p. 646), also described by him as a town not far from Azotus (Reland, *Palest.* l. c.; Cellarius, *Geog.*, vol. ii. p. 530). Gazara was the scene of many battles in the Maccabæan period, and was alternately possessed by each of the opposing parties. When Gorgias, general of Antiochus Epiphanes, was defeated by Judas Maccabæus, his forces were pursued 'unto Gazara, and unto the plains of Idumæa, and Azotus, and Jamnia' (ἐως Γάζαν, etc., 1 Maccab. iv. 15; μέχρι Γαδάρων, etc., Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 7. 4); Nicanor was also defeated by Judas, and pursued from 'Adasa to Gazara' (εἰς Γάζα, 1 Maccab. vii. 45). After the defeat of the Idumæans, Judas went against Timotheus, who fled to Gazara for refuge. Judas, after several days' siege took the city (2 Maccab. x. 32-37; cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 8. 1-4); many of its towers were burnt, and Timotheus himself killed (2 Maccab. l. c.). When Bacchides returned to Jerusalem, after the defeat of Jonathan, he fortified several cities, and among them Bethsura and Gazara, and the tower (ἄκρη) of Jerusalem (1 Maccab. ix. 52; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 1. 3), and it was again fortified by Simon, when it had been recovered by the Jews (1 Maccab. xiv. 7, 33, 34; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 6, 6; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 2). Simon built himself a house at Gazara, and also made it the abode of his son John, the captain of all his hosts (1 Maccab. xiii. 53; xvi. 1, 19, 21). It is described as being 'a very strong hold' (ὀχύρωμα, 2 Maccab. x. 32; Γάζα . . . ὅσαν ὀχυρὰν φύσει, cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* viii. 6. 1). Gazara is mentioned with Joppa in the treaty of friendship between Hyrcanus and the Romans after the death of Antiochus VII., Sidetes, B.C. circa 128-9 (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 9. 2; cf. Clinton, *F. H.* iii. 332).

It is mentioned by Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, s. v. Γάζα) as being four miles from Nicopolis [EMMAUS], but it was more probably nearer the sea-coast, as in the Maccabees and Josephus it is nearly always coupled with Joppa, Azotus, and Jamnia (see passages above cited), and again in distinct language as bordering upon Azotus. (1 Maccab. xiv. 34). It appears to have been the same place with GAZER or GEZER, a town frequently mentioned in the O. T. As David chased the Philistines from Geba to Gazer (2 Sam. v. 25; 1 Chron. xiv. 16; ἀρχὴ πλῆθους Γαζάρων, Joseph. *Antiq.* vii. 4. 1), so Judas defeated Gorgias at Emmaus and pursued him to Gazara (1 Maccab. iv. 15). Pharaoh, the father-in-law of Solomon, took Gazer (Γεζάρ, 1 Kings ix. 16; Γάζα, 17), then a Canaanitish city, burnt it, slew the Canaanites that were in it, and gave it in dowry to his daughter, Solomon's wife (1 Kings, l. c.; Γεζάρ, LXX., Josh. xvi. 10; cf. Judges i. 29; Γαζάρὰ τὴν τῆς Παλαιστίνης χώρας ὑπάρχουσαν, Joseph. *Antiq.* viii. 6. 1). This must have occurred during the reign of David, or early in that of Solomon, and it seems out of the question to suppose that Pharaoh, when the Israelite kingdom was so powerful, could have advanced far into the interior of the country. The site near the sea-coast is therefore confirmed by this circumstance.

Gazara may be identified with the modern village of *Yasur*, three miles and a half to the east of Joppa, though as a coast-town and a place of strength in the time of the Maccabees, it is unlikely that it should have so entirely lost its importance (cf. Kitto, *Palestine*, vol. i. p. 695, *note*). It must however be remembered that names sometimes linger in the neighbourhood of sites.—F. W. M.

GAZELLE. [ANTELOPE.]

GAZER. [GEZER.]

GAZEZ (גָּזֵז; Sept. Γεζουφ), the son of Haran and grandson of Caleb. He is first called the son of Caleb, and then more definitely the son of Haran (1 Chron. ii. 46).—†.

Geba (גֶּבָא; Sept. Γαβὰδ). Considerable confusion has arisen from the close similarity in the names of three towns of Benjamin; *Geba* (גֶּבָא), *Gibeah* (גִּבְעָה), and *Gibeon* (גִּבְעוֹן). It would even appear that the names were regarded as interchangeable; for in Judg. xx. 10 and 33, we find Geba where Gibeah is meant, and in 1 Chron. xiv. 16 Gibeon is given instead of Geba (comp. 2 Sam. v. 25; 2 Kings xxiii. 8). Still more confusion has been caused by a want of uniformity in our E. V. Thus the Hebrew גֶּבָא is rendered in different passages *Geba* (Josh. xxi. 17), *Gaba* (xviii. 24 גַּבָּע, on account of the pause accent), and *Gibeah* (1 Sam. xiii. 16; xiv. 5). Geba, Gibeah, and Gibeon, are shewn to be distinct places in Is. x. 29 and Josh. xviii. 24, 25.

The position of Geba is so clearly indicated in several passages of Scripture that we have no difficulty in identifying it with the village of *Geba*, which stands on the top of a rocky ridge overlooking the whole eastern declivities of the mountains of Benjamin. It is about six miles north of Jerusalem, and a mile south of Michmash. The latter occupies another ridge; and the wild glen of Suweinit separates it from Jeba. Jeba is a small village, and most of its houses are half-ruinous. A few remains of antiquity can be traced in the large bewn stones that appear in the foundations and walls of the modern houses.

The story of Geba is soon told. It was allotted to Benjamin and given to the priests (Josh. xviii. 24). It was held for a time by the Philistines; but Jonathan, the son of Saul, took it; and the Philistines soon afterwards assembled in great force at Michmash (1 Sam. xiii. 3, 16). The Israelites under Saul took up a strong position at Geba. The two armies were separated by the deep ravine called the 'passage of Michmash.' This difficult pass became the scene of Jonathan's daring and successful adventure. Accompanied only by his armour-bearer, he went down into the ravine, clambered up the northern cliff 'on his hands and on his feet,' and attacked the enemy. They were taken by surprise. The shock of an earthquake occurring at the moment increased their terror. Saul from the opposite ridge saw the turmoil, and heard the cries of distress. The Philistines fled in confusion, and were driven from the mountains (1 Sam. xiii. 17-xiv. 23). The writer was greatly struck on visiting Jeba, and crossing the ravine to Michmash, with the minute topographical accuracy of the Scripture narrative (see *Handbook for S. and P.*, 215). Geba lay on the northern border of the kingdom of Judah, and hence we can understand why it was fortified

by Asa (2 Kings xxiii. 8; 1 Kings xv. 22). It is one of those towns mentioned by Isaiah in describing the march of Sennacherib on Jerusalem (Is. x.) The topography of the district throws some light on that beautiful passage. When the army reached Michmash they left their baggage there; and the troops, thus disencumbered, were able to cross the ravine and bivouac on the heights of Geba. The town was occupied by the Benjamites after the captivity (Ezra ii. 26). It appears to have been unknown to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomas.* s. v. *Gaba* and *Geba*; Reland, *Pal.* 768. *sq.* See Robinson, *B. R.* i. 440, *sq.*; and Stanley, *S. and P.*, pp. 210, 489, *sq.*)—J. L. P.

GEBAL (גִּבְלָה; Sept. Γεβὰλ), a province only once mentioned in Scripture, and in connection with Moab, Amalek, and the Hagarenes (Ps. lxxiii. 7). This shews that it is distinct from the Gebal of Lebanon (*vid. infra*). It was evidently situated in the south-eastern border of Palestine; and there can be no doubt that it is identical with *Gebalene*, a district embracing the northern section of the mountains of Edom. Its name (גִּבְלָה, 'mountain') is descriptive of its character. The Jerusalem Talmud reads *Mount Gabla* (מֹרֶא הַגְּבָלָה) instead of *Mount Seir*; so also does the Samaritan in Deut. xxxiii. 2. Seir, however, was the ancient name of Edom; whereas Gebal was only a part of it. Josephus calls it *Gobolitis* (Γοβολίτις), and Eusebius *Gabalene* (Γαβαλήνη). These writers, with Jerome and Stephen of Byzant., agree in locating it around or beside Petra (*Antiq.* iii. 2; *Onomast.* s. v. *Idumaea*, *Mabarr*; Reland, p. 84).

To the accurate observations of Burckhardt and Robinson we are chiefly indebted for our knowledge of this ancient province. The latter says; 'This tract of mountains south of the district of Kerak (the ancient country of Moab), and separated from it by the Wady el-Ahsey, is at the present day spoken of as divided into two districts. The northern bears the name of *Gebal*, 'mountains,' beginning at Wady el-Ahsey, and terminating towards the south, according to Burckhardt, at Wady el-Shuweir. Yet the southern boundary would seem not to be very definitely assigned; for esh-Shobek, although it lies south of that Wady, was sometimes spoken of to us as belonging to Jebal' (*B. R.* iii. 154; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syr.* 410). The chief towns in Gebalene were Tophel, Bozrah, Arindela, and Shobek (the *Mons Regalis* of the Crusaders). For fuller notice, see *IDUMÆA*.—J. L. P.

GEBAL AND GIBLITES (גִּבְלָה and גִּבְלִי; Sept. Γαλδθ, Alex. Γαβλὶ Φυλιστινίαι). A very ancient city of Phœnicia, situated on the coast, at the foot of Lebanon, 24 Roman miles north of Beyrout. Joshua speaks of 'the land of the Giblites' (xiii. 5) in such a way as to shew that the territory then attached to the city was large, apparently including the whole ridge of Lebanon north of Sidon. The Giblites were celebrated for their skill in architecture, and they were employed by Solomon in building the temple, probably on the recommendation of Hiram, king of Tyre, whose subjects they were. In 1 Kings v. 18 the word הַגְּבִלִים, '*The Giblites*,' is wrongly translated 'stone-squarers.' Ezekiel, in describing the glories of Tyre, says, 'The ancients of Gebal, and the wise men thereof, were in thee thy calkers

(xxvii. 9); from which it appears that the Gibletes were also famous as naval architects.

The Greeks changed the name Gebal into *Ryblas*, *Βίβλος* (*Büβλος*, Stephan. Byz.); hence the Septuagint give in 1 Kings v. 18, and Ezek. xxvii. 9, *Βίβλος*. Among the heathen the town was noted as the birth-place and principal sanctuary of Adonis (Strabo, xvi. p. 520; Lucian, *de Dea Syria*, c. 6; Reland, 269). In the time of Alexander the Great it possessed a fleet of war vessels (Arrian, *Expedit. Alex.* ii. 20). It continued to flourish for many centuries (Pliny, *H. N.* v. 17; Ptolemy, v. 15), and became the seat of a bishop in the early ages of Christianity (Car. S. Paul. *Geog. Sacr.* p. 293). Under Arab rule it resumed its ancient name, but soon lost all its ancient power and splendour. The modern name *Jebeil* is the diminutive of the Hebrew *Gebal*.

Jebeil stands on a spur of Lebanon, close to the shore. Below it is the ancient harbour, now so choked up with sand and ruins as to be only capable of sheltering a few fishing-boats. The old ramparts are in ruins; but the castle or citadel is still an object of special interest. Its substructions are formed of massive *bevelled* masonry, and afford one of the best specimens of mural architecture extant, well worthy the fame and skill of the ancient Gibletes. Some of the stones are nearly 20 feet long. The traces of a Roman theatre remain; and great numbers of granite columns are strewn through the streets and ruins, and even over the surrounding fields, shewing how splendid the city once was. Now a poor village, of some 600 inhabitants, is its only representative (Maundrell, in Bohn's *Early Travels*, p. 410; Pococke's *Travels*, ii. 98; Burckhardt, *Trav. in Syr.*, 179; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. v., p. 6, seq.; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 400, seq.)—J. L. P

GEBER (גֶּבֶר; LXX. Γαβέρ; Vulg. *Gaber*; Joseph. Γαβάρης, *Antiq.* viii. 2. 3), son of Uri, and one of the twelve officers (נְצִיבִים) appointed by Solomon to superintend the supply of provisions for his table and household (1 Kings iv. 7, 19, 27). These officers probably correspond to the twelve שְׂרֵי הָרֵכֶשֶׁת, *rulers of the substance*, of the preceding reign (1 Chron. xxvii. 25-31), but with a more orderly distribution of service, and an enlarged jurisdiction. It may be inferred from 1 Kings iv. 5, that they were placed under the direction of a superior officer, one of the chief ministers of the king. To each a distinct district was assigned; but we are not told whether they drew their supplies from the royal flocks and demesnes, as appears to have been the case in the reign of David, 1 Chron. xxvii. 31; or from levies on the inhabitants, as is suggested by 1 Sam. vii. 11-17. The district over which Geber presided is described (1 Kings iv. 19) as the country of Sihon, king of the Amorites, and of Og, king of Bashan, that is, the whole of the East-Jordanic division of Palestine. A difficulty has hence arisen in connection with the concluding clause of the verse just cited. As rendered in A. V., it reads, 'and *he was* the only officer which *was* in the land'; whereas parts of the same district were assigned to two others of the twelve officers, viz., Ben-Geber, or the son of Geber (whether of this Geber or of some other, is not known), whose head-quarters were in Ramoth Gilead, and Ahinadab, who was stationed at

Mahanaim (vv. 13, 14). It is not, however, easy to determine the exact meaning of the clause. As there is nothing in the Hebrew corresponding to the words 'he was,' Abarbanel and others after him have explained the clause, 'there was also a superior officer in the land.' Against this lies the objection, that the inferior officer would be mentioned by name, whilst the superior was nameless, and mentioned only incidentally. The explanation of Grotius appears a better one, 'unus procurator regis in terra quae fuerat duorum regum,' understanding by 'the land,' all the country of Sihon and Og except the parts which had been previously mentioned.—S. N.

GEBIM (הַגְּבִים; LXX. Γιββίμ; Vulg. *Gabim*), a town or village in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, mentioned only in Is. x. 31. Eusebius (*Onomast.* Γιββίμ) and Jerome wrongly identify it with Geba, a village five miles from Gophna, on the road to Neapolis. The passage in Isaiah is a vivid description of the approach of the king of Assyria towards Jerusalem, and the several places, as far as they can be identified, are named in the order of their increasing proximity to the city. It is therefore scarcely possible to avoid the conclusion that the same rule applies to the rest, and as Gebim is the last but one in the series, its site must be placed about two or three miles from Jerusalem towards the north-east, between Anathoth (Anāta) and Nob (el-Isawīyeh), (Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 149, iii. 81). The village appears to have derived its name from its proximity to some wells or cisterns (הַגְּבִים=the wells, see Jer. xiv. 3).—S. N.

GEBIROL [IBN GEBIROL]

GEDALIAH, FAST OF. [FASTS.]

GEDALIAH or GEDALIAHU (גְּדַלְיָהּ, גְּדַלְיָהוּ, *God-educated*; Sept. Γεδολίας), son of Ahikam, appointed by Nebuchadnezzar governor of Judaea after the destruction of Jerusalem. He was probably of the number of those who quitted the city at the instance of the prophet, justly despairing of the successful defence of a place which God had abandoned. Gedaliah had inherited his father's respect for Jeremiah (Jer. xl. 5, seq.), and was moreover enjoined by Nebuzardan to look to his safety and welfare. Gedaliah was in every way worthy of the difficult post he had to fill; and he adopted as the principle of his conduct that submission to existing circumstances which was requisite in one who believed that Judah had, according to the declared will of God, been justly doomed and punished for her iniquities, and who yet believed that his loving-kindness had not utterly departed from her. He established the seat of his government at Mizpeh in the tribe of Benjamin; and there the Jews, who had fled at the advance of the Chaldean armies, or when the troops of Zedekiah were dispersed in the plains of Jericho, quitting their retreats, began to gather around him. Gedaliah wisely counselled them to submission and quietness; and he promised on that condition to ensure them the undisturbed enjoyment of their possessions, and of the produce of the ground. In this hope the labours of the field were resumed, and the extraordinary returns of that season secured, as if specially given to repa-

the recent injuries of war. But this calm was of short duration. Among those who returned was a member of the royal family, named Ishmael, who had taken refuge with Baalis, king of the Ammonites. He appears to have been irritated at seeing one who was not of the house of David seated upon even the shadow of David's throne; and some of the friends of Gedaliah believed him to be in a plot with Baalis to take away his life. But the noble-minded governor refused to entertain such a suspicion, and rejected with horror the proposal of an over-zealous friend, who offered to assassinate Ishmael. The suspicion which he thus generously repelled was, however, correct. He was murdered in the midst of a repast by this very Ishmael, whom he had received as a friend. This event happened about two months after the destruction of Jerusalem, and by the present ruin of Judæa seemed to be consummated, B.C. 588 (2 Kings xxv. 22-26; Jer. xxxix. 14; xl. 5; xli. 18).—J. K. [Four others of this name are mentioned in the O. T., viz., 1. The son of Jeduthun, who played the harp in the service of God (1 Chron. xxv. 3, 9); 2. A priest in the time of Ezra (Ezra x. 18); 3. The son of Pashur (Jer. xxxviii. 1); 4. The grandfather of Zephaniah the prophet (Zeph. i. 1)].

GEDDES, ALEXANDER, was born in the parish of Ruthven, Banffshire, Scotland, 1737. He was first educated in a private family at Aberdeen, and next at the Roman Catholic seminary of Scalán. At the Scotch College at Paris he studied six years (1758-1764); and returning to his native land became a priest at Dundee, and afterwards in Banffshire. Being suspended by Bishop Hey for liberality, he left Scotland in disgust, and went to London, 1779. The University of Aberdeen, to its honour, conferred on him the title of LL.D. In London he found a generous and kind patron in Lord Petre. He died the 26th February 1802, aged sixty-five.

Geddes published a translation of the O. T. in two volumes 4to, 1792, 1797, containing the books from Genesis to Ruth. In 1800 appeared the first volume of *Critical Remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures*. Death prevented him from finishing what he had begun. His version of the Psalms, printed as far as Psalm cxviii. at his death, was not published till 1807.

The Bible, as edited by Geddes, contains a new translation, with a corrected text of the original, various readings, explanatory notes, and critical observations. The work itself was preceded by a *Prospectus*, 151 pages 4to, 1786; by a supplement to the prospectus in the form of a letter to the Lord Bishop of London, 87 pages, 4to, 1787; by a general answer to the queries, counsels, etc., which had been offered to him, etc., 1790. An address to the public, 25 pages 4to, was issued in 1793, in consequence of the severe remarks made upon his work and himself. In 1794 he published a reply to the pastoral letter of the vicars apostolic who had condemned his translation, in the form of a letter to Bishop Douglas, 55 pages 4to. It is necessary to read these pamphlets in order to form a just estimate of the man, and the way in which he was treated.

The work by which he is known shews great learning, taste, and ingenuity. Besides being an excellent Greek and Latin scholar, as numerous publications attest, Geddes was familiar with the Italian, French, German, and Spanish languages. He was well versed in Hebrew, knew the principles

of Biblical criticism, and was able to apply them. His character was that of a warm-hearted, independent, honest man, who followed truth, as far as he thought he saw it, with a fearless mind. It is matter of regret that he should have indulged here and there in remarks which betray a levity and scepticism calculated to wound the feelings of others. His own church persecuted him as a heretic. Protestants looked upon him in the same light and stood aloof; or they attacked a man far their superior in attainments. His life was written by Mason Good, 1803, 8vo.—S. D.

GEDEON. [GIDEON.]

GEDER (גִּדְרָה; Sept. Γαδρά), one of the ancient cities of Canaan captured by Joshua (Josh. xii. 13). It appears to be identical with *Gederah* or *Gederothaim* (גִּדְרֹתַיִם and גִּדְרֹתַיִם), situated in the Shephelah, and allotted to Judah (xv. 36). It probably stood in or near the valley of Elah, as it is joined with Socoh; but the site has not been identified. It would seem also to be the same place written Gedor (גִּדְרָה) in 1 Chron. iv. 39, and Gederoth (גִּדְרֹתַיִם) 2 Chron. xxviii. 18. Eusebius mentions *Gedur* (Γεδούρα) a large village ten miles from Diospolis on the road to Eleutheropolis (*Onomast.* s. v.). This, however, is too far north. It may be that which he speaks of in the region of Aelia (Jerusalem), 'at the Terebinth.' If we interpret this with Raumer 'Vallis Terebinthi,' 'Valley of Elah,' the situation will agree exactly with that of Geder. See, however, Keil on Josh. xv. 36.—J. L. P.

GEDERAH, properly THE GEDERAH (גִּדְרָה; Sept. Γαδρά), a town in the low country of Judah (Josh. xv. 36), probably the place described in the *Onomast.* (s. v. Gahedur) as 'hodie vocatus Gedrus, vicus pergrandis in decimo milliaro Diospoleos pergentibus Eleutheropolim;' for all the other cities mentioned in the context, the site of which has been discovered, stand between Diospolis and Eleutheropolis. The Gentile name from this is גִּדְרֹתַיִם, *Gederathite* (1 Chron. xii. 4).—†

GEDEROTH (גִּדְרֹתַיִם; Sept. Γεδρόθ), a city in the plain country of Judah (Josh. xv. 41), and one of those which the Philistines took from king Ahaz (2 Chron. xxviii. 18).—J. K.

GEDEROTH (גִּדְרֹתַיִם; Sept. Γαδρόθ). A town of Judah in the Shephelah, but lying south of the preceding, and probably not far from Eleutheropolis. Josabab the *Gederathite* was one of David's followers; but he was a Benjaminite, and could scarcely be from this place (1 Chron. xii. 4). The site is unknown.—J. L. P.

GEDEROTHAIM (גִּדְרֹתַיִם), a town in the low country of Judah (Josh. xv. 36). The LXX. regard the word as connected with the preceding word Gederah, and render it by *καὶ δι' ἐπαιρέας αὐτῆς*. Winer looks on it as an ancient gloss, on the ground that the number of the cities is given as fourteen, whereas, if Gederothaim be reckoned one, the number will be fifteen; but the same discrepancy occurs elsewhere (comp., for a glaring instance, ver. 32), and is best explained by supposing that some names were added by a later hand without a corresponding change being made in the number (Keil on Joshua, p. 379).—†

GEDI (גִּדִּי), the young of the goat, a kid. The name is derived by Fürst from the obsolete verb גִּדָּה, *to cast forth*, so that it is equivalent to the Latin *foetus*, but was afterwards restricted to one kind, that of the goat. Gesenius traces it to גִּדָּה, *to crop*, and supposes the name was given to it from its cropping the herbage. Both etymologies are purely conjectural. The phrase גִּדִּי הָעֵינִים, *kid of the goats*, is frequently used. The reason of this Kimchi finds in the generic sense of גִּדִּי, as applicable originally to the young either of the sheep or goat, so that it required the addition of הָעֵינִים to specialise its meaning, until it came by usage to denote only the latter. Ibn Ezra thinks the addition was made because the *gadi*, being yet tender, could not be separated from its mother. The flesh of the kid was esteemed a delicacy by the Hebrews (Gen. xxvii. 9, 14, 17; Judg. vi. 19; xiii. 15, etc.)—W. L. A.

GEDOR (גִּדּוֹר; Sept. Γεδωρ). A town in the mountains of Judah, grouped with Halhul and Bethzur (Josh. xv. 58). Its site is doubtless marked by the ruined village of *Gedâr*, situated on the top of a bleak ridge, eight miles north of Hebron, and about two west of the road leading to Jerusalem. This was the native place of some of David's followers (1 Chron. xii. 7). It seems doubtful whether it be the Gedor of 1 Chron. iv. 39; for it is there said that some Simeonites 'went to the entrance of Gedor, unto the east side of the valley' (גִּדּוֹר); but there is no valley at Jedûr [GEDER]. See Robinson's *B. R.*, ii. 13; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 313.—J. L. P.

GEHAZI (גִּיזַי, *vision-valley*; Sept. Γεσιζ), a servant of Elisha, whose entire confidence he enjoyed [ELISHA]. He personally appears in reminding his master of the best mode of rewarding the kindness of the Shunamite (2 Kings iv. 14); he was present at the interview in which the Shunamite made known to the prophet that her son was dead, and was sent forward to lay Elisha's staff on the child's face, which he did without effect (2 Kings iv. 31); and when Elisha, with a noble disinterestedness, declined the rich gifts pressed upon him by the illustrious leper whom he had healed, Gehazi, feeling distressed that so favourable an opportunity of profiting by the gratitude of Naamaan had been so wilfully thrown away, ran after the retiring chariots, and requested, in his master's name, a portion of the gifts which had before been refused, on the ground that visitors had just arrived for whom he was unable to provide. Having deposited his spoil in a place of safety, he again appeared before Elisha, whose honour he had so seriously compromised. His master, knowing what had happened, denounced his crime, and passed upon him the terrible doom, that the leprosy of which Naaman had been cured, should cleave to him and his for ever (2 Kings v. 20-27); B.C. 894.

We afterwards find Gehazi recounting to king Joram the great deeds of Elisha, and, in the providence of God, it so happened that when he was relating the restoration to life of the Shunamite's son, the very woman with her son appeared before the king to claim her house and lands, which had been usurped while she had been absent abroad during the recent famine. Struck by the coincidence, the king immediately granted her application (2 Kings viii. 1-6). As lepers were compelled

to live apart outside the towns, and were not allowed to come too near to uninfected persons, some difficulty has arisen with respect to Gehazi's interview with the king. Several answers occur. The interview may have taken place outside the town, in a garden or garden-house; and the king may have kept Gehazi at a distance, with the usual precautions which custom dictated. Some even suppose that the incident is misplaced, and actually occurred before Gehazi was smitten with leprosy. Others hasten to the opposite conclusion, and allege the probability that the leper had then repented of his crime, and had been restored to health by his master [LEPERS].—J. K.

GEHENNA. [HINNOM, VALLEY OF.]

GEIER, MARTIN, a Lutheran theologian, was born at Leipzig, April 24th, 1614. He was educated at his native place, and at the universities of Strasburg, Jena, and Wittenberg. In 1639 he became professor of Hebrew at Leipzig, and subsequently *pastor*, *superintendent*, and *professor* of theology. In 1665 he reluctantly removed to Dresden as Oberhof-prediger and Kirchenrath. He died at Freyburg, August 22d, 1681. Geier published a *Commentary on the Psalter*, 1666, 4to, 2 vols.; on *Daniel*, 1660, 4to; on *Proverbs*, 1663, 4to; and on *Ecclesiastes*, 1665, 4to. *De luctu Hebraeorum* appeared at Leipzig, 1656, 8vo. These works are now forgotten, having been superseded long ago by briefer and better treatises.—S. D.

GELILOTH (גִּלְלוֹת, pl. of גִּלְלוּת, literally *circles or circuits*, from the root גָּלַל, *to roll*). It occurs in the Hebrew Bible five times (the sing. form once besides), twice in reference to the Philistines, Josh. xiii. 2, A. V. '*borders of the Philistines*,' LXX. *ὅρια Φυλιστινῶν*; Joel iv. 3 [A. V. iii. 4], '*coasts of Palestine*,' LXX. *Γαλιλαία ἀλλοφύλων*—where Henderson remarks that the Geliioth 'were properly provinces,' i.e. the five of the Philistines;—twice in relation to the Jordan, Josh. xxii. 10, 11; A. V., '*borders of Jordan*,' LXX. *Γαλαὰδ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*;—once absolutely, Josh. xviii. 17; where alone the word appears in the A. V.; the border of the tribe of Benjamin 'was drawn from the north and went forth to En-Shemesh, and went forth toward *Geliloth*, which is over against, גִּלְלוֹת, the going up of Adummim.' The LXX. has here *Γαλιλῶθ*; the Vulg. *tumulos*. As in the description of the northern boundary of Judah, which was identical at this part with the south of Benjamin, *Gilgal* is substituted for Geliioth, with the same specification as over against, גִּלְלוֹת, Adummim (Josh. xv. 7); and as Geliioth never occurs again in this locality (?) it has been concluded by some that Gilgal is the correct reading (See Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*). But Canon Stanley remarks: 'A place called Geliioth is mentioned (Josh. xviii. 17), which, as far as the imperfect indications of the text allow, seems to be close to the Arabah or Jordan valley' (*Sin. and Pal.*, 489, 3d ed.). The singular form of the word occurs Ezek. xlvii. 8—'These waters flow forth גִּלְלוֹת, towards the *circle*, or border, the eastern (namely, of the Jordan), and descend on the Arabah, and come to the sea, and having come into the sea, its waters shall even be healed' [ARABAH]. Here we

gladly avail ourselves of Dr. Stanley's aid :—'Ciccar and Geliloth. These two curious terms (in the E. V. rendered 'plain,' or region, though occasionally with a wider application), usually denote the Jordan valley, applied respectively to its lower and upper stage. It is tempting to derive this usage (with Reland, p. 274) from the windings of the stream; and it is not, at any rate, impossible that this may have suggested or confirmed the invariable use of 'ciccar' for the circular oasis of Jericho and the five cities. In later times, no doubt, the words were taken merely as provincial terms for 'region,' and as such were translated in the LXX., and in the N. T., ἡ περιχώρος, 'the surrounding neighbourhood' (*Sin. and Pal.*, p. 284). 'Geliloth is distinguished from Ciccar, which will rather mean the circle of vegetation or dwellings, gathered round the bends and reaches of the river. The word may perhaps find an analogy in the Scotch term 'links,' which has both the meanings of Geliloth, being used of the snake-like windings of a stream, as well as with the derived meaning of a coast or shore' (*Sin. and Pal.*, p. 489).—I. J.

GEMARA. [TALMUD.]

GEMARIAH (גמריה, *God-perfected*; Sept. Ταμπίης), the son of Shaphan, and a scribe of the temple in the time of Jehoikim. Baruch read aloud the prophecies of Jeremiah to the people at the official chamber of Gemariah, which was attached to the new gate of the temple built by king Jotham (*Jer.* xxxvi. 10; comp. 2 Kings xv. 35). Gemariah's son Michaiah having reported this to his father, Baruch was invited to repeat the reading at the scribes' chamber in the palace, before Gemariah and other scribes and councillors, who gave an account of the matter to the king (*Jer.* xxxix. 10-26). B.C. 607.

2. **GEMARIAH**, son of Hilkiah, who, with Elasah, son of Shaphan, was sent to Babylon by king Zedekiah with his tribute-money for Nebuchadnezzar. He also took charge of a letter from Jeremiah to the Jewish captives at Babylon, warning them against the false prophets who deluded them by promises of a speedy return to their own land (*Jer.* xxix. 3, 4). B.C. 599.—J. K.

GEMS. [STONES, PRECIOUS, vol. iii. p. 1171.]

GENEALOGY. A thread of genealogy runs through the Bible, beginning from Adam and ending in Jesus Christ. But while this principal line through God's Providence has been preserved entire, the branches which spread out from it are for the most abruptly cut off, and although we often find several such threads running parallel to each other for a time, their connection with the principal line is often invisible, and their order in many places is tangled and disturbed, so that, generally speaking, we must be content to gather some notion of the genealogy of the Hebrews from a broken and imperfect tissue.

That such an acknowledgment should be made respecting matter contained in the Bible may seem surprising, but the compilation and preservation of genealogical tables is a matter which God has evidently been pleased to leave in the hands of man; as He has invested him with various powers for his personal preservation and comfort, so He has endued him with a disposition to keep a record of the lines of ancestry from which he is descended,

and He has made this disposition subservient to His great purpose of mercy towards mankind, by letting it afford proof of the fulfilment of prophecy in the birth of Jesus Christ, but we have no reason to believe that He has made these matters the subject of a special revelation or interfered miraculously to preserve them. If, however, we make allowance for the errors which may have introduced themselves into these records, the occasional ambiguity of their form, and their liability to mutilation and displacement, holding with some of the most pious and respected commentators* that these are things which the Holy Spirit allowed the inspired penman to 'take as he found them,' and if we bring to bear upon them those principles of criticism which we apply to other ancient documents, we may find in their study much to interest and enlighten us.

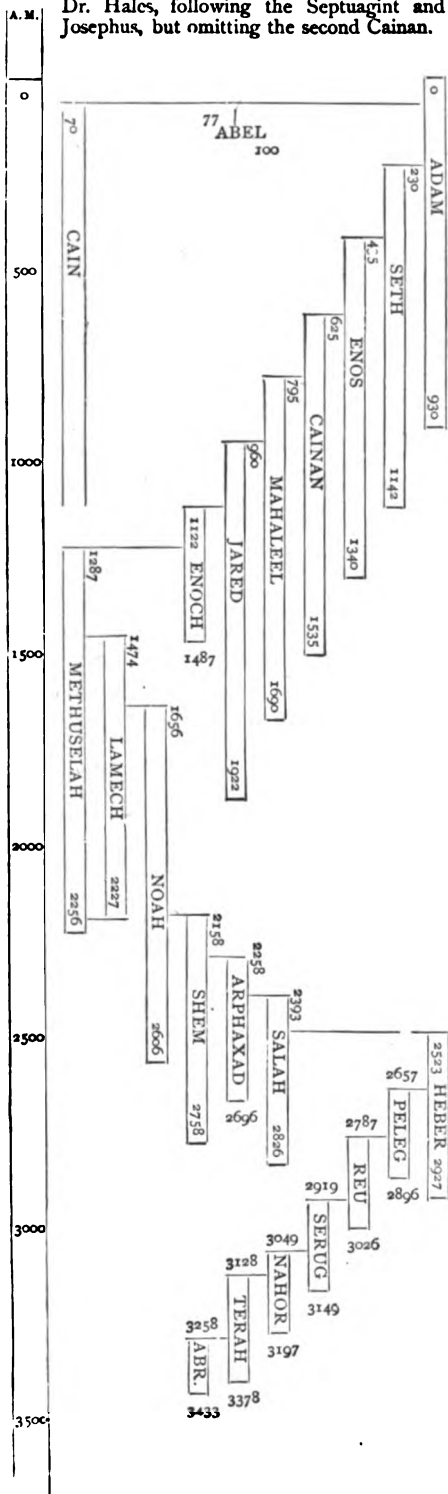
The subject presents itself to our consideration in two great divisions. The one reaching from the creation to the settlement of Jacob's sons in Egypt, the other from the settlement in Egypt to the birth of Christ.

FIRST DIVISION. The matter of the first division is full and complete, and remarkably confirmed by general history and the present state of the world. But we notice in limine a wide difference between the Septuagint and the Hebrew Bible in one important particular: viz., the length of the *generations*,† both of the antediluvian and the postdiluvian patriarchs, the Hebrew text making six of the antediluvians, and seven of the postdiluvians, one hundred years younger than the Septuagint at the birth of their respective sons, the effect of which curtailment of the generations is to shorten the whole time from Adam to Terah by 1300 years. Without entering upon the discussion of the question, it may be stated that although the reckoning of the Hebrew Bible is the one adopted in our A. V., the best modern authorities concur with Eusebius and other Fathers of the Church in holding that the Septuagint expresses what was originally recorded by the inspired penman, and that the text of the Hebrew Bible was purposely altered within the first century after the death of Christ. Whatever other reasons there may be for accepting the longer in preference to the shorter generations, there can be no doubt that, viewed with reference to the long lives of the patriarchs, they are the more *natural*. The longer the life, the longer would be the period of attaining to maturity, and it would seem as unlikely for a man whose natural duration of life was 900 years, to have a son at 90, as for one whose natural duration of life is 80 to have a son at 8. If this principle holds good, the Septuagint account must be preferred, especially in reference to the postdiluvian patriarchs, as the disproportion between their ages at begetting sons, and the length of their lives is still greater, according to the Hebrew text, than in the case of the antediluvians. Viewed in relation to the usefulness of the study of genealogy this is an important consideration, for, if a reasonable time is fixed as the probable length of a generation, it supplies us with a rough but very useful *time-measure* to settle on the one hand the probable number of years between one event and another, if we know the number of generations

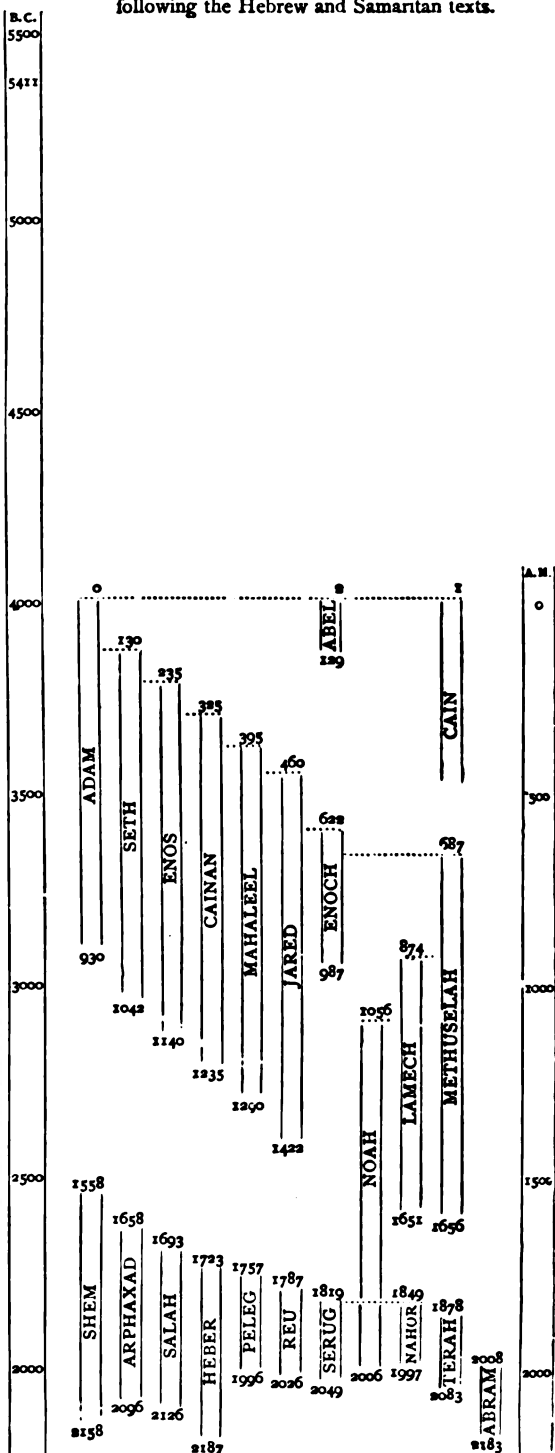
* See Matthew Henry on 1 Chron. viii. 1; Thomas Scott, Acts xiii. 20; Adam Clarke, 1 Chron. vii. 6.

† See article GENERATION.

GENERATIONS of the PATRIARCHS according to Dr. Hales, following the Septuagint and Josephus, but omitting the second Cainan.



GENERATIONS of the PATRIARCHS according to A. V., following the Hebrew and Samaritan texts.



between them, or on the other, to form a probable opinion as to the number of generations if we know the number of years.

The fact of highest importance which the Bible records in reference to the antediluvian race, besides the death of Abel, the translation of Enoch, and the inventive genius of the sons of Lamech, is the grand contrast between the families of Seth and of Cain, the one being called children of God, the other children of men—a contrast which runs through the whole history of man, and is the great subject matter of divine revelation. It also gives us the account of the moral degeneracy of the sons of God in consequence of the alliances which they formed with the daughters of men. But we obtain some interesting traditions respecting this time from Arabian and other sources, as, for instance, that the family of Seth, under the name of Egregori or Watchers, inhabited the mountainous regions of Armenia; that Enos, the son of Seth, in whose time men began to call themselves by the name of the Lord (Gen. i. 26, marg.) was a great philosopher and astronomer, and forbade the mixture of his race with that of Cain; that Cainan his grandson was a king, sage, and prophet, who foretold the flood, and left his prophecy written on tables of stone; that Mahaleel, the next in descent, made his children swear by the blood of Abel that they would not descend from their mountainous abode to form alliances with the posterity of Cain, who dwelt in the plains of Chusistan or Susiana, and that about 1070 years after the creation, in the days of Jared, and in spite of his remonstrances, 100 Sethites descended from their hills, and by their union with the female Cainites, became the fathers of that violent and heaven defying race* which was eventually swept away by the deluge.

We have also various statements respecting this early time in the fragments of Sanchoniathon and Berosus. The former, whose writings, however, are of doubtful authenticity, tells us that Genos, the Cain of Scripture, with Genea his wife, used in seasons of drought to raise their hands to the sun as Lord of Heaven, thus indicating the existence among the antediluvians of that idolatrous worship of the heavenly bodies, the revival of which not long after the flood Job regarded with such abhorrence (Job. xxxi. 26). He also speaks of the corruption of manners, the birth of giants, and the adoration of the images of deceased heroes, but takes no notice of the deluge. Berosus, whose authenticity is undoubted, and who drew the materials of his history from archives preserved in the temple of Belus, being himself priest of Belus in the time of Alexander the Great, gives an account of the creation and the early ages of the world corresponding with that of Moses; and after enumerating a dynasty which reigned in Babylonia before the deluge, and which some recognise as the race that sprang from the union of the sons of God with the daughters of men, tells of the building of an enormous ark by the pious Xisuthrus, who, with a few companions, was preserved alive, while the rest of the world perished in the waters. Berosus, like Moses, makes the ark rest after the deluge on the mountains of Armenia, from whence the companions of Xisuthrus descended again by his direc-

tion to Babylonia, he himself being taken up to dwell with the gods.

The 10th and 11th chapters of Genesis carry on the patriarchal genealogies from the deluge to the call of Abraham. The first of these chapters, which the reader should have before him in studying this page, is called Toldoth B'nei Noah, a wonderful historical record, which has extorted the admiration of all modern ethnologists, who continually find in it anticipations of their greatest discoveries.

1. For instance, in the first generation of the sons of Japhet, eldest son of Noah, the Iapetus of Greek mythology, we find Gomer, whence the Cimmerii, Cimbri, and Cymry or Welsh, whence also the names Cambria and Cumberland; and according to many great authorities cited by Faber, the whole Celtic race—Magog the probable ancestor of the Moguls—Madai of the Medes—Javan of the Ionians or early Greeks, as well as of the Hindu Yavanas. In this conjunction of the Medes with the Cimbri and the Greeks, we have a sufficient indication of the great discovery of Schlegel, expressed in the word *Indo-European*, regarding the affinity of the principal nations of Europe with the Aryan or Indo-Persic stock. Tubal has been recognised in Tobolsk, Mesheck in Muscovy and Moscow, Tiraz in Thrace.

The name of Ashkenaz, the eldest son of Gomer, has been traced in Sacagena, or Sacassena (a province of Armenia), whence perhaps *Saxons*—in the Ascanitici of the Palus Mæotis—in Axenus, the ancient name of the Euxine—in Scandia or Scandinavia—and in Scania, a modern province of Sweden. It may also be observed that Germany is now called Ashkenaz by the Rabbis. Elishah, the eldest son of Javan, may have given his name to Elis, a city of the Peloponnessus, Tarshish to Tarsus of Cilicia, or Tartessus in Spain. The Kittim, or Chittim, were the inhabitants of the coasts of Greece and Italy, the Dodanim were perhaps the Dardani.

2. Ham is the next mentioned son of Noah. It has been usual to consider all his descendants as affected by the curse pronounced on his youngest son Canaan, but neither the facts of history nor the words of Scripture bear out this view. Cush, his eldest son, settled in Ethiopia, from whence his descendants spread through the south of Arabia upwards to Chusistan or Susiana. This, which has always been the traditional belief respecting the descendants of Cush, has received the fullest confirmation from the recently discovered cuneiform inscriptions, which clearly establish an ethnic connection between the Ethiopians or Cushites, who adjoined Egypt, and the primitive inhabitants of Babylonia. The names of the sons of Cush, Seba, Havilah, etc., and of his grandsons Sheba and Dedan, may be traced in Ethiopia, Arabia, and Idumea, and fall in with the discovery that there are two races of Arabs, the one Cushite, which colonised Arabia from Ethiopia, and were known in after ages as the Homerites or Himyerites, the other, as we shall see hereafter, descended from Shem. Cush is also believed to be the progenitor of the Goths, the Scythians, and the Scots. Mizraim, or Mizr, the second son of Ham, was the ancestor of the Egyptians, and, in the names of his sons, Ludim, Ananim, etc., we recognise the inhabitants of various parts of Egypt or the adjoining regions of Africa, following a general direction from the Mediterranean southwards. The most recent opinion respecting the descendants of Phut is that they were

* Gigantes autem, quid aliud fuisse credendum est, quam hominum quandam impiam gentem Deos negantes.—Macrobius

the Budii of Herodotus, a distinct Median tribe of Scyth, the Putiyá of the Persian, and the Budu of the Babylonian inscriptions. Among the sons of Canaan we recognize as well the names of places on the coast of Syria as of the tribes with which the people of Israel were brought into conflict after they entered the promised land, and some of them appear to be rather local designations than names of persons. The general direction of these settlements is from south to north.

The only names of men given in the third generation of Ham's posterity are Sheba and Dedan, the sons of Raamah, and the object of naming them, according to Dr. Hales, was to introduce Nimrod, who, he doubts not, was the son of Sheba, and great-grandson of Cush, and supports his opinion by the testimony of Abulfargi. He also supposes the name Nimrod (meaning *the rebel*), to be a parody on his true name Nin, which we recognise in Ninus and Nineveh, of which he was the builder, according to the marginal reading of Gen. x. 11. He appears to have subdued in succession the descendants of Arphaxad, settled in Babylonia, and the descendants of Asshur, settled in the country which afterwards became the centre of the Assyrian empire. He is considered to be the Orion of Greek mythology, the Belus of history, and the Bala Rama of the Hindus. This coincides with the view taken above of his descent from Raamah.

We also class with this generation the Philistim, said (Gen. x. 14) to have come *out of the Casluhim*. But they are also said to have come from Caphtor (Amos ix. 7), and are called Caphthorim (Deut. ii. 23). Hence it has been supposed that there may have been a transposition of the words Casluhim and Caphtorim in Gen. x. 14. But there is nothing in any of these passages which implies lineal descent either from Casluhim or Caphthorim, and if the seat of the Casluhim were, as is commonly supposed, to the east of the Isthmus of Suez, the Philistim would necessarily pass through and 'come out of them,' in coming from Caphtor into Palestine. Hales tells us that Palestine in the Sanscrit is Pali-sthan, and signifies *shepherd-land*, and he argues from Herodotus, Manetho, and the sacred books of the Hindus, that the Philistim were a branch of the Palibothri (the name given by Pliny to the Paliputras of the Hindus), who passed from India through Arabia into Egypt, where they established a dynasty, and were called Hycsos or shepherd-kings, but were eventually expelled a short time before the settlement of Jacob's family in Goshen.

3. The sons of Shem are also enumerated in geographical order, the first named being Elam, who gave his name to Elymais, a district on the Choaspes to the east of the Tigris, whose chief city, Susa, was afterwards the head of the Persian empire. One of his descendants, Chedorlaomer (the Kudur Mabbuk, *ravager of the west*, of the recently discovered inscriptions), conquered Canaan—Lightfoot says, in reliance on the prophecy which made Canaan the servant of Shem—and was himself conquered by Abraham. Asshur occupied the country which became the nucleus of the Assyrian empire, and the testimony of the inscriptions confirms the reading of the text (rather than the margin) of Gen. x. 11, that Lower Babylonia having been the original seat of Semitic power, it spread northwards and westwards, Asshur going

forth *out of* Shinar to build Nineveh, Abraham passing *from* Ur *by* Charran *into* Syria. Arphaxad occupied the plain of Shinar east and west of the Tigris. Bochart recognises the name in the Assyrian district of Arrapachitis. Josephus says the Chaldees were anciently called after him Arphaxadeans (*i. e.*, their old name *Chasdim* is derived from the final letters of Arpachshad).^{*} This appears more reasonable than to derive their name from *Chesed*, the *nephew* of Abraham. Lud is supposed to have given his name to Lydia; Aram certainly gave his to the high table-land extending eastward from the Jordan to the Euphrates, which was afterwards the seat of the kingdom of Syria. His son Uz was the founder of Damascus, and Gether is supposed to be the father of the Itureans.

The 11th chapter of Genesis gives the lineal descent of the patriarchs from Shem to Abraham. In this line the LXX. inserts a second Cainan between Arphaxad and Sala. Here, however, the Hebrew text is generally preferred, though that of the LXX. is adopted by St. Luke. In the days of Peleg, fourth in descent from Shem, 'the earth was divided' by that great migratory movement which took place in consequence of the confusion of tongues, and the results of which are given in the 10th chapter, and it is argued, in favour of the longer generations of the Septuagint, that the inhabitants of the world could hardly have been numerous enough to require this dispersion so soon as 100 years after the deluge, and also that the influence of Noah and Shem, who, according to the Hebrew account, were both alive in Peleg's days, must have been sufficient to restrain their posterity from that godless conduct which brought upon them the confusion of tongues.

The first thing to notice in the genealogical table, extending from Abraham to the sons of Jacob, is the age of Terah at Abraham's birth. It is stated in Gen. xi. 26 that 'Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran;' afterwards, at verse 32, it is said, 'the days of Terah were two hundred and five years, and Terah died in Haran;' and again (Gen. xii. 4), 'and Abram was *seventy and five* years old when he departed out of Haran.' Now we collect from Acts vii. 4 that Abram did not leave Haran till after the death of Terah, when, had he been born when Terah was 70, he must have been 135 years old. But this difficulty disappears at once, if we adopt the solution of it, which has been universally received by the best commentators since it was first pointed out by Archbishop Usher, viz., that Abraham was not the eldest, but in all probability, as is acknowledged by several of the Rabbis, the youngest son of Terah, and born when he was 130 years old, and possibly by another wife. This is quite in accordance with the opinion of many of the earliest Rabbinical and Christian expositors that Sarah was the same as Ischah (the *grand-daughter* of the father of Abraham, Gen. xx. 12). Another point of interest is the time of Jacob's marriage with Leah. If we suppose with some that this marriage did not take place till after the expiration of his first seven years' servitude, it would be impossible for him to have had great-grandchildren (Gen. xvi. 12, 17) at the time of his going down into Egypt. Hence those who hold this opinion have imagined that he remained at Padan-Aram

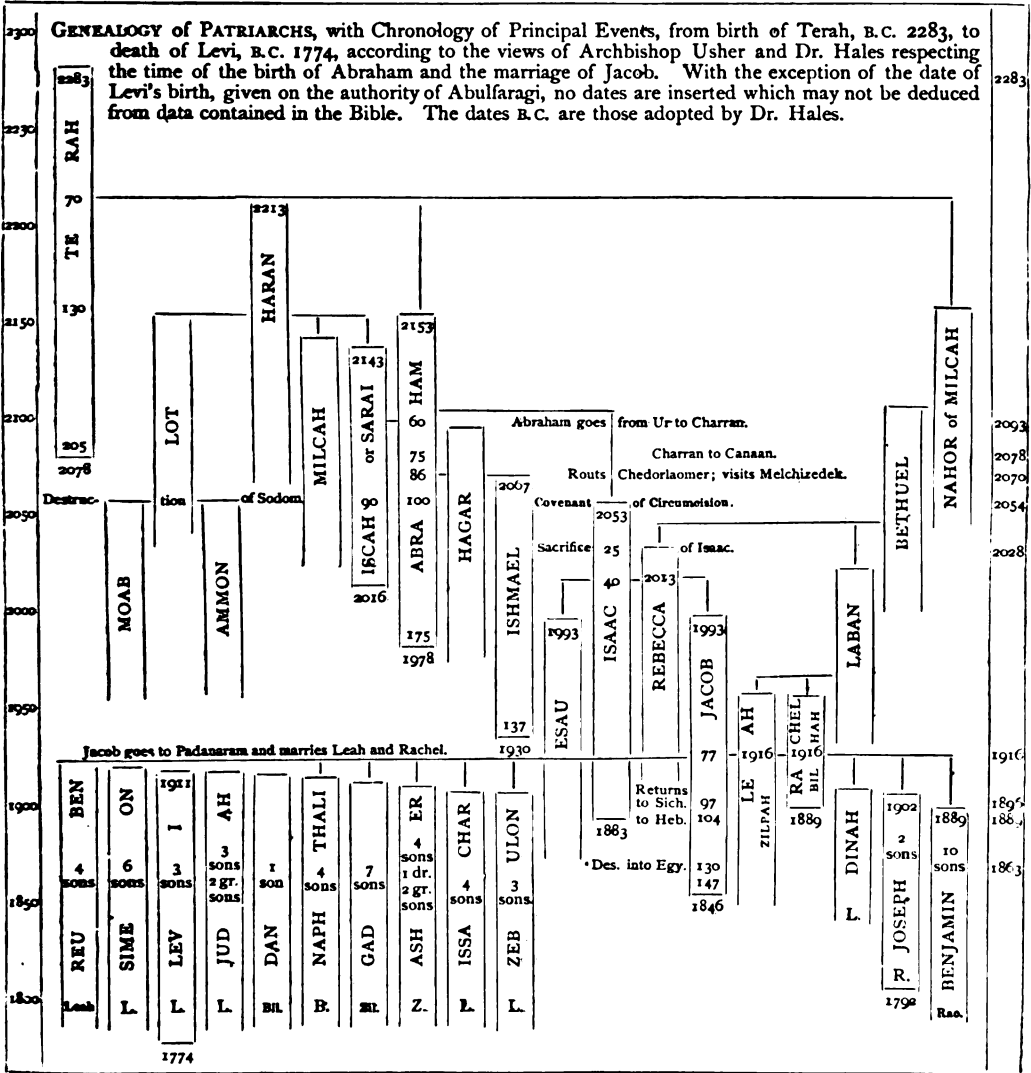
^{*} The marginal reading for *Arphaxad*, Gen. x. 22.

for two periods of twenty years (see Adam Clarke on Gen. xxxi. 38). There is, however; no sufficient authority for this supposition, and we infer that he married both Leah and Rachel in the first year of

his residence at Padan-Aram, and that his wives were given to him in consideration of an engagement to serve, not of service done. This gives fifty-three years* from the time of his marriage till

Scale of years, B.C.

Dates of principal events.



* This supposes Judah to be about 47 years old when he came into Egypt, a supposition partly based on the authority of Abulfaragi, who places Levi's birth in the *sixth* year of Jacob's servitude, and consequently Judah's not before the *sixth*. But, if we dispense with the authority of Abulfaragi, we may suppose Judah to be born in the *fourth* year of Jacob's servitude (Gen. xxix. 31), in which case he would be 49 at the descent into Egypt, and there would be two years more for the occurrence of the events above stated. It is necessary to direct attention to this point on account of the severe attack which Bishop Colenso has just made on the Pentateuch, and which he has grounded, among other things, on the assumption that Judah was only 42 years old, and that therefore Hezron and Hamul could not possibly have been born, at the time of the descent into Egypt. This assumption is grounded by Bishop Colenso on the supposition that Joseph was born in the

seventh year of Jacob's double marriage (*Critical Examination*, p. 18), whereas the simplest inference from the passages to which he refers is that he was born in its *fourteenth* year, as it is there stated that immediately after Joseph's birth—"when Rachael had borne Joseph" (Gen. xxx. 25, 26)—Jacob applied for leave to return to his own country as having fulfilled his—"fourteen years" (Gen. xxxi. 41)—service. The sum of the time from Jacob's marriage to the descent into Egypt is thus made up according to our theory:—From marriage to birth of Joseph 14 years, from Joseph's birth to his becoming Governor of Egypt, 30 years (Gen. xli. 46), 7 years of plenty and 2 years of famine, 9 years, in all, 53 years. Bishop Colenso shortens this time, as we have seen, by 7 years, and makes it 46. Therefore, if Judah was born in the fourth year of Jacob's marriage, he was, according to our theory, 49, and, according to Bishop Colenso's, 42, when Hezron and Hamul are stated in Genesis to have been born.

his migration to Egypt, and allows his sons, Judah and Asher, to have grandchildren, but *only* on the supposition that Judah was not more than fifteen at the birth of his son Er, nor Er more than fifteen at his marriage with Tamar, nor Pharez more than fifteen at the birth of Hezron and Hamul. Asher and his son Beriah must also have been under twenty at their respective marriages. It has been argued from this that the period of maturity could not have been later in the days of the patriarchs than it is at present. But it must be remembered that a very considerable and rapid diminution in the length of human life had taken place by this time, and this may have been accompanied by a corresponding change in the period of maturity. The total number of Jacob's *issue* that came with him into Egypt was sixty-six, add to this four, for himself and Joseph and his two sons, and we have seventy (Gen. xlv. 27), add to it nine for the surviving wives of himself, and the eleven sons that accompanied him, and we have seventy-five (Acts vii. 14) for the whole number that went into Egypt.

We must now glance at the great offshoots from the patriarchal line. 1. The western and southern regions of Arabia were colonized by the thirteen sons of Joktan (Gen. x. 26). Of this there is ample evidence both in the traditions of the Arabians themselves and in the names of places in their country. Uzal and Sheba were two of Joktan's sons, *Asal* and Sheba were the ancient names of Sana and Mareb, the two chief cities of Yemen. In another of its cities, Zafari, or possibly in Dhafar, on the south-west of Arabia, we recognize Sephar, one of their boundaries. According to the sacred historian—'their dwelling was from Mesha as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the East' (Gen. x. 30). The position of Mesha has not been settled, though some have thought it to be Mecca. Sheba was probably the ancestor of the rulers of the kingdom of Sheba (the modern Yemen), whose queen came to hear the wisdom of Solomon. Hazarmaveth, Joktan's third son, gave his name to the province of Hadramaut, and the district of Khawlan in the Yemen preserves an evident trace of Havilah, his twelfth. His eldest son, Almodad, must have been the original of the Mudads of the Arabian genealogists, one of them being reputed seventh, and the other ninth in descent from Joktan.

2. A daughter of this second Mudad is said by the Arabs to have been the wife of Ishmael, and there is every reason to believe that the Egyptian given to him by his mother Hagar was not his only wife, for his daughter Mahalath, who became the wife of Esau, is called the sister of Nebaioth, Gen. xxviii. 9, which seems to intimate that his other sons were by a different mother. Thus a matrimonial connection between the first and second, as well as between the second and third offshoot from the patriarchal line is not improbable. The Nabatheans who at one time occupied the country about Petra were probably descended from Nebaioth, as their neighbours the Cedreans were from Kedar. His twelve sons (Gen. xxv. 13) 'dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, which is before Egypt, as those goest toward Syria,' *i. e.*, across the Arabian desert from the north shore of the Persian Gulf (Havilah) to the north point of the Gulf of Akaba (Shur). The descendants of two of them, Jetur and Naphish, occupied that part of the desert bordering on the Jordan, and were in the course of time defeated with great slaughter and dis-

possessed by the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh (1 Chron. v. 18).

The sons of Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2) by Abraham were sent by their father with gifts 'eastward into the east country.' In a desert 600 miles across there was room both for them and the children of Ishmael, and there, like the children of Ishmael, they led the half-warrior half-shepherd life which has ever characterised the sons of the desert. Zimram, the eldest, may perhaps be recognised as the ancestor of the Zamaremiens of Pliny. Jokshan, the second, had two sons, Dedan and Sheba, the same names as the sons of Raamah. It has already been stated as probable that Nimrod was the grandson of Raamah, and there is evidence of a migration of Cushites about his time from Ethiopia to the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf. There are also indications of the names Dedan and Sheba both in the Persian Gulf and in the neighbourhood of Idumea, whence it has been conjectured that Jokshan, the son of Keturah, when he went 'eastward into the east country' may have intermarried with a daughter or descendant of Dedan, the son of Raamah, thus the recurrence of the names Dedan and Sheba would be accounted for as well as the existence of places called by these names both on the borders of Idumea and in the Persian Gulf. The sons of Dedan are said to have been Ashurim, Letushim, Leummim, which Onkelos interprets as persons dwelling in camps, tents, or *islands*, and it may be noticed in connection with this, that the traces of the names Sheba and Dedan are to be found in two islands of the Persian Gulf.

3. We pass on to the family of Esau, the third offshoot from the patriarchal line. While Abraham and Isaac were wanderers in the land of Canaan, the descendants of Seir were occupying the heights and cultivating the fertile glens and terraces of Mount Seir, a lofty highland that stretched away to the east from the side of the valley of Akaba. This chief and his people were called Horites from their dwelling in caves, and one of his descendants, Aholibamah, became a wife of Esau. By another wife, Adah, the daughter of Elon the Hittite, Esau had a son, Eliphaz, who afterwards became the father of Amalek by Timna, the daughter of Seir. It is a singular thing that the son should have taken Seir's *daughter* for his concubine (Gen. xxxvi. 12), when the father had married his *great-granddaughter* (ver. 2); but it may probably be accounted for by the long lives of men at that time. And Timna, who is called the sister of Lotan, and was therefore probably not by the same mother as Seir's other sons, may have been the daughter of his old age, while the grandfather of Aholibamah was the child of his youth. One of the sons of Eliphaz, by another wife, was Teman, whence we may infer that Eliphaz the Temanite was his descendant. The seven sons of Seir, the Horite, are called 'dukes' in our translation. Each probably dwelt in some mountain fastness, and was the chief or shiekh of a particular tribe; and we see how completely the old Horite power was displaced by that of Esau, in the fact that seven of Esau's sons and six of his grandsons (nine of them sprung from females of Seir's house) had this title when it was no longer borne by Seir's male descendants. This is technically called the first aristocracy of dukes, and is followed in the Bible by a list of eight elective kings, who are said to have reigned in Edom 'before there was any

king in Israel.' If this enumeration of kings is in its right place, the king of Israel at whom the statement points must have been Moses, and the whole dynasty must have come to an end before the Exodus. Some are, however, of opinion that this passage was not originally in Genesis, but was copied into it from Chronicles. After the list of kings there follows another list of dukes, apparently descended from the former ones, as there is a recurrence of three of the names of the earlier family. This has been called the second aristocracy of dukes, and is supposed to have succeeded the kings in order of time. The better opinion, however, seems to be that the dukes or heads of tribes were contemporaneous with the kings or paramount chiefs of the collective body.

SECOND DIVISION. Up to the settlement of the Israelites in Egypt under Joseph, the genealogical records of their ancestry, and of mankind in general, are very complete. The descent from father to son is fully given, and the chronology of the several descents, if not minutely stated, may be easily inferred. But at the settlement in Egypt there is a great break in the continuity of these records, a circumstance not unlikely to occur among a people who so soon fell into a state of oppression and servitude, and continued in it so long.

We are not, however, to suppose, because these records are not inserted in the sacred volume, that the knowledge of their descent was not committed to memory or to writing, and transmitted either orally or in written documents from father to son in their respective tribes and families, both during their servitude in Egypt and during the heroic period of their history after they had settled in Canaan. Indeed we may imagine such details to have formed the chief subject-matter of their traditional knowledge. And we have an interesting example of the careful maintenance of such genealogical records in modern times among the New Zealanders, whose chiefs to this day can each trace their descent to the commander of one of the canoes which brought their ancestors from Hawaiki about 400 years ago, and who in the social system, and in the geographical distribution of their tribes, bear a considerable resemblance to the condition of the children of Israel after their settlement in Canaan. But interesting as these documents would be to the several tribes and families of Israel, and important as they would be for civil use, as registers of rights of inheritance, they would, except in the particular instance of the genealogy of the Messiah, have little bearing on that great scheme for the regeneration and salvation of mankind which is revealed to us in the Bible.

The first instance, indeed, of anything like a genealogical sketch of the whole people is that which occurs in the first chapters of the Book of Chronicles, and it has every appearance of being a collection of fragments more or less perfect, gathered together from a great variety of different sources, public and private,* portions of records

easily intelligible perhaps at the time when they were written, and when the names which they recorded were household words in the mouths of their contemporaries, but now, and probably also at the time when they were collected, presenting the appearance of a mass of fossil remains, which it has baffled the skill of the ablest genealogical analysts, from the earliest times, to arrange in perfect form.

Nor is it very surprising that this should be the case when we consider the time and circumstances under which this collection was made. The complete dissolution of the whole social system which had taken place in the kingdoms of Judah and Israel at the time of their respective captivities, the national ruin which had preceded them, and the evident design of their conquerors utterly to destroy and blot out their nationality (a design attended with such complete success in the case of the kingdom of Israel), makes it surprising that even these fragments of tribal history should have remained, while their collection and embodiment in a portion of sacred history immediately after the return of the Jews from their captivity, indicates the high importance which was attached to them, as testifying their connection with the patriarchs, and was probably the beginning of that perfect system of genealogical registration which, according to the testimony of Josephus, prevailed at the time of our Lord's nativity. In this collection we find here a pedigree of seven or eight individuals without any visible connection with the ancestors of their tribe, there a few great names designated as the heads or chiefs of their respective houses, in some instances individuals named as the fathers, not of men and families, but of towns and districts, and very plainly suggesting the inference that enrolment in the sacred genealogy did not in all cases involve a blood relationship between the individual named and the ancestor of the house among whose members he was classed. Thus a resemblance is established between Bible genealogy and the principle which prevails among the Highland clans and in the New Zealand Hapus. Many, it is well known, use the name, and are reckoned in the clan of the Highland chief, who are not actually descended from his stock, so in New Zealand the captives taken in war enter as slaves into the victorious tribe, and are incorporated with it; nor can it be doubted that many English names are more widely spread than they would be had not nameless retainers assumed in early times the names of the lords of whom they held. And, besides all this, there are evident mistakes and inconsistencies,—mistakes and inconsistencies which a very little more knowledge of facts and of the style and manner of the genealogist might enable us to rectify and reconcile, but which leave the modern commentator in a state of hopeless uncertainty.

We shall not, then, attempt to set forth the contents of the various genealogies to be found in the book of Chronicles and other parts of the O. T.,* but merely give some instances in illustration of

* The several numberings of the people, two of which were made in the wilderness and one by David, would give an opportunity for recording the genealogies of the chief houses (determined either by primogeniture or by descent from some 'mighty man of valour'), as well as the number of the whole people. Besides, we read of 'the book of Iddo the seer concerning genealogies' (2 Chron. xii. 15),

and there is a reference in 1 Chron. v. 7 and 17 to a reckoning by genealogies which was made in the reigns of Jeroboam II. and Jotham, kings of Israel, and which were probably something similar to our heralds' visitations of the 16th and 17th centuries.

* An interesting display of Bible pedigrees may be seen in Anderson's *Royal Genealogies*, and the subject is minutely and elaborately treated in Bar

the foregoing general views, and of the use which, notwithstanding their imperfect state, may be made of these records.

We have an instance of the way in which men of one tribe might be reckoned as belonging to another, in consequence of a possession or inheritance coming to them within the district of that other, in the case of Jair, the grandson of Hezron, the head of one great branch of the tribe of Judah. His grandfather had married a daughter of Machir, the grandson of Manasseh; and Jair had assisted the tribe of Manasseh in their conquest of Gilead on the east side of Jordan before the entrance of the great body of the Israelites into the Promised Land. He consequently obtained as his possession the towns which he had conquered, and which he called Havoth-Jair, and was reckoned as of the tribe of Manasseh, and was called the son of Manasseh (Num. xxxii. 40; Deut. iii. 14), though by paternal descent of the tribe of Judah. That of which we here see a special instance may very well have happened in many other cases, and probably did happen in the case of Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, otherwise called the Kenezite. We read that Joshua *appointed* him an inheritance in the tribe of Judah: from this expression it is reasonable to infer that he did not actually belong to the tribe of Judah, and we are confirmed in this opinion by noticing that, in the pedigree of the tribe of Judah, where the name of Caleb frequently occurs, there is no statement which distinctly connects *Caleb the son of Jephunneh* by paternal descent with that tribe, no mention of Kenaz his grandfather, or of Jephunneh his father, as so connected. A very probable inference is, that Caleb was not by birth of the tribe of Judah, or of any of the tribes of Israel at all, but one of those men of Esauite or Ishmaelite descent who married Israelitish women (as Ithra the Ishmaelite, who married Abigail the sister of David; and Jarha the Egyptian, who married the daughter of Sheshan, 1 Chron. ii. 17-35), and so became incorporated with the tribe of their wives. Here, then, would be a source of ambiguity in consequence of the *double genealogy* of such persons—the one connecting them with their paternal ancestry, the other

classifying them with the tribe to which they had become affiliated, and with which they might be really connected by marriage or maternal descent. There would be no doubt about the matter if the fact of such marriage or maternal connection were stated; but where grandsons or great-grandsons are recorded as sons, and mothers' names omitted, there is no security against mistake.

Another source of uncertainty is the manifest corruption of the text, and dislocation of the order of the genealogies. A most remarkable instance of this is to be seen in 1 Chron. vi. That chapter contains several pedigrees of the tribe of Levi, but on examination it becomes perfectly evident that the longest of these (ver. 33-38), is made up of two of the others (ver. 22-28), and yet contains particulars which are not to be found in either of them. Here, then, is room and necessity for the exercise of criticism, and such criticism has been exercised with great ingenuity by Lord Arthur Herve, to whose labours we are indebted for a great deal of light on this difficult subject. We cannot better shew the use that can be made of the kindred studies of chronology and genealogy for clearing doubtful points of history, than by laying before our readers one or two of his valuable and instructive suggestions.

One of the great difficulties which beset this subject is the apparent contradiction between St. Paul's assertion (Acts xiii. 20)—after that he gave them judges for the space of 450 years—and the small number of generations recorded as occurring in the family of David during this long period of time. Nahshon was 'the Prince of Judah' at the time of the Exodus, and between him and David there intervene but four generations, those of Salmon, Boaz, Obed, and Jesse. This, which would give from 100 to 120 years to each generation, is impossible. Hence some have thought that several names have dropped out in the list of David's ancestors between Salmon and Boaz. But the genealogy is given in four places without variation in the names, and St. Matthew says particularly Salmon begat Boaz of Rachab. Moreover, this genealogy of David is not the only one by which we may judge of the time that elapsed between the Exodus and Samuel. We have the genealogies of seven of David's contemporaries traced up to Jacob, and the number of generations in the longest of them only exceeds the number in David's line by four. Thus, from Jacob to David there are 11 generations, to Zadoc 14, to Heman 14, to Ahimoth 15, to Asaph (leaving out one name, which seems inserted by mistake) 15, to Ethan 14, and, as nearly as can be calculated, to Abiathar 14, and to Jonathan 11. All this seems to indicate that we have no reason to suspect the loss of any links in David's pedigree, especially considering that David, Obed, and Pharez were each born in the old age of their respective fathers.

Everything, therefore, points to a curtailment of the time allotted to the rule of the Judges. The period of 450 years named by St. Paul is nowhere given in so many words in the O. T., but it is made up of the several periods of servitude and rest which are enumerated in the book of Judges and the beginning of the 1st book of Samuel. It is also supported by Jephtha's statement to the King of Ammon, that the Israelites had been in possession of certain towns and cities in Heshbon

rington's genealogical tables. There is also a small edition of the Bible, Prayer-book, Psalter, etc., printed at Edinburgh in 1636, containing a curious and interesting set of tables of 'The genealogies recorded in the Sacred Scriptures according to every tribe and family.'

A learned and valuable collection of genealogies illustrative of sacred history and prophecy, by the Rev. Fred. Martin, M.A., rector of South Somercotes and prebendary of Lincoln, has been printed at the University press, Cambridge, 1855. The first four tables contain genealogies taken from the Bible, and exhibit continuously—'I. Adam, Noah, Terah; II. Abraham, Job, Ruth, and Judges; III. The kings of Israel and Judah (including our Lord's descent according to the flesh), with the contemporary prophets, and Tobit, Damascus, Tyre; IV. The high-priests till the Maccabees, with Asaph, Heman, and Ethan or Jeduthun.' The other five tables give from general sources the genealogies of the ruling families of various countries connected with Bible history. The work also contains tables of parallel years, and other useful and interesting matter.

and Aroer, and along the coast of Arnon, 'three hundred years' (Judg. xi. 26). Now, not to speak of the frequent substitutions of one number for another in the Masoretic text, from the great similarity of the letters by which the numerals are expressed (Kennicott), it is impossible to doubt that many of the events which are recorded one after another in the book of Judges occurred simultaneously in different parts of the land, and the 300 years of Jephtha are logically and grammatically inappropriate to the connection in which they stand, while the sense would be rendered clear and consistent with history by reading 300 cities. This reading, then, is adopted, and enables us to place Jephtha where the general course of the sacred narrative would make him stand. In Judg. xi. 1 it is said Gilead begat Jephtha. This is not inconsistent with the supposition that he may have been the grandson of Gilead; but it is irreconcilable with the view that he was a much more remote descendant, when we consider that his immediate predecessor in the Judgeship was Jair of Havoth Jair, who was the grandson of Gilead's sister. We find a further genealogical argument for giving a shorter time to the book of Judges, and for supposing the order of its narrative to have been disturbed, in the facts that the Levite who acted the part of priest first to Micah and then to Dan, was the grandson of Moses (the correct reading, and not Manasseh, Judg. xvii. 30. See Adam Clarke's commentary and Lord A. Hervey on the Genealogies, pp. 234, 257); that Phineas the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, was a sharer in the transactions recorded in the 20th chapter, and that no high-priest is mentioned during the whole of the time from the entrance into Canaan till the birth of Samuel, except Eleazar, Phineas, and Eli. If we are led by these and other considerations to shorten the period assigned to the Judges by about 200 years, reading 280 instead of 480 years in 1 Kings vi. 1, and assenting to the testimony of the MSS. which omit St. Paul's statement, Acts xiii. 21 (Wordsworth), we not only make Scripture consistent with itself, but clear away some of the difficulties which embarrass its relations with profane history (Sir Gardner Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of Egyptians*; Dr. Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt*).

The genealogy of Joshua given in 1 Chron. vii. 20 represents Ephraim with only one of the three sons who are assigned to him in Numbers—Shuthelah. From him descends a single line of six individuals, terminating in another Shuthelah, with whom are named Ezra and Elead, who may be either his sons or brothers, more probably the latter. The historian then states that one or both of these was slain by the men of Gath, 'because they came down to take away their cattle,' indicating at first sight a hostile foray on the men of Gath by the posterity of Ephraim, in which the Ephraimites were repulsed and put to death. He then goes on to say that after this event the brethren of Ephraim came to condole with him in his sorrow, and that in process of time he had another son, Beriah, from whom sprung a second line of eight descendants—nine, reckoning Beriah—terminating in the great hero, Joshua, the son of Nun. Here is a strange tissue of anachronisms and incongruities. The Jewish commentators say that the Ephraimites, reckoning the time appointed for their occupation

of Canaan from the sacrifice of Abraham (Gen. xv. 10), not from the birth of Isaac, went out of Egypt in a body of two hundred thousand men, under the conduct of their leaders, 30 years before the right time, and that after their slaughter by the Philistines of Gath, Ephraim had a son whom he called Beriah (= *in evi*), because he was born in the time in which this evil happened to his house. But they say nothing of the incongruity of Ephraim, having a son after the death of his descendant in the seventh or eighth generation, or of the still greater incongruity of making Joshua descend by a line of eight generations from an ancestor born 30 years before the Exodus. Indeed, it must be considered that the record, as an exact enumeration of descents, is utterly valueless.

On this assumption, which is obviously correct, Lord A. Hervey has approached the text with a bold and skilful hand. The first two descendants of Shuthelah's line, Bered and Tahath, he makes sons of Ephraim, corresponding and identical with the Becher and Tahan of Numbers, instead of being his grandson and great-grandson. He then shews that the name of the great-great-grandfather of Joshua, as given in Chronicles (Laadan), bears, when written in the Hebrew character, so strong a resemblance to that of Ephraim's grandson by Shuthelah as given in Numbers (Eran), that the names may be considered identical with one another, while they are also nearly identical as written in Hebrew with Eladah (who appears as Shuthelah's son in Chronicles, when Bered and Tahath are made, as above, sons of Ephraim), and with Elead the hero, slain by the men of Gath. He makes the two Shuthelah's of the first line of descent from Ephraim, and the Telah of the second, stand for one and the same individual, Ephraim's eldest son, according both to Numbers and to Chronicles, while Eran, Shuthelah's son, according to Numbers, is the Eladah, the Elead, and Laadan of Chronicles, and consequently at one and the same time the great-great-grandfather of Joshua, the grandson of Ephraim, and the individual after whose death by the hands of the men of Gath, Ephraim had another son whom in memory of the event he named Beriah. On a remark by Dr. Lepsius, that the march of the men of Ephraim to Gath could not have been from Egypt, since they went down, he grounds the important suggestion, which is perfectly consistent with the text, that the attack was made, not upon, but by the men of Gath, who came down from Palestine to Egypt to steal the cattle of the Ephraimites as they fed their flocks in Goshen. This would account for the terror felt for the Philistines by the people of Israel at the time of the Exodus, their long circuitous journey to avoid them, and the dismay which was spread by the unfavourable report of the spies. Thus, by the aid of some very reasonable conjectures, a little displacement of names, and a few bold alterations of a text manifestly corrupt, he brings out of its obscurity a most interesting fact of the early history of Israel, and gives to Joshua his natural place among his contemporaries, instead of making him live some hundreds of years after his true time.

(Dr. Hales's *Analysis of Chronology*; Dr. Adam Clarke's *Commentary on the Bible*; Bochart's *Geographia Sacra*; Lord Arthur Hervey's *Genealogies of our Lord*; Rawlinson's *Bampton Lecture*; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*).—M. H.

GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST. *Importance of the subject.*—There is an observable difference in the genealogical documents of the two Testaments. While the O. T. abounds in pedigrees of every extent and variety, the Christian Scriptures contain but one lineage. This, however, bears on its surface such signs of completeness as to present at the very threshold of the N. T. a strong presumption of the finality and perfection of its sacred revelation. It is impossible to overrate the importance of the genealogy of our Lord—indicating as it does the connection and fulfilment of many prophecies,* and binding together in closest union and interest the most separate and various dispensations of men in the evidence which it affords of the Redeemer's relation, not only to the human race as a whole, but to its successive† generations, 'up to the fulness of time.'

Various objections and theories.—Proportioned to its importance has been the attention bestowed on the subject. From Celsus, in the 2d century, to Strauss in the present one, the manifold objections of hostile critics have elicited learned defences, which, by various methods and processes, have solidly vindicated the sacred record. The objections of the Epicurean philosopher were rather external; he charged the two genealogists of Christ with having fabricated their records. The Manichean Faustus, and the apostate Julian, afterwards attacked them for 'the inconsistency' (*Dissonantium Evangelistarum*; S. Hieronymi Opera, *Comment. in Matt. i. 16*) in their two lines of our

Lord's descent. Strauss's objections are a combination of both; he charges the genealogy with both mythic fabrication and discrepancy. Reserving the details, we proceed to state the two leading interpretations by which it has been sought to reconcile the discrepancy, and vindicate the correctness of the two genealogical tables, of St. Matt. i., and St. Luke iii. Lord Arthur Hervey (*Genealogies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, and art. *Genealogy of J. C.*, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*) propounds one of these interpretations. Closely resembling his statement is that of Dr. W. H. Mill, the late Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge (*Observations on Pantheistic Principles* [section on the Genealogies]), and that of the learned F. X. Patritius (*De Evangelistis*, lib. iii. diss. 9). The first of these authors thus states the salient points of his system—(1.) The genealogies in St. Matthew and St. Luke are both the genealogies of Joseph; i.e., of Jesus Christ as the reputed and legal son of Joseph and Mary. (2.) The genealogy of St. Matthew is Joseph's genealogy as legal successor to the throne of David; i.e., it exhibits the successive heirs of the kingdom, ending with Christ, as Joseph's reputed son. St. Luke's is Joseph's private genealogy, exhibiting his real birth as David's son, and thus shewing why he was heir to Solomon's crown; so that in St. Matthew we have only legal descent, in St. Luke 'the true stem of birth,' or lineal pedigree. (3.) On the failure of issue to Jechonias in Solomon's line, the succession is replenished from the collateral line of Nathan in the person of Salathiel. (4.) Abiud, the third below Salathiel, had two children; the elder of whom stands in St. Matthew at the head of six generations, which fail in Eleazar; while the younger in St. Luke was the ancestor of Matthan, who becomes the second instance of restoring the failing line of the other branch, by transferring to it his eldest son Jacob, who however occasions a third interruption to the line of St. Matthew, by himself dying childless, leaving his inheritance to his brother Heli's son, Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary. (5.) Mary the mother of Jesus was, in all probability, the daughter of Jacob, and first cousin to Joseph her husband. So that in point of fact, though not of form, both the genealogies are as much hers as her husband's. In these five theses lies the substance of a theory for which its advocates claim the support of an uninterrupted tradition from the earliest times (Dr. Mill, p. 182; Lord A. Hervey, *The Genealogies*, p. 9, note; Patritius, *Dissert. ix.* p. 92). This scheme, in its main features, has been adopted by Dr. Wordsworth (*Greek Test.*), who has given a remarkably perspicuous statement of the details in a short space, in his note on Matt. i. 1. Dean Alford (*Greek Test.*, vol. i. p. 444) and Bp. Ellicott (*Historical Lectures on the Life of Christ*, p. 96) express, without fresh argument, their concurrence.

Our own Theory—agreeable to Primitive Opinion.—Notwithstanding the suffrages of so many learned men, we cannot shake off the impression that, while apparently representing the literal Scripture of the Genealogies with greatest fidelity, this scheme does great violence in fact to both it and

* Dr. South (*Sermons* [Ox. ed.], vol. ii. p. 211), by no means exaggerates the importance of this subject, when, in reference to it, he says; 'That the Christian religion be true is the eternal concernment of all who believe it, and look to be saved by it; and that it be so, depends upon Jesus Christ's being the true promised Messias; (the grand and chief thing asserted by Him in His Gospel); and lastly, Christ's being the true Messias depends upon his being the son of David, and king of the Jews. So that unless this be evinced, the whole foundation of Christianity must totter and fall.'

† If we accept Tischendorf's important reading, *ὡς υἱός, ὡς ἐνομίζετο, τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, τοῦ Ἠλεῖ, κ. τ. λ.*, in Luke iii. 23, the much derided interpretation of this passage which connects Jesus directly with each preceding link of His ancestry as 'the son' of the patriarch of each several generation, becomes not only not a fanciful and far-fetched speculation, but the true and grammatical explanation of the Evangelist's words. The vouchers for the reading, according to T., are B. H. P. 1. 33. 118. 131. 209. ^{scf.}; Euseb.*; Athanas (*Serm. mai. de fid.*); Epiphani.* (n. 10. 29. n. 31. 10. *sqq.*); Cyr. (ad 4. 22. *el kal ul. ἦν ὡς ἐνομίξ, τοῦ Ἰωσ.*). The influence of this reading on this construction of Luke iii. 23, which was advocated by F. Gomar (*de Genealogiâ Christi*, p. 45), by Lightfoot (*Horæ Hebr.* [ed. Gandell], vol. iii. p. 54), and by G. J. Vossius (*de Jesu Christi Gen.*, p. 30), as well as by Yardley (*on the Genealogies of Christ*), may be inferred from the remarks of Dr. W. H. Mill (on the Genealogies, in *Pantheistic Principles*, p. 185). See also De Wette (*Kurze Erklärung*, Lukas iii. 23).

* Julius Africanus succinctly expresses the distinction by *φύσει, natural descent*; and *νόμῳ, legal succession*. Routh's *Rel. Sacr.*, vol. ii. p. 231.

other passages; nor can we concede to its zealous defenders the traditional support of the Fathers to anything like the extent they claim for it. It will clear the way, and at the same time illustrate the subject, if we briefly examine, first, the patristic opinions on the genealogies. It will lighten the invidiousness of our task in venturing (in the face of so much learned opposition) to contend for the theory, which, while assigning St. Matthew's genealogy to Joseph, gives that of St. Luke to the Blessed Virgin—a theory which, it is admitted, has been maintained by many eminent men since the Reformation—if we shew that it was very far from being unknown to the early writers of the Church, that in fact it is sustained by earlier testimony of Fathers than the rival theory which has been lately recovering ground amongst us. Though Celsus was, we believe, the earliest impugner of the genealogies of the Gospel whose name we know, there seem to have been yet earlier gainsayers, whom Origen taunts his adversary for being ignorant of. These had brought against the evangelists even then the censure of incoherence and *δισσημασία*, which was afterwards revived by Faustus, Julian, and others (*ὅτι τῶν ὡς ἐκλήματα προσαγγόμενα τῇ διαφωνίᾳ τῶν γενεαλογιῶν, οὐδαμῶς ἀνέμασαν*, Origenis *Opera*, De la Rue, vol. i. p. 413). Celsus then derides the notion, that through so lowly a woman as the carpenter's wife (*ἡ τοῦ τέκτονος γυνή*) Jesus should trace his lineage through the Jewish kings and up to the first man! Does not this indicate that, even in the former part of the 2d century, the opinion that St. Luke's genealogy [for that of course is alluded to by Celsus] was assigned to the mother of Jesus, and that, commonly enough, to reach the observation of this rude detractor of Christianity? And Origen's reply, so far from correcting this idea of Celsus, confirms it: 'Does it follow, then, that Jesus cannot be derived from the first man and those ancient kings of the Jews because of his mother's low estate? Does Celsus think that the poor must needs have poor ancestors, and kings royal ones? Is it not even in our own day a patent fact that persons poorer than Mary have had wealthy and illustrious ancestors in their pedigree?' (*Contra Celsum*, ii. 32.) We claim this as unquestionable evidence, all the stronger because of its popular and informal cast, in favour of the position we mean to defend, that St. Luke gives us the lineage of the Virgin mother of Christ. It tends to the same conclusion that, later in the same century, Irenæus (*Adv. Hæres.*, lib. iii. c. 29 [G. W. Harvey]) when arguing against the Cerinthians, who alleged that Jesus was the son of Joseph, contended that then He would not be a king. And he used an argument which destroys one of the bases on which Dr. Mill and Lord A. Hervey found their theory; 'If Jesus were Joseph's son He would be neither king nor heir, according to Jeremiah. For Joseph is plainly shewn by Matthew in his genealogy to be the son of Jehoiakim and Jeconiah. Now, these princes and all their descendants were shut out from the throne by the prophet's denunciations (Jer. xxii. 24, 25; 28-30; xxxvi. 30, 31).' We regard Irenæus, then, as a competent witness to the opinion, that in the 2d century the genealogy contained in the first gospel was held to record Joseph's *lineal* descent from David through Solomon; and it is difficult, in an unstrained interpretation of other passages of the same ancient writer,

not to gather that, in his view, the genealogy of St. Luke* represents the *lineal* ancestors of the Virgin (See especially lib. iii. c. 32; where the comparison between Eve at one end of the list, and Mary at the other, would be unmeaning on any other principle). The only alternative open to him, of supposing St. Luke to trace the legal descent of Joseph, is quite at variance with Irenæus's argument and tone of thought. We might add Tertullian (*De Carne Christi*, capp. 21, 22), for though not expressly bearing on the genealogies, still such language as 'An quia ipse est flos de virga profecta ex radice Jesse, etc.' and 'Jam nunc carnem Christi non tantum Mariæ, sed et David per Mariam, et Jesse per David, etc.' and again, 'Utique non aliam quam Abraham, nec aliam quam Jesse, nec aliam quam David, nec aliam quam ex Maria, et adhuc superius, nec aliam quam Adam, etc.' does most naturally seem to connect Christ with His remotest ancestry by means of his mother, precisely as we have said the genealogy of St. Luke does. Before we proceed to consider the case of those later fathers, who are quoted as a *catena* of testimony in favour of the theory, which, we have just seen, was certainly not the primitive one, we will advert to some remarkable words of St. Athanasius, which are best explained on the supposition that in the third gospel the Virgin Mary's descent is given, and her husband's in the first; *Μαρία μόνη ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καταγομένης, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Δαβὶδ γενεαλογουμένης σὺν τῷ Ἰωσήφ τῷ μεμνηστεινέμῳ αὐτῆς. . . . γεννᾶται σὺν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν Βηθ-λεὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, τὸν Ἰωσήφ πατέρα καλῶν, ταυτὸν τῇ Μαρίᾳ συγγενόστα τοῦ Δαβὶδ*. Here is a clear declaration (1) that 'Mary alone has her descent deduced from Adam' [i.e., St. Luke's register belongs to her only]; while (2) in that genealogy, which is traced both from Abraham and from David [and what is this but Matthew's list?] she shares her descent with Joseph, her betrothed husband; (3) Jesus accordingly is born at Bethlehem, calling Joseph His father, inasmuch as he had one and the same origin as Mary from David [as the union of the two pedigrees simply shews]. How plain is this sentence in the light of the theory we have as yet but adumbrated! How tortuous its interpretation on the terms of the rival opinion (see S. Athanasii *Opera*, ed. Benedict, vol. ii. p. 738, in the tract *Contra Apollinarium* i. 4).

How opposed by later Fathers.—With respect to the support which this rival opinion receives from ancient writers, we cannot but think that it is accepted at more than its worth by modern commentators. We claim some diminution, on the strength of the quotations we have just adduced. And if we admit that among the later fathers who have noticed the question (for the majority of those we have consulted omit its discussion), there is an undoubted agreement to assign the genealogical

* Some have seen in the words of the primitive St. Ignatius (*Epist. ad Ephes.* vii.), *Καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ* . . . 'Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, an allusion to St. Luke's genealogy in its proximate and ultimate steps: but we think this construction too strained for the simple style of the venerable martyr. It is worth observing, however, that neither in him nor any other of the Apostolic Fathers occurs a trace of the complicated theory which we in this article oppose.

lists of both evangelists to Joseph alone, we think it not unreasonable to suggest a further diminution from the weight of their authority on two grounds—(1) Because it is doubtful whether they, in all cases, really meant to exclude Mary from the possession of one of the genealogies, when they assigned both nominally to her husband. St. Chrysostom, for instance, in his fourth homily on St. Matthew, says that the two evangelists make out their lives both in the name of Joseph, because Jewish usage excluded the names of women from such documents [this is strongly insisted on by many writers (Hilary of Poitiers, St. Jerome, and Theophylact on *St. Matt. i.*; St. Augustine, *Sermo de Concord. Matt. et Luc.*; Theodoret, on *Romans ix.*; Bede, on *St. Luke iii.*, etc.)]; but he adds these significant words: Ἐλπίων τούτων τοὺς προγόνους πάντας, καὶ τελευτήσας εἰς τὸν Ἰωσήφ, οὐκ ἔστιν μέχρι τούτου, ἀλλὰ προσέθηκεν, Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἀνδρὰ Μαρίας· δεικνύς, ὅτι δι' ἐκείνην καὶ τούτου ἐγενεαλόγησεν, as much as to say that, although from Jewish usage the evangelist inserted the name of Joseph, he yet constructed the genealogy for the Virgin's sake (*Opera* [ed. Bened.] vii. 48). (2) There is an avowed deference on the part of some of the Fathers to the conclusions of Julius Africanus, who in the 3d century constructed an elaborate scheme of reconciling the genealogies of SS. Matthew and Luke (see fragments of Africanus *Ep. ad Aristid. de Geneal. Servatoris*, in Routh's *Rel. Sacr.* ii. 228-237). This deference appears in St. Augustine, who changed his view on the subject* and ascribed the change to the work of Africanus, which, he says, 'he had not read when he wrote his own work against Faustus' (*Retract.* lib. ii. c. 7). Other Fathers express like deference to the treatise, which seems to have been accepted for several centuries as having settled the question. (Hujus nodum questionis Africanus de consonantia evangeliorum scribebat apertissime solvit.' Bede, *l. c.*; Eusebius i. 7; vi. 31; St. Ambrose's explanation is given in almost the words of Africanus (*Exposit. in Luc.* lib. iii. c. 15); St. Jerome refers to the same authority for his own views (*in Matt. i. 16*); and so Theophylact (*in Matt. i.*); John Damascene in the 8th century reproduced the scheme of Africanus with slight modifications (*De Orthodoxa Fide*, iv. 14). We shall have occasion to refer to this scheme again; we here remark that the author put it forth as a well-meant contribution towards solving a Biblical difficulty; frankly avowing that though it was the best explanation he could offer, he was not sure of his data (*Routh*, ii. 237; Lord A. Hervey, 44). To us the whole facts of the case detract considerably, it may not be indeed from the mental character of the Fathers, who in the mass of their subjects accepted the help on a knotty point which was close at hand, but at least from the value of that patristic catena

* We might claim St. Augustine in support of our view, if the remark of the Rev. Is. Williams (*Nativity*, p. 120) be well founded; he says—'Indeed St. Augustine mentions it as an opinion, which he did not disapprove of, that *Heli*, recorded by St. Luke, was the father-in-law of St. Joseph and the father of the blessed Virgin.' We have, however, searched in vain for this passage; Mr. Williams gives no reference. We may safely gather that St. Augustine's opinion of the point varied at different times.

which has been lately recommended so warmly to us.

Effects of our Theory.—We proceed to consider that explanation of the two genealogies of our Lord which appears to us most closely coincident with the various portions of Holy Scripture connected with the subject. We have already stated it to be our thesis that in *St. Matthew we have the genealogy of Joseph*, and in *St. Luke that of the blessed Virgin Mary*. The effect of this is to connect Jesus Christ (1) with his royal ancestor David by the tie of natural descent (φύσει) through His only human parent Mary; and by legal succession (νόμῳ) by means of his reputed father Joseph, the last lineal heir of Solomon; (2) with the great patriarch of the Jewish nation, Abraham—a connection which St. Matthew especially develops, as suited his purpose, in writing his gospel for Jewish readers; (3) with the father of the human race, Adam—as St. Luke alone demonstrates, consistently with his character as the friend of St. Paul and the evangelist of the Gentiles.

The structure of the two lines both ending in *Joseph*, who is the *terminus ad quem* in Matthew and the *terminus a quo* in Luke, is accounted for by both Jewish and Christian writers, on that most prominent maxim of Israelite law, that *genealogies must be reckoned by fathers and not mothers* (Ἐκ πατέρων γὰρ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ μητέρων ἔδος γενεαλογεῖν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ, Theodoret *Opera*, by Sirmond, iii. 23).*

On St. Matthew's Genealogy.—In the first gospel Joseph is related to his predecessor by *birth*; in the third by *law*. This distinction is evident from the language of the two documents, Ἰακώβ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ ('*Jacob begat Joseph*,' *Matt. i. 16*), and Ἰωσήφ, τοῦ Ἡλὶ (literally, *Joseph of Heli*; *Luke iii. 23*). To all, who have no theory to serve, it must be clear that the former statement connects Jacob with Joseph in a parental relationship. The words are precise: with all deference to the learned men who take a different view (see Dr. Wordsworth, *Gr. Test.* vol. i., p. 1, note 2; Lord A. Hervey, *Genealogies*, etc., pp. 48-56; and Dr. W. H. Mill, p. 173), we must demur to their including under the word ἐγέννησε any relationship but that which arises from lineal descent, whether of the first degree (which is by far the most usual) or a remoter one (as in *Matt. i. 8*, Ἰωρὰμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ὀβὰδ, where the descent is *strictly lineal*). We have examined the usage of the Hebrew Scriptures, the LXX., and the Greek Testament, and we cannot but deem that criticism worse than precarious, and absolutely rash, which is for extending the verb γεννᾷν and its Hebrew equivalent הָלַךְ [or *Hiphil* הָלַךְ] to mere legal connection. We have

* Hence comes the oft-repeated maxim of the Talmudists מִשְׁפַּחַת הָאֵם אֵין קָרִיבָה (Juchas. fol. 55-2). *The mother's family is not to be called a family*; that is, it has not the force of a civil family in property succession. See R. Bechai, *ad Numeros*, fol. 193, col. 2; Jarchi, *ad Judie*, xvii. 7; and Jacob Bar Solomon, *in Oculo Israel*, p. ii., fol. 89, col. 1. The same thing is meant by the dictum of the very ancient author of the *Siphri*, fol. 23, col. 92. מִשְׁפַּחַת הַלְכוּת אַחֲרֵי אָבוֹת, *Familie seu cognationes sequuntur patres*. Such maxims are constantly occurring. Selden, *de Successionibus ad leg. Ebræor.*, c. xii.

patiently gone through the long columns of Bruder, Trommius, and Wigram, and have examined the copious references of Stephen's *Thesaurus*, and cannot discover the slightest trace of a usage which justifies such extension.* Throughout St. Matthew's genealogy, then, ἐγέννησε indicates natural descent; hence we can at once accept the 12th verse in its literal sense ('After they were brought to Babylon, Jechonias begat Salathiel'), as strictly parallel with 1 Chron. iii. 17 ('The sons of Jechoniah in his captivity, or a captive, יְדִנְיָ [not 'Assir']—a proper name; see Luther's *Version of O. T.*, l. c.; Abarbanel, in *Haggurum*, ii. 23; Surenhusius, *Cuncil. de Geneal.* f. c. ביִּשְׁלָא. קא-ראָלל; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.*, in loc.; and Hug's *Introduction*, by Wait, vol. ii. 268] 'Salathiel, his son, etc.'). By the help of these literal and plain statements, we assign to the denunciation of Jer. xxii. 30, the sense which it will bear without violence, namely, that the burden put upon Jechonias by the Lord was (1) the loss of his present children, if he had any (like the case of Zedekiah, 2 Kings xxv. 7, or of Hiel in 1 Kings xvi. 34); hence we read *not of his children*, but only of his mother and his wives accompanying him to Babylon, 2 Kings xxiv. 15; (2) the loss of his own royal 'prosperity' or power; and (3) the deposition of *his seed*, which might be born to him in captivity, from the throne of David for ever [comp. the remarkable words of Irenæus, which we have quoted above].† To insist that Jechonias was childless, on the strength of a prophetic passage of dubious meaning, and in the face of two clear historical statements, is an unsafe method of handling Scripture; and yet this is the main prop on which the theory rests, which makes St. Matthew's genealogy nothing more than Joseph's legal descent [νόμος οὐ φύσει] in spite of the frequent repetition of the expressive ἐγέννησε and the emphatic ἐγεννήθη with which the apostle concludes his line. Surely this weighty word at the end, and the twice told *υἱός* at the beginning must be held to afford a strong clue to the author's meaning suggested by himself, as intending to furnish

his readers with the stem of Joseph's progenitors* from David through Solomon.

This is the place to notice the *prominent* position which has been assigned to Solomon, as an indispensable link, binding Jesus with David, and with the great cluster of promises which God was pleased to hang around him. 'Whoever expunges Solomon from Christ's genealogy,' says Calvin (*Harm. Evang. on the Genealogies*), 'does, at the same time, obliterate and destroy those promises by which he must be acknowledged to be the son of David.' (See also the less emphatic indeed, but equally eminent use of Solomon's name in the modern advocates of the theory; Lord A. Hervey, *Geneal.* ch. iii. sec. 1; *Smith's Dict.* vol. i. p. 666; Patrius, *Dissert.* ix. cap. 9). This view, as it appears to us, is not consistent with the *entire* case which Holy Scripture presents to us. Between the great promise made to David (2 Sam. vii. 11, 16) and so frequently referred to afterwards (1 Kings xi. 34, 38; Ps. lxxxix. 20-37; Is. lv. 3; Acts xiii. 34) and so beautifully described by the *sweet Psalmist of Israel* himself, as 'an everlasting covenant ordered in all things and sure' (2 Sam. xxiii. 5); and the promise made to Solomon (1 Kings iii. 14) and renewed to him afterwards more impressively (1 Kings ix. 4-9), and alluded to by David (1 Kings ii. 4); there is this great difference, that the former was absolute, partaking of the *unconditional* character of the protevangelic assurances made in Eden (Gen. iii. 15) and to the patriarchs (Gen. xvii. 7; xviii. 18; xxii. 18; xxvi. 4; xxviii. 14; Ps. cv. 8); whereas the latter was strictly *conditional*, resem-

* It may be worth while to remark, that Africanus and the Fathers which follow him (mentioned above), with the remarkable exception of St. Ambrose (*loc. cit.*), do all hold with us in the opinion that St. Matthew gives the *natural* line of Joseph. St. Gregory Nazianzen (*Carmina* [ed. Bened.] vol. ii. p. 268), succinctly states the traditional view on this point; Εὐαγγελιστὴν δ' ὃς μὲν εἶπε τὴν φύσιν, Ματθαῖος, ὃς δ' ἔγραψε Λουκᾶς τὸν νόμον. In respect of patristic opinion, the only subject on which it approaches to an influential unanimity is this very point of the purport of St. Matthew's genealogy—a point in which Lord A. Hervey (*Geneal.* and *Smith's Dict.*) differs from the whole *catena*, except St. Ambrose. Calvin, who is usually so exact in his exegesis, is singularly uncertain here. 'Matthew,' he says, 'departing from the natural lineage of Joseph, which is followed by Luke, reckons up the legal genealogy' [in spite of the perspicuity of the ἐγέννησε, etc.]. He then adverts to the opinion of Africanus and Eusebius as differing from his own, and placidly adds: 'But it amounts to the same thing—for he means nothing more than this, that the kingdom which had been established in the person of Solomon passed in a lawful manner to Salathiel; only it is more correct and appropriate to say that Matthew has exhibited the legal order' (!) How astonishing is such laxity in a writer who is so peremptory in another thesis of his context: 'If Solomon is struck out of Mary's genealogy, Christ will be no longer Christ' (!) One would have thought that a point deemed so indispensable would not have admitted the slightest weakness, vacillation, or uncertainty in its mode of defence and proof. [But touching this opinion of the *paramount* place of Solomon in the line; see the text above.]

* The *metaphorical* uses of γενῆς and יֶלֶד, such as 2 Tim. ii. 23 (εἰδὼς ὅτι γεννώσι μάχας, 'gender strifes'), and Prov. xxvii. 1 (יִסְדֵּי יוֹם, 'what a day may bring forth'), or Zeph. ii. 2 (בְּיָמֶיךָ, 'before the decree bring forth') [like Euripides' Ὅπως ἔτεκεν ἄν . . . Ἀητῶ τοσαύτην ἀμαθίαν, *Iphig. Taur.* 386], and the *spiritual* sense of such expressions as 1 Cor. iv. 15 (ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐγέννησάς ὑμᾶς ἐγέννησα—'I have begotten you through the gospel') hardly come in to consideration here; they do not, however, at all weaken—but rather, analogically, confirm—our view of the literal meaning of the words.

† The advocates of the theory under examination, ought, as it seems to us, to have taken warning from the prophecy about Jehoiaquim, the father of Jechonias (Jer. xxxvi. 30), instead of adducing it in corroboration of their explanation of Jer. xxii. 30. They cannot, as is stated in the text above, educe *absolute childlessness* of Jechonias from the latter prophecy in the face of 1 Chron. iii. 17 and Matt. i. 12, nor can they predicate a like doom of Jehoiaquim in the face of 2 Kings xxiv. 6.

blng that which God made to Jeroboam through Ahijah the Shilonite (1 Kings xi. 38), and that which is mentioned in 1 Sam. ii. 30 respecting Eli and his family, and again that referred to in Judg. ii. 1-2, 20, 21.

The promise of *perpetuity* was only made to the house of David, who is eminently the father of Christ; not to the particular branch which immediately inherited the throne, whose iniquity might suspend or forfeit the promise; accordingly, the writer of the Psalm lxxxix. most pathetically laments, in the stanza between verses 38 and 45, the too sure accomplishment of that wrath, which the dynasty of Solomon provoked, by those impieties of which Solomon had himself set the first example (see 1 Kings xi. 6-10). To us, therefore, there appears a wonderfully minute exactness in the fulfilment of prophecy on the house of David. *Solomon himself is nowhere included in the direct ancestry of Messiah.* Great things are, doubtless, said of him; but the utmost issue of them was, that he was near to David, and near to Christ, in his last lineal descendant, the blessed Virgin's husband. But he attained not to the glory of his elder brother Nathan, who, through his 'highly favoured' (Luke i. 28) daughter, became the link which connected the royal David with David's Lord and Son (Matt. xxii. 45, etc.). We disparage not the dignity and privilege of the excellent Joseph, the foster-father and legal father of Christ; on the contrary, we believe that in a great and real sense, as the husband of His only parent, the lowly-conditioned but high-souled carpenter of Bethlehem did (in strict and unrepcaled Hebrew law) convey to Christ the residuary legacy of the 'diadem and crown,' which had remained unworn since the days of Ezekiel's 'profane wicked prince of Israel,' waiting for 'Him to come, whose right it is' (Ezek. xxi. 25-27). But great as was the prerogative of Joseph, he could not impart to his foster-son that 'right,' for there is a complete *hiatus* and separation in descent between him and Jesus Christ. St. Matthew must be understood to intimate such when he adds to the name of Joseph the words which give weight and validity to his preceding genealogy, *τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός* (Matt. i. 16). We look on this sequel as itself suggesting an answer to the question, which has been (in ancient times especially) often asked: Why is there a *second* genealogy of our Lord in the N. T.? Since Joseph's lack of *parental* relation to Christ incapacitated *him* from so connecting Christ with His royal ancestor David as to satisfy the great prophecies* which made Him his son, as St. Paul says, *ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα* ('of the seed of David according to the flesh,' Rom. i. 3); or, as St. Peter says, in perhaps still stronger terms, *ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς σάρκός αὐτοῦ* [i.e.,

τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Δαβὶδ] *τὸ κατὰ σάρκα* ('of the fruit of his [David's] loins according to the flesh,' Acts ii. 30); it was required (in order to complete the proof which the N. T. was designed to give of the exhaustion of the promises of the O. T. in Jesus Christ, Rom. xv. 8, 9; 2 Cor. i. 20) that another genealogical record should be added which should indicate our Saviour's lineal descent (*φύσει ὁ νόμος*) from David; hence the genealogy of the third Gospel.

On St. Luke's Genealogy.—If it be objected that this table is made out as literally as the other, *in Joseph's name*, and that we violate the literal statement of the Evangelist if we transfer the line *to Mary*; we answer that as Joseph cannot have had two fathers [which yet the genealogies *seem* literally to assign to him (Matt. i. 16; Luke iii. 23)] some explanatory accommodation is necessary to all theories. Lord A. Hervey makes Joseph Jacob's *nephew*, and so violates St. Matthew, i. 16. Dr. W. H. Mill seems to agree with Africanus and his copiers; and not only makes Jacob and Heli *uterine brothers*, thus deviating from the letter of Matt. i. 14 and Luke iii. 24, but adds a second explanatory accommodation by making Joseph *the son of Heli*, against the letter of Matt. i. 16; St. Ambrose, on the other hand, while closely embracing the *uterine theory** of Africanus, *inverts* the

* Africanus' theory is that Jacob and Heli were brothers by the same mother, 'Estha' (Euseb. *H. E.* i. 7), who was successively married to Matthan and Melchi [the names which precede their own on the two genealogies], so as to make room for a levirate marriage [LEVIRATE LAW], whereby the survivor, Jacob, on the death of his brother, 'raised up seed' to Heli, even Joseph the husband of Mary. To say nothing of the error of Africanus in accounting 'Joseph the son of Jacob,' instead of making him *the son of Heli*, according to the express provision of the levirate statute (Deut. xxv. 6), he is no doubt wrong on the general principle. The levirate law was inadmissible in the case of *uterine brothers*, for, as they might be of *different tribes* even, through their fathers, it might happen that through them the very purpose of the statute might be defeated. Maimonides (*Jabom Vechalitzah*, c. 1) has succinctly stated the Jewish law; he says, *אחין מן האם אינן חשובין אחין לענין יירשה או לענין יבום וחליצה ודרי הן כמו שאין יירשה או לענין יבום וחליצה ודרי הן כמו שאין יירשה* (אחין), i.e., 'brothers only on the mother's side [uterine] are not regarded as brothers, either in the matter of inheritance, or in that of marrying the widow of a deceased brother and loosing of the shoe. They are, indeed, just as if they were not [brothers] at all. For that constitutes not *fraternity* which proceeds not from the father's side.' Selden, from whom this quotation is taken (*De Successionibus*, etc., c. 14), confirms it by the authority of the Babylonian Gemara, c. 11, tit. *Jabimoth*, fol. 17, b.; also, tit. *Baba Bathra*, c. 8, fol. 110, b.; *Hilcoth gidaloth*, num. 31; and Moses Cotensis, *præcept. affirm.* 51, and many other Talmudic authorities. We cannot but regard Dr. W. H. Mill's laboured effort to evade the force of this legal objection (*Pantheistic Principles, Genealogies*, pp. 191-202) as the weakest part of his learned and valuable treatise. Lord A. Hervey, who rejects the details of Africanus' theory while accepting its conclusion, gives full weight to the objection

* Nothing short of *natural* descent can satisfy such expressive prophecies as Is. xi. 1, interpreted by St. Paul to the Jews of Antioch (Acts xiii. 22, 23; Rom. xv. 8, 12), and by Christ Himself, Rev. xxii. 16—also Jer. xxii. 5, 6; and xxxiii. 15, applied by St. Paul to Jesus Christ in such passages as Rom. i. 3—also [which we think conclusive] St. Luke i. 32, as if the Evangelist would sound a key-note of interpretation to his own genealogy, so soon to be given. The common expectation of the Jews looked for Christ to be naturally sprung from David (John vii. 42)

application of it to Jacob and Heli, and so still more strongly violates the text of the evangelists, inasmuch as he affirms Joseph to be the true son of Heli, and only son-in-law of Jacob, contrary again to the letter of Matt. i. 16. Any way, then, some violence must be done, and is done, to the literal statements of the evangetic stems. Our proposal involves the very least amount of explanatory accommodation, for we only make Joseph the *son-in-law* of Heli; and can this indeed be regarded as any deviation at all from the letter of the original, Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ἠλὶ, *Joseph of Heli*? We think not. How, then, is Joseph *son-in-law* of Heli? Simply by marrying the daughter of Heli—the blessed Virgin.* No brothers are mentioned in Scripture as belonging to the Virgin; and this silence (the more remarkable because the name of her sister is given; see John xix. 25) has led to the reasonable opinion that Mary was an *heir*ess (ἐκκληρος παῖδρος),† and as such came under the law of Num. xxxvi. 8, which she complied with by marrying her kinsman Joseph, the heir of the collateral branch of her own most illustrious, though now much reduced family.

The opinion that Mary was an heir^{ess} is strongly corroborated by the circumstance that she found it necessary, contrary to the custom of women, to travel to Bethlehem to be registered (Luke ii. 5). She must, therefore, have had an inheritance at Bethlehem, although it may have been mortgaged till the year of jubilee; and, consequently, her husband Joseph must have belonged to the same tribe with herself, and probably been of the very same family, *i. e.*, a descendant of David's (Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, art. 78). The effect of Joseph's marrying his kinswoman, the heir^{ess} Mary, would legally be just what the genealogy of St. Luke discloses; *those who married heir^{esses} were obliged to pass into the family of their fathers-in-law, and let themselves be reckoned their sons*. The principle of inheritance among the Israelites implied as much; for the inheritance was given to daughters in order that the name of their father might not become extinct in the tables of succession, and, consequently, *the sons of such marriages were necessarily connected with the name of their maternal grandfather*‡ (Michaelis, *ut antea*). It is some-

(which we have insisted upon, after Maimonides) founded on the inapplicability of the levirate law to uterine brothers (*Ogeneal*. p. 47).

* Mr. Greswell (*Dissertations on the Harmony*, vol. ii. p. 85 [2d edit.]) puts this very well, thus: 'The genealogy of Christ as descended from Mary would not be formally exhibited as His genealogy through Mary [because of Jewish usage excluding female names]; but rather as His genealogy through some one most closely connected with Mary; that is to say, through some one who stood, or might be considered to stand, in the same relation to the father of Mary as Mary herself. Now this could be none but her husband Joseph; to whom she was already contracted before the birth of Christ; and to whom she was actually united in marriage at the time of it.'

† So designated in Athenian law. An Athenian heir^{ess} was required to marry her nearest kinsman (see Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiqu.*, s. v. *Epiclesus*).

‡ In this, as in several other particulars, the Athenian law on the rights and duties of heir^{esses}

times said that the laws of Moses had by this time fallen into desuetude. This might have been often the case, but we believe that a conscientious observance of the still unrepealed Mosaic institutions was precisely that which distinguished from their laxer countrymen such worthy characters as the members of 'the Holy Family,' from whom was so soon to spring He whose delight it was to 'fulfil all righteousness' (comp. Matt. i. 19; Luke i. 6, 28, 30; Matt. iii. 15). We cease to wonder, then, with this view of Hebrew law, at the appearance of Joseph's name as the *son of Heli*, as well as the *putative father of Jesus*, for he was thus the legal link between Jesus and Heli, and all his ancestry (Luke iii. 23). In every respect but one the register is drawn up with legal precision; and the one exception does not vitiate the usage, but arises *ex abundanti cautela*, and from the special nature of a unique case. We refer to the inserted parenthesis *ὡς ἐνομίζετο*. The sacred writer thereby leaves room for the miraculous conception of our Lord, which it is very remarkable the Evangelists of the genealogies alone describe, thus stultifying emphatically the objection of Celsus and Strauss, who asked tauntingly, in the unity of the same unbelief, how Christ could be both the son of Joseph and the object of an immaculate conception? The same clause, *ὡς ἐνομίζετο*, serves (as it seems to us) another important purpose. As the *ἐγέννησε* of St. Matthew gave us the clue of our interpretation there, and assured us of Joseph's *natural* connection with that ancestry, so here the *ὡς ἐνομίζετο* colours, as it were, the entire pedigree, and gives to Joseph nothing but a *legal* relation both to Jesus and the long line which follows. And this suggests an argument, which in our view is irresistible, in proof that St. Luke gives us, in fact, the Virgin's lineage, although under the name of her husband. For as the parenthesis sets forth our Lord to be merely the *reputed* and not the *actual* son of Joseph, it thereby clearly implies that the genealogy which ensues cannot be the *natural* genealogy of both Jesus and Joseph; in other words, if it be a real genealogy in respect of either of them, it can only be an imputed one in respect of the other. But the clause *ὡς ἐνομίζετο* impresses a *putative* character on Joseph's place in it. Christ's, then, must be a *real* one, *i. e.*, the genealogy must be his, connecting him *naturally* with all the names (except the single expressly putative one), which compose the stem. Now, *how* this natural connection with His ancestors is effected, no reader of St. Luke's two preceding chapters can fail at a glance to see. *The real link is Mary*, and her genealogy in chap. iii. is, in fact, nothing else than a document strictly correlative with the foregoing record of the immaculate conception.

Convergence of the two Genealogies.—The fifth of Lord A. Hervey's theses given above we accept in its conclusion, though of course not in its premiss. 'In point of *fact*' [he says], 'though not of *form*, both the genealogies are as much Mary's as her husband's.' Only, instead of inferring this from conjecture, we would conclude it from the facts of the genealogies themselves. In all the great names of the Lord's ancestry, the two lines

(περὶ τῶν ἐκκληρῶν) closely resembled the Hebrew provisions (comp. Michaelis, *i. c.*, with Smith's *Greek and Latin Antiqu.*, Art. *Epiclesus*).

converge—in Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and all the Fathers down to David, and again very remarkably in Salathiel and Zorobabel, and ultimately in Christ. The case of Salathiel we regard to be similar to that of Joseph. The son of Jechonias by birth (1 Chron. iii. 17; Matt. i. 12), he is yet called the son of Neri by St. Luke (iii. 27), in a legal sense, as having married the daughter of Neri. The two Evangelists represent Zorobabel as the son of Salathiel. They herein are agreed with Ezra iii. 2; Hagg. i. 14, and ii. 2. An unnecessary difficulty, as it seems to us, has arisen from the fact that in 1 Chron. iii. a Zerubbabel is mentioned as the son of Pedaiah, and consequently nephew of Salathiel, who was Pedaiah's elder brother. Lord A. Hervey supposes Salathiel had no son, but adopted his nephew (*Genealogies*, p. 100); others apply the expedient of a levirate marriage, as if Pedaiah 'raised up seed' to his deceased elder brother (Dr. W. H. Mill, p. 165). But what need is there of any such indirect interpretation? It cannot be unreasonable to take the literal scriptures concerned, and to assign, as they do, *sons of the same name* to the brothers Salathiel and Pedaiah. Surely you will not dim the lustre of the great 'governor of Judah' by entertaining the very simple and natural supposition that he had a first cousin called after his own name! How often family names run alike in proximate branches of a family is clear to any student of the genealogies, both of the Chronicles and the Gospels [the cases of the two Jehoram's and the two Ahaziah's, of the allied families of Ahab and Jehoshaphat, are some illustration of the tendency to repeat family names among near connections]. But a convincing evidence that two Zerubbabel's do occur in these passages arises from the completely different names, not only of their *fathers*, but also of the *children*, attributed to them (comp. 1 Chron. iii. 19, 20, with Matt. i. 13 and Luke iii. 27), and again of the *remoter descendants* (comp. 1 Chron. iii. 21-24 with Matt. i. 13-15, and Luke iii. 24-26).^{*} St. Jerome (*Quest. Hebr. in lib. Paralip.*), resorts to the expedient, which is as violent as it is unnecessary, of making Salathiel and Pedaiah one and the same person—a *vir binominis*. The divergence of the descent into the lines of Abiud (in St. Matt. i. 13), and of Rhesa (in St. Luke iii. 27), carries with it, to our mind, greater difficulty than the last point. Lord A. Hervey (*Genealogies*,

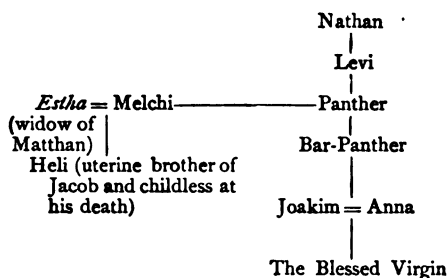
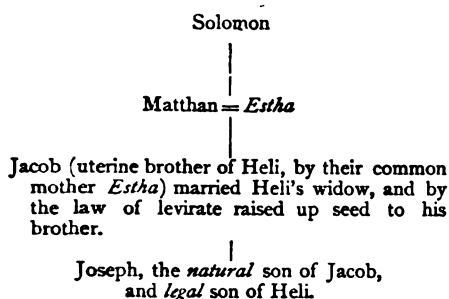
p. 111), supposes that *Rhesa* is not a proper name, but a designation of Zorobabel as 'head,' or prince of the captivity [חֹדֶק הַשָּׁבוּעַ], and thus, by identifying the *Abiud* of Matt. i. 13 with the *Juda* of Luke iii. 26, and by supposing Joanna to be omitted in the list of the first gospel, he effects a convergence of *four* generations [in Salathiel, Zorobabel, Joanna, Juda, or Abiud], in the two lines. There is no ground for this but the ingenuity of the writer, which is fond of making *excursions* among the Scripture genealogies. His characteristic weakness, in our judgment, is the readiness with which he seizes on like or identical names (or even elements of names), and thence concludes the identity of *persons*; forgetful of a fact, strongly attested in the genealogies, that similarity or sameness of names by no means implies identity, but only family relationship in those that bear them. Rhesa was always regarded as a man's name by such of the ancient writers as treated of the details of this subject. It occurs in St. Jerome's version (*Opera*, ed. Bened., vol. x.), and in St. Gregory Nazianzen (*Carmina*, vol. ii. p. 270, ed. Beued.), Τοῦ δ' ἀπο, Σαλαθιήλ, Ζοροβάβελ, Πησά, Ἰωάν; and in the Syriac version thus—ܠܗܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ, *Resa filii Zorobabel*; and so in the old Gothic, 'Rēfins, sunāus Zaurāubilis,' Massmann's *Ulphilas*, p. 200. If Πησά be a late form [ܡܫܐ or ܡܫܐ] of the Hebrew word שָׂרָא, which occurs as a proper name in Gen. xlii. 21, it may possibly indicate here that the bearer of this name was the eldest son of Zorobabel, the head of the family, which was now to be divided. (In Simonis *Onomast.* the word is defined by *caput*, i.e., *primarius*.) If so, he fitly hands on to his posterity and to the last of them, 'Mary's blessed Son,' the inheritance of David's elder son Nathan (1 Chron. iii. 5); leaving to his younger brother Abiud the function of transferring the younger Solomon's heritage to Mary's husband Joseph. According to a recent scheme (Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, i. 668) the genealogies converge in the *third name above Joseph*, which occurs in St. Matthew (i. 15) as *Matthan*, and in St. Luke (iii. 24) as *Matthal*, who are supposed to be from the similarity of the names one and the same person. We dismiss so precarious an hypothesis without discussion, and observe that Africanus (*in Epist. ad Aristid.* l. c.) and Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 7) omit both Matthal's name and that of his father Levi, and make Melchi the father of Heli and grandfather of Joseph (Κατὰ Λουκᾶν ὁμοίως τρίτος ἀπὸ τέλους Μελέχι, οὗ υἱὸς δ' Ἡλὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ πατὴρ).^{*} St. Ambrose agrees

* Elaborate efforts are made by Dr. Mill (*Panth. Prin.* pp. 151-154), and Lord A. Hervey (*Genealogies*, pp. 115-127), to identify the proper names of the two families which occur in the passages respectively of the Chronicles and the Evangelists referred to in the text. These efforts seem to us to be failures. Pedaiah's 'obscure' line, as Dr. Mill calls it, is, after all, undoubtedly a different line from the *illustrious* one of Salathiel. St. Augustine (*Quest. xlii. in Deut.*), and Walafrid Strabo, suggest two Zorobabels also. Hottinger (*De Geneal. Jesu Christi, Dissert. post.*, c. xx.), makes *three* Zorobabels. We think this equally repugnant to the plain statements of the Scripture which relates to this subject. Since writing the above we find our view substantially corroborated in a carefully argued *Dissertation* of Natalis Alexander (*H. E. Vet. Test. ad Aetat. V.*, Diss. ix.), who cites Tostatus and Cajetan as agreeing with what we have advanced above.

* These two names, Μαρθὰρ τοῦ Λευὶ, occur again higher up the line, in ver. 29, and have been by some supposed to have passed by transcription erroneously from one place to the other. *But all existing MSS. and versions read them in both places.* 'It is strange,' says Dr. W. H. Mill (p. 188, note), that of the many ancient writers who follow Africanus and make Heli the son of Melchi, none before Bede should have remarked the omission: but that this did not proceed from their copies of St. Luke wanting these two names, we know for certain in the case of two of them at least; and may, therefore, not improbably suppose

with Africanus, it would seem, in omitting these names; for he says (lib. iii. in *Luc.*), 'Lucas vero Joseph filium Heli, Heli autem filium Melchi esse descripsit.' Under this section of the convergence of the two Genealogies, we cannot but mention the addition to the two genealogies of SS. Matthew and Luke made by John Damascene (*Orthod. Fid.* iv. 15) in the first instance, and long afterwards modified

by Grotius (*Annot. in Luc.* iii.) Damascene, omitting Matthat, and putting Melchi in his place, gives to this last a brother called *Panther*, whose son *Bar-Panther* begat *Joakim*, the father of the blessed Virgin Mary, second cousin, according to this view, of Joseph. The scheme includes the name *Levi* (omitted by Africanus) only as the father of Melchi, thus—



Grotius makes Matthan, *Estha's* first husband, die childless; Melchi, the second husband of *Estha*, is represented as the father of Jacob, Heli and Levi. Jacob the *eldest* is reckoned by levirate law as the son of Matthan, while the *second* Heli becomes the father of Joseph, who is transferred to Jacob (childless) as his legal son and heir. Levi, the *third son* of Melchi, has a son called Barpanther, who is the father of *Panther* [strange perversion of names!], whose son *Joakim* is the father of the Virgin Mary. Notwithstanding the high authority of Grotius with the promoters of the theory we have throughout been opposing, and in spite of our respect for his learning, we cannot help censuring this genealogical scheme of his as a fantastic conceit. We derive, however, from both it and that of which it is a parody (Damascene's) a confirmation of our theory, that one of the lines is undoubtedly Mary's—these writers prove the necessity of such an interpretation by actually devising a supplemental branch-genealogy, in order to include the mother of our Lord. How much more simple and congruous to apply to her at once one of the sacred originals!

Structure of the Genealogies.—St. Matthew formally divides his table into three sections, each containing fourteen names (i. 17). These sections

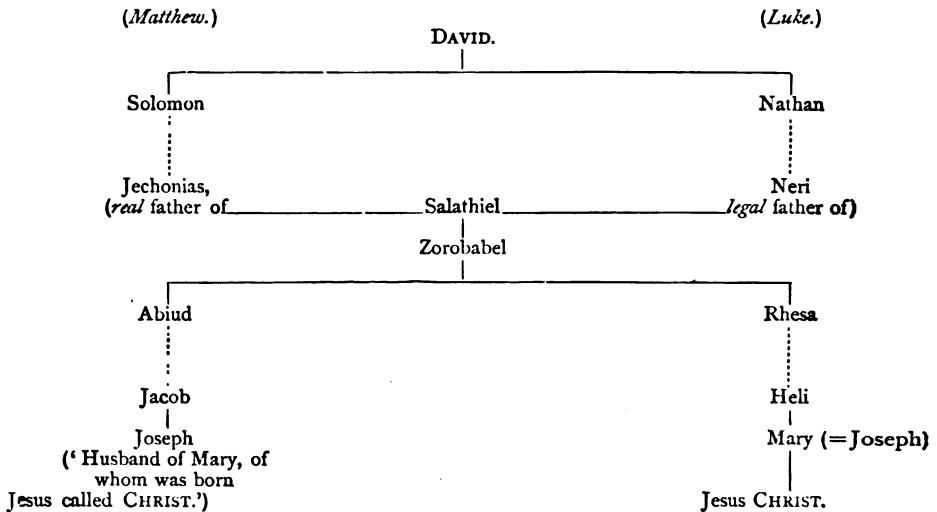
of all. For Nazianzen gives St. Luke's genealogy complete, its last line being, *Μελχι καὶ Δεὺλ καὶ Ματθᾶν*, 'Heli, 'Iwothp (*Carmina*, as referred to in the text); St. Augustine also (*Quaest.* 46 in *Deut.*, *Opp.*, tom. iii. p. 573) equally mentions Matthat and Levi as the second and the third progenitors of Joseph.' Some have found a conjectural authority for the omission of these two names from Luke iii. 24 in Irenæus' enumeration of only seventy-two generations from Adam to Christ, which can only be verified by the omission of three names—these two and the post-diluvian Cainan (Iren. *adv. Hær.* iv. 15). Though the two names occur in all the now known MSS., and are read by the best editors, Bernard Lamy (*Harm.* p. 28, 31), as quoted by Galland in his great *Bibl. Patr.*, tom. ii., supposes that the MSS. of the 3d century, when Africanus lived, did not contain them. This, however, is precarious conjecture.

are really chronological marks of the *growth, power, and decline* of the Jewish nation; progressing (1) from the great patriarch Abraham, to whom the promises were first made, to the great king David, to whom they were renewed; (2) from the consolidation of the royal power in David and Solomon, and its being put on its trial, to its overthrow by the Babylonians in the days of Jechonias (Jehoiachin); and (3) from the removal of the captive king to Babylon, to Jesus the Messiah, the fulfiller of the promises and the restorer of the kingdom. There are two ways of making up the three fourteens. The first (see the table in Dr. Robinson, *Harm. of Gosp.* [Tract Soc. ed.], p. 197) traces the first fourteen from Abraham to David inclusive, the second fourteen from David to Josiah inclusive, and the third fourteen from Jechonias to Jesus. The second method traces the first fourteen as before, but heads the second fourteen with Solomon, and ends it with the Jechonias of the 11th verse (whom some suppose to be Jehoiakim*), making the third fourteen commence with the Jechonias of the 12th verse and terminate in our Lord (For the list, see Dr. A. Clarke's *Commentary*, vol. v. p. 38). 'Because from Abraham to David inclusive the number of recorded names in the O. T. genealogies is exactly fourteen, the sacred author, parting from this main purpose of his genealogy, adopts a very common

* Though the great mass of MSS. gives the ordinary reading of the 11th verse as translated in our A. V., there are some indications that a very early text must have admitted the name of Jehoiakim previous to that of his son Jechonias; for Irenæus, in the passage we have already referred to (*adv. Hær.* iii. 29), seems to imply that Jehoiakim was inserted in his copy of St. Matthew; 'Joseph enim Joacim et Jechoniae filius ostenditur, quemadmodum et Matthæus generationem ejus exponit' [Codex D in Luke reads τοῦ Ἰεχωίου, τοῦ Ἰωακίμ, κ. τ. λ.]. Porphyry taunts the church for omitting the name; Eusebius says of Jechonias and Joacim, εἰς δὲ τῶν καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς διωνυφία χρόμενος; Hilary read the name of Joacim, and codices MU, and some thirty cursives (See Griesbach, Tischendorf [ed. 1859], and Alford [ed. 4]).

Hebrew usage . . . in making this remarkable double hebdomad of generations the measure of the period that follows from David to Christ—an interval which is twice as long as the other, and which divides itself into two periods, each equal to it.' Dr. W. H. Mill, from whom this last sentence is quoted, has a masterly vindication of this structural character of St. Matthew's genealogy from the aspersions of Strauss. He adduces instances of the Jewish usage of abridging and regulating pedigrees from the Scriptures and other works; and well argues that, as the omissions in genealogical lines have no tendency 'to deceive or to presume on the reader's ignorance,' they cannot be objectionable when resorted to for convenience, symmetry, or even graver reasons * [*Panth. Prin.* pp. 105-23]. Of the instances he adduces, we will only mention the abridged table of his own descent which Ezra gives [comp. *Ezra vii.* 1-5 with *1 Chron. vi.* 3-15], in which he contracts the twenty-two generations intervening between Aaron and himself into sixteen; and the example produced by Schoettgen [*Horæ Hebr. et Talm.* vol. i. p. 1] thus: '*Synopsis Sohar*, p. 132, n. 18, Ab Abrahamo usque ad Salomonem xv sunt generationes; atque tunc luna fuit in plenilunio. A Salomone usque ad Zedekiam iterum sunt xv generationes, et tunc luna deficit, et Zedekiae effossi sunt oculi.' Here we have the compression of actual generations into symmetrical sections, and a reason alleged, which, though fanciful, was meant to express (historically) a moral purpose. St. Matthew's genealogy being meant only to indicate Christ's *legal*

descent, is not compromised by any omissions—the salient points of the line as developed in the history are carefully given, and they suffice to trace the legal connection of our Lord with his ancestors. St. Luke's purpose being to illustrate Christ's *natural* descent, omissions would have been fatal. This evangelist, therefore, supplies us with every generation in the ancestry of Jesus Christ, not only up to the primordial sources of the Jewish nation and its royal glory in Abraham and David, but up to the very origin of mankind, thus indicating the common interest of all in Him who came as 'a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of His people Israel' (as Luke himself records His style, ii. 32). On the principle of this *complete* enumeration required in the third gospel, we prefer [with Lord A. Hervey] to obviate the great difficulty of the period between the Exodus and David containing but four generations, Salmon, Boaz, Obed, Jesse (comp. our Geneal. with Ruth iv. 18-22), by supposing the common *chronology* to be at fault, rather than [with Drs. Mill, Hales, and Kennicott and other writers] by assuming that the genealogies are *defective*,—defectiveness not being characteristic of St. Luke's register, which, in this period of more than 400 years (according to the ordinary chronology), contains no more names than St. Matthew's list. (See Lord A. H.'s *Genealogies*, chap. ix. pp. 204-276, a valuable portion of his learned work; comp. therewith Dr. W. H. Mill, pp. 123-137.) The following scheme represents the genealogy of our blessed Lord from David, after whom the divergence first begins:—



The descending mode of St. Matthew, and the ascending mode of St. Luke, have parallels in

* For example, it has been constantly held (See St. Jerome on *Matt. i.*, and Ebrard, *Wissens. Kritik d. Ev. Gesch.* p. 192, as instances of ancient and modern authorities) that the omission of the three generations between 'Joram and Ozias' in *Matt. i. 7*, is in consequence of their issuing from the idolatrous Athaliah of the house of Ahab; as if, on the principle of Deut. vii. 3, 4, and Exod.

the genealogies of the O. T., which are largely enumerated by Surenhusius (*Βίβλος Καταλλαγῆς*, *Thesis* xxx., pp. 109, 110); one instance of each has been already adverted to above. The sacerdotal line in *1 Chron. vi.* 3-15 is given in the descending form; whilst that in *Ezra vii.* 1-5 is recorded in the ascending method. Surenhusius'

xx. 3, the sacred genealogist would indicate the curse to the third and the fourth generations by erasing their names out of the lineage of Messiah.

concluding words are worth quoting here: 'Secundum duplicem hunc modum genealogia Jesu Christi quoque recensetur in Nov. Test. a Matthæo dextrum, a Luca autem sursum. Matthæus quidem dextrum recensuit, ut Judæis ad questionem responderet, qua illi quærebant an Jesus esset ex familia Davidis cui promissiones factæ erant, quique propterea erat veluti basis: Lucas vero sursum, quia persona Christi erat subjectum de cujus splendore, cap. ii. vers. 21-23, magnifice locutus erat.' On the import (in a theological sense) of the position of the Genealogy [in St. Matthew, before Christ's nativity; in St. Luke, at the threshold of his ministry], the reader is referred to Origen, *Homil. 28 in Luc. (Opera [ed. Ben.], vol. iii. pp. 965, 966)*, among the ancients, and Bp. Cowper, *Genealogie of Christ (Works, pp. 587-594)*, among the moderns. The unique word ἀγενεαλόγητος (Heb. vii. 3), and the equivalent phrase, μὴ γενεαλογούμενος (ver. 6), describe a point in the sacerdotal 'order of Melchisedec,' which is intended to illustrate one element of the superiority of Christ's priesthood over that of Aaron. These phrases mean *without a pedigree* [see margin of A. V.]; q. d., *not standing in the public genealogical registers of the Levitical priests*. Hence it is added (ver. 14): 'It is evident that our Lord sprang out of Judah; of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood.' 'The Messiah is high-priest, and yet not of the tribe of Levi; consequently the Messianic idea as such [and so far] involves a going beyond the law.' Ebrard on the *Hebraeus* [Clark], p. 224. Among the more eminent writers of recent times who have treated on this important subject, are—(1.) on the side of the theory that *both genealogies belong to Joseph*, Calvin, Grotius, Schleiermacher, Hug, Meyer, Patritius, De Costa, Mill, Alford, Ellicott, Lord A. Hervey; while (2.) in favour of the opinion which we have advocated, as most consistent with Holy Scripture, and with primitive opinion [Dr. Mill's reprobation of it, as 'a modern gloss,' is a blot in his valuable treatise], are Luther, J. J. Hottinger, Calmet, Spanheim, G. J. Vossius, South, Lightfoot, Surenhusius, Kidder, Michaelis, Kuinoel, Bengel, Olshausen, Wieseler, Ebrard, Kurtz, Lange, Auberlen (in Herzog), Hales, Greswell, Kitto, Robinson.—P. H.

GENERATION. Considerable obscurity attends the use of this word in the English Version, which arises from the translators having merged the various meanings of the same original word, and even of several different words, in one common term, 'generation.' The remark is too just that, in the literal translations of the Scriptures, the word 'generation' generally occurs wherever the Latin has *generatio*, and the Greek γενεά or γένεος (Rees's *Ency.*, art. 'Generation'). The following instances seem to require the original words to be understood in some or other of their *derivative* senses—Gen. ii. 4, 'These are the generations' (יְהוֹרֵד; Sept. ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως; Vulg. *generationes*), rather 'origin,' 'history,' etc. The same Greek words, Matt. i. 1, are rendered 'genealogy,' etc., by recent translators; Campbell has 'lineage.' Gen. v. 1, 'The book of the generations' (סֵפֶר תּוֹלֵדֹת; Sept. as before; Vulg. *liber generationis*) is properly a *family register*, a history of Adam. The same words, Gen. xxxvii. 2,

mean a history of Jacob and his descendants; so also Gen. vi. 9, x. 1, and elsewhere. Gen. vii. 1, 'In this generation' (בְּיָמֵינוּ; Sept. ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ, Vulg. *in generatione hac*) is evidently 'in this age.' Gen. xv. 16, 'In the fourth generation' (דּוֹר; Sept. γένεδ; Vulg. *generatio*) is an instance of the word in the sense of a *certain assigned period*. Ps. xlix. 19, 'The generation of thy fathers' (דּוֹר אֲבוֹתָיו; Sept. γενεὰς πατέρων αὐτοῦ), Gesenius renders 'the dwelling of his fathers,' i. e., the grave, and adduces Is. xxxviii. 12. Ps. lxxiii. 15, 'The generation of thy children' (דּוֹר בְּנֵי; Sept. γενεὰ τῶν υἱῶν σου) is 'class,' 'order,' 'description,' as in Prov. xxx. 11, 12, 13, 14. Is. liii. 8, 'Who shall declare his generation?' (דּוֹר; Sept. τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται; Vulg. *generatio*) Lowth renders 'manner of life,' in translation and note, but adduces no precedent. Some consider it equivalent to וָרֵי, ver. 10: γενεὰ (Sept.) answers to וָרֵי, Esther ix. 28. Josephus uses πολλὰν γενεάν, *Antiq. i. 10. 3* (Hengstenberg, *Christology of the Old Testament*, vol. ii. p. 290, Edin. 1856; Pauli, *Analect. Hebraicæ*, p. 162, Oxford, 1839). Michaelis renders it, 'Where was the providence that cared for his life?' Gesenius and Rosenmüller, 'Who of his contemporaries reflected?' Seiler, 'Who can describe his length of life?' In the N. T., Matt. i. 17, γενεαί is a series of persons, a succession from the same stock; so used by Josephus (*Antiq. i. 7. 2*); Philo (*Vit. Mos.*, vol. i. p. 603); Matt. iii. 7, γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, is well rendered by Doddridge and others 'brood of vipers.' Matt. xxiv. 34, ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη means the generation or persons then living contemporary with Christ (see Macknight's *Harmony* for an illustration of this sense). Luke xvi. 8, εἰς τὴν γενεάν τὴν αὐτῶν, 'in their generation,' etc., wiser in regard to their dealings with the men of their generation; Rosenmüller gives, *inter se*. In 1 Pet. ii. 9, γένος ἐκλεκτόν, is a 'chosen people,' quoted from Sept. Vers. of Is. xliii. 20. The ancient Greeks, and, if we may credit Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, the Egyptians also, assigned a *certain period* to a generation. The Greeks reckoned three generations for every hundred years, i. e., 33½ years to each. Herod. ii. 142, γενεαί τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἐτεδ' ἐστί, 'three generations of men make one hundred years.' This is nearly the present computation. To the same effect Clem. Alexandrinus speaks (*Strom. i. 2*); so also Phavorinus, who, citing the age of Nestor from Homer (*Il. i. 250*), τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαί, 'two generations,' says, it means that ὑπερβῆν τὰ ἐξήκοντα ἐτῆ, 'he was above sixty years old.' The Greeks, however, assigned different periods to a γενεά at different times (Perizonius, *Orig. Egypt.*, p. 175, seq.; Jensiuis, *Fercul. Literar.*, p. 6). The ancient Hebrews also reckoned by the generation, and assigned different spaces of time to it at different periods of their history. In the time of Abraham it was one hundred years (comp. Gen. xv. 16, 'in the fourth generation they shall come hither'). This is explained in verse 13, and in Exod. xii. 40, to be four hundred years. Caleb was fourth in descent from Judah, and Moses and Aaron were fourth from Levi. In Deut. i. 35, ii. 14, Moses uses the term for thirty-eight years. In later times (Baruch vi., in the Epistle of Jeremiah, ver. 2) γενεὰ clearly means ten years. In Matt. i. 17, γενεὰ means a single descent from father to son. Homer uses the word in the same

sense (*N.* i. 250); also Herodotus (i. 3).—
J. F. D.

GENESIS (Sept. *Ἔνεσις*), the first book of the Pentateuch is, in Hebrew, called *בראשית*, from the word with which it begins. This venerable monument, with which the sacred literature of the Hebrews commences, and which forms its real basis, is divided into two main parts; one universal, and one special. The most ancient history of the whole human race is contained in chapters i.-xi., and the history of Israel's ancestors, the patriarchs, in chapters xii.-l. These two parts are, however, so intimately connected with each other that it would be erroneous to ascribe to the first merely the aim of furnishing a universal history. The chief aim which pervades the whole is to shew how the theocratic institution subsequently founded by Moses was rendered possible and necessary. The book, therefore, takes its starting-point from the original unity of the human race, and their original relation to God, and proceeds thence to the interruption of that relation by the appearance of sin, which gradually and progressively wrought an external and internal division in the human race for want of the principles of divine life which originally dwelt in man in general, but which had subsequently been preserved only among a small and separate race—a race which in progress of time became more and more isolated from all the other tribes of the earth, and enjoyed for a series of generations the special care, blessing, and guidance of the Lord. The Mosaic theocracy appears, therefore, by the general tenor of Genesis, partly as a restoration of the original relation to God, of the communion of man with God, and partly as an institution which had been preparing by God himself through a long series of manifestations of his power, justice, and love. Genesis thus furnishes us with the primary view and notion of the whole of the theocracy, and may therefore be considered as the historical foundation without which the subsequent history of the covenant people would be incomplete and unintelligible.

The *unity and composition* of the work, which is a point in dispute among the critics in regard to all the books of the Pentateuch, have been particularly questioned in the case of Genesis. The question was raised whether the sources from which the writer of Genesis drew his information were written documents or oral tradition. Writers as early as Vitranga (*Obs. Sac.* i. 4), Richard Simon, Clericus, and others, though they were of opinion that Genesis is founded on written sources, did not undertake to describe the nature and quality of those sources. Another opinion, advanced by Otmar, in Henke's *Magaz.* ii., that Egyptian pyramids and other monuments of a similar nature were the sources of Genesis, was but transient in the critical world; while the attempt of some critics not only to renew the previous assumption that Genesis is founded on written sources, but also to determine more closely the character of those sources, has gained more lasting approval among the learned. Why different names of God are prevalent in different portions of Genesis is a question much discussed by early theologians and rabbis. Astruc, a Belgian physician, in his *Conjectures sur les Mémoires originaux*, etc., Bruxelles, 1753-58, was the first to apply the two Hebrew names of God, *Jehovah* and *Elohim*, to the subject at issue. As-

truc's demonstration had many feeble points. He assumed that there had originally existed a number of isolated documents, which had subsequently, by the fault of transcribers, been joined and strung together in the present form of Genesis. Eichhorn's critical genius procured for this hypothesis a favourable reception almost throughout the whole of Germany. Eichhorn pruned away its excrescences, and confined his own view to the assumption of only two different documents, respectively characterised by the two names of *Jehovah* and *Elohim*. Other critics, such as Ilgen (*Urkunden des Jerusalem Tempel-Archivs*, 1798), Gramberg (*Adumbratio libri Geneseos secundum fontes*, 1828), and others, went still farther, and pre-supposed three different documents in Genesis. Vater went much beyond Eichhorn. He fancied himself to be able to combat the authenticity of the Pentateuch by producing a new hypothesis. He substituted for Eichhorn's 'document-hypothesis' his own 'fragment-hypothesis,' which obtained great authority, especially on account of its being adopted by De Wette. According to this opinion Genesis, as well as the greater part of the Pentateuch, consists of a great number of very small detached fragments, internally unconnected with each other, but transcribed *seriatim*, although originating in very different times and from different authors. This 'fragment-hypothesis' has now been almost generally given up. Even its zealous defenders, not excepting De Wette himself, have relinquished it. In its place the former 'document-hypothesis' has been resumed by some critics, simplified however and supported by new and better arguments. There is at present a great variety of opinion among divines concerning this hypothesis. The leading features of this diversity may be comprised in the following summary. According to the view of Stahelin, De Wette, Ewald, Von Bohlen, Tuch, and others, Genesis is founded on two principal original documents. That of *Elohim* is closely connected in its parts, and forms a whole, while that of *Jehovah* is a mere complementary document, supplying details at those points where the former is abrupt and deficient, etc. These two documents are said to have been subsequently combined by the hand of an editor so ably, as often to render their separation difficult, if not altogether impossible. But Kanke, Hengstenberg, Drechsler, Havernick, and others, maintain that Genesis is a book closely connected in all its parts, and composed by only one author, while the use of the two different names of God is not owing to two different sources on which Genesis is founded, but solely to the different significations of these two names. The use of each of the two names, *Jehovah* and *Elohim*, is everywhere in Genesis adapted to the sense of the passages in which the writer has purposely inserted the one name or the other. This point of view is the more to be considered, as it is the peculiar object of the author to point out in Genesis the gradual and progressive development of the divine revelations. The opponents have in vain attempted to discover in Genesis a few contradictions indicative of different documents in it; their very admission, that a fixed plan and able compilation visibly pervade the whole of the book, is in itself a refutation of such supposed contradictions, since it is hardly to be conceived that an editor or compiler who has shown so much skill and anxiety to give unity to the book

should have cared so little about the removal of those contradictions. The whole of Genesis is pervaded by such a freedom in the selection and treatment of the existing traditions, such an absence of all trace of any previous source or documents which might in some measure have confined the writer within certain limits of views and expressions, as to render it quite impracticable to separate and fix upon them specifically, even if there were portions in Genesis drawn from earlier written documents.

That first question concerning the unity of the book is closely connected with another question respecting its authenticity, or whether Moses was the author of Genesis. We confine ourselves here to only a few remarks on the authenticity of Genesis in particular, and refer the reader for further information to the article PENTATEUCH. Some critics have attempted to ascertain the period when Genesis was composed, from a few passages in it which they say must be *anachronisms*, if Moses was really the author of the book (v. *ex. gr.* Tuch, *Commentar über Genesis*, p. lxxxv. sq.) Among such passages are, in particular, Gen. xii. 6; xiii. 7; 'And the Canaanite was then in the land.' This remark, they say, could only have been made by a writer who lived in Palestine after the extirpation of the Canaanites. But the sense of the passage is not that the Canaanites had not as yet been extirpated, but merely that Abraham, on his arrival in Canaan, had already found there the Canaanites. This notice was necessary, since the author subsequently describes the intercourse between Abraham and the Canaanites, the lords of the country. According to the explanation given to the passage by the opponents, such an observation would be quite a superfluous triviality. Also the name *Hebron* (Gen. xiii. 18; xxiii. 2), they say, was not introduced till after the time of Moses (Josh. xiv. 15; xv. 13). This, however, does not prove anything, since *Hebron* was the original Hebrew name for the place, which was subsequently changed into *Arba* (by a man of that name), but was restored by the Israelites on their entrance into Canaan. The opponents also maintain that the name of the place Dan (Gen. xiv. 14) was given only in the post-Mosaic period (Josh. xix. 47; Judg. xviii. 29). But the two last passages speak of quite a different place. There were two places called *Dan*; *Dan-Jaan* (2 Sam. xxiv. 6), and *Dan-Laish*, or *Lehem*. In Genesis, they further add, frequently occurs the name *Bethel* (xii. 8; xxviii. 19; xxxv. 15); while even in the time of Joshua the place was as yet called *Luz* (Josh. xviii. 13). But the name *Bethel* was not first given to the place by the Israelites in the time of Joshua, there being no occasion for it, since Bethel was the old patriarchal name, which the Israelites restored in the place of *Luz*, a name given by the Canaanites. Another passage in Genesis (xxxvi. 31), 'Before there reigned any king over the children of Israel,' is likewise supposed to have been written at a period when the Jews had already a king over them. But the broachers of these objections forget that this passage refers to those promises contained in the Pentateuch in general, and in Genesis in particular (comp. Gen. xxxv. 11), that there should hereafter be kings among the Israelites as an independent nation. In comparing Israel with Edom (Gen. xxxvi.), the sacred writer cannot refrain from observing that Edom, though left without divine promises of possessing kings, nevertheless possessed

them, and obtained the glory of an independent kingdom, long before Israel could think of such an independence; and a little attention to the sense of the passage will shew how admirably the observation suits a writer in the Mosaic period. The passage (Gen. xv. 18) where the land of Israel is described as extending from the river of Egypt (the Nile) to the great river (Euphrates), it is alleged, could only have been penned during the splendid period of the Jews, the times of David and Solomon. Literally taken, however, the remark is inapplicable to any period, since the kingdom of the Jews at no period of their history extended so far. That promise must, therefore, be taken in a rhetorical sense, describing the central point of the proper country as situated between the two rivers.

The historical character of the contents of Genesis forms a more comprehensive subject of theological discussion. It is obvious that the opinions regarding it must be principally influenced by the dogmatical views and principles of the respective critics themselves. Hence the great variety of opinion that still prevails on that subject. Some, such as Vatke, Von Bohlen, and others, assert the whole contents of Genesis to be unhistorical. Tuch and others consider Genesis to be interwoven with mythical elements, but think that the rich historical elements, especially in the account of the patriarchs, can be clearly discerned. Some, again, limit the mythological part to the first two chapters only; while others perceive in the whole book a consistent and truly historical impress. The field of controversy is here so extensive, and the arguments on both sides are so numerous, that we must content ourselves in this article with a very few remarks on the subject. *Genesis* is a book consisting of two contrasting parts; the first part introduces us into the greatest problems of the human mind, such as the Creation and the fall of man; and the second into the quiet solitude of a small defined circle of families. In the former, the most sublime and wonderful events are described with childlike simplicity; while in the latter, on the contrary, the most simple and common occurrences are interwoven with the sublimest thoughts and reflections, rendering the small family circle a whole world in history, and the principal actors in it prototypes for a whole nation, and for all times. The contents in general are strictly religious. Not the least trace of mythology appears in it. Consequently there are no mythical statements, because whatever is mythical belongs to mythology, and Genesis plainly shews how very far remote the Hebrew mode of thinking was from mythical poetry, which might have found ample opportunity of being brought into play when the writer began to sketch the early times of the Creation. It is true that the narrations are fraught with wonders. But primeval wonders, the marvellous deeds of God, are the very subject of Genesis. None of these wonders, however, bear a fantastical impress, and there is no useless prodigality of them. They are all penetrated and connected by one common leading idea, and are all related to the counsel of God for the salvation of man. This principle sheds its lustrous beams through the whole of Genesis; therefore the wonders therein related are as little to be ascribed to the invention and imagination of man as the whole plan of God for human salvation. The foundation of the divine theocratical institution throws a strong light upon the early patriarchal

times; the reality of the one proves the reality of the other, as described in Genesis.

The separate accounts in Genesis also manifest great internal evidence of truth if we closely examine them. They bear on their front the most beautiful impress of truth. The *cosmogony* in Genesis stands unequalled among all others known in the ancient world. No mythology, no ancient philosophy, has ever come up to the idea of a *creation out of nothing*. All the ancient systems end in Pantheism, Materialism, Emanation-theory, etc. But the Biblical cosmogony occupies a place of its own, and therefore must not be ranked among, or confounded with, any of the ancient systems of mythology or philosophy. The mythological and philosophical cosmogonies may have been derived from the Biblical, as being later deprivations and misrepresentations of Biblical truth; but the contents of Genesis cannot, *vice versa*, have been derived from mythology or philosophy. Moreover, only with the Biblical fundamental idea of the relation of God to his creatures, consequently only with the doctrine of creation out of nothing, is it possible to furnish an historical representation of creation. Every system deviating from this contains an internal contradiction against history, because it necessarily substitutes the idea of eternity for that of time; and consequently does not admit of any history, but only of either mythology or abstract reflection. The historical delineation also of the Creation and of the fall of man does not bear the least national interest or colouring, but is of a truly universal nature, while every mythus bears the stamp of the national features of the nation and country where it originated and found development. All mythi are subject to continual development and variations, but among the Hebrews the accounts in Genesis stand firm and immutable for all times, without the least thing being added or altered in them for the purpose of further development, even by the N. T. What a solid guarantee must there be in this foundation of all subsequent revelations, since it has been admitted and maintained by all generations with such immovable firmness! The ancient heathen traditions coincide in many points with the Biblical accounts, and serve to illustrate and confirm them. This is especially the case in the ancient traditions concerning the Deluge (Gen. vi. 9), and in the list of nations in the 10th chapter; for instance (Gen. x. 4), Tarshish is called the son of Javan. This indicates that the ancient inhabitants of Tarshish or Tartessus in Spain were erroneously considered to be a Phœnician colony like those of other towns in its neighbourhood, and that they sprang from Javan, that is, Greece. That they were of Greek origin is clear from the account of Herodotus (i. 163). Also (ver. 8), Nimrod, the ruler of Babel, is called the son of *Cush*, which is in remarkable unison with the mythological tales concerning *Bel* and his Egyptian descent (comp. Diodor. Sic. i. 28, 81; Pausan, iv. 23. 5). *Sidon* alone is mentioned (ver. 15), but not *Tyros* (comp. xlix. 13), which arose only in the time of Joshua (Josh. xix. 29); and that *Sidon* was an older town than *Tyros*, by which it was afterwards eclipsed, is certified by a number of ancient reports (comp. Hengstenberg, *De Rebus Tyrionum*, pp. 6, 7).

With the patriarchal history (xii. *sqq.*) begins an historical sketch of a peculiar character. The circumstantial details in it allow us to examine more

closely the historical character of these accounts. The numerous descriptions of the mode of life in those days furnish us with a very vivid picture. We meet everywhere a sublime simplicity quite worthy of patriarchal life, and never to be found again in later history. One cannot suppose that it would have been possible in a later period, estranged from ancient simplicity, to invent such a picture.

The authenticity of the patriarchal history could be attacked only by analogy, the true historical test of negative criticism; but the patriarchal history has no analogy; while a great historical fact, the Mosaic theocracy itself, might here be adduced in favour of the truth of Genesis. The theocracy stands without analogy in the history of the human race, and is, nevertheless, true above all historical doubt. But this theocracy cannot have entered into history without preparatory events. The facts which led to the introduction of the theocracy are contained in the accounts of Genesis. Moreover, this preparation of the theocracy could not consist in the ordinary providential guidance. The race of patriarchs advances to a marvellous destination; the road also leading to this destination must be peculiar and extraordinary. The opponents of Genesis forget that the marvellous events of patriarchal history which offend them most, partake of that character of the whole, by which alone this history becomes commensurate and possible.

There are also many separate vestiges warranting the antiquity of these traditions, and proving that they were neither invented nor adorned; for instance, Jacob, the progenitor of the Israelites, is introduced not as the firstborn, which, if an unhistorical and merely external exaltation of that name had been the aim of the author, would have been more for this purpose.

Neither the blemishes in the history of Abraham, nor the gross sins of the sons of Jacob, among whom even Levi, the progenitor of the sacerdotal race, forms no exception, are concealed.

The same author, whose moral principles are so much blamed by the opponents of Genesis, on account of the description given of the life of Jacob, produces, in the history of Abraham, a picture of moral greatness which could have originated only in facts.

The faithfulness of the author manifests itself also especially in the description of the expedition of the kings from Upper to Western Asia; in his statements concerning the person of Melchizedek (Gen. xiv.); in the circumstantial details given of the incidents occurring at the purchase of the hereditary burial-place (ch. xxiii.); in the genealogies of Arabian tribes (ch. xxv.); in the genealogy of Edom (ch. xxxvi.); and in many remarkable details which are interwoven with the general accounts. In the history of Joseph the patriarchal history comes into contact with Egypt; and here the accounts given by ancient classical writers, as well as the monuments of Egypt, frequently furnish some splendid confirmations. For instance, the account given (xlvi. 13-26) of the manner in which the Pharaohs became proprietors of all the lands, with the exception of those belonging to the priests, is confirmed by Herodotus (ii. 109), and by Diodorus Siculus (i. 73). The manner of embalming described in Gen. i., entirely agrees with the description of Herodotus, ii. 84, etc. For other data of a similar kind, compare Hengstenberg (*Die Bücher Moses und Aegypten*, p. 21, *sq.*)

For the important commentaries and writings on Genesis, see the article PENTATEUCH.—H. A. C. H.

GENEVA BIBLE. [ENGLISH VERSIONS.]

GENNESARETH, LAKE OF. [SEA.]

GENNESARETH, THE LAND OF (ἡ γῆ Γεννησαρέτ; Josephus, Γεννησαδῶ; later Hebrew, גִּנְנִיסָה). A small district of Galilee lying on the western shore of the lake, near Capernaum. Its situation is indicated by the narratives in John vi. 15-25, and Mark vi. 45-56. Jesus sent away the disciples from the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee to Capernaum. When on their passage He came up with them walking on the sea; they land about dawn (the fourth watch) on the plain of Gennesareth; and that morning the multitudes follow him in boats to Capernaum, and find him there. Josephus gives so graphic a description of Gennesareth that we have no difficulty in identifying it, though the name has long disappeared. 'Extending along the Lake of Galilee, and bearing also its name, lies a tract of country admirable both for its natural properties and its beauty. Such is the fertility of the soil that it rejects no plant, and accordingly all are here cultivated by the husbandman; for so genial is the air that it suits every variety. The walnut grows luxuriantly, together with the palm; and here there are figs and olives. It produces the grape and the fig during ten months without intermission, while the other varieties ripen the year round; for besides being favoured by the genial temperature of the air, it is irrigated by a highly fertilising spring called Capernaum. The tract extending along the shore of the lake which bears its name is thirty furlongs in length and twenty in breadth (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 10. 8).

On the west side of the Sea of Galilee is a crescent-shaped plain, extending along the shore from the cliffs at Ain et-Tin, the site of Capernaum, upon the north, to the hill behind Mejdal, the ancient Magdala, on the south, a distance of about three geographical miles. Its greatest breadth is nearly two. It is shut in by a semicircle of steep and rugged hills. Its soil is of extraordinary fertility; but only small patches of it here and there are cultivated. The rest is covered with tangled thickets of lote-trees, oleanders, dwarf palms, and gigantic thistles and brambles. The melons and cucumbers grown on the plain are still the best and earliest in Palestine. They are always the first in the markets of Damascus, Acre, and Beyrout. This may be accounted for by the great depression of the plain, it being almost on the level of the adjoining lake, and thus more than 600 feet below the ocean. (Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 400, *seq.*; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 136, *seq.*; Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 347; Stanley, *S. and P.* 368).

Various conjectures have been made regarding the origin of the name *Gennesareth*. Some affirm that it is a corruption of the ancient Hebrew *Chinnereth* (כִּנְרֶת), the כ being changed to ג, and נ inserted by the Chaldee paraphrasts. Hence in the Targums we find גִּנְנִיסָה used instead of כִּנְרֶת (Lightfoot, *Opp.* ii. 222); and in the Apocryphal books and Josephus Γεννησαδῶ (1 Maccab. xi. 67). Others derive the name from גִּי, 'a valley,' and נָצַר, 'a flower or shoot;' and it would thus signify 'valley of flowers' (Hieronym. *Opp.*, vii. p. 103, ed. Migne). Others again, and perhaps with more probability,

derive it from גִּי and נֶזֶר, 'the gardens of the prince' (Lightfoot, i. 498).—J. L. P.

GENTILES (Heb. גוֹיִם; Sept. ἔθνη). The word גוֹי, a people, is derived from the obsolete verb גָּזַן, *confusio*, and was originally used in a general sense of any nation, including the Jews themselves, both in the singular (Gen. xii. 2 • Deut. xxxii. 28; Is. i. 4), and in the plural (Gen. xxxv. 11). It is also used poetically (like the Greek ἔθνη, Hom. *Il.* ii. 87, *Od.* xiv. 73, and the Latin gentes, Virg. *Georg.* iv. 430) of insects and animals (Joel i. 6; Zeph. ii. 14).

But as the sense of a peculiar privilege dawned on the minds of the Jewish people, they began to confine the word גוֹי to other nations, and although at first it did not connote any unpleasant associations, it began gradually to acquire a hostile sense, which never attached itself to the other terms, לְשׁוֹנוֹת, 'tongues' (Is. lxi. 18), or הָעַמִּים, 'the peoples.' In proportion as the Jews began to pride themselves upon being 'the first-born of God' (Exod. iv. 22), 'the people of the covenant,' 'a holy nation, and a kingdom of priests' (Exod. xix. 4), they learned to use the indifferent expression 'Goyim' to imply that all other nations were more or less barbarous (Ps. ii. 1, 8; ix. 6; x. 16; cvi. 47), profane (Jer. xxxi. 10; Ezek. xxxiii. 30), idolatrous, uncircumcised, and unclean (Is. lii. 1; Jer. ix. 26). So that age after age the word became more invidious, and acquired a significance even more contemptuous than that of the Greek βάρβαρος, which, being an onomatopoeia to imitate the strange sound of foreign tongues, is

paralleled by the Hebrew לָעַן, לָעַן, 'a stammerer,' applied to foreigners in Ps. cxiv. 1, Is. xxviii. 11, xxxiii. 19. The word גוֹי gains its last tinge of hatred as applied by Jews to all Christians. Other expressions, intended to point out the same distinction, are used with a shade less scorn; such, for instance, as הַחֲצוֹנוֹת, οἱ ἕξω, 'those without,' which is Hebraistically used in the N. T. (1 Tim. iii. 9. See Otho, *Lex. Rab.* p. 111; Schoettgen, *Hor. Hebr.* in 1 Cor. v. 12. In Mark iv. 11 it is applied to the incredulous Jews themselves); and

מַמְלָכוֹת, 'kingdoms' (1 Chron. xxix. 30). The Jews applied the terms אֲרָצוֹת, 'lands,' and, according to some Rabbis, מִיֵּינֵת הַיָּם, 'region of the sea,' to all countries except Palestine, just as the Greeks distinguished between Hellas and ἡ βάρβαρος (2 Chron. xiii. 9; xvii. 10; Ezra ix. 1; Luke xii. 30; Lightfoot, *Centuria Chorogr.* i., *ad init.*). Although the Jews thus separated between themselves and other nations, they hesitated as little as the Romans did to include themselves in the Greek term βάρβαρος (Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 7. 1; cf. Justin Mar. *Apol.* i. 46. See BARBARIAN).

In the N. T. ἔθνη (although sometimes used in the singular of the Jewish nation, Acts x. 22; Luke vii. 5) is generally opposed, τῷ λαῷ Θεοῦ, to Israel, God's people (Luke ii. 32). But the most frequent rendering of גוֹי is (not ἔθνη, but)

Ἕλληνες, which is distinguished from Ἑλληνισταί (Acts vi. 1), and means 'Gentiles' rather than Greeks (except in Acts xviii. 17; Rom. i. 14), because of the general prevalence of the Greek lan-

guage (Rom. i. 16, and *passim*; 1 Cor. i. 22; Gal. iii. 28, etc.). Thus Timothy, who was of Lystra, is called 'Ελλην (Acts xvi. 1, 3), and a Syrophœnician woman 'Ελληνίς (Mark vii. 26), and the Jews of the Dispersion, ἡ διασπορά τῶν 'Ελλήνων (John vii. 35). This usage is even found in the apocryphal writings, where ἑλληνισμός is made a synonym to ἀλλοφυλισμός (2 Maccab. iv. 13), and τὰ ἑλληνικά ἦθη are pagan morals (*Id.*, vi. 9); and even so early as the LXX. version of Is. ix. 12, Ἕλληνες is adopted as a rendering of

פְּלִשְׁתִּים, 'Philistines.' In the Greek fathers 'Ἕλληνισμός is used for the Pagan, in contradistinction to the Christian world (Justin Mart. *Resp. ad Quest.* 42, etc.), and they call their Apologies λόγοι πρὸς Ἕλληνας, or κατὰ Ἕλληνας (Schleusner, *Lex. N. T.*, ii. 759).

It was perhaps impossible for the Jews, absorbed as they were in the contemplation of their own especial mission, to rise into any true or profound conception of the common brotherhood of all nations. Hedged round by a multitude of special institutions, and taught to regard the non-observance of these customs as a condition of uncleanness, embued, too, with a blind and intense national pride,—they often seem to regard the heathen as only existing at all for the purpose of punishing the apostasy of Judæa (Deut. xxviii. 49; 1 Kings viii. 33, etc.), or of undergoing vengeance for their enmity towards her (Is. lxiii. 6). The arrogant, unreasoning hatred towards other nations generated by too exclusive a brooding upon this partial and narrow conception, made the Jews the most unpopular nation of all antiquity (Tac. *Hist.* v. 2; 'gens deterrima,' *Id.* v. 8; Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 103; Quint. *Just.* iii. 7. 21; Plin. xiii. 9; Diod. Sic. *Ecl.* 34; Dio Cass. 68. 32; Philostr. *Apolog.* v. 33; Ammian. Marcel. xxii. 5, 'fœdentes Judæi,' etc., 'contrary to all men,' 1 Thes. ii. 15; see Winer, s. v. *Juden*). This disgust and scorn unfortunately fell on the early Christians also, who were generally confused with the Jews until the time of Bar Cochba (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44; Suet. 16; Claud. 25). To what lengths the Jews were carried in reciprocating this bitter feeling may be seen in the writings of the Rabbis; the Jews did not regard the Gentiles as brethren, might not journey with them, might not even save them when in peril of death (Maimon. *Rozach.* c. 4, 12, etc.), and held that they would all be destroyed and burned at the Messiah's coming (Otho, *Lex. Rab.*, s. v. *Gentes*, p. 231; Eisenmenger, *Entdeckt. Judent.* ii. 206, *seqq.*) There is the less excuse for this violent bigotry, because the Jews not only held that all nations sprung from one father (Gen. x.), but had also received abundant prophecies that God was but leaving his heathen children in temporary darkness (Acts xiv. 16), and intended hereafter, in His mercy, to bring them under the Messiah's sceptre, and make them 'one fold, under one shepherd' (Is. lx. 2, and *passim*; Mic. iv. 1; Zeph. iii. 9; Ps. xlv. 18; cx. 1, etc.) The main part of the N. T. history is occupied in narrating the gradual breaking down of this μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ (the strong barrier of immemorial prejudice which separated Jew and Gentile, Eph. ii. 14), first in the minds of the Apostles, and then of their converts. The final triumph over this obstacle was mainly due to the inspired ministry of him who gloried in the title of διδάσκα-

λος τῶν ἔθνων (1 Tim. ii. 7; see Conybeare and Howson, i. 219, *seqq.*), who has also given, in a few pregnant sentences, the most powerful description of the blessings which God had granted to the Gentiles, the means of serving Him which they possessed, and the shameless degeneracy which had ensued on their neglect of the natural law, written on their consciences (Rom. i. 18-32).

In one or two places the words ἔθνη and ἔθνη are used as proper names. Thus we have 'Tidal, king of nations,' i.e., of several conquered tribes (Gen. xiv. 1, 2; Kalisch, *ad loc.*) In Josh. xii. 23 we find 'the king of the nations of Gilgal,' where Goyim is possibly the name of some local tribe (βασιλεὺς παμφύλλας, Interpr. Anon.) In Judg. iv. 2, 'Harosheth of the Gentiles' probably received its name from the mixture of races subjugated by Jabin, and settled in the north of Palestine (Donaldson, *Jashar*, p. 263). The same mixture of Canaanites, Phœnicians, Syrians, Greeks, and Philistines, originated the common expression

'Galilee of the Gentiles,' Γαλιλαία ἀλλοφύλων, LXX. Γ. τῶν ἔθνων, Is. ix. 1; Matt. iv. 15 (Strabo xvi. 760; Joseph. *Vit.* 12; Euseb. *Onom.* s. v., Winer, s. v. Galilæa).

On the various meanings of the phrase 'Isles of the Gentiles' (ἡ νῆσος ἡ τῶν ἔθνων, Gen. x. 5; Zeph. ii. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 15, etc.), see Gesenius, *Thesaurus* i. 38, and ISLE. On the Court of the Gentiles, see TEMPLE, and Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* vi. 3.—F. W. F.

GENUBATH (גִּנְבָּת; Sept. Γαρβάθ), the son of Hadad the Edomite, by the sister of Tahpenes, queen of the Pharaoh of Egypt, to whom Hadad had fled when but a child to escape the vengeance of Joab (1 Kings xi. 14-20). [HADAD.] The name Genubath has been variously explained; some connecting it with the Heb. root גָּנַב, *to steal*, and supposing an allusion either to his being the product of a *furtive* amour (Clericus) or to his existence being owing to his father's having *stolen away* from the destructive fury of the Israelites (Thenius); others, with greater probability, finding in it an allusion to the Egyptian deity Cneph or Cnuphis. Genubath was weaned in the royal palace by the queen herself, and was brought up as one of the royal house. He is not again mentioned.—W. L. A.

GEOGRAPHY. Every student of God's Word will acknowledge the importance of sacred geography. All the historic narratives of the Bible, and most of its doctrinal truths, are closely connected with the countries in which they were enacted, and the places where they were revealed. Locality has given a peculiar tone and colouring to the whole literature and language of the Bible. Dr. Stanley has well said that, 'from Genesis to the Apocalypse there are—even when not intending, nay, even when deprecating, any stress on the local associations of the events recorded—constant local allusions, such as are the natural result of a faithful, and, as is often the case in the Biblical narrative, of a contemporary history.' Nor is this all. Many statements are incidentally made in Scripture which appear to indicate that the authors were acquainted with the leading facts of geographical science, both physical and political. While, on the other hand, passages have been cited from

Job, Isaiah, Psalms, and Proverbs, which it has been thought betray a total ignorance of the simplest elements of geography. How are we to understand, and how are we to reconcile these seemingly conflicting passages? What view are we to take of the geographical knowledge of the inspired writers, and by what canons are we to interpret their words? Are we to believe, as some affirm, that they were ignorant of even the elements of geographical science, and are we to interpret their statements accordingly? Or are we to believe, as others state, that, whatever may have been their own knowledge, they conformed in their writings to the popular opinions and fallacies of their age? Or are we to believe that, under the teaching of the Spirit, they embodied scientific truth sometimes in popular, sometimes in poetic, and sometimes in highly figurative language? We shall best prepare the way for a satisfactory answer to these questions, by laying down one or two general principles.

It must be borne in mind that no part of the Bible was ever intended to furnish a systematic treatise on any of the physical sciences. The object of revelation is to convey to mankind truths which they could not of themselves discover, and which are essential to their salvation. In revealing these truths, the facts of science are often alluded to. Thus, in shewing that God is sole Creator, the history of creation is given; in shewing the origin of sin, a description of Eden is given; in shewing that God is a universal and just ruler, the history of the deluge, of the dispersion of the human family, of the destruction of Sodom, and of the Exodus, is given. In illustration of the same truth, allusions are made to the motions of the heavenly bodies, to the changes of the seasons, to the formation of rain and dew, to the clouds, lightnings, and tempests. Knowing the object of revelation, we should not expect such topics to be introduced in a purely scientific manner, or in strictly technical language; but, on the contrary, in a popular manner, and in such language as would be easily intelligible to those immediately addressed.

It must further be borne in mind that the Bible is from God, and that every sentence of it, *when rightly interpreted*, must be in absolute accordance with fact. We are warranted in concluding that wherever the heavenly bodies are spoken of, and wherever the structure, physical convulsions, and topography of the earth are alluded to, perfect accuracy is observed. It will not do to say that because the first principles of astronomy and geography were unknown to the ancient Hebrews, the inspired writers adopted popular fallacies. It will not do to plead that false views on scientific matters were permitted in the Bible, because true views would have been unintelligible. It will not do to argue that the sacred writers were inspired on points of doctrine, but not on points of science. It is true, they used popular language, just as scientific men use it now; and we must interpret such language in the Bible as we interpret it in popular treatises on astronomy, geography, or general subjects. It is true the ancient Hebrews may have attached to many passages meanings widely different from those the scholar attaches to them now—they may have thought that the sky was a solid vault, that the earth has foundations, that the sun rises and sets; but we are not con-

cerned with the false interpretations of ignorant men; we have only to do with the ideas the Spirit of God intended to convey. It is well known that modern science has corrected the opinions of men in regard to many natural phenomena. The term which conveyed one idea in former times, conveys another and a widely different one now; and yet the term may be as proper and as definite now as it was then.

These principles afford the key to passages in Scripture often misunderstood and misrepresented. The statements in the Bible bearing upon science are not systematic, or technical; they are incidental, fragmentary, and popular. We can interpret them all in accordance with true systems of science; but we could not construct a complete system out of them. The sacred writers set forth incidentally some of the leading facts of geographical science.

1. *The form of the Earth.*—In one or two passages the true form of the earth appears to be indicated. Thus, in Is. xl. 22, 'He sitteth upon the circle (חֲוִי) of the earth' (also Prov. viii. 27). Rosenmüller (*Biblical Geography*), Kalisch (on Genesis), Gesenius (*Thesaurus*), and others, have concluded from a collection of sublime images from the Hebrew poets, that they believed the earth to be circular, rising out of surrounding ocean, and having the heavens spread over it as a canopy. They have argued that, because the sacred writers speak of the 'rising' and 'setting' of the sun, the 'foundations' of the earth, the 'pillars' of heaven, of Jerusalem being in the midst of the nations, they could have known nothing of the very rudiments of geography. Now such reasoning as this is opposed to all canons of sound criticism. If the writings of our own poets were dealt with in a similar manner, what would be the result?

2. *The cardinal points.*—Isaiah terms them 'the four corners (כַּנְפוֹת) of the earth' (xii. 11); Jeremiah, the 'four quarters (קְצוֹת) of the heaven' (xlix. 36). The east is קֶדֶם, 'before,' or פָּנִים, 'in front of,' because the person is represented as facing the east. The west is then אַחֲרֵי, 'behind,' also יָם, 'the sea,' because the sea was on the west of Palestine. The south was תֵּימָן, 'the right;' also נֹגַב, 'the dry.' The north was שְׂמָאל, 'the left.'

3. *The division of the earth into land and sea.*—This is indicated in Gen. i. 10. The ocean, containing great monsters, is often referred to; as in Ps. civ. 25, 26; Job xli. 1. *Continents and islands* are distinguished, Esther x. 1; Gen. x. 5; Ps. lxxii. 10; Is. lxvi. 19.

4. *The great physical features of mountains, valleys, and deserts.*—The mountains of Ararat, Lebanon, and Sinai, are specified; the valleys of Lebanon, and the Jordan; the 'great and terrible wilderness' (Deut. i. 19).

5. *The difference of climates.*—Job speaks of 'cold out of the north' (xxxvii. 9); and the heat of the south is alluded to by Job (xxxvii. 17), and by Luke (xii. 55).

6. *The cradle of mankind was Central Asia.*—The situation of Paradise is not known, but there can be no doubt as to the spot where the family of Noah settled after the flood. The ruins of Babylon still exist (Gen. xi.); and the seats of the great primeval kingdoms have recently been identified (Gen. x.; See Layard's *Nineveh*, etc.; Loftus, *Chaldea*, etc.)

7. *The division of mankind into three branches, and the colonization of the various countries of the earth by them.*—The 10th chapter of Genesis shews what a clear and comprehensive view Moses obtained, under Divine teaching, of the political geography and history of the whole ancient world. The great advances recently made in ethnography and comparative philology illustrate at once the completeness and the accuracy of the masterly sketch given by the Hebrew Lawgiver (See Muller's *Science of Language*; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*). The seven families of the Japhethites who peopled Europe and Northern Asia have been identified (Kalisch on Gen. x.) Ham is the ancestor of all the southern nations of the ancient world. The numerous tribes that spring from him have found a name in history (Kalisch, *l. c.*) The Shemites were concentrated in Western Asia, chiefly between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean.

In the whole compass of ancient literature there is nothing to be compared with the 10th chapter of Genesis. The most extensive research in the world's earliest history, and among its earliest monuments, and the most scientific investigation of the peculiarities of its modern nations and languages, alike form illustrative commentaries upon that remarkable passage (See Bochart's *Geogr. Sac.*; Kenrick's *Phœnicia*; Vaux's *Nineveh and Persepolis*; Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*; and especially Rawlinson's *Herodotus*).

The Bible also abounds in topographical details regarding Palestine and the countries adjoining. These are, in many instances, minute and singularly graphic. Sacred geography may be said to embrace the whole world. It belongs, however, especially to Mesopotamia, Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy; while its main interest is concentrated on Palestine and the Peninsula of Sinai (Stanley, *S. and P.*, x.) Those Oriental travellers and residents who have had the fullest opportunities of judging, and who have become distinguished for their powers of accurate observation, have repeatedly testified to the faithfulness of Bible descriptions, and the minute accuracy of Bible topography (See Robinson, *B. R.*, preface; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, dedication; Stanley, *S. and P.*; Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, preface). The writer of this article can bear personal testimony to the same facts; and as he has visited nearly every known Scripture site in Syria and Palestine, and most of those in Asia Minor and Europe, he can speak with some degree of confidence. For fulness of detail in topography, for graphic sketches of scenery, for minute accuracy in the description of natural products, peculiarities of climate, and manners and customs, no history, ancient or modern, can be compared with the Bible.

While geographical allusions are spread over the whole Bible, there are a few books which demand special notice. Genesis, in addition to the narrative of creation, sketches the establishment of the primeval empires and cities, and then the travels of the patriarchs in Canaan. In Numbers and Deuteronomy we have accounts of the peninsula of Sinai, Edom, Moab, Gilead, and Bashan. Joshua is geographically one of the most remarkable books in the Bible. Ten chapters of it are devoted to a description of Palestine, in which not only are its general features and boundaries care-

fully laid down, but the names and situations of its towns and villages enumerated with a precision of geographical terms which invites and almost compels a minute investigation* (Stanley, *Prof.*) In Daniel we have a few notices of Babylon, and a prophetic allusion to the Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman empires. The first three gospels contain notices of the towns, people, and products of Galilee. The topographical notices of John are confined chiefly to Judæa. The references in the Acts of the Apostles extend to Northern Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy.

The Hebrews do not seem to have devoted any attention to geography as a science, though they were widely scattered at the commencement of our era, and occupied a distinguished place in literature. The Greeks probably led the way in systematic geography. The first map is said to have been constructed by Anaximander, about B.C. 600. Nearly a century later Hecataeus of Miletus wrote a geographical work entitled *Πελοδος γῆς* (Ukert, *Geographie des Heec. und Damasces*). These were followed by Strabo and Ptolemy. The Phœnicians and Egyptians were likewise distinguished as geographers. Ptolemy acknowledges that his great work was based on a treatise written by Marinus of Tyre (Heeren, *Commentatio de Fontibus Geographicorum Ptolemæi, etc.*) Pliny, the only Roman writer deserving of special mention in this place, was a mere compiler. As a geography his book is of little value (See Ukert, *Geographie d. Griech. u. Römer*; Mannert, *Geographie, etc.*) Sacred geography was not reduced to a system until a comparatively recent time. The *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome is an alphabetic list of places, with brief descriptions. The Tract of Brocardus, written in the 13th century, is little more than an itinerary. To Samuel Bochart, a French Protestant minister (born 1599), belongs the honour of writing the first systematic work on Biblical geography. His *Geographia Sacra* is a storehouse of learning from which all subsequent writers have drawn freely. Well's wrote his *Historical Geography of the O. and N. T.* in the beginning of last century. Reland's *Palæstina*, published in 1714, remains to this day the standard classic work. Dr. Robinson's *Researches* opened a new era in Biblical geography. It, however, is neither complete nor systematic; it is only a book of travels, with most important historical and geographical illustrations. Ritter's *Palästina und Syrien* aims at system and completeness, but it is too diffuse. It gives a résumé of everything that has been written on Bible lands. A systematic and thorough treatise on Biblical geography is still a great desideratum in our country's literature.

It is of importance to the Biblical student to have placed before him a condensed list of the more important works bearing on the subject of sacred geography. Such a list will now be given. It has been compiled with much care. To enumerate all the books written on Bible lands would be practically useless. Many of them have no value beyond the entertainment they may afford. Many are mere repetitions of their predecessors. The works given below are such only as the writer has found really useful. The dates attached are those of the editions in his possession, and to which reference is made in the geographical articles prepared for this work. More extended lists may be seen in

Robinson's *B. R.* ii.; Kitto's *Physical Geography of Palestine*. For facility of reference the list is divided into three classes.

1. *Ancient and Medieval writers who have incidentally furnished information on Sacred Geography.* (1) *Jewish*—The *Apocrypha*; Josephus, *Opera*, ed. Hudson, 2 vols. fol. 1720; Traill's translation of the *Wars* (2 vols. 1851) contains important notes and illustrations. (2) *Heathen*—Herodotus, especially Rawlinson's translation, 4 vols. 1858-60; Strabo, *Geographia*, ed. Casaubon, 1587; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, ed. Sillig, 5 vols. 1831-36. Dio Cassius (1752, Hamburg) gives some short notes on Palestine. The few remarks in Tacitus and Livy are of little value. (3) *Christian*—Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomon, and Theodoret, in *Historia Eccles. Scriptores Græci*, 3 vols. fol. 1695; Jerome, *Opera*, ed. Migne, 9 vols. 8vo; Theodoret, *Opera*, ed. Migne, 5 vols. In the exegetical writings of Jerome and Theodoret are some useful notes; they both resided in Palestine. William of Tyre, *Historia Belli Sacri*; James de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, etc.—These two works, with several others, are contained in Bongers's *Gesta Dei per Francos*, fol. 1611. *Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. Bohn, 1848, containing Richard of Devizes, Geoffrey de Vinsauf, and De Joinville.

2. *Geographical Works and Itineraries.*—Ptolemy, *Geographia*, fol. 1535; *Tabula Pentingeriana*, a rude chart of the Roman empire, made in the 3d century. Reland gives the part including Palestine. Eusebius and Jerome, *Onomasticon Urbium et Locorum S. Scripture*, ed. Clerico, fol. 1707 [last ed. by Larsow and Parthey, Ber. 1862]; *Vetere Romanorum Itineraria*, ed. Wesselingio, 1735, containing the important itineraries of the Bourdeaux pilgrim, and of Antonine, with *Synecdæmon* of Hierocles; Edrisi, *Geographia Universalis*, in Rosenmüller's *Analecta Arabica*, 1828; Topographical Index in *Bohadinii Vita et Res Geste Saladani*, ed. Schultens, fol. 1732; Brocardus, *Locorum Terra San. Descriptio*, ed. Clerico, appended to the *Onomasticon*, fol. 1707; Abulfeda, *Tabula Syriaca*, 1766; Bochart, *Opera*, ed. Leusden et Villemandy, 3 vols. fol. 1712; Sanson, *Geographia Sacra*, ed. Clerico, fol. 1704; Caroli A. S. Paulo, *Geographia Sacra*, ed. Holsten, fol. 1704; Cellarius, *Notitia Orbis Antiqui*, 2 vols. 4to, 1701-5; Wells, *Historical Geography of the O. and N. T.*, 2 vols. 1819; Reland, *Palestina ex monumentis veteribus Illustrata*, 2 vols. 4to, 1714; Busching, *Erdbeschreibung Palästina, Arabien, etc.*, 1785; Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, 2 vols. 1847-48; Rosenmüller, *Bib. Geogr. of Central Asia*, by Morren, 2 vols. 1836; Raumer, *Palästina*, 1850; Forster, *Historical Geography of Arabia*, 2 vols. 1844; Rohr, *Historico-Geographical account of Palestine*, 1843; Ritter, *Die Sinai-Halbinsel, Palästina und Syrien*, 4 vols. in six parts, 1848-55; Kitto, *Physical Geography of Palestine*, 2 vols. 1841; Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, 2 vols. 4to, 1855; Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 2d ed. 1856; Porter, *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*, 2 vols. 1858; Van de Velde, *Memoir of Map of Palestine*, 1858.

3. *Books of Travel.*—Wright's *Early Travels in Palestine*, 1848, containing among others Arculf, Sæwulf, Benjamin of Tudela, Maundeville, and Maundrell; Cotovius, *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, 1619; Quaresmius, *Historia Theologica et Moralit Terræ Sanctæ Elucidatio*, 2 vols. fol., 1639;

D'Arvieux, *Travels in Arabia the Desert*, 1732; Shaw, *Travels in Barbary and the Levant*, 2 vols. 1808; Pococke, *Description of the East*, 2 vols. fol., 1743-45; Hasselquist, *Travels in the Levant*, 1766; Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia*, 2 vols. 1792; Volney, *Voyage en Syrie*, etc., 2 vols., Paris, 1807; Ali Bey, *Travels in Morocco, Egypt, Syria*, etc., 2 vols. 4to, 1816; Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien Palästina*, etc., 3 vols. 1854-55; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, 4to, 1822; *Travels in Arabia*, 4to, 1829; *Notes on the Bedouin and Wahabys*, 4to, 1830; *Travels in Nubia*, 4to, 1822; Buckingham, *Travels in Palestine*, 4to, 1822; *Travels among the Arab Tribes*, 4to, 1825; Irby and Mangles, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria, and Asia Minor*, etc., 1822; Laborde, *Journey through Arabia-Petræa to Sinai and Petra*, 1838; Lord Lindsay, *Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land*, 2 vols. 1838; Addison, *Damascus and Palmyra*, 2 vols. 1838; Bowring, *Report on Statistics of Syria*, 1840; Williams, *The Holy City*, 2 vols. 1849; Bartlett, *Forty Days in the Desert*, 5th ed.; *Walks about Jerusalem*; *Jerusalem Revisited*, 1855; *Footsteps of our Lord and his Apostles*, 1852; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, 2 vols. 1847; Tobler, *Bethlehem*, 1849; *Topographie von Jerusalem und seinen Umgebungen*, 2 vols. 1853-54; Lynch, *Official Report of Expedition to Explore the Dead Sea*, etc., 4to, 1852; *Narrative of Expedition*, etc., London, 1855; De Saulcey, *Narrative of Journey round the Dead Sea*, etc., 2 vols. 1853; Van de Velde, *Narrative of Journey through Syria and Palestine*, 2 vols. 1854; Lepsius, *Discoveries in Egypt, the Peninsula of Sinai*, etc., 1853; Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine in 1838-52*, 2d ed., 3 vols. 1856; Porter, *Five Years in Damascus, Researches in Palmyra, Lebanon, and Bashan*, 2 vols. 1855; Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, 1849; *Nineveh and Babylon*, 1853; Loftus, *Chaldaea and Susiana*, 1857; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 1856; Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, Lond. 1860. In addition to the above, important articles on Biblical Geography and Topography may be seen in various numbers of the *American Bibliotheca Sacra*, the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, and the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, by Robinson, Thomson, Porter, Rawlinson, Layard, Wallin, Poole, Ainsworth, and others.

Maps.—The best small maps are those in Robinson's *Researches* and Porter's *Handbook*; Van de Velde's large map of Palestine is the most complete and accurate hitherto published.—J. L. P.

GEON. [GIHON.]

GEORGI, CHRISTIAN SIEGMUND, born at Luckau in 1702, was professor of theology at Wittenberg, where he died, September 2, 1771. He took a prominent part in the controversy between the Purists and the Hebraists, and published a considerable number of dissertations in support of the views maintained by the former party. Of these the most important are included in the following works:—1. *Vindiciarum N. T. ab ebraismis libri tres quibus quidquid ebraismi a Thomâ Gatakero, Io. Vorstio, Io. Oleario reliquis græcæ novæ fœderis dictioni est adjectum, tum argumentis, tum testimoniiis ex probatissima antiquitate græcæ erutis diluitur*, Francof. et Lips. 1732, 4to. 2. *Hierocriticus N. T. sive de stylo N. T. libri tres, quibus dialectus novæ fœderis attica a Phrynichii, Thomæ magistri, Cl. Salmasii, etc., reliquorum depravati-*

omibus liberatur atque ab idiotismis, ionismis, doris-mis, æolismis, bæotismis, syro-chaldaïsmis, rabbinis-mis et persismis vindicatur, Witt. et Lips. 1733, 4to. 3. *Hierocritici novi fœderis pars secunda, sive controversiarum de latinismis N. T. libri tres.*, Witt. et Lips. 1733, 4to. Of his other Biblical works the following may be mentioned: 4. An edition of the Greek Testament with theological and philological notes, Witten. 1736, 8vo. 5. *Dissertatio de beati Lutheri versione biblicorum germanica omnium optima*, Witt. 1737. 6. *De corruptione canonis sacri impossibili*, Witt. 1742, 4to. 7. *Apparatus theologicus, philologicus ad Evangelia*, 4 vols. Lips. Vol. I. 1745; ii. 1747; iii. 1750; iv. 1757; 4to. This work is highly commended by Walch (*Bibl. Theol.* iv. p. 1043).—S. N.

GEORGIAN LANGUAGE. The Georgian language, which is also spoken by the Mingralians, Lazians, and the Suani, belongs to the Iberian family. The chief characteristics of it are as follows. Its alphabet consists of thirty-five letters, it has no articles, the substantives have eight cases and no genders, the adjectives, when associated with nouns, are indeclinable, but when they stand by themselves are declined; the comparative is formed by the prefix *u* and the suffix *si*, and cardinals are obtained by prefixing *me* to the ordinals. It possesses eight conjugations with several minor subdivisions, and the different persons are indicated by terminations and personal prefixes; it has several forms for the preterite and the future tenses, and only one form for the present tense; three modes, viz., indicative, imperative, and the participle, and supplies the place of the infinitive by a *nomen verbale*; it has postpositions governing different cases, in addition to the prepositions, and can multiply verbs to any extent by the terminations *deba* and *da*, form abstracts from adjectives by the terminations *oba* and *eba*, as well as active personal nouns, adjectives—both active and passive—and diminutives, by various terminations and prefixes, and its construction allows many liberties. From the venerable old Georgian language a dialect developed itself, in the course of time, by the introduction into it of many Armenian, Greek, Turkish, and other foreign words, and by the viciation of the pronunciation and spelling of many expressions. The two dialects have distinct alphabets, the alphabet in which the old Georgian is written is called *Kuzuri*, i.e., the sacred, and consists of the letters invented by Miesrob, and the alphabet of the modern Georgian is called *K'uduuli*, and is supposed to have been invented by the Georgians themselves in the 14th century. The old language is the ecclesiastical or literary, and is employed in all sacred and literary writings, whilst the modern is the civil dialect, or the dialect of common life (*lingua vulgaris*); comp. *Ersch und Gruber's Encyclopædie*, s. v. *Georgier*, p. 192; Eichhorn, *Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Literatur*, vol. i., p. 156, ff.—C. D. G.

GEORGIAN VERSION, THE, is one of the oldest versions of the Bible extant.

1. *Name, date, and source of this version.*—The Georgians call their Bible by different names—1. *Bibbia*, i.e., the Bible. 2. *Zminda Zerili*, the Holy Scripture. 3. *Samkto Zerili*, the divine Scriptures. 4. *Zighni Zuclisa da akalio aghikmisa*, the books of the O. and N. T.; and 5. *Dabadaba*, Genesis, after the first book of the Bible. The

version is supposed to have been made about A.D. 570, when the Georgians, stimulated by the example of the Armenians [ARMENIAN VERSION], sent young men of talent to Greece to study the Greek language, who, on their return, translated the Scriptures and liturgical books of the Greek Church. The translation of the O. T. is made from the Septuagint, and of the N. T. from Greek MSS. of the Constantinopolitan family, and is composed in the ecclesiastical or ancient dialect [GEORGIAN LANGUAGE].

2. *Text and editions of the version.*—This venerable version has shared in all the troubles to which Georgia has been subject. The entire books of Maccabees and Ecclesiasticus were lost in the many revolutions of the country, passages disappeared from different parts of the volume, and the whole text got into a state of confusion. It was only in the beginning of the 18th century that Prince Vaktangh published at Tiflis the Psalms, the Prophets, and the New Testament, and split up the text into chapters and verses. Shortly after Prince Arcil, uncle of Prince Vaktangh, who fled from Kartel to Russia, undertook a revision of this version, making it conformable to the Russian translation as it then was, and divided it only into chapters, because the Russian translation was divided into chapters only. But this prince only lived to carry through the revision from Genesis to the Prophets, and to translate from the Russian Bible the lost books of Maccabees and Ecclesiasticus. His son, Prince Vakuset, was, however, induced by the solicitations of his brother, Prince Bachar, and the Georgian clergy resident in Russia, to continue the work of revision. He made the text conform still more to the Russian translation, newly revised according to the command of Peter the Great, supplied from this translation all the passages which were wanting in the Georgian version, made also the portions which his father had published conformable to this translation, and divided the whole into chapters and verses. He had Georgian types cast at Moscow, and at once began printing in that city; the correction of the press he committed to four native Georgians, and the first edition of the entire Georgian Bible appeared in 1743, Prince Bachar, brother of the editor, defraying the entire expense. From this edition the Moscow Bible Society reprinted the N. T. in 1816 under the superintendence of the Georgian Metropolitan Ion and of Archbishop Pafnut, with types cast from the very matrices which had been used for the former edition, and which had escaped the conflagration of the city at the time of Napoleon's invasion. Another edition was published in 1818 in the civil character. It is said that there have appeared more recent additions of various portions of this version both at Tiflis and in Russia, but there is no particular account of them.

3. *Critical value of the version.*—The value of this version, in a critical point of view, has been greatly impaired by the corruptions which it has suffered during the centuries of political changes to which the country has been exposed, and especially by the endeavour of its editors to make it conform to the Russian translation. It must not, however, be supposed that its value is entirely gone. Both Tischendorf (*N. T. Græc.* ed. 2d, præf. p. lxxviii.) and Mr. Malan regard it as a good auxiliary to the criticism of the Greek text. In-

deed Mr. Malan, who has published an English translation of the Georgian version of St. John's Gospel, goes so far as to say that 'it differs from the Slavonic in many places in which it might be expected to agree, it has a character of its own, is a faithful version, and valuable for criticism' (*The Gospel according to St. John, translated from the eleven oldest versions, etc., by the Rev. S. C. Malan, M.A.*, Lond. 1862, p. ix. note 3).

4. *Literature*.—A very interesting treatise on this version, containing a brief account of its history and publication, from the preface of Prince Vaktangh, was communicated by Professor Adler of Copenhagen to Eichhorn, who published it in his *Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Literatur*, vol. i. p. 153 ff., and afterwards reprinted it in his *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, vol. ii. sec. 318, b, etc. Dr. Henderson, who had visited both Georgia and Russia, could do no more in his *Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia*, Lond. 1826, p. 518, etc., than give a literal translation of this account. A valuable work has also been published by Franz Carl Alter, entitled *Ueber Georgische Literatur*, Wien, 1798, in which is given an extensive collation of the various readings from both the O. and the N. T.—C. D. G.

GEPHEN. [VINE.]

GERA (גֵּרָא; Sept. Γῆρα), one of the *Eney-Bin-yamin* enumerated Gen. xlv. 21, as alive at the time of Jacob's going down into Egypt. In this list he appears as if collateral with Bela, but from 1 Chron. viii. 3 it appears that he was Bela's son, and so the LXX. correct it here. In this latter list the name Gera occurs three times among the sons of Benjamin (ver. 3, 5, 7). The whole passage is somewhat confused, and it has been supposed that all the three are to be resolved into one, the son of Bela. There was, however, a Gera later than this one among the descendants of Benjamin, Gera, the father of Ehud (Judg. iii. 15); and he may be one of the three here mentioned. In the list of Benjamin's posterity given (Num. xxvi. 38-40), Gera does not appear; an omission which some have accounted for on the ground that he had no children, others on the ground that he was not the head of a house, and so is included in the Belaites, both of which reasons may be coalesced into one. On the discrepancies in the Benjamite rolls see art. BECHER.—W. L. A.

GERAH (גֵּרָח; Sept. ὀβολός), the smallest piece of money among the Hebrews. Twenty made a shekel; one of them would therefore be worth three halfpence, according to the present value of silver (Exod. xxx. 13).

GERAR (גֵּרָר; Sept. Γέραρα), a town and district on the southernmost borders of Palestine, in the country of the Philistines, and not far from Gaza. It was visited by Abraham after the destruction of Sodom (Gen. xx. 1), and by Isaac when there was a dearth in the rest of Canaan (Gen. xxvi. 1). The incidents of their sojourn shew that the district was very fertile. It was the seat of the first Philistine kingdom we read of, and gave name to it. The intercourse, differences, and alliances of the Hebrew fathers with the king and people of Gerar form a very curious and interesting portion of patriarchal history. It was still

an important place in later times, as we may gather from 2 Chron. xiv. 13, 14. According to the ancient accounts Gerar lay in or near a valley, which appears to be no other than the great Wady Sheriah (or one of the branches of it), that comes down from Beersheba; besides we know that it was in the land of the Philistines, and that it was not far from Beersheba when Isaac resided there (Gen. xxvi. 1, 20, 23; 26-33; comp. xx. 1). The name continued to exist (perhaps as a matter of tradition) for several centuries after the Christian era. Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.*, s. v. Gerara) place it twenty-five Roman miles southward from Eleutheropolis; and Sozomen (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 32; ix. 17) reports that a large and celebrated monastery stood there near a winter torrent. The abbot Silvanus resided there towards the end of the 4th century, and the name of Marcion, bishop of Gerar, appears among the signatures of the council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451. The name seems to have been afterwards lost, and Dr. Robinson was unable to discover any traces of it in the locality. Some local information respecting it may be seen in the Chevalier Van de Velde's *Narrative of a Journey through Syria and Palestine*.—J. K.

GERARD, GILBERT, D.D., was a native of Aberdeen, and received his education there. After spending some time as pastor of the Scotch Church at Amsterdam, he became Professor of Greek in King's College, Aberdeen, and in 1795 he became Professor of Divinity. He died in 1815. He wrote *Institutes of Biblical Criticism*; or *Heads of the Course of Lectures on the subject read in the University, King's College of Aberdeen*, 2d ed. Edin. 1808. The greater part of the first edition of this work was lost at sea. For the time at which it appeared this was a remarkable work. Bp. Marsh, says 'of general and elementary treatises there is none which is more to be recommended either for perspicuity or correctness than the *Institutes of Biblical Criticism*' of Dr. Gerard (*Lectures*, p. 169). A still more recent writer ascribes to it 'learning, ability, reflection, and research. His positions,' it is added, 'are generally sound and judicious, the arrangement good, the examples appropriate' (Davidson, *Hermeneutics*, p. 710). It may be added that the work contains very numerous references to authorities, which greatly enhance its value.—W. L. A.

GERASA, now JERASH (not named in the Bible*), was in the Decapolis, and formed the eastern boundary of Peraea. It lay on elevated ground, according to Ptolemy, in 68° 15' = 31° 45'. Its inhabitants were mostly heathen (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* i. 4. 8; iii. 3. 3; comp. iv. 9. 1; ii. 18. 5). Origen speaks of it as a city of Arabia (Γέρασα τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐστὶν πόλις), which arose from the fact that it was a border city of Peraea, and lay next to Arabia. After the Roman conquests in the East, the country in which Garasa lies became one of their favourite colonies, and ten principal cities were built on the east of the Jordan, giving the name of Decapolis to the land in which they stood. Garasa was one, but not the greatest of these. The place

* [Some codices and other authorities read Γερασῶν in Matt. viii. 28; and so it stands in Lachmann's text. Scholz and Tischendorf, however, have Γαδαραῶν; see reason for preferring this in Meyer, *Krit. Exeg. Commentar.* i. p. 185.]

was taken by storm by Alexander Jannæus, who was actuated by a desire of gaining a large treasure (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* i. 4. 8; *Antiq.* viii. 2. 3). Alexander died near it while besieging Regaba



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(*Antiq.* xiii. 15. 5). Before the place had time to recover from this calamity, it was included among the number of those cities which were burnt by the enraged Jews in their vengeance on the Syrians, and on the Roman power generally, for the massacre of a number of their nation at Cæsarea (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 18. 1). A terrible revenge was taken by other cities, but Gerasa is honourably excepted (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 18. 5). Annianus, general under Vespasian, took the city; 'after which he set fire to their houses,' 'and what was remaining was all burnt down' (*De Bell. Jud.* iv. 9. 1). Gibbon enumerates this city among the line of fortresses from Bosra to Petra, which formed the frontier of the Syrian provinces in the lower empire. Baldwin II. of Jerusalem destroyed its castle in the year 1122 (Will. Tyr. p. 825; *Histor. Hierosol.* p. 615). This was the native place of Nicomachus Gerasenus. Coins of Gerasa may be seen in Eckhel (*Num. Vet.* iii. 350). Its ruins were first discovered by Seetzen, and have often been subsequently visited. They have been pronounced superior to those of Palmyra.

On approaching Gerasa on the southern side, Buckingham first saw a triumphal gateway, nearly entire, which was of the Corinthian order. Within this gateway, on the left, he observed a fine naumachia for the exhibition of sea-fights, the channels for filling which with water were still visible. Corn was growing near it. Passing on amid heaps of ruined fragments, he came to a second gateway. Entering the city through this its southern gate, he came into a large and beautiful circular colonnade of the Ionic order, having passed a peripteral temple, above which, on the left, was an open theatre. A long avenue of columns of the Corinthian order led through the whole length of the city. Climbing over huge masses of falling columns and masonry he noticed four columns on each side of the way of much greater size and height than the rest. Beyond this he came to a square, apparently once lined on both sides by an avenue of columns. He afterwards came to a portion of a semi-circular temple. A broken altar was near the ruins, on which was made out the name of Marcus Aurelius. Beyond this again were temples, colon-

nades, theatres, bridges, aqueducts, etc. These remarks will give an idea of the magnificence of these ruins, particularly when we add that the northern exit is a mile apart from the southern entrance. A necropolis lies not far from the northern wall, in which were found nearly a hundred sculptured sarcophagi above ground, having the appearance of having been ransacked for treasure. Near the necropolis were the remains of a small temple. The city stood on the facing slopes of two opposite hills, but, from the neighbouring heights, it appears to be seated in the hollow of a deep valley, encircled on all sides by lofty and verdant mountains. Near this spot is the modern village of Aioode. Some inscriptions found on the ruins may be seen in Buckingham's *Travels in Palestine*, p. 405.—J. R. B.

GERGESA (Γεργеса; Γεργασήνους). The reading of the *Textus Receptus* in Matt. viii. 28 is Γεργασήνους; 'and when he was come . . . into the country of the *Gergesenes*.' Origen says a city called Gergesa anciently stood on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee (*Opera*, ed. 'De la Rue, iv. 240); and that beside it was shewn the precipice down which the swine rushed. The nature of Origen's argument makes this statement very doubtful. It looks like a bold hypothesis to get over a difficulty (See Alford, *in loc.*) Gergesa, however, is also mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome. The latter thus writes:—'Hodieque super montem viculus demonstratur juxta stagnum Tyberiadis in quod porci præcipitati sunt' (*Onomast.* s. v.) Thomson thinks he has discovered Gergesa at a ruin called *Kersa* or *Gersa*, on the bank of Wady Semak, east of the lake. He describes it as 'within a few rods of the shore, and an immense mountain rises directly above it, in which are ancient tombs. . . . The lake is so near the base of the mountain, that the swine rushing madly down it could not stop, but would be hurried on into the water and drowned' (*The Land and the Book*, p. 375). It has been stated above (s. v. GADARA) that the reading Γαδαρηνών has the highest authority, and consequently these conjectures are very doubtful (see, however, Elliott's *Lectures on the Life of our Lord*, 188, note; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 311; Reland, 502, 807).—J. L. P.

GERGESENES. [GADARA.]

GERHARD, JOHN, a learned Lutheran theologian of the 16th century, was born at Quedlinburg, the 17th October 1582. After receiving much benefit from the spiritual instructions of John Arndt at a time of mental depression and bodily disease, he repaired to the university of Wittenberg in 1599, where he studied philosophy and attended theological lectures; but was afterwards induced to study medicine contrary to his own inclination. His decided bent towards theology, however, soon prevailed. From Wittenberg he went to Jena, and devoted himself to the study of the Scriptures, the fathers, and Hebrew. Some time after he repaired to Marburg, then the most famous university for Lutheran theology. Leaving Marburg he returned to Jena, and was appointed superintendent of Heldburg in his twenty-fourth year. In 1615 he accepted a call to Jena, where he lived and laboured as theological professor and author during the remainder of his life. Great was his theological activity, and distin-

guished the reputation he acquired. Kings, princes, and dukes did him honour, consulting him on all matters, ecclesiastical and others. He received no fewer than twenty-four invitations to other places, but declined them all. His death took place on the 20th August 1637, when he was but fifty-five years of age. His health was never good; and he led a life of incessant activity, exercising great influence over the religious history of his own country. Gerhard was a modest, pious, peace-loving man, who had largely imbibed the spirit of his divine Master. Passing by his works on doctrinal and practical theology, which are very numerous, we may mention those belonging to the department of exegesis, of which the chief is his *Commentarius in harmoniam hist. evangel. de passione et resurrectione Christi*, 1617, 4to, a completion of the work begun by Chemnitz and continued by Lyser. His *Commentarius in Genesin* was published after his death, 1637, 4to; his *Commentarius in Deuteronomium*, 1638, 4to; *Adnotationes in Epistolam ad Romanos*, 1666, 4to; in *Epistolam ad Colossenses*, 1660, 4to; in *utramque Epistolam ad Timotheum*, 1643, 4to; *Adnotationes in evangelium Matthæi*, 1663, 4to; in *Acta apostolorum*, 1669, 4to; *Adnotationes in Psalmos v. priores et in prophetas Amos et Jonam*, 1663, 4to; *Adnotatt. in Epistolam Judæ*, *Adnotatt. in Epistolam ad Hebræos*, 1641, 1661, 4to; *Comment. super 1 et 2 Epistolam Petri*, 1641, 4to; *De Sacra Scriptura interpretatione*, 1610, 4to; *Exegesis locorum theologicorum*, 1625, 4to. He collected his correspondence with scholars and royal or distinguished persons in twelve large volumes.—S. D.

GERIZIM (גֵּרִיזִים; Sept. Γαριζὴν, Alex. Γαριζήν).

This mountain has obtained great celebrity from the fact of its having been the sanctuary of the Samaritans from about the fourth century B.C. till the present time. In the O. T. it is only referred to in connection with two events. When the Israelites entered Palestine the tribes assembled, in obedience to the commands of the Lord given by Moses, in the valley between the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim. There the law was read in the presence of the whole people, with the blessings and the curses attached to it. Six tribes, ranged along the slopes of Ebal, when the curses were read, pronounced with one voice the response, AMEN. Six tribes, ranged along the slopes of Gerizim, facing the former, when the blessings were read, responded AMEN. Moses had said, 'Thou shalt put the blessing upon Mount Gerizim and the curse upon Mount Ebal' (Deut. xi. 29; xxvii. 12; Josh. viii. 33). The difficulties, geographical and topographical, connected with this event, have been stated and solved in the article EBAL; and there, also, a description of the features of the mountain is given. The only other episode in O. T. history with which the name of Gerizim is connected, is the striking parable of Jotham, in which he exposes the folly of the Shechemites in choosing Abimelech for their ruler, and predicts the judgments in store for them on account of their ingratitude to the family of Jerubbael his father. The city of Shechem stood in the valley close along the base of Gerizim, the side of which rose over it in bold precipices of naked limestone. On the crest of one of those cliffs Jotham took his stand; and there, in the hearing of the people below, he spake his parable. The ascent is so difficult that ere any of the followers of Abimelech could climb the hill, he would be far

away among the defiles of the neighbouring mountains (Judg. ix.)

Canon Stanley and others have attempted to prove that Gerizim was one of the very earliest sanctuaries in this country. He says, 'It is in the highest degree probable that here, and not at Jerusalem, was the point to which the oldest recollections of Palestine pointed as the scene of Abraham's encounter with Melchizedek, and the sacrifice of Isaac' (S. and P. 234). His arguments in favour of the former are far from being conclusive. The traditions of the Samaritans have little weight; and one cannot see why Abraham should have brought the rescued women and children, flocks and herds, and heavy plunder of the cities of the plain, all the way round to Gerizim. His natural route from Dan or Damascus was along the east bank of the Jordan to the plain of Sodom. And the narrative leads to the conclusion that he was going direct towards Sodom when the king 'went out to meet him.' This would place the 'valley of Shaveh' near, or in, the Jordan valley (Gen. xiv. 17; compare 2 Sam. xviii. 18; see, however, Stanley, S. and P. 246).

That Gerizim was the mountain in 'the land of Moriah,' on which Abraham was commanded to offer up Isaac, seems to be simply impossible. Abraham was undoubtedly at Beersheba when he received the command (compare Gen. xxi. 33, and xxii. 1-3, 19). It appears from the narrative that, on the third day, he reached the place, offered the sacrifice, and returned to the spot where he had left his servants. The distance from Beersheba to Gerizim is about 70 geographical miles, as the crow flies; which, in such a country, will give 90 of actual travel. Abraham's servants were on foot, carrying wood; Isaac was also on foot, and Abraham rode an ass; they could not, therefore, have travelled such a distance (see MORIAH).

The subsequent history of Gerizim is intimately connected with that of the Samaritans (SAMARITANS). The circumstances which led to the choice of this mountain as a holy place are alluded to by Nehemiah (xiii. 28), and fully stated by Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. 8. 2). A son of Joiada the high-priest had married a daughter of Sanballat the Persian Satrap, and was consequently excluded from the priest's office, and expelled from Jerusalem. Sanballat thereupon built a temple on Gerizim, and made his son-in-law high-priest there. He thought thus to divide the Jewish nation; and though unsuccessful in that, he attached the Samaritans to Gerizim, and excited a lasting enmity between them and the Jews (*cir.* B.C. 420). This temple was destroyed by the Jews under John Hyrcanus (*Antiq.* xiii. 9. 1, *cir.* B.C. 129). There is no evidence that it was ever rebuilt, though the Samaritans continued to worship on the spot. This illustrates our Lord's discourse with the woman of Sichar at Jacob's well. The well is situated in the opening of the valley between Ebal and Gerizim, close to the base of the latter; and from its mouth, where Jesus sat, the ruins of the temple on the summit were visible. How natural was the woman's question on finding He was a prophet, 'Our fathers worshipped in this mountain, etc.?' pointing, doubtless, both to the mountain and to the ruined sanctuary on its summit (John iv. 20). Gerizim continued to be both a stronghold and holy place to the population of Shechem for several centuries; as upon the coins of the city we find both mount and temple depicted

(Reland, 1006). In A.D. 487 the Samaritans were driven from Gerizim, and a Christian church was erected on the site of their holy place. This building was frequently attacked by the enraged people, and the emperor Justinian, in order to defend it against them, caused it to be surrounded by a fortress (Procopius, *de Edific. Justin.* v. 7; Reland, *l. c.*) It appears that after the Mohammedan conquest both church and fortress fell to ruin; and the Samaritans were permitted to return to their old sanctuary, where they have ever since continued to worship, though there is neither temple nor altar on the spot.

The top of Gerizim is now covered with massive ruins, at one corner of which is a small Mohammedan Wely, with a white dome, visible over a large section of central Palestine. The ruins are evidently those of Justinian's fortress. The walls are thick, the masonry massive, and at the angles are square towers. In the foundations of the western wall there are some ten or twelve large stones, and beneath these tradition places the 'twelve stones' brought up by the Israelites from the bed of the Jordan (Josh. iv.) A little to the south of the ruins is a smooth surface of natural rock, oval-shaped, and declining towards an excavated pit. This is the Samaritan 'Holy of Holies,' toward which they turn in prayer. The spot where they assemble to eat the passover is about 200 yards distant down the western slope of the mountain. The writer was present at their feast in 1858. The whole community were assembled. The lambs, previously selected, were killed. A deep circular pit, lined with rude masonry, was then heated with wood like an oven. The lambs were taken and suspended to a stick laid across the mouth of the pit. The whole was then covered over and allowed to remain so till the flesh was roasted (Exod. xii. 9). All the Samaritans, men, women, and children, except such as are ceremonially unclean, partake of the flesh. They eat it 'in haste, with their loins girded, their shoes on their feet, and their staves in their hand (ver. 11). For more detailed accounts of Gerizim, consult Reland, *Pal.* 1004, sq.; Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 276, sq.; *Handbook for S. and P.*, 337; De Saulcey, *Journey*, etc., ii. 323; Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 476.—J. L. P.

GERLACH, OTTO VON, born at Berlin in 1801; became in 1834 pastor of the St. Elizabeth Church in the suburbs of that city; was advanced to be Consistorialrath and Domprediger in 1847; and died 24th Oct. 1849. His energies were expended principally on the practical duties of his office; but he found time also for some literary effort. His most important work is his *Heilige Schrift nach Luther's Uebersetzung mit Einleitungen und erklärenden Anmerkungen*, 6 vols. 8vo, 1847-53, of which the 4th vol., concluding the O. T., is the production of Dr. Schmieder of Wittenberg. This work, intended chiefly for family use, has been extensively circulated in Germany, and a portion of it has been translated into English (*Commentary on the Pentateuch*, Edin. 1860). He published also *Vollständige Auswahl der Hauptschriften Luther's mit Anmerkungen, Einleitungen und Registern*, 24 vols. 1848, 2d edit.—W. L. A.

GERMAN VERSIONS. There is no certain trace of any attempt to translate the Scriptures into the vernacular dialects of the German people

previous to the latter half of the ninth century. Though Charlemagne enjoined upon his clergy the study of the Bible and the delivering of expositions of it to the people in the vulgar tongue, there is no evidence for the assertion hazarded by Ussher (*De Script. Vernac.*, p. 109) and others that German versions of the Bible were made by his order; nor is the statement that a Saxon poet had, by order of his son Lewis, versified the whole Bible (Flacius Ill. *Catal. Test.*, p. 93) better supported. It is to the poetical narratives of the life of our Saviour which appeared after the middle of the 9th century, that the beginnings of Biblical translation among the Germans are to be traced. The *Krist* of Otfried of Weissenburg (ab. 860); the *Heliand*, by an unknown author, and perhaps about the same time, are the earliest documents of which anything certain can be said. Of both of these editions have been printed; the best are, of the *Krist*, that by E. G. Graff, Kön. 1831; and of the *Heliand*, those of J. A. Schmeller, with a glossary, Münch. 1840, and J. R. Köne, with a translation, Münst. 1855. Some fragments of a very ancient translation of Matthew have been published by St. Endlicher and H. Hoffmann, 1834, and by J. F. Massmann, 1841, from a codex in the library at Vienna; the dialect in this version is very rude, and, if not provincial, would seem to point to an earlier date than the ninth century. Versions of the Psalter seem to have been executed in considerable numbers in the tenth century; one of these by Notker Labeo, abbot of St. Gall, is given by Schilter (*Thes.* vol. i.), and others anonymous are to be found in Graff's *Deutsche Interlinear versionen der Psalmen*, Quad. 1839. A paraphrase of the Song of Songs in Latin verse and German prose, by William of Ebersberg in Bavaria (ab. 1080), has been edited in Schilter's *Thes.* i., and separately by Merula, Leyd. 1598, Freher, Worms 1631, and recently, with additional fragments of other parts of Scripture, by Hoffmann, Ber. 1827. This scholar has also edited, in the 2d vol. of his *Fundgruben*, a metrical translation of Genesis and part of Exodus, belonging to the same period or a little later. To the 13th century belongs the chronicle of Rudolf von Hohenems, which is a sort of poetical version of the historical parts of the O. T.; of this many MSS. exist, and an edition has been published, but from a bad text, by Schütze, Hamb. 1779. Several works of a similar kind, in which the Biblical narratives are set forth, sometimes with apocryphal additions, were produced about this time; of these one, which exists in various dialects and in numerous codices, is a version of the historical parts of Scripture in prose, composed partly from the poetical versions already extant, partly translated from the Vulgate (Massmann, *Die Kaiserchronik*, iii. 54). Formal translations from the Vulgate began now to be multiplied; of these MSS. exist, though the names of the authors have for the most part perished (Reiske, *De Verss. Germ. ante Lutherum*, 1697; Schœber, *Bericht von allen Deutschen geschriebenen Bibeln*, 1763; Rosenmüller, *Hist. Interpr.* v. 174, etc.) Out of these, though by what process we are unable to describe, came the complete version of the Bible in German, which was in the possession of the people before the invention of printing, and of which copies were multiplied to a great extent as soon as that art came into operation. Before 1477 five undated editions, the four earlier at

Mayence and Strasburg, as is believed, the fifth at Augsburg, as the book itself attests, had been printed; and between 1477 and 1522 nine editions, seven at Augsburg, one at Nuremberg, and one at Strasburg, were issued. Several editions of the Psalter also appeared, and one of the Gospels, with the Pericope from the Epistles. Collectors tell also of a translation of Ruth by Böschenstain, 1525; of Malachi by Hetzer, 1526; of Hosea by Capito, 1527, and other similar attempts (Riederer, *Nachrichten II.*, 80, ff.). An important place must be also assigned to the translation of the N. T. into Danish by Hans Mikkelsen, Leips. 1524; which, though avowedly 'ret efter latinen vdsatthe,' bears numerous traces of independence of the Vulgate, and of being made directly from the Greek (Henderson, *Dissertation on Hans Mikkelsen's N. T.*, Copenh. 1813). Of translations into low German one was printed at Cologne 1480, another at Lubeck 1498, and a third at Halberstadt 1522.

2. *Luther's Version.*—The appearance of this constitutes an epoch, not only in the history of the church, but also in that of German literature and of the German people. Luther's version is a permanent monument of the author's ability and indomitable perseverance. Luther had few helps in his arduous work. His exegetical aids were limited to the LXX., the Vulgate, a few Latin fathers, the N. T. of Erasmus, and such Hebrew as could be learned from the imperfect elementary books then extant. He had, however, valuable coadjutors in Melancthon, Bugenhagen, Jonas, Aurogallus, and Creuziger, whom he constantly consulted, especially when any difficulty occurred. He had access also to the rabbinical expositions through some learned Jews. But the main burden of the work rested with himself, and it was to his own resources he had chiefly to trust for success. Of the patient toil he bestowed upon it some idea may be formed from what he himself says of his labours on the book of Job:—'On Job, M. Philip, Aurogallus, and I, worked so that sometimes in four days we had hardly succeeded in accomplishing three lines.' With what anxious care he sought to perfect his work may be seen from the MS. of the third part of his translation, containing Job, Psalms, and the writings of Solomon, still preserved in the Royal Library at Berlin, written in his own hand, and exhibiting the corrections which he made in the style and expression before sending it to press. Not unfrequently as many as three forms of expression, and sometimes more, occur, between which he hesitated before finally fixing on the one which he would print. He spent on the work in all twelve years. The N. T., completed by him in the Wartburg, appeared in 1522; the five books of Moses (*Das Alte Testament. Deutsch. Th. I.*) in 1523; the other historical books as far as Esther (*Das A. T. Deutsch. Th. II.*) in the close of the same year; Job, Psalms, and the Solomonic writings (*Das A. T., Th. III.*) in 1524; between 1526 and 1531 several of the prophetic writings were issued, and in 1532 appeared the collective body of the Prophets as Th. IV. of *Das A. T. Deutsch.* The Book of Wisdom was issued in 1529, and the rest of the Apocryphal books in 1533 and 1534. The whole Bible was thus completed, and appeared under the title BIBLIA: d. i. die ganze heilige Schrift. Deutsch. Martin Luther. Wittenberg. Gedruckt durch Hans Lufft, 1534. (Pischon, *Die hohe Wichtigkeit der Uebersetz. der*

H. S. durch Dr. M. Luther, Berl. 1834). Of this work thirty-eight editions were printed in Germany before 1580, besides seventy-two of the N. T., and innumerable reprints of other smaller portions (Panzer, p. 336).

3. *Zürich Bible.*—This is a combination of Luther's translation of the other books with a new translation of the prophetic writings by Con. Pellican, Leo Judæ, Theod. Bibliander, etc. It appeared in 1524, and was reprinted in 1527, and twice in 1530. In 1531 another edition appeared with a new translation of the poetical books (Panzer, p. 260). The *Worms Bible*, 1529, is a work of the same kind as the Zürich Bible.

4. *Versions from Luther's Bible in the other Teutonic dialects.*—1. *Low German*, by J. Hodderesen, 1533 and often; 2. *Danish*, N. T., 1524, Bible, 1550; this is found also in Hutter's Polyglott; 3. *Swedish*, N. T. 1526, by Laurentius Andreæ, Bible, 1541, by Laurent and Olaus Petri; 4. *Islandic*, N. T. 1540, Bible 1584, by Gudb. Thorlakson, Bishop of Holum; *Dutch*, N. T. 1526, Antw., printed by Liesvelt, whence this is called the Liesvelt N. T.; the whole Bible was translated anew after Luther into Dutch by Ad. Vischer in 1648, and this is the existing authorised version for the Dutch Lutherans; 5. *Pomeranian*, 1588.

5. *Versions of the Reformed Church.*—Of these the first was the production of David Pareus, and appeared in 1579. It was superseded by that of J. Piscator in 1602, of which many editions have appeared. A translation of the N. T., by Amandus Polanus, appeared in 1603. In 1665 a new translation for the use of the Swiss Churches appeared at Zurich, the authors of which were Hottinger, Suicer, Füsslin, and others. In Holland various attempts were made to produce versions direct from the originals. In 1556 J. Uitenhoven issued the N. T., and in 1562 the whole Bible; and in 1587 appeared the Bible translated by J. Hackius, which chiefly follows the Geneva [French] Bible.

6. *Authorised Versions.*—In the year 1618 the Synod of Dort appointed a commission of 22 members to prepare a new version; this appeared in 1637, and received the authorisation of the States General. This is the authorised Dutch version. The Danish version was completed in 1607 by P. J. Resen, and in 1647 appeared with the royal sanction, after it had been carefully revised by Hans Svaning, Archbishop of Zealand. The Islandic version received its permanent form in 1644 from Thorlak Skuleson, the grandson of Thorlakson, and his successor in the episcopate. The authorised Swedish version was completed under the auspices of Gustavus III.; it consists of a revised edition of the work of Andreæ and Petri, and appeared in 1618.

7. *Roman Catholic Versions.*—The earliest of these is the N. T. of Emser, 'nach lawt der christliche Kirchen bewerten Text, etc.', sine loc. 1527, fol., Leipz. 1529, 8vo, and often since. In 1534 the Bible of Dietsenberger appeared at Mayence [DIETENBERGER]; and in 1537 that of Eck at Ingoldstadt [ECK.] Previous to these, Casper Ulenberg had translated the Bible in accordance with the Sixtine text of the Vulgate, and this translation, revised by the Jesuits at Mayence in 1661, appeared as *Die Catholische Bibel*. Revised editions were issued by Ehrhard in 1722, and by Cartier in 1751; and it has been often reprinted both with and without the

Latin text. More recent versions by Roman Catholics are those of Salzmann, Lux. 1770; Wittola, Vien. 1775; Weitenauer, Augs. 1777; Fleischutz, Fuld. 1778; Rosalino, Vien. 1781; Fischer, Prag. 1784; Braun, Vien. 1786; Lauber 1786; Mutschelle, Mun. 1789; Weyl, May 1789; Krach, Augs. 1790; Brentano, Dereser and Scholz 1790-1833 [see these names]; Babor 1805; Van Ess 1807 [Ess L. VAN]; Schnappfinger 1807; Widemann 1809; Kistemaker 1825; Scholz 1828. Of these the majority are confined to the N. T. The translations of Fischer, Braun, Van Ess, and Scholz, have been repeatedly issued. Gossner, pastor of the Bohemian Church in Berlin, published a translation of the N. T. from the Greek in 1815, which has often been reprinted.

8. *Other Versions.*—In 1630 J. Crell issued a German translation of the Bible in the interests of Socinianism; and in 1660 another, in the interests of Arminianism, was published by Jer. Felbinger. The Remonstrant party in Holland published a translation in Dutch, made by Chr. Hartsoecker, in 1680. In 1666 a Jewish translation of the O. T. into German was published by Joseph Athias; this, along with the versions of Luther, Piscator, Caspar Ulenberg, the Dutch A. V., and a version of the N. T. by J. H. Reitzen, printed in parallel columns, was published under the title of *Biblia Pentapla*, in 3 vols. 4to, Hamb. 1711. Of German versions of more recent date there are many. Those of Triller 1703; Reiz 1712; Junkherrot 1732; Heumann 1748; Bengel 1753; Michaelis 1769-85; Sillig 1778; Seiler 1783; Stolz 1795; the Berleburg Bible 1726, etc., belong to the Lutheran Church; those of Grynaeus, 3 vols. 8vo, Bas. 1776, and Voegelin Zur. 1781, to the Reformed. Belonging to the present century are the translations of Preiss 1811; Schafer 1816; Meyer 1829, [Richter and Pleissner] 1830; Boeckel 1832; Alt 1837; von der Heydt 1852; chiefly of the N. T. only. But all these yield in importance to the work of De Wette, prepared originally in conjunction with Augusti, 6 vols., Heidelb. 1809-14, subsequently wholly by himself, 3 vols., 1831-33, 4th edit. 1858. The Jewish version by Arnheim, Fürst, and Sachs, under the editorship of Zung, Berl. 1838, is also deserving of notice.

[Fritzsche in Herzog's *Real Encycl.*, iii. 334; Reuss *Gesch. d. N. T.*; *The Bible of Every Land*, etc.]—W. L. A.

GERRHENIANS (Γερρηνῶν). The inhabitants of a town which is mentioned (2 Maccab. xiii. 24) as one of the limits of the territory over which Judas Maccabæus was appointed governor by Antiochus Eupator. As the other limit, Ptolemais, is in the extreme north of Palestine, it seems as if some town in the south must be here referred to. This conjecture is confirmed by a parallel passage in 1 Maccab. xi. 59, where it is stated that Simon was appointed governor from the Ladder of Tyre (a mountain so called on the north of Ptolemais) unto the borders of Egypt, *ἕως τῶν ὁρίων Αἰγύπτου*. The requirements of the passage seem, therefore, to be fully met by the town between Pelusium and Mount Casius, called Γέρρα by Strabo (xvi., p. 760), Γέρρον by Ptolemy (iv. 5. p. 103), Gerro by Pliny (*N. H.* vi. 29), and Γέρα by Sozomen (*H. E.* viii. 19), who states that it was about 50 stadia from Pelusium. Mr. Grove (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*) objects to this identification on the ground that

Gerrha and the neighbouring coast was at this time in the possession of Egypt. To this it may be replied that the expression *ἕως τῶν Γερρηνῶν* does not imply that the Gerrehnians were included in the district described, as is shewn both by the passage already referred to (1 Maccab. xi. 59), and by the corresponding passage in Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 5. 4), where the expression used is *ἕως Αἰγύπτου*.—S. N.

GERSHOM (גֶּרְשֹׁם, *a stranger here*; * Γηρσάμ).

1. One of the two sons (the other was Eliezer) who were born to Moses in the land of Midian by Zipporah (Exod. ii. 22; xviii. 3). These sons of the great lawgiver held no other rank than that of simple Levites, while the sons of their uncle Aaron enjoyed all the privileges of the priesthood (1 Chron. xxiii. 14). The glory of being the children of such a father doubtless availed them more than the highest dignities; while the fact of Moses making no public provision for them is a collateral evidence of the divine authority under which he acted. [It is the same Gershom who is mentioned Judg. xviii. 30 as the father of Jonathan; the original reading there is *Jonathan ben Gershom, ben Moshe*; the substitution of Manasse for Moshe is accounted for in the Talmud (*Baba, Bathra*, f. 109, b) on the ground that Jonathan did the works of Manasseh, and so was ranked in his family. 2. (Γηρσώμ; Alex. Γηρσώμ) The descendant of Phinehas, and representative of his family in the time of Ezra (viii. 2).

GERSHON (גֶּרְשֹׁן, *banisher*; Sept. Γηρσών,

Γερσών), eldest son of the patriarch Levi, born in Canaan before the going down into Egypt. He is only known from his name having been given to one of the three great branches of the Levitical tribe. The office of the Gershonites, during the marches in the wilderness, was to carry the vails and curtains of the tabernacle, and their place in the camp was west of the tabernacle (Gen. xlii. 11; Exod. vi. 16; Num. iii. 17). [In several passages this is spelt Gershom (1 Chron. vi. 16, 17, etc.; xv. 7).

GERSON, JOHN CHARLIER DE. One of the most celebrated men of the 15th century, and a great forerunner of the reformation, was born December 14, 1363, at Gerson, a small village in the diocese of Rheims. He was the eldest of twelve children, and was brought up by his parents in strict piety. Three of his brothers and four of his sisters took monastic vows. His paternal name was Charlier, but having entered at fourteen the College of Navarre in Paris, he adopted the addition de Gerson, in memory of his birth-place, and in token of the new life he embraced. He soon acquired distinction, and rose rapidly in the church. In 1392 he received from Pierre d'Ailly the degree of doctor; in 1395 he was appointed Bishop of Puy; in 1396 he became Bishop of Cambray, and subsequently Chancellor of the University of Paris.

Gerson took an active part in most of the controversies of the troublous times on which he was cast, for the most part aiming at promoting peace and healing the divisions of the church. He took a leading part in the council of Constance; and

*[Gesenius prefers deriving this name from גֶּרְשָׁם, *to drive off*, thus making it the same as גֶּרְשֹׁן. But surely the writer of Exodus is a better authority in such a matter.]

the greatest blot on his character is the share he had in the condemnation of Huss. At the close of the council, finding his efforts at reformation baffled, and disheartened by his repeated failures, Gerson retired as a pilgrim into Bavaria and the Tyrol, and finally visited Vienna, where Frederick of Austria made him a professor in the university. Here he wrote his treatise *De Consolatione Theologiae*, which has been often reprinted, and his monotessaron, a harmony of the gospels. In 1419 he quitted Austria and returned to France, on the death of the Duke of Burgundy, to seek an asylum in the monastery of the Celestines at Lyons. Here he wrote his commentaries on the Psalms, and spent his time in the education of young children, saying that it was with little children that the reformation of the church should commence. He instructed them in the rudiments of Latin and the gospels, and taught them to say in their prayers, 'O Lord, have mercy on thy poor servant John Gerson.' After completing a commentary on the song of songs, he died July 12, 1429, aged 66. *Sursum corda* was engraved on his tomb. The *De Imitatione Christi* has been ascribed to him from the fact of its first appearing appended to a manuscript of his *De Consolatione Theologiae*. It is still a matter of dispute; and France, Italy, and Germany, contend for the authorship of this famous work. Gerson was a noble character, eloquent, earnest, and of deep piety. His great aim was the reformation of abuses, discipline, and manners, the corruption of the clergy, the ignorance and venality of the prelates. The infallibility and inviolability of the Pope, were in his idea, gross superstition. He believed that the power to bind and to loose belonged to a general council, not to the Pope; he condemned the self-flagellation of fanatics, and strove to abolish annates, and extirpate simony. The best edition of Gerson's works is that by Du Pin, in 5 vols. folio, Antwerp, 1706.—S. L.

GERSONIDES. [LEVI B. GERSON.]

GERZITES. [GEZIRITES.]

GESENIUS, WILHELM, the eminent Hebrew scholar, was born at Nordhausen, in Hanover, 3d Feb. 1786, and died at Halle, 23d Oct. 1842. From the Gymnasium of his native town he passed to the University of Helmstadt, now defunct, and subsequently to that of Göttingen, where he studied theology. After fulfilling the functions of a Privatdocent at Göttingen for three years, he was appointed in 1809 Professor at the Gymnasium of Heiligstadt; and in the following year he was elevated to a theological professorship at Halle, where he continued to the end of his life. He devoted himself with great zeal to the duties of his chair, and became the most popular teacher of Hebrew and O. T. exegesis in Germany. He continued to prosecute with much diligence the study of Hebrew, and directed his attention to the preparation of works adapted to promote familiarity with that language. His earliest aim was directed to the improvement of Hebrew lexicography; before leaving Göttingen he had turned his mind to this subject; and he was no sooner settled in Halle than he set himself in earnest to accomplish what he had proposed. In 1810 appeared the first volume of his *Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch des Alten Testaments*, which was followed by the 2d vol. in 1812. This work, fol-

duced between the author's 22d and 26th year, he was accustomed himself to regard in later years as a juvenile performance; but it was such a performance as secured for him at once a foremost place among Hebrew philologists, and its appearance constitutes an era in the history of Shemitic learning. In this field Gesenius continued to labour to the last; in 1815 he issued his *Neues Heb. Deutsch. Handwörterbuch für schuler*, of which new editions appeared in 1823, 1828, and 1834, under the title of *Heb. und Chald. H. W. B. ueber das A. T.*; and in 1833 appeared his *Lexicon Manuale Heb. et Chald. in V. T. libros*; but his great work in this department, and in which he was occupied at the time of his death, is the *Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Ling. Heb. et Chald. V. T.*, of which the first fasciculus appeared in 1829, the fifth in 1842, and which, completed by Rödiger, who added a sixth fasciculus (1853), occupies 3 vols. 4to. Of these works the first has been translated into English by Christopher Leo, 2 vols. 4to, Camb. 1825, the second by J. W. Gibbs, Andover 1824, and the third, with corrections furnished by the author, by Dr. E. Robinson, 1841. To the improvement of the grammar of the Hebrew also Gesenius set himself with much diligence and perseverance; and in this department issued the following works:—*Hebräische Grammatik*, Halle 1813, 13th ed. 1842, translated from the 11th ed. by Prof. Conant of New York, 1839 (3d ed. 1842, reprinted in London 1840); four editions, superintended by Rödiger, have appeared since the author's death, from one of which the translation by Mr. Tregelles is made; *Heb. Lesebuch*, Halle 1814, 6th ed. 1834; *Geschichte der Heb. Sprache und Schrift* 1815; *Lehrgebäude der Heb. Sprache*, 1817. Gesenius was the author also of the following works:—*Versuch ueb. die Malterische Sprache*, 1810; *De Pentateuchi Samaritani Origine, Indole et Auctoritate*, 1815; *Der Prophet Jesaja, übersetzt, und mit Comment. begleitet*, 2 vols. 1820 21; *De Samaritanorum Theologia ex fontibus inditis*, 1822; *Carmina Samaritana interp. Lat. cum comment.* Must. 1824; *Palaeographische Studien ueb. Phönisische und Punische Schrift*, 1835; *Scriptura Linguaeque Phœnicia Monumenta quotquot supersunt*, 1837; besides many articles on Biblical subjects in the Encyclopædie of Ersch and Gruber. Amongst those by whom service has been rendered to the cause of O. T. philology, no name stands higher than that of Gesenius. All he has written bears marks of careful study, is characterised by sound judgment and good sense, and is presented in a style remarkably pellucid and simple. It may be objected to his grammatical system that it is too artificial, and presents rather the grammarian's device than a scheme of the actual phenomena of the language—his multiplication of the declensions, for instance, to nine, and his distinction between masculine and feminine declensions is without support from the actual facts of the language; but there can be no doubt that his grammars are an immense improvement on all that preceded them, and have done more to facilitate and encourage the study of Hebrew than any that have appeared since. To his lexicographical works the only objection that can be offered is that they are confined exclusively to the Biblical Hebrew, and so still leave us without a complete Thesaurus of the Hebrew tongue. As an exegete Gesenius is strong only in philology and the other adjutorial branches of interpre-

tation; he affords valuable help in reaching the meaning of the prophet's words, but often sadly fails in apprehending the significance of his thoughts. During his later years he gave much attention to paleography, and his contributions to this branch of inquiry are of first-rate excellence, and leave behind them all preceding works in the same department.—W. L. A.

GESHEM (גֶּשֶׁם), *carcase*; Sept. Γῆσδμ), one of the enemies of the Jews under Nehemiah (Neh. vi. 16). He was probably a Samaritan, although on some account or other designated an Arabian (Neh. ii. 19), and appears to have been a subaltern officer at Jerusalem. He opposed the designs of the Jewish governor, talking of them as seditious, and turning them into ridicule. Eventually he took part in the plots of Tobiah against the life of Nehemiah (Neh. ii. 19; vi. 2-9), about B.C. 445.—J. K.

GESHUR (גֶּשׁוּר; Sept. Γαρυαδ, Γεργαδ, Γεσφρ, Γεσφρ, Γεσφρ, and Γεσφρ), a small kingdom on the north-eastern border of Palestine beyond the Jordan. The inhabitants are called *Geshurites* and *Geshuri* (גֶּשׁוּרִי). The position of this little principality is clearly indicated in Scripture. It lay within the kingdom of Bashan and province of Argob, and was at the northern extremity of both (Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5). It was independent of Og's sovereignty; and the Israelites did not conquer it, though they appear to have so far subdued the people as to make them render a nominal allegiance. We read that Machir, the Manassite, 'took Geshur' (1 Chron. ii. 23), 'nevertheless the children of Israel expelled not the Geshurites; but the Geshurite dwell among the children of Israel until this day' (Josh. xiii. 13). This may account for the fact that while Geshur was geographically within Bashan, politically it was reckoned to Aram (2 Sam. xv. 8). It seems from the various references in Scripture that the Geshurites occupied a territory of great natural strength; and that thus, though small in number, they were able to defend themselves against all assailants. Reland thinks that Geshur of Bashan (Josh. xii. 5) was distinct from the Geshur of Aram (2 Sam. xv. 8). For this, however, there is no authority; and the whole tenor of the Scripture narrative seems opposed to it (Reland, 77, sq.). The view of Keil (on Josh. xii. 5), Rosenmüller (*Bib. Geogr.* ii. 227), and Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, s.v.), that Geshur lay along the east bank of the upper Jordan is opposed to the topographical details of the Bible, in which it is closely connected with Argob. Their chief argument is that *Geshur* signifies 'a bridge,' and there is a bridge on the upper Jordan; but this can have little weight.

The writer, after a careful survey of the whole country was led to the conclusion that Geshur embraced the northern section of the wild and rocky province now called *Lejah*, and formerly Trachonitis and Argob. It probably also took in the neighbouring plain to the north as far as the banks of the Pharpar, on which there are several important bridges; but on the approach of the Israelites, the people may have concentrated themselves in their rugged stronghold, where the Israelites deemed it more prudent to leave them than to attempt to expel them. The wild tribes that now occupy that region hold a somewhat similar position; being really independent but nominally subject to the

Porte (TRACHONITIS; see *Journal of Sac. Lit.*, July 1854, p. 300; Porter's *Damascus*, vol. ii.; Burckhardt's *Trav. in Syr.*, 105, sq.)

The Geshurites appear to have maintained friendly relations with the Israelites east of the Jordan; probably from mutual interest, both being extensive cattle owners. The community of occupation may have led to the alliance between David and the daughter of Talmi, king of Geshur (2 Sam. iii. 3). Absalom was the fruit of this marriage; and the wild acts of his life were doubtless to some extent the results of maternal training. After murdering his brother he fled to his uncle in 'Geshur of Aram,' and dwelt amid its rocky fastnesses till Joab came to take him back to his father (2 Sam. xiii. 37; xiv. 23; see *Handbook for S. and P.*, 506).

2. *Geshurites*, a people who dwelt on the south-western border of Palestine, adjoining the Philistines (Josh. xiii. 2). They appear to have been nomads, and to have roamed over the neighbouring desert; though occupying permanently a portion of Philistia. 'David went up and invaded the Geshurites, and the Gézrites, and the Amalekites; for those nations were of old the inhabitants of the land as thou goest to Shur, even unto the land of Egypt' (1 Sam. xxvii. 8). Nothing more is known of them.—J. L. P.

GETHER (גֶּתֶר; Sept. Γατέρ), the name of the third of the sons of Aram (Gen. x. 23). The name does not elsewhere occur; nor have we any information as to the tribe that descended from him. Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 6. 4) makes him the ancestor of the Bactrians, and in the traditionary legends of the Arabs, one Ghathir (غاثير) appears as the source of

the *Thamudites* (تَمُود), in Hedjaz and the *Jadisites* (جديس) in Jemama (Abulf. *Hist. Antisl.*, p. 16). The Arab. vers. of the Polyglott has الجرامدة, the *Geramaqa*, a tribe which in the time of Mohammed must have inhabited the district of Mosul (Winer, s. v.). Bochart asks whether the river *Centrites*, mentioned by Xenophon (*Anab.* iv. 3, 1), and Diodorus Sic. (xiv. 27), and which lay between the Carduchians and Armenians, may not have derived its name from Gether; and Le Clerc finds a trace of the name in Cathara, a town on the Tigris (Ptol. v. 18). But all this is purely conjectural.—W. L. A.

GETHSEMANE (Γεθσημανή and Γεθσημανεί), a garden (ἀγρος, John xviii. 1), or field (χωριον, Matt. xxvi. 36), to which Jesus retired with his disciples on the night of his betrayal (Mark xiv. 32). Its name is mentioned by only two of the evangelists, Matthew and Mark. John describes its situation—'Jesus went forth with his disciples over the brook Cedron, where was a garden, into the which he entered, and his disciples (xviii. 1). The Cedron runs in the bottom of a deep glen, parallel to the eastern wall of Jerusalem, and about 200 yards distant. Immediately beyond it rises the steep side of Olivet, now, as formerly, cultivated in rude terraces. Somewhere on the slope of this mount Gethsemane must have been situated. The name *Gethsemane* appears to be derived from the Aramaic words, גֶּת שֶׁמָנָה, an 'oil press.' The

garden probably contained a press for the manufacture of oil from the olives of the mount. Other etymologies have been suggested, but they are not so natural as the preceding (*Poli Synopsis*, in loc.) We learn from Luke that our Lord had been in the habit of retiring to this spot for prayer. He merely calls it (xxii. 40) ὁ τόπος, 'the place,' in allusion to κατὰ τὸ ἔθος of the preceding verse. John tells us that Judas 'knew the place; for Jesus oftentimes resorted thither with his disciples' (xviii. 2). We may conclude from this that it was a retired spot, at a sufficient distance from public thoroughfares to secure privacy, and yet easy of access.

Proceeding from the gate now called *St. Stephens*, a very ancient road winds down the bank to the bottom of the Kidron, crosses the dry bed by an old bridge, and then branches. One branch turns to the right, and sweeps round the shoulder of Olivet to Bethany and Jericho; the other runs straight up to the village on the summit. In the angle formed by these roads is situated the *traditional* Gethsemane. There can be little doubt that it is the identical spot mentioned by Eusebius in the 4th century, as 'a place of prayer for the faithful'; and by Jerome, as lying 'at the roots of the Mount of Olives, with a church erected upon it' (*Onomast.* s. v.; see also *Itin. Hieros.* ed. Wessel., p. 594; Reland, p. 587). The church is again mentioned in the 7th century; and the garden is spoken of by various writers during the middle ages (Robinson, *B. R.* i. 235). The tradition cannot be traced back beyond the time of Eusebius. To keep up the memory of 'holy places' was contrary to the spirit of the apostolical writers and their immediate successors. There is room for doubt whether the knowledge of the exact spot would be retained during the troublous times of the first three centuries. It was perhaps *selected*, like many other holy places, during the time of the Empress Helena. The site is not even a likely one—at the junction of two public roads within a few yards of each. The garden has recently been enclosed with a high wall. It is nearly square, about fifty yards on each side. Within it are eight venerable olive trees, whose massive trunks, now in many places decayed, and knarled arms, and sparse foliage, have all the marks of great age. These trees have been referred to by some writers as evidences of the genuineness of the site; but there are others a little farther up the valley of at least equal age. The garden is the property of the Latin monks; and the guardian *pauvre* unfortunately thinks it requisite to shew all pilgrims the 'grotto of the agony,' the spot where Judas betrayed Jesus, and the place on which the three disciples slept! (*Handbook for Syr. and Pal.*, 176; Geramb's *Pilgrimage to Palestine*, i. 63, seq.; Stanley's *Sin. and Pal.*, 450).—J. L. P.

GEZER and GAZER (גִּזְרִים, and with the pause accent, גִּזְרִים; Sept. Γαζέρ and Γαζηρά), an ancient royal city and stronghold of the Canaanites. When Joshua besieged Lachish, the king of Gezer came to aid that city, but was defeated (Josh. x. 33), and apparently slain, as his name is among those enumerated in Joshua xii. (ver. 12). The situation of Gezer is clearly indicated in several passages of the Bible. It lay on the northern border of Benjamin, between Bethhoron-the-nether and

the sea; consequently in the Shephelah or maritime plain (Josh. xvi. 3). It was within the allotted territory of Ephraim, and was assigned from that tribe to the Levites (xxi. 21). The Ephraimites were not able to expel the Gezerites (xvi. 10); and the city remained a frontier fortress of the Philistines for some centuries. It became, like Gath, the scene of many a fierce contest between them and the Israelites (2 Sam. v. 25; 1 Chron. xx. 4). The Philistines were usually victorious on the plain, and the Israelites in the mountains. Gezer thus probably stood at the foot of the hills. We find David smiting the Philistines 'from Geba until thou come to Gezer' (2 Sam. v. 25); that is, till they got into the plain. At length, however, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, captured and burned Gezer, and gave it 'for a present to his daughter, Solomon's wife' (1 Kings ix. 15-17). After Solomon rebuilt it we hear no more of it in Scripture.

Gezer is sometimes written in the Septuagint Γαζάρα (Josh. xxi. 21, *Cod. Vat.*); and consequently we find this form adopted by the Apocryphal writers and Josephus. The city is frequently referred to in the wars of the Maccabees. In one place it is connected with Joppa (1 Maccab. xv. 28, 35); in another it is said to border on Azotus (Ashdod; xiv. 34). Josephus, who sometimes calls it Γαζάρα (*Antiq.* xii. 7. 4), locates it on the south-western border of Ephraim (v. i. 22). Eusebius and Jerome state that in their day it was a village (κώμη), four miles north of Nicopolis (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Gezer*); and Van Senden has suggested its identity with the modern village of Kubâb, which stands on the top of a rocky tell. There is no ground for this beyond conjecture. Van de Velde thinks the royal city of Gezer must have been much farther south (*Memoir*, 315). If so, there must have been two Gezers, one in southern and the other in northern Philistia. It is possible, also, that the Gazara near Azotus may have been distinct from the Gezer of the Bible, for Azotus is twenty miles south-west of Nicopolis. No village or ruin has hitherto been discovered whose name would suggest identity with the ancient Gezer.—J. L. P.

GEZRITES. This is now the reading in the A. V. of 1 Sam. xxvii. 8; and from this it might be concluded that the inhabitants of Gezer were alluded to. The Hebrew text, however, has גִּרְזִיתִים, 'the Girzites'; and the context states that the Girzites, with the Geshurites and Amalekites, 'were of old the inhabitants of the land as thou goest to Shur, even unto the land of Egypt.' They are thus located on the extreme southern border of Philistia, and unless we suppose that the royal city of Gezer stood in that region, the Girzites could scarcely have had any connection with it [GEZER]. The spoil which David took from them would seem to indicate a pastoral people (ver. 9). They were probably a small nomad tribe who roamed over the southern desert, but who were either exterminated or dispersed by the repeated assaults of the Philistines, and eventually by David.—J. L. P.

GIANTS. The notices in the Bible of persons of unusual size and stature respect either individuals or races. We shall take the latter first.

1. *The Nephilim*. In Gen. vi. 4 it is said, in

reference to the times preceding the flood, 'And there were *giants* (נפלים) in those days.' This word Nephilim the LXX. render by γίγαντες, and in this the vast majority of the versions concur. Aquila, however, gives οὐρανιότατες, οὐ βλαῖος, and Symmachus, οὐ δούλων, βλαῖος, as the meaning; and this has found many advocates (See Suicer, *The. Eccles.* in voc. Πῦας; Poole, *Synops.* in loc., etc.) Those who adopt this interpretation in general deny that the Nephilim were remarkable for excessive size or stature, and regard them simply as men fierce, bellicose, lawless, and oppressive. To this, however, there are two objections, which seem decisive. The one is that Moses evidently intends, by the statement in question, to set forth a *peculiarity* of the times of which he writes. 'In those days were the Nephilim (הנפלים, the well-known race so called) upon the earth;' phraseology which would not have been used had he merely meant to state that there were rude, ferocious, overbearing men on the earth, for such there have always been. The other objection is that where the word *Nephilim* again occurs, Num. xii. 32, 33, it undoubtedly designates a race of men of surpassing stature; so that this seems to be the proper sense of the word. In adopting this, however, the other is not necessarily excluded; rather, may we say, that the probability is, that their gigantic stature, their strength, and their pride, conspired to render them overbearing, cruel, and lawless. Nothing decisive can be gathered as to the meaning of the word from an appeal to etymology; for if, with the majority, we trace it to נפל, *to fall*, it remains uncertain with which of the meanings of this word it stands connected; whether that of *falling upon*, *irruere* as Aquila takes it, or that of *falling away*, *apostate* (comp. Syr. ܢܦܠ, or that of *causing men to fall* (Ibn Ezra, Kimchi). Hävernick (*Einleit.* i. 2, p. 264, ff.; E. Tr. p. 345, ff.) proposes to connect it with the mutually related roots, פל, פלל, פלל, which would suggest the meaning of something *extraordinary marvellous, huge*; and with this Fürst substantially concurs, comparing Sansc. *balā*, *strength*; *pāla*, Pers. *balā*, *Lord*; *pīlu* the elephant, Arab. فالا, *to be thick or fat*.* As to the common notion that these Nephilim were the fruit of the intercourse between the B'ney Ha-Elohim and the B'noth Ha-Adam, it may suffice to say that nothing of this is asserted by Moses; on the contrary, from the form of his expression, when he says 'also after that the sons of God had come in unto the daughters of men, etc.,' he would seem to intimate that the Nephilim were a distinct race from the children of such intercourse,

* In Job ix. 9 the Targ. gives נפלה, *Niphla*, as the rendering of the Heb. נכסל, and this has been held to support the meaning of giant attached to the word נפיל (Gesen.) But this proceeds on the assumption that Kesil there designates Orion, which is more than doubtful [ASTRONOMY]. The Syriac, however, uses the term ܓܒܪܐ, *gaboro*,

giant, in this verse, though the order of the names is not the same as in the Heb.

which had existed before them, and continued to exist after they appeared (see Calvin, *in. loc.*)

The progeny of these marriages the sacred writer describes as הנפלים. This the LXX. render by οὐ γίγαντες, and this has been urged as a reason for identifying them with the Nephilim. But the meaning which the LXX. have in this instance attached to the word נפיל is not the true meaning of that word. It occurs repeatedly in the O. T., and invariably signifies elsewhere one endowed with strength—a hero, a strong bold warrior—with the implication of violence or fierceness as connected with strength and power (comp. Judg. xi. 1; Ps. lii. 2; cxx. 4, etc.) There is nothing, therefore, in the use of this word to sustain the opinion that the giants were the fruit of intercourse between the sons of God and the daughters of men; the historian simply states that their children were the heroes of antiquity, men of violent and proud spirit. [For the meaning of B'ney Ha-Elohim here, see GOD].

2. *The Rephaim* (רפאים). These are mentioned along with the Zuzim and the Emim as among the inhabitants of Canaan at the time of Abraham's immigration, and as having their principal site at Ashteroth-Karnaim (Gen. xiv. 5). By the time of Moses the race was hastening to decay, for Og, king of Bashan, is mentioned as among the last remnants of it (Deut. iii. 11; Josh. xii. 4; xiii. 12). In the second of these passages Edrei is mentioned as also a site of the Rephaim. This once mighty race embraced different families, each of which had its own distinctive name. Thus, though in the earliest notice the Emim are mentioned as if distinct from the Rephaim, we read subsequently that the Emim were accounted Rephaim, though called Emim by the Moabites (Deut. ii. 11); we read also of the Zamzummim (Deut. ii. 19-21), probably the same as the Zuzim of Gen. xiv. 5 in the land of the Ammonites, as Rephaim; the Anaqim, also, belonged to this race (Deut. ii. 11), and probably, also, the Avim (Deut. ii. 23; comp. 2 Sam. xxi. 15-22) and the Horites (Gen. xiv. 6; Deut. ii. 12). Or these may be only different names of the same race viewed under different aspects. As to the meaning of the word Rephaim, if, on the strength of Deut. ii. 11, we take רפאים as a dialectic variety having the same signification, we shall attach to it some such meaning as *awful, terrible, tremendous*. The word רפאים occurs in the sense of *terrific object* (Ps. lxxxviii. 16), hence an *idol* as an object of dread (Jer. i. 38), and for the same reason *disembodied spirits, ghosts* (Job xxvi. 5; Is. xiv. 9; xxvi. 14, 19; Prov. xxi. 16). In this case רפאים may be traced to a root רפה, *to terrify*, and may be simply a designation, as applied to men, of such as are from any cause *formidable* to their fellow-men. From the manner, however, in which they are referred to in Scripture, and especially from theirs being ranked along with other national or tribal appellations, there seems little reason for doubting that there was a race of men bearing Rephaim as their distinctive name, and each of whom was a Rapha (רפה, comp. 2 Sam. xxi. 16, ff.) That they were men above the ordinary stature is evident from Deut. ii. 10, for though רם (A. V. 'tall') there used may be taken as describing mental rather than physical elevation—hauteur rather than height—this is not its proper meaning; and as the

Anaqim were undoubtedly chiefly remarkable in the eyes of the Israelites from their great height (comp. Num. xiii. 32, 33; Deut. i. 28; ix. 2), the probable inference is that the Rephaim were men of gigantic stature; though it does not follow from this that the word *Rephaim* means *giants*.

Referring to the articles under the names of these tribes respectively for ethnological and general details, we confine ourselves here to the consideration of their claim to be regarded as giants. This claim there seems an unwillingness in many quarters to admit, chiefly on the ground that the existence of gigantic *races* of men has not been sufficiently established. If by this it be meant that no evidence exists of a size equal to that ascribed to Og, king of Bashan, Goliath of Gath, and other giants mentioned in Scripture being possessed by entire tribes, and propagated from generation to generation, the position must be at once admitted. But in asserting that the Rephaim were giants, it is not needful to claim for them a height and size approaching to monstrosity. A man six feet and a half high is a man greatly surpassing in height the average of mankind, and a whole community of men ranging from this height to that of seven feet would be universally regarded and spoken of as gigantic. But is the possibility of such a race incredible or without evidence? That tallness may be propagated from father to son no one can doubt; and that if tall men are matched with tall women a race of tall persons will be the result is equally certain; indeed it has often been remarked as one of the wise arrangements of Providence, that very tall persons do not incline to intermarry, so that, notwithstanding individual exceptions, the average height of the community remains steady. Wherever this disinclination is either by compulsion or by usage and family pride overcome, a race surpassing ordinary men in height is the result; as is seen in the descendants of the grenadiers whom Frederic of Prussia took so much pains to collect and to marry to tall wives, and in the chiefs of the Polynesian tribes (Cook's *Voyager*; Williams's *South Sea Islands*). Tribes of men exceeding considerably the average height are reported by travellers and naturalists; the Patagonians, whose height varies from six to seven feet, the Guayaquils and Paraguas, whose height is six feet and a half, and the Carabees of Cumana (Prichard, *Researches*, vol. i. bk. ii., ch. iv. sec. 8; vol. v. p. 489). These instances sufficiently prove that races above the average height exist, and may be propagated; so that there is no ground for denying the Biblical statement concerning the Nephilim and the Rephaim as physiologically unsupported. There seems truth and point in the remark with which Augustine concludes his observations on this part of Scripture: "Nec mirandum est quod gigantes nasci potuerunt. . . . Quos propterea creare placuit Creatori ut etiam hinc ostenderetur non solum pulchritudines, verum etiam magnitudines et fortitudines corporum non magnitudines esse sapienti, qui spiritalibus atque immortalibus, longe melioribus atque firmioribus et bonorum propriis, non bonorum malorumque communibus, beatificatur bonis" (*De Civit. Dei* xv. 23, Opp., vol. v. col. 853, ed. Basil. 1569).

The individual giants mentioned in Scripture are —

1. Og (אֹג, comp. *ix. king, royal* in *Tkows ap. Manethon.*), king of Bashan, one of the last (Deut.

iii. 11; Josh. xiii. 12) of the Rephaim, whose bedstead of iron (or rather perhaps his sarcophagus of ironstone or basalt) was preserved at Rabbath Ammon, and measured nine cubits in length by four in breadth. From this, however, no exact measure of Og's own height and size can be obtained, as these sarcophagi were made much beyond the actual size of the body they were designed to hold. [OG].

2. Goliath (גִּלְיָת) of Gath, of the tribe of the Anaqim; his height is said to have been six cubits and a span, and the staff of his spear like a weaver's beam (1 Sam. xvii. 4; 2 Sam. xxi. 19) [DAVID].

3. LACHMI (לַחְמִי), the brother of Goliath, slain by Elhanan (1 Chron. xx. 5) [ELHANAN].

4. ISHBI-BENOB (יִשְׁבִּי-בִנְנֹב), whose spear weighed 300 shekels of brass, and who was slain by Abishai (2 Sam. xxi. 16). He is described as בִּלְיָד, one of the descendants of the Rapha (שֵׁן עַקֵּי עַל תּוֹסֵי אֶקְרָבוֹסֵי טוֹט 'Paphd, Sept.), i. e., one of the Rephaim.

5. SAPH (סַפִּי) or SIPPAT (סִפַּי), also of the Rapha race, slain by Sibbechai in a battle between the Israelites and the Philistines (2 Sam. xxi. 18; 1 Chron. xx. 5).

6. A Philistine of great stature, whose fingers and toes were twenty and four, six on each hand and six on each foot, slain by Jonathan, the nephew of David (2 Sam. xxi. 20; 1 Chron. xx. 6). He also was a Rephaite.

All these are mentioned as peculiar cases, indicating that though the Rephaites had continued among the Philistines down to the time of David, it was only occasionally that the original type of the family showed itself. Such occasional monstrosities, both in individuals and in families, are recorded not only as belonging to ancient times, but even down to our own day. Porus, the Indian king, was five cubits in height (Arrian, *Exped. Alex.* v. 19); Columella (*De Re Rust.* iii. 8) and Solinus (Bk. i., ch. 9) tell us of a Jew who was taller than the tallest of the Romans; Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* vii. 16), says, 'our age has seen, during the reign of Claudius, the tallest of men, an Arab of the name of Gabbara [doubtless جبار, *giant*,

which Pliny mistook for the man's name], who was nine feet and as many inches in height; and he goes on to speak of some still higher, whose bodies were preserved, 'ejus miraculi gratia,' in the cemetery of the gardens of the Sallusts. Josephus (*Antiq.* xvii. 5. 5) mentions a Jew named Eleazer, sent by Artabanus to Tiberius, who was seven cubits in height, and had on that account the cognomen of Gigas. Delrio (*Not. ad Senec. Edipum*, p. 39) says he saw in the year 1572 a man from Piedmont whose height exceeded nine feet. Parsons, porter to James I., was seven feet two inches, and a servant of Prince Charles at the same time was seven feet seven inches, and had not yet reached his full height (Hakewill, *Apology*, p. 189). Many similar instances, belonging to still more recent times, might be added; so that, without resorting to the dubious testimony of bones which have been disinterred, but which may have belonged to some of the larger mammalia, we have evidence sufficient to corroborate the statements of Scripture in the cases it adduces of individuals of gigantic stature (Huet, *Demonstr. Evan-*

gel. Prop. iv.; Heidegger, *Hist. Patriarch*, xi.; Grotius, *De Veritate Rd. Chr.* i. 16; Hakewill, *Apologie*, bk. iii. ch. 3, sec. 2, 3; Watson, *Apolo-logy for the Bible*, Lett. iii.; Winer, *Realwörterb.* s. v. Riesen; Hamilton, *The Pentateuch and its assailants*, p. 189, ff.)—W. L. A.

GIBBETHON (גִּבְתֹּן; Sept. Γαβαθών), a city of the Philistines which was included in the territories of the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 44), and was assigned to the Levites (Josh. xxi. 23). It was still in the hands of the Philistines in the time of Nadab, king of Israel, who besieged it, and was slain under its walls by Baasha, one of his own officers (1 Kings xv. 27; xvi. 15). Nothing is known of its site.—J. K.

GIBEA (גִּבְעָא; Sept. Γαιβάλ; Alex. Γαιβὰδ), is mentioned (1 Chron. ii. 49), along with Macbenah, as places of which Sheva, the son of Caleb, was father or possessor [AB.] This is probably Gibeah of Judah, the modern Jeb'ali (Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 327).—†

GIBEAH (גִּבְעָה; Sept. Γαβὰδ and Γαβαών; also written גִּבְעָה in Judg. x. 10, 33). There were several cities of this name, which can only be distinguished by a specific title added, or by the scope of the context. The word signifies 'a hill,' and is always descriptive of the site.

1. *Gibeah of Saul*; also called *Gibeah of Benjamin*. The attention required to distinguish this city from two others in the territories of the same tribe, whose names are nearly similar, has already been pointed out [GEB]. During the time of the Judges, when the country was almost in a state of anarchy (Judg. xix. 1), Gibeah became the scene of one of the most abominable crimes, and one of the most awful tragedies, recorded in Jewish history. The story of the unfortunate Levite, the siege and destruction of Gibeah, and the almost total annihilation of the tribe of Benjamin, are well known (xix.-xxi.). The city soon rose again from its ashes, and had the honour of giving Israel its first king. It was the native place of Saul (1 Sam. x. 26; xi. 4), and the seat of his government during the greater part of his reign (xiv. 2; xxii. 6; xxiii. 19); hence its appellation 'Gibeah of Saul' (xv. 34). It was in Gibeah the Amorites of Gibeon hanged the seven descendants of Saul in revenge for the massacre of their brethren. The city was then the scene of that touching exhibition of maternal love and devotion, when Rizpah, the mother of two of the victims, 'took sackcloth and spread it for her upon the rock, from the beginning of harvest, until water dropped upon them out of heaven, and suffered neither the birds of the air to rest upon them by day, nor the beasts of the field by night' (2 Sam. xxi.). The last reference to Gibeah in the Bible is by Isaiah in his vision of the approach of the Assyrian army to Jerusalem (x. 29). The city appears to have lost its place and power at a very early period. Josephus mentions it as 'a village named *Gabath-Saul*, which signifies 'Saul's hill,' distant from Jerusalem about thirty furlongs' (*Bell. Jud.* v. 2. 1). Jerome speaks of it as 'usque ad solum diruta' (*Opp.*, ed. Migne, i. 883). From that period, until discovered by Dr. Robinson, its very site remained unnoticed, if not unknown.

Four miles north of Jerusalem stands a bare conical hill called *Tuleil el-Fâl* ('the little hill of Beans'). It is made conspicuous over the whole country by a heap of ancient ruins forming a knoh upon its summit. The view from it is wide and wild, embracing the rugged table-land lying north of Jerusalem, and the whole eastern slopes of Benjamin and Judah. Upon this hill stood Gibeah. The arguments by which Dr. Robinson established this fact are given at length in his *Biblical Researches* (i. 577, seq.), and need not be repeated here. The ancient road from Jerusalem to Bethel and Shechem passes close along its western base, and Ramah is in full view on another hill two miles farther north (*Handbook for S. and P.*, 325). The narrative of the Levites' journey is thus made remarkably graphic. He left Bethlehem in the afternoon to go home to Mount Ephraim. Two hours' travel (six miles) brought him alongside Jerusalem. Evening was now approaching. His servant advised him to lodge in Jebus; but he declined to stop with strangers, and said he would pass on to Gibeah or Ramah. The 'sun went down upon them when they were by Gibeah,' and they resolved to pass the night there (Judg. xix.).

The site of Gibeah was well adapted to form the capital of Israel during the troublous times of Saul, when the whole country was overrun by the hostile hands of the Philistines. It was naturally strong; it was on the very crest of the mountain range, and it commanded a wide view, so that Saul's watchmen could give timely notice of the approach of the enemy.

2. *Gibeah of Judah*. This city is only mentioned in Josh. xv. 57, and from the context we conclude that it lay north-west of Hebron. We may then identify it with the little village of *Jeha*, situated on an isolated hill in the midst of Wady-Musurr. Dr. Robinson suggests that it may be the *Gabatha* mentioned by Eusebius as twelve miles from Eleutheropolis (*Bib. Rev.* ii. 6; *Onomast.*, s. v.); it is more probably that which Jerome refers to as near Bethlehem, in the tribe of Judah (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Gabathen*).

3. Another *Gibeah*, in the tribe of Benjamin, is spoken of. In Josh. xviii. 28, it is joined in the enumeration with Kirjath; and in 2 Sam. vi. 3 we read, 'They set up the ark of God upon a new cart, and brought it out of the house of Abinadab that was in *Gibeah* (גִּבְעָה, Geba; Sept. Γαβαών). The same place is referred to in 1 Sam. vii. 1, where it is said the men of Kirjath-jearim brought the ark from Bethshemesh, and placed it in the house of Abinadab, in *Gibeah* (גִּבְעָה, A. V. 'in the hill'). The context shews that this Gibeah must have been so close to Kirjath-jearim as to be reckoned part of it (cf., ver. 3; 2 Chron. i. 4). Kirjath-jearim stood on the slope of a hill, and probably on the summit there may have been a suburb, or a small detached village called from its position Gibeah.

4. *Gibeah of Phinehas*. In Josh. xxiv. 33 we read that 'Eleazar, the son of Aaron, died; and they buried him in *Gibeah* of Phinehas (גִּבְעַת פִּינְחָס), A. V. 'In the hill that pertaineth to Phinehas') his son, which was given him in Mount Ephraim.' The Sept. (cod. Alex.) renders it rightly *ἐν Γαβαὰθ Φινεάς*. Eusebius and Jerome mention a *Geba* five miles north of Gophna, wrongly identifying it with the Gebim of Is. x. 31. It is probably the Gibeah of Phinehas (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Gebin*). About three miles north of Gophna there is now a small village

called Jibia, situated beside a glen of the same name. It is doubtless the Geba of Eusebius, and perhaps also Gibeah of Mount Ephraim (Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 205; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 315; Stanley, *S. and P.*, 489).—J. L. P.

GIBEON (גִּבְעֹן; Sept. Γαβαών), a town celebrated in the O. T., but not mentioned in the New. It was 'a great city,' as one of the royal cities; and to its jurisdiction originally belonged Beeroth, Chephirah, and Kirjath-jearim (Josh. ix. 17; x. 2). It is first mentioned in connection with the deception practised by the inhabitants upon Joshua, by which, although Canaanites (Hivites), they induced the Jewish leader not only to make a league with them, and to spare their lives and cities, but also, in their defence, to make war upon the five kings by whom they were besieged. It was in the great battle which followed, that 'the sun stood still upon Gibeon' (Josh. x. 12, 1-14). The place afterwards fell to the lot of Benjamin, and became a Levitical city (Josh. xviii. 25; xxi. 17), where the tabernacle was set up for many years under David and Solomon (1 Chron. xvi. 39; xxi. 29; 2 Chron. i. 3), the ark being at the same time at Jerusalem (2 Chron. i. 4). It was here, as being the place of the altar, that the young Solomon offered a thousand burnt-offerings, and was rewarded by the vision which left him the wisest of men (1 Kings iii. 4-15; 2 Chron. i. 3-13). This was the place where Abner's challenge to Joab brought defeat upon himself, and death upon his brother Asahel (2 Sam. ii. 12-32), and where Amasa was afterwards slain by Joab (2 Sam. xx. 8-12). None of these passages mark the site of Gibeon; but there are indications of it in Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 19. 1), who places it fifty stadia north-west from Jerusalem; and in Jerone (*Ep. 86 ad Eustoch.*): which leave little doubt that Gibeon is to be identified with the place which still bears the name of El-Jib; for Jib, in Arabic, is merely a contraction of the Hebrew Gibeon. The name *Gabaon* is indeed mentioned by writers of the time of the Crusades as existing at this spot, and among the Arabs it then already bore the name of El-Jib, under which it is mentioned by Bohaedin (*Vita Saladin*, p. 243). Afterwards it was overlooked by most travellers till the last century, when the attention of Pococke was again directed to it.—J. K.

Adendum.—The village of *El-Jib* stands on the top of a low, isolated hill, composed of horizontal strata of limestone, which in places form regular steps, or small terraces, from bottom to top. At other points, especially on the east, the hillside breaks down in rugged irregular precipices. Round the hill is spread out one of the richest upland plains in central Palestine—meadow-like in its smoothness and verdure, covered near the village with vineyards and olive groves; and sending out branches, like the rays of a star-fish, among the rocky acclivities that encircle it. The houses are scattered without any attempt at order over the broad summit of the hill; and the slopes beneath them, where not too steep, are formed into terraces for vines and fig-trees. The houses are almost all, in whole or in part, ancient; but are sadly out of repair. One massive building remains nearly entire, and was probably a castle or citadel. The lower rooms are vaulted; and the whole workmanship indicates an age of prosperity

and architectural skill. At the eastern base of the hill, beneath a cliff, is a fine fountain. The source is in a large chamber hewn out of the rock. Not far below it, among venerable olive trees, are the remains of an open reservoir or tank, into which the surplus waters flow.

The site of Gibeon is strong and imposing, such as suited the warlike tribe originally inhabiting it, and such as subsequently made a fit gathering place for the tribes of Israel (1 Kings iii.) In the plain that encircles the hill the Amorites assembled to take vengeance on the Gibeonites; and from among the defiles on the east the Israelites rushed down upon them with the first beams of the morning sun. The reservoir among the olive trees is doubtless the 'Pool of Gibeon' where Abner and Joab met, and where the twenty-four champions fought and died (2 Sam. ii. 12-17). On the summit of a hill, a mile south of Gibeon, and rising some 500 feet over it, is the site of Mizpeh of Benjamin. It is probable that the great assemblies of the people referred to in Judg. xx., 1 Sam. vii. and x., took place on the slope of the hill between Mizpeh and Gibeon.—J. L. P.

GIBLITES. [GEBAL.]

GIDDALTI (גִּדְלָתִי; Sept. Γοδλλαθί; Alex. Γεδλλαθί), one of the sons of Heman appointed to take part in the service of the sanctuary with the rest of his brothers; their office was to sound the horn (1 Chron. xxv. 4). This was a Kohathite family (vi. 33). Giddalti was at the head of the 22d course (xxv. 29).—†

GIDEON (גִּדְעֹן, *destroyer*; Sept. Γεδεών), surname of **JERUBBAAL** or **JERUBBESHETH**, fifth Judge in Israel, and the first of them whose history is circumstantially narrated. He was the son of Joash, of the tribe of Manasseh, and resided at Ophrah in Gilead beyond the Jordan.

The Midianites, in conjunction with the Amalekites and other nomade tribes, invaded the country every year, at the season of produce, in great numbers, with their flocks and herds. They plundered and trampled down the fields, the vineyards, and the gardens; they seized the cattle, and plundered man and house, rioting in the country, after the manner which the Bedouin Arabs practise at this day. After Israel had been humbled by seven years of this treatment, the Lord raised up a deliverer in the person of Gideon. He was threshing corn by stealth, for fear of its being taken away by the Midianites, when an angel of God appeared before him, and thus saluted him:—'The Lord is with thee, thou mighty man of valour.' Gideon expressed some doubt whether God was still with a people subject to such affliction, and was answered by the most unexpected commission:—'Go in this thy might, and thou shalt save Israel from the hand of the Midianites: have not I sent thee?' Gideon still urged, 'Wherewith shall I save Israel? Behold my family is poor in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father's house.' The 'Wherewith' was answered by 'Surely I will be with thee.' He then demurred no more, but pressed his hospitality upon the heavenly stranger, who, however, ate not of what was set before him, but directing Gideon to lay it out upon the rock as upon an altar, it was consumed by a supernatural fire, and the angel disappeared. Assured by this

of his commission, Gideon proceeded at once to cast down the local image and altar of Baal; and, when the people would have avenged this insult to their false god, their anger was averted through the address of his father, who, by dwelling on the inability of Baal to avenge himself, more than insinuated a doubt of his competency to protect his followers. This was a favourite argument among the Hebrews against idolatry. It occurs often in the prophets, and was seldom urged upon idolatrous Israelites without some effect upon their consciences.

Gideon soon found occasion to act upon his high commission. The allied invaders were encamped in the great plain of Jezreel or Esdraelon, when he blew the trumpet, and thus gathered round him a daily increasing host, the summons to arms which it implied having been transmitted through the northern tribes by special messengers. The inquietude connected with great enterprises is more sensibly felt some days before than at the moment of action; and hence the two miraculous signs which, on the two nights preceding the march, were required and given as tokens of victory. The first night a fleece was laid out in the middle of an open threshing-floor, and in the morning it was quite wet, while the soil was dry all around. The next night the wonder was reversed, the soil being wet and the fleece perfectly dry (Judg. vii.).

Encouraged by these divine testimonies, Gideon commenced his march, and advanced to the brook Harod, in the valley of Jezreel. He was here at the head of 32,000 men; but, lest so large a host should assume the glory of the coming deliverance, which of right belonged to God only, two operations, remarkable both in motive and procedure, reduced this large host to a mere handful of men. First, by divine direction, proclamation was made that all the faint-hearted might withdraw; and no fewer than 22,000 availed themselves of the indulgence. The remaining 10,000 were still declared too numerous: they were therefore all taken down to the brook, when only those who lapped the water from their hands, like active men in haste, were reserved for the enterprise, while all those who lay down leisurely to drink were excluded. The former numbered no more than 300, and these were the appointed vanquishers of the huge host which covered the great plain (Judg. vii. 1-8).

The overheard relation of a dream, by which Gideon was encouraged (Judg. vii. 9-14), and the remarkable stratagem with pitchers and torches, by which he overcame (ver. 15-23), are well known.

The routed Midianites fled towards the Jordan, but were pursued with great slaughter, the country being now roused in pursuit of the flying oppressor. The Ephraimites rendered good service by seizing the lower fords of the Jordan, and cutting off all who attempted escape in that direction, while Gideon himself pursued beyond the river those who escaped by the upper fords. Gideon crossed the Jordan a little below where it leaves the lake of Gennesareth, in pursuit of the Midianitish princes Zeba and Zalmunna. On that side the river, however, his victory was not believed or understood, and the people still trembled at the very name of the Midianites. Hence he could obtain no succour from the places which he passed, and town after town refused to supply even victuals to his fatigued and hungry, but still stout-hearted troop. He denounced vengeance upon them, but postponed its execution till his re-

turn; and when he did return, with the two princes as his prisoners, he by no means spared those towns which, like Succoth and Penuel, had added insult to injury (Judg. vii. 4-17).

In those days captives of distinction taken in war were most invariably slain. Zeba and Zalmunna had made up their minds to this fate; and yet it was Gideon's intention to have spared them, till he learned that they had put to death his own brothers under the same circumstances; upon which, as the avenger of their blood, he slew the captives with his own hand (Judg. viii. 18-21).

Among the fugitives taken by the Ephraimites were two distinguished emirs of Midian, named Oreb and Zeeb, whom they put to death. They took their heads over to Gideon, which amounted to an acknowledgment of his leadership; but still the always haughty and jealous Ephraimites were greatly annoyed that they had not in the first instance been summoned to the field; and serious consequences might have followed, but for the tact of Gideon in speaking in a lowly spirit of his own doings in comparison with theirs (Judg. vii. 14; viii. 1, *sq.*)

Gideon having thus delivered Israel from the most afflictive tyranny to which they had been subject since they quitted Egypt, the grateful people, and particularly the northern tribes, made him an offer of the crown for himself and his sons. But the hero was too well acquainted with his true position, and with the principles of the theocratical government, to accept this unguarded offer: 'I will not rule over you,' he said, 'neither shall my son rule over you: JEHOVAH, he shall rule over you.' He would only accept the golden ear-rings which the victors had taken from the ears of their slaughtered foes [EAR-RINGS]; and a cloth being spread out to receive them, the admiring Israelites threw in, not only the ear-rings, but other ornaments of gold, including the chains of the royal camels, and added the purple robes which the slain monarchs had worn, being the first indication of purple as a royal colour. The ear-rings alone weighed 1700 shekels, equal to 74 pounds 4 ounces, and worth, at the present value of gold, about £3300. With this 'Gideon made an ephod, and put it in his city, even in Ophrah; and all Israel went thither a whoring after it, which became a snare unto Gideon and to his house.' An ephod, at least that of the high-priest, was an outer garment like a sleeveless tunic, to which was attached the oracular breast-plate, composed of twelve precious stones set in gold, and graven with the names of the twelve tribes. Another plainer description of ephod was worn by the common priests. The object of Gideon in making an ephod with his treasure is not very clear. Some suppose that it was merely designed as a trophy of Israel's deliverance: if so, it was a very strange one. It is more probable that as Gideon had, on his being first called to his high mission, been instructed to build an altar and offer sacrifice at this very place, he conceived himself authorised, if not required, to have there a sacerdotal establishment—for at least the tribes beyond the river—where sacrifices might be regularly offered. In this case the worship rendered there was doubtless in honour of Jehovah, but was still, however well intended, highly schismatical and irregular. Even in his lifetime it must have had the effect of withdrawing the attention of the people east of the Jordan from the Tabernacle at Shiloh,

and thus so far tended to facilitate the step into actual idolatry, which was taken soon after Gideon's death. The probability of this explanation is strengthened when we recollect the schismatical sacerdotal establishments which were formed by Micah on Mount Ephraim, and by the Danites at Laish (Judg. xvii. 5-13; xviii. 29-31).

The remainder of Gideon's life was peaceable. He had seventy sons by many wives, and died at an advanced age, after he had 'ruled Israel' for forty years; B.C. 1249 to 1209. He is mentioned in the discourse of Samuel (1 Sam. xii. 11), and his name occurs in Heb. xi. 32, among those of the heroes of the faith.

GIDOM (גִּדּוֹם, *Gid' om*; Sept. Γεδωμ, Alex.

Γαλαδδ), the place to which the Benjamites were pursued by the rest of the Israelites after the battle of Gibeah (Judg. xx. 45). The site is unknown.

GIER-EAGLE. [RACHAM.]

GIFT, or SACRIFICE TO GOD. [See OFFERING.]

GIFTS, SPIRITUAL. [See vol. iii. p. 884.]

GIFT (PRESENT, BLESSING). One of the most ancient and most widely prevalent customs is that of bestowing on certain occasions some object of real or imaginary value upon superiors, equals, or inferiors: as a token of respect or gratitude; as a propitiatory or conciliatory offering; as a sign of grace and favour; as a reward or as alms; as an expression of good-will or affection; or, finally, as a fee, a bribe, and the like. Up to this day, presenting gifts is, next to the salutation, the highest mark of honour throughout the East. The origin of the custom has, gratuitously it would appear, been traced to the self-imposed taxes proffered to the first kings who were in indigent circumstances, by their subjects (Cf. Jahn, *Bibl. Arch.*, sec. 202). Considering that it was principally surpassing prowess in the hunting and battle-field, both pregnant with spoil, which raised men to the dignity of a chief, it is not easily seen how they should ordinarily have been thrown on the community for support. It seems far more natural to trace the custom to the innate propensity for manifesting sentiments of a courteous and kindly nature by the spontaneous offering of some useful or ornamental object to the person who has inspired the sentiment. Accounts of presents, varying according to the relative position of donor and receiver, and their individual circumstances, as well as to the occasion which called them forth, are very numerous in the Bible, and proportionately great is the number of different terms employed for them in the text. In some few cases these have retained, as will appear in the following list, a special and distinct meaning, indicating not only the respective relation of giver and receiver, but even the spirit in which the gift is offered; while in others they have, in the course of time, become mere synonyms.

Etymologically nearest to our own word *Gift* (Luth. *Gabe*) come the following four, derived from the root נָתַן, to give:—

a. מֶתֶן, *Mattan*; Gen. xxxiv. 12, together with מוֹהָר, *Mohar*, dowry:—Sichem to the irate brethren of Dinah, 'Ask ye never so much dowry and gift' Prov. xviii. 16, in the sense of שְׂחָד, *bribe*, 'A man's gift (מֶתֶן אָדָם) maketh room for

him. *Ib.* xxi. 14, 'A gift in secret (מֶתֶן בְּסֵתֶר) pacifieth anger.'

b. מַתָּנָה, *Mattana*; Gen. xxv. 6, the 'portion' bestowed by Abraham upon the children of his concubines; 2 Chron. xxi. 3, by Jehoshaphat upon his younger sons; a *reward* or *bribe*, like the foregoing: Prov. xv. 27, 'he that hateth gifts shall live'; Eccles. vii. 7, 'a gift destroyeth the heart'; further, an *offering* to the sanctuary and the priests, Exod. xxviii. 38, 'which Israel shall hallow in their gifts' (cf. Lev. xxiii. 38, etc.); to idols (Ezek. xx. 31), 'When ye offer your gifts you pollute yourselves'; finally: *alms*, מַתָּנִים לְאֲבִיּוֹנִים, 'Gifts to the poor' (Esth. ix. 22).‡

* The name given, in a different sense, to the charity-boxes in synagogues.

† It may not, perhaps, be out of place here to give [*ad voc.*] מַתָּנָה a striking specimen of the manner in which the Midrash occasionally makes use of the scriptural words for its poetical homiletics. In the passage, Num. xxi. 18, 20, descriptive of the wanderings of Israel: 'And from the desert (מִדְבָּר) they went to Mattanah (מַתָּנָה); and from Mattanah to Nahaliel (נַחֲלִיאֵל); and from Nahaliel to Bamoth (בָּמוֹת); and from Bamoth in the valley, that is in the country of Moab, to the top of Pisgah, which looketh toward Jeshimon,'—the proper nouns of the stations are taken in a literal sense, and מַתָּנָה is assumed to refer to the *Gift kar* 'εξοχή, viz., the Law. This was bestowed upon Israel in the desert, because there they were all equal, and no tribe could hereafter claim any preference on account of the Thorah having been given in its own special territory. . . . 'Again, why was the Thorah given in the desert? Because, as in the desert, there is no sowing and no tilling of the soil; so he who takes upon himself the yoke of the Divine Law, is free from the yoke of earthly rule, and of the fetters of society. And as in the desert no taxes (מַתָּנִים, *ἑσπασον*) are raised, so are the Learned (the sons of the Thorah) free in this world.' . . . 'Another explanation: Who fulfils the Thorah? He who makes himself like a desert by himself, apart from every one.' . . . Again, the three stations are referred to the three different Courts of Law in Jerusalem; and further to the migrations of the Sanhedrin: 'from Mattanah to Nahaliel—these are the Sanhedrin on the Mount of the Temple (בְּהַר הַבַּיִת); from Nahaliel to Bamoth—these are the Sanhedrin in the Azarah at the side of the altar (בְּצֵד הַמִּזְבֵּחַ); and from Bamoth in the valley, in the country of Moab—these are the Sanhedrin in the 'Paved Hall' (לִשְׁכַּת הַנִּיזִית). [See SANHEDRIN.] Another allegorical interpretation refers these four words to Moses, who complained that after the gift had been bestowed in the desert through his mediation, (עַל יְדֵי נַחֲלִיאֵל), death should overtake him, נַחֲלוֹ אוֹתוֹ:—בָּמוֹת, *Ba-Moth* [*comes death*]. . . . 'And from Bamoth to the valley which is in the field of Moab'—that is Moses' burial, as it is said (Deut. xxxiv. 6), 'And he buried him in a valley in the land of Moab' (Tanchuma, Num. xxi., cf. Midr. Rabba *ad. loc.*; Gem. Nedar. 58 a; 103 d, fi.; Erub. 54 a; Jalkut *ad. loc.*, etc.)

‡ On the injunction of Mordechai to make 'these days [of Purim] days of feasting and joy, and of

c. מַתָּה, *Mattath* (מַתְנֵת), *reward or fee*; 1 Kings

xiv. 7, offered by Jeroboam to the man of God for the healing of his hands; 'a *false gift*,' Prov. xxv. 14; a *divine gift*, Eccles. iii. 13, etc., **מַתָּה יד**, Ezek. xlv. 5 = **מַתָּה יד**, Deut. xvi. 17, 'according to a man's *means*.' It may be observed here that both **מַתָּה** and **מַתָּה** occur frequently as compounds with **יהוה** or **יהוה** (God) in the sense of Theodorus: Mattanjah, Mattithjah, Mattith-jahu = Jonathan.

d. נָתַן, *Nathun*; (Pass. part. Kal of נָתַן), 'one who is given'; used Num. viii. 19, etc., with respect to the Levites; 'given (A. V. *gifts*) to Aaron and to his sons from among the children of Israel,' i.e., specially singled out and consecrated for the holy service. In close connection with this word stands the *plur. tant.* **נְתִינִים, the designation of the lowest menials of the temple (Josephus: *ἱεροδούλοι*), mentioned together with the Levites, Ezra ii. 34, etc., who, prisoners of war perhaps, had been *presented* by David and his successors (in a capacity somewhat similar to that of the Gibeonites with whom they are often confounded), for the use of the sanctuary (cf. Ezra viii. 20).**

The sense of *Oblation* is chiefly inherent in those words which are derived from **נָשָׂא** (cf. Ar. **نَسَأ**,

نَسَع, to raise, lift up:—

a. מַסָּא, *Massa*; 2 Chron. xvii. 11, מִנְחָה וּכְסָף, 'some of the Philistines brought Jehoshaphat *presents and tribute*-silver, and the Arabians brought him flocks, etc.' hence more commonly used in the sense of regular tribute or *taxes*, cf. Hos. viii. 10; 2 Chron. xxiv. 27, etc.

b. מִסָּאֵת, *Mass'eth*, honorary gift, Esth. ii. 18, 'Ahasuerus gave gifts according to the state of the king.' The word is further used for the 'dish of honour' sent to guests during a feast (Gen. xliii. 34); for *tax*, *fixed contribution* towards the sanctuary, 2 Chron. xxiv. 6, etc., cf. Exod. xxx. 12, ff., also for *first-fruits*, sacrificial *offerings*, Ezek. xx. 40.

In Phœnician the use of **מִסָּאֵת** for 'sacrifice' in a general sense (or tax from a sacrifice to be given to the priest or priests), is quite common. The word occurs frequently on the well-known Sacrificial Tablet of Marseilles; and the second Sacrificial Tablet recently found in Carthage—now in the British Museum—in which the beginning of the epigraph is preserved, goes far to shew that in all these regulations of taxes due to the priests from the single offerings, some such words as **בַּעַת** (Phœn. plur. **בַּעַת**), 'At the time of the sacrifices,' and **אִשׁ טָנָא**, 'which fixed' [certain Suffetes *scil.*] were used as introductory formulas.

sending portions (**מִנְחָה**, see below), one to another, and gifts to the poor, are based the following ordinances (Orach Chajim, sec. 649):—**a.** 'Every man must give at least *two* presents to *two* poor people [in accordance with the two plurals of **מִנְחָה** and **אֲבוֹנִים**]. **b.** The money destined for Purim-alms must not be used for any other charitable purpose. The poor themselves, however, are at liberty to use the money received according to their own pleasure. **c.** The Purim-money must not be scrupulously divided; but whosoever stretches out his hands to receive, to him shall be given.'

The first line of the Mars. Inscr. reads:—

נָתַתְּ בָּעֵל...נָתַתְּ אֶשְׁמִי...נָתַתְּ עֵת...בָּעֵל הַשֶּׁמֶט בְּדַעַת בִּן בֶּרֶךְ

That of the Brit. Mus. has distinctly (as above):

בַּעַת הַמִּשְׁאֵת אֶשְׁמִי

[See PHOENICIA; OFFERING.]

c. נִשְׁתָּה, *Nisseth* (Part. Niph.), *royal gift*, 2 Sam.

xix. 43. 'Has he [the king], given us any gift?'

To our word 'Blessing' corresponds:—

בִּרְכָה, *Berachah* (from בָּרַךְ, to kneel down,

to pray, to bless [curse], to favour with a gift, to accompany one's good wishes by a present, etc.), originally an offering from an inferior to a superior, from a client to a patron, a conciliatory or propitiatory gift. Cf. Gen. xxxiii. 11, Jacob to Esau, 'Take now my blessing, which has been brought unto thee;' 1 Sam. xxv. 27, Abigail to David, 'Take now this blessing which thy handmaid hath brought; Naaman to Elisha, 2 Kings v. 15, 'Take now the blessing from thy servant.' [The presents of popes to kings, were likewise called 'Benedictiones,' cf. Du Cange Lex. ii. 1110; ap. Ges. s. v.] Further: the results of the Divine blessing—presents from above, in the sense of *riches* (**בִּרְכָה**), Gen. xlix. 25; Is. xix. 24, etc.; cf.

נֶפֶשׁ בִּרְכָה, a munificent man, Prov. xi. 25.

From the cognate roots **מָנַח** (obsol.; ar. **مَنَّح**),

to portion out, to present [not from **נָחָה**, to carry near, as Kimchi, or **נָחַ**, to rest, *causal*: pacify by gifts, as others would have it], to divide, count, allot, assign, are derived the following two words respectively:—

מִנְחָה, *Mincha*. Chiefly a present of a conciliatory or propitiatory nature, as that with which Jacob wished to pacify Esau, Gen. xxxii. 14, ff. (see above), or which Joseph's brethren brought to Joseph, Gen. xliii. 11; an offering to a king;—Israel to Eglon, Judg. iii. 15; hence also a *tribute*, **מִנְחָה יָמ**, 'bearers of a *Mincha*,' became a euphemistic phrase for 'tributary subjects,' Moab to David, 2 Sam. viii. 2; the Philistine kingdoms to Solomon, 1 Kings viii. 1. Further, an *offering to God*, Gen. iv. 3; Is. i. 13. In the Mosaic books this word is chiefly used for unbloody sacrifices, in contradistinction to **זֶבַח** (LXX. *θυσία, θυσιασμα, προσφορά*); also of sacrifices offered to idols, Is. lvii. 6; lvii. 3. [OFFERING.]

In this sense of sacrifice, **מִנְחָה** occurs also on the Phœnician sacrificial tablet of Marseilles, line 14: ...ועל כל זבח אדם לזבח במנחה; and on that of the British Museum, line 10, ועל זבח, ...במנחה.—From עֶרֶב **מִנְחָה**, 'the evening sacrifice,' Dan. ix. 21, Ezra ix. 4, the word **מִנְחָה** has, after the cessation of the sacrifices, gradually come to signify the afternoon prayer, on the time of which (and the divisions of **מִנְחָה**, the great *Mincha*, and **מִנְחָה קטנה**, the small *Mincha*); see Orach Chajim, sec. 232.

מִנְחָה, *Manah*; a portion, such as Elkanah gave on the occasion of his annual sacrifice to his wives and children, 1 Sam. i. 4, 5. 'Send portions (of eatables) to those who have nothing ready,' Neh. viii. 10; cf. Esth. ix. 23.—The custom referred to in the

last passage of sending mutual presents of eatables, and of giving alms, on the Purim-festival, has been adopted by the Mohammedans on their two *Eeds*; principally on the minor festival, which follows immediately upon the Ramadan, and which lasts three days.—In Phœn. מִנָּה, plur. מִנָּם (Sidon.

Inscr., v. iv. viii.), means treasures, riches (= Ar.

مِن). Perhaps מִנָּה, मामनस (money), may be traced to the same root as מִנָּה.

We have further to mention the following Hebrew equivalents for Gift:—

שֵׁי, *Shaj*, only used in connection with הוֹבִיל, a present ('respect') offered to God, Josh. xviii. 7; Ps. lxxviii. 30; lxxvi. 12.—Five different derivations have been proposed for this word: שֵׁי, Ar. شى,

to will; שֵׁה, Ar. شها, to desire; שוה, to make equal; שֵׁי, Ar. شى, to flow out; and שוה, to stretch out—but none appears completely satisfactory.

תְּשׁוּרָה, *Teshurah* (שׁוּר, Ar. سار, offero), obligation: a present to a 'man of God,' 1 Sam. ix. 7; Aram. נְבִינָה, Dan. ii. 6; v. 17, a present (together with מַתָּנָה) to a diviner.

שׁוּדָּה, *Shohad*; (Aram. שׁוּדָּה, Syr. هسدم, Talm. שׁוּדָּה), from שׁוּדָּה, to make a present for the purpose of buying off a penalty, Job vi. 22; chiefly in the sense of a *bribe*, Exod. xxiii. 8; Deut. x. 17; Ps. xxvi. 10, etc.

אֶשְׁכֹּר, *Eshkor* (שָׁכַר, Ar. שכر = שכور, to hire, buy, reward), *Price, Tribute*; Ezek. xxvii. 15 together with מְכָרָה, merchandize.—'The men of Dedan were thy merchants. . . . They brought thee for a present horns of ivory and ebony;' Ps. lxxii. 10, parall. with מְכָרָה, tribute.—[Hitzi's derivation from אֶשְׁכֹּר, a certain coin (Aram. Aspar), is not tenable.]

שְׁלִיחִים, *Shillukim* (שָׁלַח, to send away), presents sent away:—together with a newly married daughter = *Dowry*, 1 Kings ix. 16. 'Pharaoh had taken Gezer . . . and given it for a present unto his daughter, Solomon's wife.'

Words of an entirely special signification are:—דְּוִרָה, 'dowry' (Gen. xxx. 20).

כְּהָר, 'dowry,'—paid by the bridegroom to the parents of the bride (עֲדָר; Arab. مهر; Syr.

מַסְנֵן) (Gen. xxxiv. 12; Exod. xxii. 16).

נֶדֶחַ, *Nedeh*, 'gift to a whore' (Ezek. xvi. 35).

The N. T. chiefly employs the following words:—Δῶρον (דוֹרֶן, in Talmud and Midrash), principally a gift of honour, Matt. ii. 11, *Sacrificial offering* (cf. II. vi. 293, viii. 203), Matt. v. 23, 24; viii. 4; Mark vii. 11 (קָרְבָּן); etc., *charity* (cast into the poor-box of the Temple), Luke xxi. 1, ff.

Δωρεά (דוֹרִיָּה, Talmud, Midrash) (ἐπουδνιος), Heb. vi. 4, 'heavenly gift,' Holy Ghost; scil. τοῦ πνεύματος, Acts ii. 38, etc.; τοῦ Θεοῦ, John iv. 10;

Acts viii. 20, etc. (cf. Æsch. *Prom.* 619; Soph. *Al.* 1032, Plato, *Rep.* v. 468).

Δῶρημα, gift of life, Jam. i. 17, τέλειον, a complete, perfect, because *Divine Gift* (cf. Soph. *Tr.* 668; Ar. *Nub.* 305; Xen. *Hier.* ii. 4).

Χάρις, Χάρισμα, a gift bestowed through the grace of God, without any merit on the receiver's part (like the *Gnosis*), 1 Cor. i. 7; vii. 7; Rom. v. 15, 16; 1 Tim. iv. 14, etc.; a special gift, Rom. xi. 29; xii. 6, etc.

Ἀνάθημα = ἱερὸν, a gift consecrated to God, and deposited in the Temple for its special use and ornament (Suid., πᾶν τὸ ἀφιερωμένον θεῷ), Luke xxi. 5. (2 Macc. v. 16; 3 Macc. iii. 17, etc.; Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 7; *Antiq.* xiii. 8; xvii. 6, etc.)

No less various than the occasions which called them forth, were the gifts themselves. Sometimes consisting of the simple produce of the soil and pastures, or prepared food (Gen. xiv. 53; xxxii. 13; 1 Kings x. 25; 2 Chron. xvii. 11, etc.), they at other times took the more convenient or ambitious form of money, silver, gold, jewels, garments, arms, and other articles of use and ornament (1 Sam. ix. 8; 2 Sam. xviii. 11; 1 Kings x. 25; Job xlii. 11, etc.),—the value naturally corresponding to the respective position of donor and receiver, and the complimentary or interested purpose they were to serve. Thus, while 1 Sam. ix. 8, Saul's present to the prophet, amounts to one-fourth of a Shekel only, the Philistines promise Delilah for the capture of Samson no less than 1100 Shekels (Judg. xvi. 5). It was, and still is, the custom among friends in the East to offer a present to each other on the occasion of a visit; be it only a flower or a fruit (Lane, *Mod. Egypt.*; Notes to Arab. Nights; Jahn, *Bibl. Arch.*, sec. 202). On feasts—private or religious—friends send each other eatables, placed in a dish or tray, covered with a richly embroidered handkerchief or napkin (*ib.*). Inferiors, again, pay their respects to their superiors, clients to their patrons, subjects to their rulers, the conquered to the conqueror (1 Sam. x. 27; Judg. iii. 15, 17; 2 Kings xvii. 3, ff.; Ps. xlv. 13, etc.; cf. *Cyrop.* v. 15, 12; Buckingham *Mes.* iv. 39), by offering the most costly gifts, in order to ensure a good reception (cf. *Prov.* xviii. 16), since a present which should fall short of the receiver's expectations is sent back and a better one asked for (*Tavern.* i., p. 207; *Pococke*, iii., p. 481, etc.) [Cf. *Mal.* i. 8. 'Would thy governor receive such unworthy gifts?']. The presents bestowed by kings upon those they wished to honour (Gen. xlv. 22, etc.), military and civil officers (*Esth.* ii. 18), ambassadors, distinguished strangers, and others, consisted of money, rings, chains, and principally garments (Kaftan, Chala), Gen. xlv. 22, ff.; Dan. v. 16, 29; *Esth.* vi. 8, 15; *Zach.* iii. 4, etc. Cf. *Cyrop.* viii. 3: Cyrus presenting all his officers with Median Robes. II. xxiv. 226: Priam distributing garments of honour to his guests (*Freytag, Hist. Hal.* 33, 38; *Ælian. V. H.*; II. i. 32, etc.)

These garments, חֲלִיפֹת, were principally bestowed before a feast (Gen. xlv. 22; Is. iv. 6; li. 10; Rev. iii. 5), it being a great breach of etiquette not to appear in them on the occasion, *Chard.* iii., p. 325. Sometimes to enhance the value of his gift, the king presents his favourite with the garment he has worn himself (1 Sam. xviii. 4; *Cyrop.* i. 4, 26; v. 1, 1). Distribution

of food among the people on festive occasions is mentioned 2 Sam. vi. 19 (= the Roman *congiaria*, *viscerationes*, Liv. xxv. 2, Cic. *Off.* ii. 16). It is but natural to the East that the greatest pomp and circumstance should be connected with the presentation of gifts. As many men and beasts of burden—each perhaps carrying a ridiculously small piece of the offering—as can possibly be mustered, are pressed into the dignified procession which is to carry it; thus *forty* [if the reading be correct] camels' load of presents are sent by Ben Hadad to Elisha (2 Kings viii. 9). Abundant examples of this often gratuitous show are furnished by the Assyrian and Persepolitan sculptures. The reception of the present, chiefly from a superior, is no less accompanied with all the customary signs of reverence and respect, such as kissing it, touching it with the forehead, or laying it upon the head (cf. Jahn, *B. A.*, sec. 203). That the refusal of a present constituted a great insult need hardly be added.—E. D.

GIHON (גִּיחֹן and גִּיחֹן; Sept. Γαῶν and Γεῶν).

This word is from the root גִּיחַ, and signifies 'a bursting forth'; and hence it may be applied either to a *fountain* or a *stream* flowing from it. In the Bible it is used as a proper name.

1. *Gihon*, one of the rivers of Eden, Gen. ii. 13 (PARADISE). Arab geographers apply the name *Gihon*, جیحون, to the river Oxus.

2. *Gihon*, a *fountain*, *stream*, and *valley*, beside Jerusalem. This name has given rise to not a little controversy among topographers. We shall first state the several theories which have been advanced regarding it, and then endeavour to shew its real import and locality. (1) Some affirm that Gihon was the ancient name of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and that it is compounded of the words גִּיחַ, 'a valley,' and חֵן, 'beauty.' The Fountain of the Virgin, which rises at the bottom of the valley, had originally flowed into the brook Kidron, but was artificially carried by a conduit across the ridge of Sion (?) to the pool of Siloam. This was the lower water-course of Gihon. More to the north was anciently another spring, called the upper water-course of Gihon, which was stopped or sealed in the time of Hezekiah, and conveyed to the west side of the City of David (Lewin, *Jerusalem*, p. 11, *seq.*) It will be seen that in this theory the 'City of David' is identified with Moriah. (2) Others state that Gihon was the old name of the Tyropoean valley; that the Pool of Siloam was the 'lower Gihon'; and that the 'upper Gihon' was on the table-land north of the Damascus gate (Williams, *Holy City*, i. 124, supplement). (3) Others state that Gihon was a name sometimes given to the valley of Hinnom, and that the 'upper outflow' was at the head of that valley west of the city (Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 346). (4) An English engineer, recently sent out to survey the waters of Jerusalem, has reported that there are not, and from the position of the city, and the character of the strata, there could not be any perennial fountain in or around Jerusalem. The so-called Fountain of the Virgin, he says, is supplied by the leakage from the great cisterns under the temple area; and the peculiar taste of its water is occasioned by stagnation and filth (MS. Report). If this be so, then Gihon could neither be a fountain nor a perennial stream.

Gihon is first mentioned in connection with the coronation of Solomon. Its direction is not specified; we only learn that it was without the city, and that there was a descent to it from Mount Zion. David said 'Bring him down' (הורדום) to Gihon (1 Kings i. 33). The natural supposition from the whole of this narrative would be that Gihon was a valley in which the people were accustomed to assemble. Josephus calls it a fountain (*Antiq.* vii. 14. 5). In 2 Chron. xxxii. 30 we read that Hezekiah stopped the upper fountain (מוֹצֵא מִיָּמִין) of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David. This is evidently connected with ver. 3. He took counsel 'to stop the waters of the fountains (הַעֲיִנֹת) which were without the city' . . . and they 'stopped all the fountains, and the brook that ran through the midst of the land.' From these passages it appears that Gihon was a *fountain*, and that a stream from it originally ran through a *valley of the same name*; and farther, that the fountain was so situated that its waters could be conducted by a subterranean channel into the city of David on the west side. The position of the city of David has been disputed (JERUSALEM); being convinced, however, that it stood on the western hill, we are forced to conclude that the fountain of Gihon lay at the head of the valley of Hinnom; because from no other place could water be brought to the west side of the city of David. It would seem, from a comparison of the above passages with 2 Kings xviii. 17; Is. vii. 3; xxxvi. 2; xxii. 9, that there was also an 'upper' and a 'lower' pool in the valley of Gihon. There is one passage which at first sight appears to militate against the above conclusions, as it would bring Gihon within one of the city walls—'And after this he (Manasseh) built a wall without the city of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even to the entering in at the fish-gate' (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14). The Hebrew, however, may, with equal accuracy, be rendered, 'He built an outer wall to the city of David on the west, to (or 'towards') Gihon in the valley, and to the entering,' etc. (See Bertheau, *in loc.*; Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 245). The son of Sirach thus refers to Hezekiah's work: 'He fortified his city, and brought in water into the midst thereof; he digged the hard rock with iron, and made wells (cisterns) for water' (Ecclus. xlviii. 17). Josephus also speaks of water brought into the tower of Hippicus, which could only have come from the west (*Bell. Jud.* v. 7. 3).

The results of our examination of authorities may be thus stated. The upper fountain of Gihon was in the head of the valley of Hinnom, and a stream from it ran down through that valley. The fountain was covered by Hezekiah, and the water brought into the city of David by a concealed channel, partly hewn in the rock. There was an 'upper' and a 'lower' pool in this valley. A close examination of the place tends to confirm these views. No fountain has yet been discovered, nor could it be without extensive excavations; but a section of an old aqueduct was laid bare when sinking the foundations of the new church on the northern summit of Zion. It was 20 feet beneath the surface, in places excavated in the rock, and its direction was from west to east (Bartlett, *Walks about Jerusalem*). This may be a portion of Hezekiah's aqueduct from Gihon; and it may have carried the water to the temple area as well as to

Zion. In the valley of Hinnom are still two great 'pools,' one at its head called Birket el-Mamilla; another west of the present Sion gate in the bottom of the glen, called Birket-es-Sultân. The above is the only place that can be assigned to Gihon, unless we remove the City of David to the Temple Mount, as has been done by Williams, Lewin, and others. For a full discussion of the question, the reader is referred to the article JERUSALEM, and to the following works:—Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 345, *seq.*; ii. 242, *seq.*; Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 466, *seq.*; Lewin, pp. 11, 40, 52; Fergusson, *Jerusalem*: Barclay, *City of the Great King*.—J. L. P.

GIKATILLA or GEKATILIA (נקטיליא)

(נקטלה), or IBN GIKATILLA, Isaac, a distinguished Hebraist, poet, and philosopher, who flourished

about A.D. 1020. נקטלה is the Spanish *Chiquitilla* for the Hebrew appellation חֲכִימָהּ, *i.e.*, *parvus* or *junior*, which the Jews, from a very early date, affixed to their names as an expression of modesty (comp. Mark xv. 40; Eph. iii. 8; Jerusalem Sota, iv. 9; Megilla, 32 a; Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, Lond. 1857, p. 343, note 24). The fact that he was the teacher of the celebrated philologist Ibn Ganach, whose taste for lexicography he helped to develop, renders Gikatilla specially interesting to the student of Biblical exegesis, and makes us all the more regret that none of his linguistic treatises have as yet come to light. His pupil Ibn Ganach quotes his rendering of נִפְתִּי (Ps. lxxviii. 10), and of the difficult expression נִפְתִּי (Prov. vii. 17), by *to moisten*. Kimchi quotes him in *Michtal*, art. נִפְתִּי, and Ibn Balam refers to him in his commentary on the Pentateuch. Comp. Steinschneider, in *Hechalutz*, Lemberg 1853, vol. ii. p. 61; Ewald and Duke's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ältesten Auslegung*, etc., Stuttgart 1844, vol. i. p. 127, note 1, vol. ii. p. 167.—C. D. G.

GIKATILLA, MOSES HA-COHEN, B. SAMUEL, also called IBN GIKATILLA, of Cordova, flourished about A.D. 1070 to 1100, and was a pupil of the celebrated Ibn Ganach, whose liberal spirit he largely imbibed in his expositions of Scripture. Though M. Gikatilla was one of the most extensive commentators and grammarians, and one whose liberal criticisms must have exercised a most powerful and salutary influence upon interpreters and lexicographers, yet none of his numerous productions have as yet come to light. All that we now possess of his exegetical and linguistic labours are small fragments which have been preserved in the works of the most eminent commentators. But these fragments are too precious to be lost sight of. For the sake of the Biblical student, we shall therefore give the places where they are quoted in the enumeration of M. Gikatilla's works. His *exegetical works* are as follows:—

1. *A Commentary on the Pentateuch*, fragments of which are given by Ibn Ezra in his commentary on Gen. i. 26; xxxvii. 25; xli. 48; xlii. 25; xlix. 6; Exod. ii. 4; x. 12; xii. 2; xiii. 9, 17; xiv. 4; xv. 2; xvi. 15; xix. 1; xxii. 30; Lev. iv. 23; vi. 20; Num. viii. 7; xiv. 45; xx. 8; xxi. 30; xxii. 13; xxviii. 4, 11; Deut. viii. 8.

2. *A Commentary on Isaiah*, fragments of which are given by Ibn Ezra on Is. i. 6, 22; ii. 6; iv. 2; vi. 9; viii. 10; ix. 17; x. 3; xi. 1, 11, 14; xxvii. 2, 7; xxv. 1; xxvi. 20; xxvii. 1, 3, 5;

xxviii. 6, 15, 29; xxx. 25, 28; xxxiii. 8; xxxiv. 2; xxxv. 1, 3; xl. 1; xlv. 19; xlix. 8; li. 2; lii. 1, 18; liv. 1, 11; lvi. 1; lxi. 1; lxii. 2; lxv. 11; lxvi. 5, 11; by Samuel Ibn Tibbon in his *Yekon ha-Mimim*, ed. Presburg 1839, p. 44; and by Joseph Albo in his *Ikarim*, part i. sec. 1.

3. *A Commentary on Ezekiel*, quoted by D. Kimchi in his commentary on Ezek. iii. 13, and by Menasseh ben Israel in his *Nishmath Chajim*.

4. *A Commentary on the Minor Prophets*, fragments of which are given by Ibn Ezra in his commentary on Hosea viii. 13; x. 8; Joel i. 19; iv. 1; Amos vii. 1; Obad. vers. 17, 20; Jonah i. 6; Micah iv. 9; Nahum ii. 4; Habak. iii. 14; Zeph. ii. 1; iii. 1, 8, 18, 19, 20; Hag. i. 1; ii. 9; Zech. i. 8; viii. 10; x. 9; xiii. 1.

5. *A Commentary on the Psalms*, fragments of which are given by Ibn Ezra in his commentary on the Psalms. Comp. comment. on Ps. i. 1; ii. 12; iv. 3; vi. 3; vii. 5, 7, 8, 9; viii. 2, 3; ix. 7; x. 3, 5, 9; xi. 7; xvi. 2, 6; xxiv. 3; xxv. 1; xxvi. 1, 9; xxvii. 2, 8; xxviii. 7, 8, 9; xxix. 7, 9; xxxi. 6, 7; xxxii. 7, 10; xxxiii. 2, 7; xxxiv. 9; xxxv. 20; xxxvi. 7; xxxvii. 3; xxxviii. 23; xl. 7; xlii. 1; xlvii. 1; xlviii. 13, 15; xlix. 7, 15; l. 10, 11, 21; liii. 2; liv. 6; lv. 9, 16, 23; lviii. 2; lx. 7, 11; lxv. 6, 9; lxviii. 5, 9; lxx. 3, 19, 27, 28; lxxii. 9; lxxiii. 4, 7, 10, 21, 25; lxxiv. 3, 5, 13, 14; lxxv. 7; lxxvi. 4, 5, 10, 12; lxxvii. 5, 9, 11, 17, 20; lxxviii. 20, 39, 57; lxxix. 11; lxxx. 6; lxxxiv. 4; lxxxix. 1; xc. 1, 2, 8, 11; xciv. 20; ci. 2; cvii. 43; cviii. 2, 3; cx. 3, 4; cxl. 10; cxlii. 5; cxv. 12, 16; cxvi. 10, 13; cxvii. 1; cxviii. 6, 14; cxix. 7, 9, 96, 133; cxxii. 1; cxxxii. 6; cxxxiii. 3; cxxxvii. 2, 3; cxxxviii. 7; cxxxx. 3, 11, 20; cxl. 9; cxli. 3, 5, 10; cxlii. 5; cxlix. 6; Kimchi on Ps. viii. 3; lxxvii. 5; cxxxii. 6; and Lexicon under עֹר and שֶׁמֶר, and Samuel Ibn Tibbon *Yekon ha-Mimim*, p. 88.

6. *A Commentary on Job*, the MS. of which is in the Bodleian, Oxford [Uri, p. 45], i. p. 75. Ewald has given extracts of this commentary in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ältesten Auslegung*, Stuttgart 1844, vol. i. p. 77, ff; fragments of it are also given by Ibn Ezra in his commentary on Job iv. 10; v. 5, 12; vii. 5; xi. 17; xvii. 12; xxxvi. 31; D. Kimchi in his *Lexicon*, art. עֹר, and by Maimonides in his *Treatise on the Resurrection*.

M. Gikatilla also wrote a *grammatical work*, entitled סֵפֶר זִכְרֵי וְנִקְיֻת, which treats on the use of the gender in Hebrew nouns, and which is frequently quoted by Ibn Ezra, and translated from the Arabic into Hebrew the grammatical work of Chajug, called סֵפֶר אֲזוּתֵי הַנֶּחֱם. [CHAJUG.]

From the fragments preserved of his exegetical works, we see that Gikatilla was both a profound and liberal critic. Unlike most of the interpreters of his time, he endeavoured to explain away all the Messianic prophecies of the O. T. (comp. Ibn Ezra on Is. xi.), and assigned the authorship of some Psalms to the Babylonish captivity (comp. Ibn Ezra, *Pr. xlii.*) at the time when both the Synagogue and the Church believed that the whole Psalter proceeded from David. Like Saadia he frequently departed from the Massoretic division of the text. Thus לִמְכַבֵּר, at the end of verse 31 in

Job xxxvi. 1, he took over to עַל כַּפַּיִם in the following verse, *i.e.*, 'He giveth meat in abundance, covering the hands with light' (comp. also Habak. iii. 2. The influence which this critic must have exercised

upon his contemporary and subsequent expositors of the Bible, may be judged of from the fact that the eminent Ibn Ezra quotes his works so largely. We have therefore deemed it a duty, owing alike to Biblical exegesis and to this remarkable interpreter, carefully to read through the commentaries of Ibn Ezra, and collate the fragments of Gikatilla therein preserved. And it will be seen that the passages given in this article are more numerous than those collected by the learned and painstaking Leopold Dukes in the *Beiträge zur Ältesten Auslegung*, Stuttgart 1844, vol. ii. p. 180, ff. We would only add that Ibn Ezra also quotes Gikatilla in his *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, v. 12; ix. 15; x. 17, 18, and it is therefore probable that he also commented upon this book. He is generally quoted by Ibn Ezra as רמשה הכהן הספרדי, *R. Moses Ha-Cohen Ha-Sefardi*, i. e. the Spaniard, or רמשה הכהן, *R. Mose Ha-Cohen*, רמשה הספרדי, *R. Mose Ha-Sefardi*, or simply רמשה, *R. Mose*. These different appellations must be borne in mind by the student of Hebrew exegesis to identify this celebrated commentator.—C. D. G.

GILBOA, usually *Mount Gilboa* (הַר חִנְבֹּלָה);

Sept. τὰ ὄρη Γελβούε), a ridge of hills rising at Jezreel in the eastern end of the plain of Esdraelon, and extending to the brow of the Jordan valley. Upon Gilboa Saul collected the Israelites to oppose the forces of the Philistines assembled at Shunem. The result of the battle is well known. Saul and his three sons were slain upon the mountain. The news was carried to David, and he gave expression to his grief in one of the most beautiful and pathetic odes in the Bible. In it he thus apostrophizes Gilboa—'Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew, neither rain upon you, nor fields of offerings; for there the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away, the shield of Saul, as though he had not been anointed with oil' (2 Sam. i. 21). It is somewhat singular that Gilboa is never once mentioned in Scripture except in connection with this event; and it is not afterwards alluded to in history. The incidental references in the Bible narrative, and in the fuller account furnished by Josephus (*Antiq.* vii. 14) leave no doubt as to its position. Jerome informs us that Gilboa lay six miles south of Scythopolis; and that upon it was a large village called *Gelbus* (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Gelbue*), which has been identified with the modern village of Jelbôn (Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 316). Gilboa was known to the Crusaders, and William of Tyre mentions a noted fountain at the foot of the range (*Histor.* xxii. 6; Reland, p. 863; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 325).

A knowledge of the topography of this region gives great vividness to several of the Scripture narratives; but especially to that of the fatal battle in which Saul fell. About six miles north of Gilboa is a parallel range of nearly equal elevation and length, anciently called the 'hill of Moreh' (*Judg.* vii. 1), but now Jebel-ed-Duh (and by travellers 'Little Hermon'). Between the two ranges lies the beautiful valley of Jezreel, having at its eastern end, overlooking the Jordan, the mound and ruins of Bethshean. At the western extremity of Gilboa stood the city of Jezreel; and about half a mile east of it, close to the foot of the hill, is the large fountain of Jezreel or Harod (*Judg.* vii. 1), now called Ain Jâlûd. The spring may perhaps have given the range its name *Gilboa* ('Bubbling

Fountain; ' from גל and בוע; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, s. v.) Opposite these on the other side of the valley, and near the base of Moreh, stands Shunem; and away behind the latter hill, hidden from view, is the village of Endor.

The Philistines encamped on the north side of the valley at Shunem; and Saul took up a position by the fountain of Jezreel, at the base of Gilboa (1 Sam. xxviii. 4; xxix. 1). From the brow of the hill above the camp Saul had a full view of the enemy, and he was struck with terror at their numbers (xxviii. 5). The position he had chosen was a bad one. There is a gradual descent in the valley from Shunem to the base of Gilboa at the fountain, while immediately behind it the hill rises steep and rocky. The Philistines had all the advantage of the gentle descent for their attack, and both front and flanks of the Israelites were exposed, and retreat almost impossible up the steep hill side. On the night before the battle Saul went to Endor. The battle seems to have begun early in the morning, when the king was wearied and dispirited (xxviii. 19). The Israelites were broken at once by the fierce onset of the enemy, and the slaughter was terrible as they attempted to flee up the sides of Gilboa. While the terror-stricken masses were clambering up the rugged slopes, they were completely exposed to the arrows of the Philistine archers. 'They fell down slain in Mount Gilboa' (xxxi. 1); 'The Philistines followed hard upon Saul and upon his sons,' probably when they tried to rally their troops. The three sons fell beside their father; 'and the battle went sore against Saul, and the archers hit him; and he was sore wounded of the archers' (ver. 3). David has caught the peculiarity of the position in his ode: 'The beauty of Israel is slain upon the high places;' and, 'Jonathan, thou wast slain upon thine high places' (2 Sam. i. 19, 25). The stripping and mutilating of the slain is characteristic of the Arab tribes to this day, and the writer witnessed some fearful instances of it in 1858 near this same spot (*Handbook for S. and P.*, 355). The Philistines took the body of Saul and fastened it to the wall of the neighbouring fortress of Bethshean, from whence it was snatched by a few brave men from Jabesh Gilead (Stanley, *S. and P.*, 330-37).

The ridge of Gilboa is bleak and bare. The soil is scanty, and the gray limestone rocks crop out in jagged cliffs and naked crowns, giving the whole a look of painful barrenness. One would almost think, on looking at it, that David's words were prophetic (Van de Velde, ii. 369). The highest point of Gilboa is said to have an elevation of about 2200 feet above the sea, and 1200 above the valley of Jezreel (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 178).—J. L. P.

GILEAD (גִּלְעָד; Sept. Γαλαδ), a mountain range on the east of the Jordan, extending from the parallel of Rabboth-Ammon on the south, to the river Hieromax on the north. The same name was given to the province lying between these parallels. With the exception of the narrow strip of plain along the bank of the Jordan, the mountains cover the whole region; hence it is sometimes called 'Mount Gilead' (*Deut.* iii. 12; *Jer.* l. 19); sometimes 'the Land of Gilead' (*Deut.* xxxiv. 1; *Num.* xxxii. 1, 29; *Zech.* x. 10); and sometimes simply 'Gilead' (*Num.* xxxii. 40; *Josh.*

xvii. 1; Amos i. 3). The inhabitants were called 'Gileadites' (Judg. x. 3; 2 Kings xv. 25).

The origin of the name is doubtless to be sought for in the physical aspect of the country. The Hebrew גִּלְעָד, like the Arabic جَلَد, signifies 'hard' or 'rugged' (Gesenius, *Thesaurus*; Freytag, *Lex. Arab.*, s. v.); and the whole province may be justly termed גִּלְעָד, 'the rugged.' Some have opposed this view on the ground that a different etymology is given in Gen. xxxi. 47. But every Oriental scholar will see how easily the two can be reconciled. The original name of the mountain was גִּלְעָד; 'Jacob set his face toward the mount Gilead' (Gen. xxxi. 21). Laban overtook him there. They made a covenant. Jacob thereupon raised a heap of stones and called it *Galeed*; that is, 'the heap,' הָא, 'of witness,' וְעָ; thus making the name of the mountain apply, by a slight change of pronunciation, to the heap he had erected. Such a play upon words is of common occurrence in the East even yet; and the Arabs delight in it. The exact site of this *Galeed* is not known. It could not have been far from Mahanaim. It was doubtless on one of those rounded eminences to the northward, which overlook the broad plateau of Bashan (Gen. xxxi. 25; xxxii. 1, 2).

We next hear of Gilead on the approach of the Israelites to Palestine. Its rich pastures attracted the attention of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, who had 'a very great multitude of cattle.' They asked Moses to give them their inheritance there, and he consented (Num. xxxii. 1, 29, sq.) The Amorites under the rule of Sihon, who reigned in Heshbon, then possessed Gilead as far north as the Jabbok (xxxii. 33, 39; Josh. xii. 3). The northern section, 'half-Gilead,' as it is called in the Bible, was included with Bashan in the kingdom of Og (xii. 6), and was divided between Gad and Manasseh (GAD). The northern boundary of Gilead is not defined by any ancient writer. All we learn from the Bible is that one half of it was south, and the other half north of the Jabbok. The features of the country assist us. The mountain range terminates at the river Hieromax. North of it is the plateau of Bashan, the side of which rises about 2500 feet above the deep Jordan valley, and thus appears from the west like a continuation of the Gilead range. Hence the error of Eusebius in stating that the mountains of Gilead joined Lebanon (*Onomast.*, s. v.) Josephus states that the city of Gadara was in Gilead, and Gamala in Gaulanitis, a part of Bashan. The former city is only some two miles south of the Hieromax, and the latter about four north (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 5; *Vita*, 37; *Bell. Jud.* iii. 3, 5). We may therefore conclude that the Hieromax separated the ancient provinces of Gilead and Bashan. Reland is consequently mistaken when he says, 'Initium Basanis ducitur a Machanaim' (*Pal. zoo*); and Bochart is still more mistaken in his statement—'Basan . . . regio est trans Jordanem inter torrentes Jabok et Arnon' (*Opera*, ii. p. 305; see this point discussed at length in Kitto's *Journal of Sacred Literature* for July 1854).

There are two passages of Scripture in which the name Gilead seems to be taken in a wider sense.

Thus, in Deut. xxxiv. 1, it is said that when Moses went to the top of Pisgah, 'the Lord shewed him all the land of Gilead unto Dan'; yet Gilead, as has been seen, did not reach to within thirty miles of Dan. It is evident that a popular mode of expression is here adopted, the name of the principal part being put for the whole. So also in Josh. xx. 8; Judg. v. 17, etc.

The physical character of the country and the peculiarity of its position had a marked effect on the inhabitants of Gilead, and still have to this day. The Gadites retained their old pastoral and semi-nomad habits, while their brethren west of the Jordan settled down in cities and farms. Gilead was border land; and exposed along the eastern frontier to the unceasing raids of the desert tribes, and on the north to the armies of Syria. The people thus situated became inured to fatigue, danger, and war. Jephthah, the Gileadite, played a distinguished part in the time of the Judges, leading on his followers after the manner of an Arab *Sheikh* (Judg. xi.); and some of David's noted warriors were trained amid these mountains (1 Chron. xii. 8, 15). Ramoth-Gilead became the gathering-place and stronghold of the tribes beyond the river, and the scene of many a fierce conflict (1 Kings xxii. 4; 2 Kings viii. 28). The Gileadites sustained the first onslaught of the great Assyrian conqueror, and became the first captives (xv. 29). Gilead was a favourite asylum for refugees. When Abner rallied the Israelites around Ishbosheth, he brought him over the Jordan to Mahanaim (2 Sam. ii. 8); and thither David fled from Absalom (see Stanley, *S. and P.*, 322). The reason was twofold—Gilead was a great natural stronghold where invasion and apprehension were equally difficult; and the Gileadites, with that genuine hospitality which characterises the Arab tribes, were ever ready to give a home and a welcome to the stranger.

After the close of the O. T. history the name Gilead is seldom mentioned. It seems to have soon passed out of use; for though referred to a few times by the apocryphal writers (1 Maccab. v. 9, 20, 36), by Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 19. 11; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 3. 3), and by Eusebius (*Onomast.* l. c.); yet it seems only to be borrowed from the Bible. The allusions are all vague, and those who make them had evidently no definite knowledge of the country. In Josephus and in the N. T. the names *Peraa* and *πέρα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*, are used instead of Gilead (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 3. 3; Matt. iv. 15; John i. 28); and the country is sometimes spoken of by Josephus as divided into small provinces, called after their capitals, Gadara, Pella, etc., in which Greek colonists had established themselves during the reign of the Seleucidae (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iii. 3. 1).

Gilead is now divided into two provinces, separated by the Jabboc. The northern is called *Jebel Ajlûn*, and the southern *Jebel Yilâd*, in which we can recognize the ancient name. The inhabitants, like the old Gadites, are semi-nomads, whose wealth consists in flocks and herds. Like them, too, they are harassed by the desert tribes, they are inured to arms, and they are noted for their hospitality. The capital of the whole country is *es-Salt*, which occupies the site of Ramoth-Gilead (Burckhardt, *Trav. in Syr.*; Buckingham, *Arab Tribes*; Lord Lindsay's *Travels*; *Irbid and Mangles*).

The great body of the range of Gilead is Jura limestone, but there are also occasional veins of

sandstone. The oak and terebinth flourish on the former, and the pine on the latter. The average elevation of the mountains is about 2500 feet; but as seen from the west they appear much higher, owing to the depression of the Jordan valley. The summit of the range is singularly uniform, resembling a great wall; yet the sides are deeply seamed with ravines. The pastures are everywhere luxuriant; and the wooded heights and winding glens clothed with tangled shrubbery, and having here and there open glades and flat meadows of green turf, present a marked contrast to the general bareness of western Palestine. 'In passing through the country one can scarcely get over the impression that he is roaming through an English park. The graceful hills, the rich vales, the luxuriant herbage, the bright wild-flowers, the plantations of ever-green oak, pine, and arbutus; now a tangled thicket, and now sparsely scattered over the gentle slope, as if intended to reveal its beauty; the little rivulets fringed with oleander, at one place running lazily between alluvial banks, at another dashing madly down rocky ravines. Such are the features of the mountains of Gilead. And then, too, we have the cooing of the wood-pigeon, the hoarse call of the partridge, the incessant hum of myriads of insects, and the cheerful chirp of grasshoppers to give life to the scene. Add to all the crumbling ruins of town, village, and fortress, clinging to the mountain-side or crowning its summit, and you have a picture of the country between es-Salt and Gerasa' (*Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 310). Such a picture, too, illustrates at once the fertility ascribed to it by Jeremiah (xxii. 6; i. 19), and the judgments pronounced against it by Amos (i. 3, 13).—J. L. P.

GILGAL (גִּלְגָּל; Sept. Γολγθλ, Γαλγθλ, and Γάλαλα), a place in the plain of the Jordan, on the right bank of the river, and on 'the east border of Jericho' (Josh. iv. 19). It was the first encampment of the Israelites in Palestine, where they pitched their tents immediately after the miraculous passage of the river, and where they set up the twelve stones brought out of the river's bed. It would appear that Gilgal was the name of the place before the Exodus, for Moses describes the Canaanites as dwelling 'over against Gilgal' (Deut. xi. 30). The difficulties connected with this passage have been already explained under EBAL. Keil supposes this Gilgal to have been near Shechem. (See *Comm. on Josh.*, pp. 219, 232). In Josh. v. 7 we read that after the Israelites had been circumcised 'the Lord said unto Joshua, 'This day have I rolled away' (רָחַק) the reproach of Egypt from off you.' Wherefore the name of the place is called *Gilgal* unto this day.' The meaning does not seem to be that a new name was given; but rather that a new meaning and significance were attached to the old name. The word *Gilgal* means a 'circle,' and also a 'rolling away.' A similar play upon a word was noticed in the case of GILEAD; and Bethel is an example of an old name having attached to it a new significance (Gen. xxviii. 19; xxxv. 15). This explanation, simple, natural, and in full accordance with the genius of the Oriental languages and the literary tastes of the people, removes at once the hosts of infidel objections that have been brought against the passage (Keil, *in loc.*)

The camp of Gilgal became permanent; and

probably in grateful memorial of the Lord's mercy in bringing them into the land, and of his appearance there to Joshua as 'captain of the host' (Josh. v. 14), the people made it for centuries the great gathering place of the tribes (ix. 6; x. 6, 43). The Tabernacle remained there during the long wars in the interior, and until it was removed to Shiloh (xviii. 1). Gilgal was one of the three assize towns in which Samuel judged (1 Sam. vii. 16); and in its sacred groves were celebrated the solemn assemblies of Samuel and Saul, and of David on his return from exile (Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 302; 1 Sam. x. 8; xi. 14; xiii. 4, *sq.*; xv. 12, *sq.*; 2 Sam. xix. 15). After the erection of the temple Gilgal appears to have been neglected. Probably when Jericho was rebuilt the traditional sanctity of Gilgal was transferred to it, and there a school of the prophets was established and remained until a late period (2 Kings ii. 5—JERICHO). Gilgal was denounced by the prophets because of the sins committed there at the high place (Hos. iv. 15; Amos iv. 4; v. 5). These idolatrous practices are specially mentioned by Epiphanius and others (Reland, p. 782, *sq.*) The utter desolation of its site, and the whole surrounding region, shews how fearfully the prophecies have been fulfilled.

The site of Gilgal is fixed by Josephus fifty furlongs from the Jordan and ten from Jericho (*Antiq.* v. i. 4). Jerome's description agrees with this; and he farther states that in his day it was desert (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Galgala*). These specifications shew that Gilgal must have been at, or very near, the site of the modern village of Riha (*Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 196). Arculf locates it five miles from Jericho, and says a church stood upon the spot (*Early Travels in Pal.*, p. 7). It is probable, however, that the ecclesiastical architects had not been very particular about topography (Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 557).

2. *Gilgal*, a royal city of the Canaanites, appears to have been situated on the western plain, as it is connected with the 'region of Dor' (Josh. xii. 23). Jerome places it six miles north of Antipatris (now Kefr Saba). The modern village of *Jiljûleh*, about four miles south of Antipatris, may mark its site, as it bears its name (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Gelgel*, Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 243).

3. *Gilgal* in the mountains. A Gilgal is mentioned in 2 Kings ii. 1; and it is said of Elijah and Elisha that they *went down* from it to Bethel. It must, consequently, have been different from the Gilgal in the plain of Jericho, which is more than 3000 feet *below* Bethel (ver. 2). Also in Neh. xii. 29 we read of Gilgal in connection with Geba. These may perhaps be identical with the *Galgala* supposed by Jerome and Eusebius to be near to Bethel (*Onomast.* s. v.); Keil (*Commentary on Joshua*, p. 219), Van de Velde (*Memoir*, 316), and others, would identify it with the village of *Jiljûlia*, six miles north of Bethel. Keil argues that this was the site of the permanent camp, and the place where the tabernacle was set up; but his proofs are not conclusive (See, however, Keil *on Joshua*, pp. 219, 232).—J. L. P.

GILL, JOHN, DR., was born at Kettering in Northamptonshire, Nov. 23, O. S. 1697. He was educated at the grammar school in his native town, and though only eleven years old when he left it, was distinguished for his proficiency in classical learning. He acquired a knowledge of

Hebrew by the help of Buxtorf's grammar and lexicon. In 1716 he joined the Baptist Church at Kettering, and shortly after became assistant preacher. In 1719 he was chosen pastor of the church at Horsley Down, Southwark, and retained that office till his death, Oct. 14, 1771. During the whole of his life he was an indefatigable student. His literary reputation is founded chiefly on his Rabbinical learning, in which he had few equals. His *Exposition of the New Testament*, in 3 vols. folio, appeared in 1746-1748; his *Exposition of the Prophets*, with a *Dissertation on the Apocryphal Writings*, in 1757-1758; and the *Exposition from Genesis to Solomon's Song*, 4 vols. folio, 1763-1766. He had previously published an exposition of Solomon's Song in 1728, with a translation of the Chaldee Paraphrase; a second edition appeared in 1751, and a third in 1767, with many additions, but without the Targum. His other works connected with Biblical literature are: *The Prophecies of the Old Testament respecting the Messiah*, 1728, in answer to Collins; *A Dissertation concerning the antiquity of the Hebrew Language, Letters, Vowel-points, and Accents*, 1767; *A dissertation on the Baptism of Jewish Proselytes*, appended to his *Body of Divinity*, 3 vols. 4to, 1770. His miscellaneous works, including sermons and several tracts relating to infant baptism, were republished after his death in 3 vols. 4to. He furnished Dr. Kennicott with a collection of the passages from the O. T. quoted in the Talmuds and the Rabboth.—J. E. R.

GILOH (גִּלּוֹה; Sept. Γηλῶν; Alex. Γηλῶν and Γωλά), a town of Judah, one of a group which lay on the declivities of the mountain-range south of Hebron (Josh. xv. 51). It was the native place of Ahithophel. Absalom, when meditating rebellion, asked permission to go and sacrifice in Hebron. Whilst there he sent for Ahithophel the Gilonite, David's counsellor, who had perhaps been banished for some cause from the court, and was now in disgrace at his own city (2 Sam. xv. 7, sq.) This would account for the otherwise inexplicable fact of a man so famed for his sagacity joining the wild adventure of the rebel son, and recommending such an abominable line of conduct (xvi. 21). Giloh was the scene of Ahithophel's miserable death. Its site is unknown.—J. L. P.

GIMZO (גִּמְצוֹ; Sept. Γαμζῶ), a town of the Shephelah, or 'low country' of Judah, captured by the Philistines, with Ajalon and other places, in the reign of Ahaz (2 Chron. xxviii. 18). It has been identified with the large village of Jimzu, situated on an eminence four miles east of Ramleh, on the road to Beth-horon and Jerusalem. It is about nine miles from Ajalon. The only traces of antiquity in it are large caves, hewn in the limestone rock, along the sides of the little hill, and now used as granaries (Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 249; *Handbook for S. and P.*, 279).—J. L. P.

GIN. [FOWLING.]

GIR (גִּיר or גִּר). This word is used Is. xxvii. 9, and is there rendered in the A. V. by *chalk* (חֲבֵטִים, 'chalk stones'). The Syr. supports this, giving *ܕܠܝܬܐ* (*Kelsa, calx*), as the equivalent; so also the Arab. The word seems to be derived from *גיר*, to *effervesce*, and properly to designate the

limestone or rock; 'the broken gir-stones' of the passage above cited are the fragments of limestone prepared for being burnt into lime. Limestone abounds in Palestine; indeed, the entire geological formation of the country is, with few exceptions, calcareous. This gives occasion to many of the peculiar features of the country, and has not been without historical results (See Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.*, p. 146, ff.)—W. L. A.

GIRDLE. [ABNET; ARMOUR; DRESS.]

GIRGASHITES (גִּרְגָּשִׁים; Sept. Γεργασαῖοι), one of the families of Canaan, who are supposed to have been settled in that part of the country which lay to the east of the Lake of Gennesareth. This conclusion is founded on the identity between the word Γεργασαῖοι, which the Septuagint gives for Girgashites, and that by which Matthew (viii. 28) indicates the land of the Gergesenes. But as this last reading rests on a conjecture of Origen, on which little reliance is now placed [GADARA], the conclusion drawn from it has no weight, although the fact is possible on other grounds. Indeed, the older reading, 'Gerasenes,' has sufficient resemblance to direct the attention to the country beyond the Jordan.

The Girgashites are conjectured to have been a part of the large family of the Hivites, as they are omitted in nine out of ten places in which the nations or families of Canaan are mentioned, while in the tenth they are mentioned, and the Hivites omitted. Josephus states that nothing but the name of the Girgashites remained in his time (*Antiq.* i. 6. 2). In the Jewish Commentaries of R. Nachman, and elsewhere, the Girgashites are described as having retired into Africa, fearing the power of God; and Procopius, in his *History of the Vandals*, mentions an ancient inscription in Mauritania Tingitana, stating that the inhabitants had fled thither from the face of Joshua the son of Nun. The fact of such a migration is not unlikely; but we have very serious doubts respecting the inscription, mentioned only by Procopius, which has afforded the groundwork of many wonderful conclusions; such, for instance, as that the American Indians were descended from these expelled Canaanites. The notion that the Girgashites did migrate seems to have been founded on the circumstance that, although they are included in the list of the seven devoted nations either to be driven out or destroyed by the Israelites (Gen. xv. 20, 21; Deut. vii. 1; Josh. iii. 10; xxiv. 11), yet they are omitted in the list of those to be utterly destroyed (Deut. xx. 17), and are probably among those with whom, contrary to the Divine decree, the Israelites lived and intermarried (Judg. iii. 1-6).—J. K.

GITTAIM (גִּתַּיִם; Sept. Γεταῖμ), a town of Benjamin. It would seem from 2 Sam. iv. 3 that the ancient Gibeonites were expelled from Beeroth, and either built or colonized Gittaim. In the lists of Nehemiah this town is connected with Rameh (Neh. xi. 33); but its site has not been identified.—J. L. P.

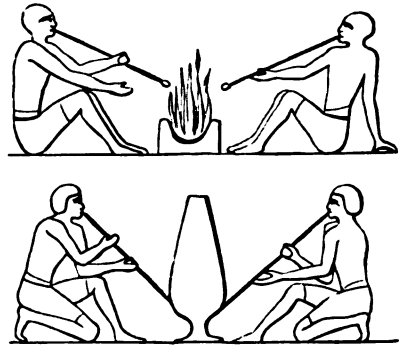
GITTITES (גִּתִּיִּם; Sept. Γεθαῖοι), inhabitants or natives of Gath (Josh. xiii. 3). Obed-edom, although a Levite, is called a Gittite (2 Sam. vi. 10), possibly because he had been with David

when at Gath, but much more probably from his being a native of Gath-rimmon, which was a city of the Levites. There seems no reason for extending this interpretation to Ittai (2 Sam. xv. 19), seeing that David expressly calls him 'a stranger' (foreigner), and, what is more, 'an exile.' He was at the head of 600 men, who were also Gittites, for they are called (ver. 22) his 'brethren.' They appear to have formed a foreign troop of experienced warriors, chiefly from Gath, in the pay and service of David; which they had perhaps entered in the first instance for the sake of sharing in the booty obtainable in his wars. We can conceive that the presence of such a troop must have been useful to the king in giving to the Hebrew army that organization and discipline which it did not possess before his time. As natives of Gath they were of course Philistines, and the Philistines were beyond comparison the best soldiers in Palestine; and although they were nationally enemies of Israel, it is easy to conceive various partial influences which might have drawn a troop of them into the service of the most renowned general and successful warrior of their time.—J. K.

GITTITH, a word which occurs in the title of Ps. viii., lxxxi., lxxxiv. [PSALMS.]

GLASS, according to Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 26), was discovered by what is termed accident. Some merchants kindled a fire on that part of the coast of Phœnicia which lies near Ptolemais, between the foot of Carmel and Tyre, at a spot where the river Belus casts the fine sand which it brings down; but, as they were without the usual means of suspending their cooking vessels, they employed for that purpose logs of nitre, their vessel being laden with that substance; the fire fusing the nitre and the sand produced glass. The Sidonians, in whose vicinity the discovery was made, took it up, and having in process of time carried the art to a high degree of excellence, gained thereby both wealth and fame. Other nations became their pupils; the Romans especially attained to very high skill in the art of fusing, blowing, and colouring glass. Even glass mirrors were invented by the Sidonians—*etiam specula excogitaverant*. This account of Pliny is in substance corroborated by Strabo (xvi. 15), and by Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 10. 2). Yet, notwithstanding this explicit statement, it was long denied that the ancients were acquainted with glass properly so called; nor did the denial entirely disappear even when Pompeii offered evidences of its want of foundation. Our knowledge of Egypt has, however, set the matter at rest—shewing at the same time how careful men should be in setting up mere abstract reasonings in opposition to the direct testimony of history. Wilkinson, in his *Ancient Egyptians* (iii. 88, *sq.*), has adduced the fullest evidence that glass was known to and made by that ingenious people at a very early period of their national existence. Upward of 3500 years ago, in the reign of the first Osirtasen, they appear to have practised the art of blowing glass. The process is represented in the paintings of Beni Hassan, executed in the reign of that monarch. In the same age images of *glazed* pottery were common. Ornaments of glass were made by them about 1500 years B.C.; for a bead of that date has been found, being of the same specific gravity as that of our crown glass. Many

glass bottles, etc., have been met with in the tombs, some of very remote antiquity. Glass vases were used for holding wine as early as the Exodus. Such was the skill of the Egyptians in this manufacture, that they successfully counterfeited the



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amethyst, and other precious stones. Winckelmann is of opinion that glass was employed more frequently in ancient than in modern times. It was sometimes used by the Egyptians even for coffins. They also employed it, not only for drinking utensils and ornaments of the person, but for Mosaic work, the figures of deities, and sacred emblems, attaining to exquisite workmanship, and a surprising brilliancy of colour. The art too of cutting glass was known to them at the most remote periods; for which purpose, as we learn from Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 4), the diamond was used. That the ancients had mirrors of glass is clear from the above cited words of Pliny; but the mirrors found in Egypt are made of mixed metal, chiefly copper. So admirably did the skill of the Egyptians succeed in the composition of metals, that their mirrors were susceptible of a polish which has been but partially revived at the present day. The mirror was nearly round, having a handle of wood, stone, or metal. The form varied with the taste of the owner. The same kind of metal mirror was used by the Israelites, who, doubtless, brought it from Egypt. In Exod. xxxviii. 8, it is expressly said that Moses 'made the laver of brass of the looking-glasses (brazen mirrors) of the women.'

It would be justifiable to suppose that the Hebrews brought glass, and a knowledge how to manufacture it, with them out of Egypt, were not the evidence of history so explicit that it was actually discovered and wrought at their own doors. Whether it was used by them for mirrors is another question. That glass, however, was known to the Hebrews appears beyond a doubt. In Job xxviii. 17, גַּבְשִׁית is believed to mean glass, though it is rendered 'crystal' in the English version; a substance, in Winer's opinion (*Handwörterbuch*), signified by גַּבְשִׁית, which occurs in the ensuing verse, while the former is the specific name for glass [CRYSTAL; GABISH]. In the N. T. the word employed is βάρος (compare Aristoph. *Nubes*, 768). In Rev. xxi. 18, we read, 'The city was pure gold, like unto clear glass;' ver. 21, 'as it were transparent glass' (compare iv. 6). 'Molten glass' also occurs in Job xxxvii. 18, but the original נָחַל, and its correspond-

ing word in Exod. xxxviii. 8, authorise the translation 'mirror'—that is, of some metal. Indeed Winer, referring to Beckman (*Beiträge zur Gesch. der Erfindung*, iii. 319), expressly denies that glass mirrors were known till the thirteenth century—adding that they are still seldom seen in the East. Mirrors of polished metal are those that are mostly used, formed sometimes into such shapes as may serve for ornaments to the person. In the East mirrors had a connection with the observances of religion; females held them before the images of the goddesses, thereby manifesting their own humility as servants of the divinities, and betokening the prevalence in private life of a similar custom (Callimach. *Hymn. in Pallad.* 21; Senec. *Ep.* 95; Cyril, *De Adorat. in Spir.* ii. 64). That in the N. T. a mirror is intended in James i. 23, 'beholding his natural face in a glass,' appears certain; but the signification in 1 Cor. xiii. 12, in which the word *ἐσόπτρον* occurs, is by no means so clear. If by *ἐσόπτρον* a metal mirror is to be understood, the language employed is not without difficulties. The preposition *διὰ*, 'through,' is in such a case improper; 'face to face' presents an equally improper contrast, for in a mirror 'face answers to face' (Prov. xxvii. 19). So the general import of the passage seems to require a medium, and an imperfectly transparent medium, through which objects are beheld. This is confirmed by the words *ἐν αἰνίγματι*, in *enigma*, that is, with the meaning hidden or involved in outward coverings: in this state objects are seen mediately, not immediately (see the passages quoted by Weiststein); in the next the veil will be removed, and we shall see them as they are, as when two persons behold each other with no substance intervening. Hence the rendering in the common version appears not unsuitable, and the statement of the Apostle corresponds with fact and experience; for it is obscurely, as through a dim medium, that we see spiritual objects. What the precise substance was which the Apostle thought of when he used the words it may not be easy to determine. It could not well be ordinary glass, for that was transparent. It may have been the *lapis specularis*, or a kind of talc, of which the ancients made their windows. This opinion is confirmed by Schleusner, who says that the Jews used a similar mode of expression to describe a dim and imperfect view of mental objects (Schöttgen. *Hor. Heb.* in loc.) See Michaelis, *Hist. Vitri ap. Heb. in Comment. Soc. Goetting.* iv. 57; also Dr. Falconer 'on the knowledge of the Ancients respecting Glass,' in the *Memoirs of the Lit. and Phil. Soc. of Manchester*, ii. 95.—J. R. B.

GLASSIUS, SALOMON, a distinguished theologian of the 17th century, was born at Sondershausen in 1593, and educated at the Gymnasium of Gotha. In 1612 he went to the University of Jena, where he spent three years in the philosophical school; and in 1615 to Wittenberg, where he enjoyed the instructions of Hutter and others. After spending a year at Wittenberg, he returned to Jena, at the desire of his parents, and studied five years, chiefly under Gerhard. Hebrew and the cognate dialects were his favourite subjects. In 1619 he was appointed adjunct of the philosophical faculty. He subsequently became professor of Hebrew, then superintendent at Sondershausen, professor of theology at Jena, and finally general

superintendent and consistorial assessor in Gotha, where he died July 27, 1656, sixty-three years of age. Glassius laboured much to promote the welfare of the church with which he was officially connected, entering into its affairs with a sincere desire to rectify abuses and further the interests of true religion. The situation he occupied was an influential one; and he justified the choice of his patron Duke Ernest, by working and living for the highest good of the people. As a Biblical theologian he was inferior to none of his contemporaries. But he was also a practical man of deep piety and tolerant spirit, unlike Calovius. His fame rests principally on the *Philologia Sacra*, 1625, 4to, a book evincing an extensive knowledge of the Hebrew language and its cognate dialects, if judged by the day in which it appeared. Of course it reflects the stiff orthodoxy of the time, which had penetrated even into the region of the vowel points; and it would be unjust to look in it for a philosophical insight into the genius of the Hebrew language. The first two books were published in 1623; the third and fourth in 1634. The best of the old editions was that superintended by Olearius, 1705. The first and second books contained *de Sacra: Scripturæ stylo et sensu*; the third and fourth, *Grammatica Sacra*; the fifth, *Rhetorica Sacra*. Olearius added from the author's MSS. a *Logica Sacra*. In 1776 Dathe published the *Grammatica et Rhetorica, his temporibus accommodata*, which work was completed by L. Bauer, who added a *Critica Sacra*, 1795, and *Hermeneutica Sacra*, 1797. The parts re-edited by Bauer have been severely criticised from an orthodox stand-point. The book is still useful in its improved form; though almost superseded by later works, which shew an acquaintance with Hebrew and its peculiarities that no man of Glassius's period could pretend to. Other publications are *Grammatica Ebraea*, 1623, 4to; *Exegesis Evangeliorum et Epistolarum*, 1664, fol. 2 vols.; *Onomatologia Messiae Prophetica*, and *Christologia Davidica et Mosaica*, published in the best form by Crenius, 1700, 4to, Ludg. Bat.—S. D.

GLEANNING. Two Hebrew words are thus rendered in the A. V., גִּלְעָם, applied to the general produce of the fields (Lev. xix. 9; xxiii. 22), and גִּלְעָוֹת, used properly of grape-gleanings (Judg. viii. 2; Is. xvii. 6; xxiv. 13, etc.), and figuratively of a small remnant (Jer. xlix. 9; Obad. i. 5; Mic. vii. 1). This latter term is connected by some of the Rabbins with גִּלְעָל, a child, 'quia respectu aliorum botrorum se habet ut parvulus respectu viri' (Bartenora, ap. Surenhusii *Mishnam* i. 67). What fell to the ground, or was left of the produce of the vine, belonged to the poor. Any one placing a vessel under the tree to catch the falling grapes was held to defraud the poor. The Biblical word for these fallen grapes is פְּרִיָּה (Lev. xix. 10). [ALMS].—W. L. A.

GLEDE. [DAH.]

GLORY, SYMBOL OF DIVINE, [SHEKINAH.]

GLOSS, GLOSSARY. A gloss is a note appended to any word or phrase for the purpose of interpretation or illustration. *Sacred glosses* are such notes appended to words or phrases occurring

in the Scriptures. A *glossary* is a collection of such explanatory notes properly arranged.

The word *gloss* is borrowed from the Greek γλῶσσα. But in the sense above explained, it has no support from classical usage. The process, however, by which the word passed from its original meaning to that in which it was used by mediæval writers, and in which it is now used, may be traced. The Greek word γλῶσσα, meaning *tongue* or *speech*, came to be used by the Greek grammarians in the sense of a word requiring to be explained. In process of time, words often become obsolete, or come to be used in senses different from those in which they were originally used; new words are introduced; and words have frequently special meanings attached to them of a professional or technical character, familiar only to a portion of the community. To the multitude, such words need to be explained; and such words the Greek grammarians called γλῶσσαί. Thus Plutarch speaks of certain expressions in the poets which were not commonly understood, and which belonged to the idiotisms of particular regions or tribes, as τὰς λεγόμενας γλῶσσας (*De audiend. poet.* c. 6). Galen applies the same name to the antiquated words of Hippocrates, and explains the term thus:—ὅσα τῶν τῶν νοσούντων ἐν μὲν τοῖς παλαιῶν χρόνοις συνήθη ἦν νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἔτι ἐστὶ, τὰ μὲν ταῦτα γλῶσσας καλοῦσι (*Exeget. Gloss. Hippocrat. Proem.*) Aristotle applies the same term to provincialisms (*De arte poet.* c. xxi., sec. 4-6; xxii. 3, 4, etc.) And, not to multiply quotations, a scholiast on Dion. Halicarn., quoted by Wetstein on 1 Cor. xii. 10, expressly says γλῶσσας φωνὰς ἀρχαίας καὶ ἀποχρησμένους ἢ ἀποχρηστούσας (?). Quintilian also says of the synonymous word *glossemata*, 'id est voces minus usitatas' (*Instil. Orat.* i. 8, 15; comp. also i. 1, 35).

The next step was from calling a word needing explanation a *gloss*, to apply this term to the explanation itself. These explanations at first consisted merely in adhibiting the word in common use (*ὄνομα κύριον*, Aristot.) to the obsolete and peculiar word; and thus the two viewed as one whole came to be called a gloss; and ultimately this name came to be given to that part which was of most interest to the reader, viz., the *explanation*.

These explanations constituted the beginnings of Greek Lexicography. They did not continue, however, to be merely lexical; they often embraced historical, geographical, biographical, and such like notices. Nor were they arranged at first in an alphabetical order; nor did they embrace the whole range of the language, but only such parts of it as the glossographer was interested in (hence such works as the Ἀττικαὶ Ἰλῦσσαι of Theodorus, etc.), nor were the words presented in their uninflected forms, but in the form in which they occurred in the course of the glossographer's reading. More methodical collections of these explanations began to be made in the middle ages, and such as have been preserved to us in the works of Hesychius, Suidas, Phavorinus, Zonaras, Photius, etc.

The extant Scriptural glosses comprise two distinct classes. 1. The first of these consists of explanations drawn from the Greek glossarists, a large number of the notes collected by whom are on words occurring in Scripture. Their works thus become valuable as exegetical aids, especially

as they convey not the individual opinion of the collector so much as opinions which he had gathered from older writers. A *Glossarium Graecum in N. T.*, collected from these works, was published by Alberti in 1735. Valcknaer collected from Hesychius the explanations of scriptural words (*Opp.* i. 173, ff.); but this has been best done by J. Ch. Gottl. Ernesti, in his *Glossa Sacra Hesychii Græcæ*, etc., Lips. 1785; which was followed by a similar collection from Suidas and Phavorinus, with specimens from the *Etymologicum Magnum*, Lips. 1786. These are extremely convenient books of reference. Comp. Fabricius, *Bibl. Græca*, iv. 540, ff.; Rosenmüller, *Histor. Interpr.* iv. 356, ff.

II. The second class of glosses is due to the habit, as old perhaps as the art of writing itself, of readers inscribing on the margin of MSS., or books, observations of their own, explanatory or otherwise of the text. This was especially the case with the sacred books, partly because after the establishment of Christianity they were more read than other books, partly because their contents gave abundant occasion for theological, historical, or philological annotation. Hence, from an early period, marginal notes intended to illustrate in some way the text came to have a place in the codices containing the sacred books. At first very brief, often confined to a single word, these glosses grew into more extended remarks, written in a smaller hand on the margin, and sometimes between the lines of the codex. In the ancient Hebrew codices, these marginal notes were the source of not a few of the *K'ri* readings; and the glosses on the margins of the codices of the LXX. and the N. T. have given rise to many of the various readings which exist in both of these. It is believed also, as marginal notes are apt to be transferred by ignorant or careless copyists, into the text,* that some such interpolations are to be found in the received text of the N. T., and it is considered to be one of the problems which criticism has to solve to detect these, and eliminate them. The exercise of a sound and cautious judgment, however, is required to preside over this, lest rash and unauthorised alterations be made (Valcknaer, *Dissert. de Glossis Sacris*, Franq. 1737; J. A. Ernesti, *De vero usu et indole Glossarium Gr.*, Lug. Bat. 1742; Tittmann, *De Glossis N. T. æstimandis et judicandis*, Witt. 1782; Wassenbergh, *De Glossis N. T.*, prefixed to Valcknaer's *Scholia in Libros quosdam N. T.*, Amst. 1795; Bornemann *De Glossematis N. T. caute dijudicandis*, in his *Scholia ad Luc. Evang.*, 1830). It has been proposed to restrict the term *gloss* to the marginal annotations as such, and to use *glosseme* to designate those which are supposed to have been introduced into the text; but the usage of writers is not uniform in this respect.

The longer marginal annotations (*Glosæ Marginales*), were made principally on the text of the Vulgate. These were of various kinds; some grammatical, some historical, some theological, some allegorical and mystical. The most famous collection of these is that made in the 9th century

* 'Miror quomodo e latere annotationem nostram nescio quis temerarius scribendam in corpore putaverit, quam nos pro eruditione legentis scripsimus.' Hieron. ad Suniam et Fretellam, tom. iii. p. 58, ed. Francof.

by Walafrid Strabo, from the writings of Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory, Isidorus, Bede, Alcuin, and Khabanus Maurus, with additions by himself. This became the great exegetical thesaurus of the middle ages, and was known as the *Glosa Ordinaria*. Of notes written between the lines (*Glosa Interlineares*), a collection was made by Anselm of Laon in the beginning of the 12th century. Both these works were printed together about the end of the 15th century, 4 vols. fol.; they have often been reprinted since, with the commentary of Lyra. Other glossaries are those of Peter the Lombard on the Psalms, Par. 1535; of Hugo a S. Caro, *Postille in universa Biblia*, Ven. 1487, fol. [CARO].—W. L. A.

GNAT (κῶρυψ; Vulg. *culex*; Order, *diptera*, Linn., *culicidae*, Latr.; occurs Matt. xxiii. 24). The word κῶρυψ seems to be the generic term for the gnat among the ancient Greek writers, under which they included several species, as we use the word 'fly,' and 'the fly,' though they give distinct names to some species, as the word σέπφος, etc. Rosenmüller observes that the κῶρυπες of the Greeks seem to be the *ephemera* of Linnæus (apud Bochart, vol. iii. p. 444, 4to, Leips. 1793-99). Aristotle gives the name to a species whose larvæ are bred in the lees of wine, which is then called the *culex vinarius* (*Hist. An.* 5, 19). Pliny also refers to various species of gnats: 'varia sunt culicum genera' (*Hist. Nat.* xi. 35). 'Alii ex ficis, ficarii dicti' (ibid.). 'Alii ex aceto nascuntur' (ibid.). 'Sunt etiam qui vocantur muliones. Alii centrine' (xvii. 27). We ourselves recognise several kinds under the common name, as gall gnats, horse, wheat, winter (see also Linn. *Syst. Nat.*, Diptera, *Culex*). Our Saviour's allusion to the gnat is a kind of proverb, either in use in his time, or invented by himself, 'Blind guides, who strain out a gnat, and swallow down [bolt, as we say] a camel.' He adopts the antithesis of the *smallest insect* to the *largest animal*, and applies it to those who are superstitiously anxious in avoiding small faults, yet do not scruple to commit the greatest sins. The typographical error, 'strain at a gnat,' first found its way into King James's translation, 1611. It is 'strain out' in the previous translations. The custom of filtering wine, among the Jews, for this purpose, was founded on the prohibition of 'all flying, creeping things' being used for food, excepting the *saltatorii* (Lev. xi. 23). The custom seems alluded to by the Sept., which, in Amos vi. 6, reads διωλισμενον ονον, 'filtered wine,' a passage having a similar scope. According to the Talmud, eating a gnat incurred scourging or excommunication.—J. F. D.

GNOSTIC, GNOTICISM. The religion of Jesus Christ appearing as a Divine message, in which is announced God's plan of reconciling sinners unto Himself, necessarily assumes a position of exclusiveness. It is not one religion among the many, the religion of a nation or a class; it is the only religion which God will acknowledge, or by which men can be benefited, and as such it claims the submission of all men alike. Such pretensions unavoidably brought it, when it first appeared, into direct antagonism with all existing religious systems—with Judaism as well as with the various forms of heathen belief and worship. Between it and them there could be no peace—no righteous or stable compromise.

As often happens, however, though the fundamental and formative principles of the opposing systems were utterly incapable of reconciliation, the boundary-line between them came ere long to be somewhat obscurely defined, and a considerable extent of border territory, so to speak, arose, on which it was attempted to effect the compromise which the inherent antagonism of the systems rendered it hopeless to attempt in the interior. Thus, between Judaism and Christianity there lay a border land which was occupied by the Judaizing teachers, against whom the Apostle Paul so frequently and energetically writes in his epistles, and at a later period by the Nazarenes and Ebionites. The border land between Christianity and Heathenism was chiefly occupied by the Gnostic sects.

The aim of Gnosticism was to complete Christianity so as to render it a perfect solution of the great world-problem—the relation of the finite to the Infinite, of the relative and dependent to the absolute and self-existent. For this purpose its teachers, borrowed partly from the speculations of the Western schools of philosophy, especially that of the later Platonists, and partly from the reveries of the Eastern theosophists; and these elements they sought to incorporate with Christianity, so as to work up a complete and congruous scheme of religio-philosophic speculation. The different sources from which these speculatists drew their materials determined their division into two great classes,—the Alexandrian and the Syrian Gnostics; in the former of which the doctrines of the Grecian philosophy predominated; in the latter, those of the Parsee or Dualistic theosophy prevailed. Differences of a less general kind divided them into many subordinate sects (Mosheim, *De rebus Christianorum ante Constantin. Mag.*, p. 333, ff.; Matter, *Histoire du Gnosticisme*; Neander, *Church Hist.*, ii. 42, ff.; Gieseler, *Church Hist.* i. 134, ff.; Hase, *Hist. of the Church*, sec. 76; Lewald, *Comment. de Doctr. Gnostica*, Heidelb. 1818; Art. Gnosis by Jacobi in Herzog *Encycl.* v. 204; Dörner, *Development of the Doctrine concerning the person of Christ*, i. 184, ff.)

It does not form any part of the design of this work to furnish detailed accounts of systems of speculative opinion; and the Gnostics are noticed here simply because the question has been mooted whether, and to what extent, their doctrines are referred to in the N. T. As preparatory to this inquiry, therefore, it may suffice to state briefly the fundamental principles common to all the Gnostic sects, and by which they were distinguished from the Christians generally.

Gnosticism rested on three fundamental data:—

1. The existence of a Supreme Being entirely unconnected with matter and incapable of being affected by it; 2. The existence of a primal matter, *δλν*, entirely independent of God, and at the same time, as the principle of evil, antithetic to him; 3. The existence of some being intermediate between these two. Given these data the problem which it set itself to solve was to account for the phenomena of the universe, and especially for the place which evil holds in it. This problem it solved after the following fashion:—The intermediate being reveals God, and so stands related to him; he also has contact with matter, and so becomes the *δημιουργός*, or world-creator. As the world thus created is the product of a good being, but is made out of the evil principle, *δλν*, it is

necessarily a mixture of good with evil, and that under the condition of the good being imprisoned, cribbed, confined, by the evil from which struggles to get free. This struggle suggests the idea of a deliverance by a higher power, and that of a redemption. Here, again, the agency of the intermediate being comes into request; but the difficulty occurs, If the Demiurge could not at first *make* a world free from evil, how can he extricate the good from the evil in the world which he has made? To meet this difficulty the intermediate being, ceasing to be viewed as a monad, is conceived as an aggregate of beings, of which the Demiurge is the lowest, the least perfect, the feeblest; whilst a series of ascending beings, *δυνάμεις* or *αἰῶνες*, rise up to the *λόγος* and the *νοῦς*, in whom are found the revelation of God and the redemption of the good from the evil, and especially of human spirits from the tyranny of the *ὄλη*. These general conceptions pervade all the Gnostic system, though they are very differently construed and compounded by different sects, according as emanistic or dualistic notions predominated, according to the temperament and genius of the founder of them, and according as he stood nearer to the heathen, the Jewish, or the Christian point of view. With the Christian revelation this system of speculation connected itself thus:—It accepted the view given in the Bible of God as One, invisible, unsearchable, infinite, eternal; it regarded Satan as the source of evil embodied in the *ὄλη*; it represented the God of Judaism as the Demiurge by whom the world had been created; and it recognised in Jesus Christ the highest of the Aëons, by whom, along with another Aeon, the *πνεῦμα*, the soul of man is redeemed and restored to unity with God, perfect light with perfect light. It is in the school of Valentinus that we find the most complete development of these notions. Those who accepted them boasted that they had found the true *γνώσις* which the Christ had left to his genuine followers, and by which they were enabled to penetrate into divine truth far beyond the reach of those who abode by the mere *πίστις*, or belief of the written word; and hence the name they assumed, *Gnostics*.

Christianity has its *γνώσις* as well as its *πίστις*, but it is not of the sort in which these speculators and dreamers prided themselves. By the careful and well directed exploration of the meaning of Scripture, by the orderly classification of its doctrines, by the due development of the system of truth it unfolds, and by the reconciliation of this with the great moral truths which are anterior to all written revelation; a real and legitimate Christian Gnosis may be evolved. But to attempt this by means of an incorporation of Scriptural truth with mere human theories or fancies, is to pursue a sure course towards a real *ἀγνοσία*, a state of intellectual and religious confusion in which there can be nothing Christian but the name. Against such an attempt, presuming it to have been made in their day, we may be sure the apostles would direct their strenuous efforts. But *was* such an attempt made in their day? *were* such speculative perversions of Christian truth among the heresies of the apostolic age? This is the question which, in the interests of Biblical Science, we propose now to consider.

That Gnostic sects, such as we find existing in

the 2d century, existed in the days of the apostles, or that Gnosticism had under any form reached that point of systematic development which it exhibits in the system of Valentinus or even in that of Basilides or Saturninus; are positions which are now universally abandoned as untenable. Nor is the opinion that any of the N. T. books was written especially to refute Gnostic doctrines, and prevent their growth in the church, maintained by any who hold these to be the genuine productions of those whose names they bear. The question, however, still remains open, whether there may not be in the sacred writings *allusions* to doctrines of the same kind as those which at a later period assumed a prominent place in the Gnostic systems.

In the outset it may be remarked that the occurrence of such allusions is not an improbable thing. We are unable to trace Gnosticism to its source; but the tendency which it represents is one which may be observed both in heathenism and in Judaism; and in all probability speculations of this sort were rife in many quarters where Christianity was established in the days of the apostles. If so, it is not improbable that they might come with their pernicious influence across the sphere of the apostles' working, and by thereby attracting their attention call forth from them words of censure or warning.

When, however, we pass from preliminary probabilities to inquire into the actual facts of the case, it must be confessed that considerable doubt hangs over the position that the N. T. writings contain any allusions to Gnostic speculations. On the testimony of Irenæus (*Cont. Her.* iii. 11) and Theodoret (*Heret. Fab.* ii. 3), we may believe that Cerinthus was a contemporary of St. John, and propagated his erroneous doctrines in Asia Minor; and though there is some doubt as to the story of their encounter in the public bath at Ephesus (*Iren.* iii. 3; comp. Lardner, *Credibility*, pt. 2, ch. vi., *Works*, ii. 86, ed. 1788), it is not improbable that the apostle may have known Cerinthus, and may have encountered some that were affected by his doctrines. All this, however, will not *prove* that either in his Gospel or in his Epistles the apostle has directly referred to these doctrines. Nor can this be proved from the use by him of such terms as *λόγος*, *φῶς*, *μονογένης*, etc., terms of great importance in the systems of the Gnostics; for these terms have their own proper significance in the apostle's writings; they are repeatedly used by him in a way not only different from, but opposed to that in which the Gnostics used them—as, *ex. gr.*, in the case of *λόγος* and *μονογένης*, both of which terms St. John applies to Jesus (i. 18), whilst Cerinthus taught that God begot the Monogenes and the latter the Logos; and the use of some of them by the later Gnostics in a Johannine sense is much more probably to be traced to their having borrowed them from St. John than to his having taken them from them. The only legitimate proof of the existence of direct references to Gnostic views in the writings of the apostles is furnished by the adduction of passages which *cannot* be explained without supposing such a reference, or which are *better* explained on that hypothesis than on any other. The former gives the conclusion a very high, the latter a very considerable degree of probability.

Applying this test to the so-called prologue to St. John's Gospel, the only part of that book where such allusions can be supposed to exist, and

to his Epistles, we arrive at the conclusion that no allusion to sentiments properly Gnostic, as distinguished from such as are simply Doketic, can be substantiated as occurring in the writings of that apostle. In the Epistles some utterances are of such a kind as to constrain us to believe that the apostle had in his eye some who were seeking to spread doketic views among the Christians; comp. 1 Ep. i. 1; ii. 22; iv. 2, 3; v. 6; 2 Ep. ver. 7. It cannot be proved, however, that the prologue to the Gospel has any polemical reference. It is true that its statements stand opposed to many of the Gnostic doctrines; but they stand opposed no less to many doctrines which are not Gnostic, such as Arian and Humanitarian representations of our Saviour's person; and it might, therefore, be as reasonably argued, that St. John had the followers of Arius and our modern Unitarians in view when he wrote his prologue, as that he had the Gnostics. The obvious truth is, that all parts of Scripture which set forth divine verities must stand opposed to the doctrines of those by whom these are denied. In Holy Scripture, consequently, lies the confutation of all heresy; but it was not for this that it was for the most part written. Its primary design is to set forth the truth for the salvation of men and the edification of the church; and if, in aiming at this end, its writers utter what is found to condemn opinions held by men, that may be the result merely of the essential oppugnancy of truth to error, and cannot of itself be held to prove that the writer had these opinions specially in his view when he wrote. In the case of St. John's Gospel, the number of errors its statements confute is such that there is hardly a heretical sect known to the ancients against which it has not been supposed to be directed.

Much stress has been laid, by those who attribute to St. John an anti-gnostic polemic, on his use of the term *λόγος* as applied to our Lord. The argument here is that John took this word from the Gnostic teachers and applied it to Jesus Christ, whom he sets forth as the true Logos. But is it certain that the word could come to John from no other source than the Gnostics? We know that it occurs constantly, though not in a personal sense, in the writings of Philo; and what is of still more importance, we know that the Jews did, in a personal sense, speak of the *לוגה* (*Memra de*

Yey), or Word of Jehovah (Bertholdt, *Christologia Judeorum*, p. 94-96). Is it not more probable that the term found its way among the Christians, amidst whom John wrote, from this source, than from heathen speculation? Besides, is it credible that had St. John borrowed this term from the Gnostics for the purpose of applying it in a very different sense (for the concept of the Logos by the apostle is entirely different from the Gnostic concept of the Logos), he would have omitted distinctly to intimate the existence of such difference? Was not this more likely to mislead than to instruct?—just as we find in our own day the converse course followed by many who employ N. T. phraseology to convey opinions which the N. T. does not teach (Luthardt, *Das Johann. Evang.*, etc., i. 221, ff.; Schott, *Isagoge*, p. 141).

Turning to the writings of St. Paul we are met by several passages in those epistles which he wrote towards the end of his life, especially those to the Ephesians and the Colossians, and the Pastoral

Epistles, which are supposed to contain direct allusions to Gnostic speculation. That the writer of these epistles had in view certain errorists by whom the Christians were in danger of being led astray, and that many of his statements were directed against these, cannot be called in question. But it is by no means clearly made out that their errors belonged to parties holding what may be called Gnostic views in the sense of that term as commonly used. Still less is there any ground for the assumption on which some have sought to wield an argument against the genuineness of these epistles, that they contain sentiments borrowed from the Gnostic schools of the 2d century. The utter futility of this, it needs only a glance at the passages adduced in support of it to show. In Eph. i. 21 and Col. i. 16, we have a series of existences intermediate between God and the world that bears some resemblance to the Gnostic representation of *δυνάμεις* or *αἰῶνες*. When more closely looked at, however, this enumeration will be found to have more of a Judæistic than of a Gnostic character; if, indeed, it be not a mere rhetorical amplification for the sake of emphasis (comp. Rom. viii. 38, 39). That there is an angelic hierarchy is a Biblical doctrine older than the N. T., and one, therefore, which may be referred to by the N. T. writers without supposing them to allude to extra-Christian sects or speculations. In Eph. ii. 7, iii. 21, the apostle uses the expression *αἰῶνες*, but in a sense which has no connection whatever with the Gnostic doctrine of intermediate beings. In Eph. ii. 2 the *αἰὼν* is personified, and this is said to be a Gnostic representation; but is it more so there than in Rom. xii. 2, where we have exactly the same expression? or than in Luke xvi. 8, where *αἰὼν* is also spoken of as a person? or than in 1 Cor. ii. 6 and other passages? The use of *πλήρωμα* (Eph. i. 23; Col. i. 19; ii. 9) has also been adduced as indicating allusion to Gnostic ideas; but *πλήρωμα* is a genuine Greek word which was as free to the apostle as to the Gnostics, and which he uses in these passages to express a purely Christian idea, viz., the possession by Jesus of the fulness or complement of the divine perfections; just as he uses it elsewhere in the former of these epistles (Eph. i. 23; iii. 19; iv. 13) to denote the relation of the church to Christ or the completeness of the blessing which believers may expect through Christ. Another Gnostic allusion has been found in the relations of the sexes as set forth in Eph. v. 22, ff.; but there is nothing in this passage which may not be gathered from the whole teaching of Scripture on this head, and which is not substantially asserted in 1 Cor. xi. 3. In the union of Christ and his church (Eph. v. 24-33), Baur discovers a Gnostic Syzygy; as if this representation did not pervade Scripture! as if, beyond the mere figure of marriage, there was the remotest resemblance between the union which the apostle sets forth and the Syzygiæ of the Gnostics! As respects the use of such terms as *σοφία*, *μυστήριον*, *γνώσις*, *φῶς*, *σκοτία*, etc., it may suffice to say they are no more Gnostic as they occur in these epistles than as they occur elsewhere in Scripture, and that, if there was any borrowing in the case, it is far more probable that the Gnostics borrowed from the writer of the epistles, than that the writer of the epistles borrowed from them.

The chief of the alleged Gnostic references in the pastoral epistles are to be found in the *μύησις*

and γενεαλογία of 1 Tim. i. 4; iv. 7; Tit. iii. 9; in the ascetic notions referred to 1 Tim. iv. 3; and in the declaration that the resurrection was past already (2 Tim. ii. 18). That these refer to some speculative and theosophic notions by which the simplicity of the faith was endangered, seems clear from the tone of the apostles' remarks; but it is not in any degree made certain by this, that these were such as afterwards distinguished the Gnostic schools. It is not probable that had the writer had in view such speculations as those of Basilides, Valentinus, or Marcion, he would have applied to them such a term as γραῶδεις, which conveys the idea not so much of error as of imbecility. When, moreover, we advert to the epithet νόμικαι, as applied to the μάχαι which the writer denounces (Tit. iii. 9), we shall probably see cause to attribute a Jewish source to the errors by which the Christians were assailed; especially as the writer expressly describes those whom he opposes as 'they of the circumcision,' and cautions his readers against Jewish myths (Tit. i. 10, 14).

Drawing our information from the epistles themselves as to the views and tendencies by which the false teachers (ἐρεοδιδασκάλοι) alluded to in them were characterised, it appears that they boasted of a φιλοσοφία, which the apostle stigmatises as a κερὴ ἀπάτη, an empty cheat (Col. ii. 8), and a γνῶσις, which he denounces with equal decisiveness as ψευδῶνυμος, falsely called (1 Tim. vi. 20). This they pretended to have derived from tradition (Col. ii. 8), and presented in the form sometimes of myth, sometimes of speculative discussion (1 Tim. vi. 3-5; Tit. iii. 9). They held by Jewish rites and ordinances (Col. ii. 11, 16; 1 Tim. i. 7); followed and enjoined ascetic courses (20-23; 1 Tim. iv. 1-7), and propagated their errors under a specious guise of sanctity (Col. ii. 23; 1 Tim. iv. 2; 2 Tim. iii. 6). They pretended to a superior knowledge of God (Tit. i. 16); they held worship to be due to angels, and probably assigned to Christ, as the Logos, the place of ἀρχαγγέλος; they taught that the resurrection was already past (2 Tim. ii. 18); and they may also have held doctrines opposed to the absoluteness of the divine essence, the universality of the divine scheme of redemption, the reality of the person of Christ, and the exclusiveness of his mediatorial office, and may have stigmatised child-bearing as deriving a taint from standing connected with matter, the essentially evil; so as to lead the apostle to make such pointed statements as we have in 1 Tim. i. 17; ii. 4, 6, 15; iii. 16; iv. 10; vi. 15, 16, etc. Whether we conclude that they held an emanation-doctrine similar to the Gnostic doctrine of Æons, will depend very much on the meaning we attach to the γενεαλογία to which they were addicted. By some these are held to be the Jewish family registers, by others gradations of existences like the Æons. There are difficulties attaching to both views. On the one hand there is the entire absence of any authority for understanding γενεαλογία in the sense of a series of beings of different grades;* and, on the other hand, there is the want

of any traceable connection between the genealogical rolls of the Jews and doctrinal errors on the part of those who attached importance to them. In this uncertainty no help can be obtained from the application by the apostle of the epithet ἀπειράτοι to the γενεαλογία of which he speaks, for whether we take this in the sense of *limitless, endless*, or in the sense of *useless, profitless* (ἡτοι πέρας μηδὲν ἔχουσαι ἢ οὐδὲν χρησίμων, Chrysostom, *in loc.*), it will apply equally well to the Jewish rolls or to the Gnostic æonology. On the whole, the preference seems due to the latter of the opinions above noted (comp. Neander, *Apost. Zeit.*, p. 422, Eng. Tr. i. 340).

It is impossible to overlook the predominant Jewish element in these doctrines. It is not, however, of the same type as the Judaism which the apostle opposes in other of his writings, the Epistle to the Galatians for instance. There it was the Jewish ceremonial tradition which occupied the foreground; here it is philosophy and speculation. In the one case what the apostle resisted was the attempt to force upon Christianity the 'beggarly elements' (πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα) of a defunct economy; in the other, what he resisted was the attempt to mix up with the pure truth of the gospel the 'worldly elements' (στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου) of a purely human theosophy. In the latter there was undoubtedly a mingling of the ethnic with the Jewish speculation (γνῶσις); and probably Neander has exactly determined the position of these heretics when he describes them as 'a Judaizing sect, in which we see the germ of the Judaizing Gnosticism' (*Apostol. Zeitalt.*, p. 404; Eng. Tr. i. 325).

The conclusion to which this inquiry has brought us, is, that whilst there is no evidence that Gnosticism as it appeared in the 2d century was known to the apostles, and whilst the teachers of error against whom they had to contend came from the side of Judaism, there were in their doctrines the germs both of Doketic and Gnostic speculation; so that when these systems came into vogue, the Christians found in the writings of the apostles the most suitable weapons with which to oppose them (Michaelis, *Einleit. ins. N. T.*, sec. 160; Tittmann, *De Vestigijs Gnosticorum in N. T. frustra questis*, Lips. 1773; Scherer, *De Gnosticis qui in N. T. impugnari dicuntur*, Arg. 1841; Hildebrand, *Phil. Gnostica origines*, Ber. 1839; Böhmer, *Isagoge in Epist. ad Coloss.*, Ber. 1829; Burton, *Heresies of the Apostol. Age, Works*, vol. iii.; Baur, *Die sogenannten Pastoralbriefe des Ap. Paulus Krit. untersucht*, Tüb. 1835; Schott, *Isagoge Crit. in N. T.*, plur. locc.; Matthies, *Erklär. der Pastoralbr.*, Greifsw. 1840; Lange, *Apost. Zeitalt.* i. 117-145).—W. L. A.

GOAD. Two Hebrew words are translated by this term in the A. V.

(1.) *שֶׁטֶל*, derived from *שָׁלַח*, to teach, an instrument to guide oxen and keep them in the right track; the word occurs only in Judg. iii. 31; the Septuagint renders it ἀπορρόποι, and the Vulgate vomere, a ploughshare. Though this is not a correct interpretation, yet doubtless the pointed iron which armed the plough might, without difficulty, be converted into a formidable weapon; and this

* The language of Tertullian (*adv. Valentinos*, sec. 3) and of Irenæus (*Hæc.* i. 1, sub init.), can hardly be regarded as such. It is doubtful if the latter intends any reference to the Gnostic æons at all; and the former simply states his *opinion*, that one looking at the multitudinous names and combinations in the Gnostic systems would be constrained to believe

'has esse fabulas et genealogias indeterminatas' of the apostle.

easy adaptation of agricultural implements to war-like purposes will account for the despotic interdict laid upon the Israelites by the Philistines, 1 Sam. xiii. 19, 20 (Kitto, *Daily Bible Illustrations*, ii. 341). Maundrell noticed that in Palestine and Syria the goads were eight feet long, and at the larger end six inches in circumference. At the lesser end they were armed with a sharp point of iron for driving the oxen, and at the other with a small spade or paddle of iron, strong and massy, for cleansing the plough from the clay. 'I am confident,' he says, 'that whoever should see one of these instruments would judge it to be not less fit, perhaps fitter, than a sword for such an execution' as that related in Judg. iii. 31 (*Journey from Aleppo*, etc., Lond. 1810, p. 149). Buckingham gives a similar description (*Travels in Palestine*, Lond. 1822, vol. i. 91).

(2.) עֵז occurs only in 1 Sam. xiii. 21 (ἐπέσπρον, LXX.; *stimulum*, Vulg.) and Eccl. xii. 11 (βοῦκεντρα, LXX.; *stimuli*, Vulg.). Kimchi and other Jewish writers consider this word simply to mean the point or head of the מלכוד (Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 349).—J. E. R.

GOAT. [AKKO; ATTUDIM; EZ; GEDI; YAEI; SA'IR; TSAPHIR.]

GOAT, SCAPE. A reference to this head is made under the article AZAZEL. The article is retained as presenting the view of Hengstenberg.

It appears to Hengstenberg that an Egyptian reference must necessarily be acknowledged in the ceremony of the Great Atonement day; and in order to establish this reference, he first endeavours to substantiate his view of the meaning of the word עֵז, *Azazel*; which is, that it designates Satan. But this notion can only be placed in a right point of view by taking a general survey of the whole rite, in order to point out definitely the position which Azazel holds in it.

The account of this remarkable ceremony is contained in Lev. xvi.

First, in verses 1-10, the general outlines are given; and then follows, in verses 11, *sq.*, the explanation of separate points. It is of no small importance for the interpretation that this arrangement, which has been recognised by few interpreters, should be clearly understood. Aaron first offers a bullock as a sin-offering for himself and his house. He then takes a firepan full of coals from the altar, with fragrant incense, and goes within the veil. There he puts the incense on the fire before the Lord, and 'the cloud of the incense' (the embodied prayer) covers the mercy-seat which is upon the ark of the covenant, that he die not. Aaron then takes the blood of the bullock and sprinkles it seven times before the mercy-seat. After he has thus completed the expiation for himself, he proceeds to the expiation for the people. He takes two he-goats for a sin-offering for the children of Israel (xvi. 5). These he places before the Lord at the door of the tabernacle (xvi. 7). He casts lots upon them; one lot 'for the Lord' and one lot 'for Azazel' (xvi. 8). The goat upon which the lot for the Lord fell (xvi. 9) he offers for a sin-offering, brings the blood within the veil, and does with it as with the blood of the bullock. In this way is the sanctuary purified from the defilements of the child-

ren of Israel, their transgressions, and all their sins, so that the Lord, the holy one and pure, can continue to dwell there with them. After the expiation is completed, the second goat, on which fell the lot for Azazel, is brought forward (xvi. 10). He is first placed before the Lord to absolve him

(לכפר עליו). Then Aaron lays his hands upon his head, and confesses over him the (forgiven) iniquities, transgressions, and sins of the children of Israel, puts them upon his head, and gives him to a man to take away, in order that he may bear the sins of the people into a solitary land (xvi. 22), into the desert, for Azazel (xvi. 10). Then Aaron offers a burnt-offering for himself, and one for the people.

Now, in respect to language, there can be no objection to interpreting Azazel as meaning Satan. That the Hebrew עֵז, *Azal*, corresponds to the Arabic عزل, was long ago asserted by Bochart and others, and is now generally admitted; and

עֵז, *Azazel*, belongs to the form which repeats the second and third radicals. In reference to this form, Ewald remarks (*Gramm.* sec. 333), that it expresses general intension, and that the idea of continual, regular repetition, without interruption, is also specially expressed by the repetition of nearly the whole word. The Arabic word *Azala* signifies in that language 'semovit, dimovit, removit, descivit'; in the passive it signifies 'remotus, depositus fuit'; and the participle, *azul*, means 'a cæteris se jungens.' In like manner *azul*, *mazul*, denote 'semotus, remotus, abdicatus.' From this two explanations of Azazel, as relating to Satan, may be deduced; either 'the apostate' (from God), or, 'the one entirely separate.' It is in favour of the latter that the signification 'descivit' is only a derived one, and that it is appropriate to the abode in the desert. The goat is sent to Azazel in the desert, in the divided land ('terra abscissa'). How then could he be designated by a more appropriate name than 'the separate one'?

And this explanation, as far as the facts of the case are concerned, is, in Hengstenberg's opinion, equally free from any well grounded objection. The doctrinal signification of the symbolical action, as far as it has reference to Azazel, is this, that Satan, the enemy of the people of God, cannot harm those forgiven by God, but that they, with sins forgiven of God, can go before him with a light heart, deride him, and triumph over him.

The positive reasons which favour this explanation are the following:—

1. The manner in which the phrase עֵז, 'for Azazel,' is contrasted with ליהוה, 'for Jehovah,' necessarily requires that Azazel should denote a personal existence, and, if so, only Satan can be intended. 2. If by Azazel, Satan is not meant, there is no ground for the lots that were cast. We can then see no reason why the decision was referred to God; why the high-priest did not simply assign one goat for a sin-offering, and the other for sending away into the desert. The circumstance that lots are cast implies that Jehovah is made the antagonist of a personal existence, with respect to which it is designed to exalt the unlimited power of Jehovah, and to exclude all equality of this being with Jehovah. 3. Azazel, as a word of comparatively unfrequent formation,

and only used here, is best fitted for the designation of Satan. In every other explanation the question remains, 'Why, then (as it has every appearance of being), is the word formed for this occasion, and why is it never found except here?'

By this explanation the third chapter of Zechariah comes into a relation with our passage, entirely like that in which chap. iv. of the same prophecy stands to Exod. xxv. 31. Here, as there, the Lord, Satan, and the high-priest appear. Satan wishes by his accusations to destroy the favourable relations between the Lord and his people. The high-priest presents himself before the Lord, not with a claim of purity, according to law, but laden with his own sins and the sins of his people. Here Satan thinks to find the safest occasion for his attacks; but he is mistaken. Forgiveness baffles his designs, and he is compelled to retire in confusion. It is evident that the doctrinal part of both passages is substantially the same, and that the one in Zechariah may be considered the oldest commentary extant upon the words of Moses. In substance we have the same doctrine also in Rev. xii. 10, 11; 'the accuser of our brethren is cast down, who accuses them before our God day and night, and they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb.'

The relation in which, according to this explanation, Satan is here placed to the desert, finds analogy in other passages of the Bible, where the deserted and waste places appear as peculiarly the abode of the Evil Spirit. See Matt. xii. 43, where the unclean spirit cast out of the man is represented as going through 'dry places;' also Luke viii. 27; and Rev. xviii. 2, according to which the fallen Babylon is to be the dwelling of all unclean spirits.

To the reasons already given, the Egyptian reference, which the rite bears according to this explanation, may be added—'a reference so remarkable, that no room is left for the thought that it has arisen through false explanation.'

Dr. Hengstenberg then proceeds to meet the objections which have been brought to bear against the view adopted by him—'adopted,' for this explanation is by no means a new one, though he has brought it forward in greater force than before, and with new illustrations.

The most important of the objections, and the one which has exerted the greatest influence, is this, that it gives a sense which stands in direct opposition to the spirit of the religion of Jehovah. It is asked, 'Could an offering properly be made to the Evil Spirit in the desert, which the common precepts of religion in the Mosaic law, as well as the significance of the ceremony, entirely oppose?' To this Hengstenberg answers—'Were it really necessary to connect with the explanation of Azazel as meaning Satan, the assumption that sacrifice was offered to him, we should feel obliged to abandon it, notwithstanding all the reasons in its favour. But nothing is easier than to show that this manner of understanding the explanation is entirely arbitrary. The following reasons prove that an offering made to Azazel cannot be supposed:—'

1. Both the goats are, in verse 5, taken together as forming unitedly one single offering, which wholly excludes the thought that one of them was brought as an offering to Jehovah, and the other to Azazel. And further, an offering which is made

to a bad being can never be a sin-offering. The idea of a sin-offering implies holiness, hatred of sin in the being to whom the offering is made.

2. Both the goats were first placed at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation before the Lord. To him, therefore, they both belong; and when afterwards one of them is sent to Azazel, this is done in accordance with the wish of Jehovah, and also without destroying the original relation, since the one sent to Azazel does not cease to belong to the Lord.

3. The casting of lots also shows that both these goats were considered as belonging to the Lord. The lot is never used in the O. T. except as a means of obtaining the decision of Jehovah. So then, here also, Jehovah decides which of the goats is to be offered as a sin-offering, and which to be offered to Azazel.

4. The goat assigned to Azazel, before he is sent away, is absolved (xvi. 21). The act by which the second goat is, as it were, identified with the first, in order to transfer to the living the nature which the dead possessed, shews to what the phrase 'for a sin-offering,' in verse 5, has reference. The two goats (as Spencer had before observed) became, as it were, one goat, and their duality rests only on the physical impossibility of making one goat represent the different points to be exhibited. Had it been possible, in the circumstances, to restore life to the goat that was sacrificed, this would have been done. The two goats, in this connection, stand in a relation entirely similar to that of the two birds in the purification of the leprous persons in Lev. xiv. 4, of which the one let go was dipped in the blood of the one slain. As soon as the second goat is considered an offering to Azazel, the connection between it and the first ceases, and it cannot be conceived why it was absolved before it went away.

5. According to verse 21, the already forgiven sins of Israel are laid upon the head of the goat. These he bears to Azazel in the desert. But where there is already forgiveness of sin, there is no more offering.

The other objections which have on different principles been made to this view are of less weight.

One of them, which alleges the apparent equality given under this explanation to the claims of Jehovah and of Satan, is answered by showing that it is rather calculated to act against the tendency of an ancient people to entertain that belief. The lot is under the direction of Jehovah, and is a means of ascertaining his will; and not a mediation between the two by an independent third agency, which decides to which the one and to which the other shall fall.

Another objection, founded on the belief that Satan nowhere appears in the Pentateuch, will not in this country be deemed to require much answer. It is entertained chiefly by those who believe that the presence of Satan in Scripture is owing to the influence of a foreign (Babylonian and Persian) theology upon Hebrew opinions; and it is answered by a reference to the book of Job, in which Satan appears distinctly, while even the objectors admit that this book was written long before the assigned influence existed. And if it were indeed necessary to refer the knowledge of Satan to a foreign influence, it might be perceived that quite as much is accomplished by referring to the Egyptian Typhon as to the Persian Ahreman. Hengs

tenberg also points to the intimations of the doctrine of Satan, which appear in Gen. iii., and remarks—'From a theological point of view, as well as from the nature of the case, it will be found almost impossible that a dogma which, in the later period of the revelation, holds so important a place, should not at least be referred to in the statement of the first principles of that revelation.'

After exhibiting the positive reasons for this explanation, and disposing of the objections to it, Hengstenberg subjects to examination those among the various explanations that have been given, which are now current; and makes out that they are either philologically untenable with reference to the word Azazel, do not agree with the context, or are unsatisfactory in the result to which they conduct us.

If it has been thus established that Satan is to be understood by the term Azazel, then, argues Hengstenberg, an allusion to Egypt in the whole rite cannot be mistaken. In that country every bad influence or power of nature, and generally the bad itself, in a physical or ethical respect, was personified under the name of Typhon. The doctrine of a Typhon among the Egyptians is as old as it is firmly established. Representations of him are found on numerous monuments as old as the time of the Pharaohs. Herodotus speaks of Typhon (ii. 144, 156, and iii. 5). But Plutarch gives the most accurate and particular account, with, indeed, many incorrect additions.

The barren regions around Egypt generally belonged to Typhon. The desert was especially assigned to him as his residence, whence he made his wasting inroads into the consecrated land. 'He is,' says Creuzer, 'the lover of the degenerate Nephthys, the hostile Libyan desert, and of the sea-shore. There is the kingdom of Typhon. On the contrary, Egypt the blessed, the Nile-valley glittering with fresh crops, is the land of Isis.' Herodotus ascribes a similar dwelling to Typhon.

By a strange but very natural alteration, the Egyptian sought sometimes to propitiate the god whom they hated, but feared, by offerings, and indeed by those which consisted of sacred animals. Sometimes, again, when they supposed that the power of the gods was prevalent and sustained them against him, they allowed themselves in every species of mockery and abuse. 'The obscured and broken power of Typhon,' says Plutarch, 'even now, in the convulsions of death, they seek sometimes to propitiate by offerings, and endeavour to persuade him to favour them; but at other times, on certain festival occasions, they scoff at and insult him. Then they cast mud at those who are of a red complexion, and throw down an ass from a precipice, as the Coptites do, because they suppose that Typhon was of the colour of the fox and the ass.'

The most important passage on the worship of Typhon is found in *De Is. et Osir.* p. 380: 'But when a great and troublesome heat prevails, which in excess either brings along with it destructive sickness or other strange or extraordinary misfortunes, the priests take some of the sacred animals, in profound silence, to a dark place. There they threaten them first and terrify them; and when the calamity continues, they offer these animals in sacrifice there.'

Now, the supposition of a reference to these *Typhonia sacra* Hilsius considers as a profanation. But it is seen at once that the reference contended

for by him is materially different from that adopted by our author. The latter is a controversial one. In opposition to the Egyptian view, which implied the necessity of yielding respect even to bad beings generally, if men would insure themselves against them, it was intended by this rite to bring Israel to the deepest consciousness that all trouble is the punishment of a just and holy God, whom they, through their sins, have offended; that they must reconcile themselves only with him; that when that is done, and the forgiveness of sins is obtained, the bad being can harm no farther.

How very natural and how entirely in accordance with circumstances such a reference was, is evident from the facts contained in other passages of the Pentateuch, which shew how severe a contest the religious principles of the Israelites had to undergo with the religious notions imbibed in Egypt. This is especially exhibited in the regulations in Leviticus xvii., following directly upon the law concerning the atonement-day, which prove that the Egyptian idol-worship yet continued to be practised among the Israelites. The same thing is also evident from the occurrences connected with the worship of the golden calf.

The assumption of a reference so specially controversial might indeed be supposed unnecessary, since in a religion, which teaches generally the existence of a powerful bad being, the error here combated, the belief that this being possesses other than derived power, will naturally arise in those who have not found the right solution of the riddle of human life in the deeper knowledge of human sinfulness.

But yet the whole rite has too direct a reference to a prescribed practice of propitiating the bad being, and implies that former offerings were made to him—a thing which could never be the natural product of Israelitish soil, and could scarcely spring up there, since such an embodying of error contradicts fundamental principles among the Israelites respecting the being of Jehovah, which, indeed, allows the existence of no other power with itself.

And, finally, there exists here a peculiar trait, which in Hengstenberg's opinion makes it certain that there is an Egyptian reference, namely, the circumstance that the goat was sent to Azazel into the desert. The special residence of Typhon was in the desert, according to the Egyptian doctrine, which is most intimately connected with the natural condition of the country. There, accordingly, is Azazel placed in our passage, not in the belief that this was literally true, but merely symbolically (*Hengstenberg, Egypt and the Books of Moses*).

GOATH (גֹּאֵת, or with suff. גֹּאֲתָה; Vulg.

Goatha), mentioned only Jer. xxxi. 39, where it apparently denotes some prominent object which served to mark in one direction the boundary of Jerusalem; but whether it were a hill, or a valley, or a pool, is altogether uncertain. In the Targ. of Jonathan it is rendered גִּבְרִית עֵינָה, *the heifer's pool*;

and this derives some slight support from the probable connection of the word with גִּיט *mugit* (Ges.

s. v.) In the Sept. the clause reads περικυλῶσθαι κύκλῳ ἐξ ἐκλεκτῶν λίθων. Equally uncertain is the position of the place. The context seems to favour the conjecture that it was on the southern side of the city.—S. N.

GOB. גֹּב, Is. xxxiii. 4; Sept. ἀκρίδας; Vulg. is deficient; Eng. locusts; Amos vii. 1, ἐπιγονὴ ἀκρίδων; Aquila, βοράδων (voratrices), locustæ, grasshoppers; Nah. iii. 17, ἀττέλαβος, or ἀττέλεβος, locustæ, grasshoppers. Here the lexicographers, finding no Hebrew root, resort to the Arabic. Bochart derives it from the Arabic نَبَا, 'to creep out' (of the ground), as the locusts do in spring. But this applies to the young of all species of locusts, and his quotations from Aristotle and Pliny occur unfortunately in general descriptions of the locust.

Castell gives another Arabic root (ج ب) نَاب, *seculi*, 'to cut' or 'tear,' but this is open to a similar objection. Parkhurst proposes גב, anything gibbous, curved, or arched, and gravely adds, 'the locust in the caterpillar state, so called from its shape in general, or from its continually hunching out its back in moving.' The Sept. word in Nahum, ἀττέλεβος, may be shewn to mean a perfect insect and species. Accordingly, Aristotle speaks of its partitioning and eggs (*Hist. Anim.* v. 29; so also Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osir.*) It seems, however, not unlikely that it means a wingless species of locust, genus *Podisma* of Latreille. Grasshoppers, which are of this kind, he includes under the genus *Tettix*. Hesychius defines the ἀττέλεβος as ἀκρίς μικρά, 'a small locust;' and Pliny describes them as 'locustarum minimæ, sine pennis, quas attelabos vocant' (*Hist. Nat.* xxix. 5). Accordingly the Sept. ascribes only leaping to it, ἐξήλατο ὡς ἀττέλεβος. In Nahum we have the construction גֹּב נֹבִי, locusta locustarum, which the lexicons compare with קָרַשׁ קִרְשִׁים, and explain as a vast multitude of locusts. Archbishop Newcome suggests that 'the phrase is either a double reading where the scribes had a doubt which was the true reading, or a mistaken repetition not expunged.' He adds, that we may suppose גֹּבִי the contracted plural for גֹּבוֹבִים (*Improved Version of the Minor Prophets*, Pontefr. 1809, p. 188).

GOB (גֹּב), a place mentioned in 2 Sam. xxi. 18 and 19, where battles were fought between the Philistines and Israelites. The Septuagint reads in one verse Γεζ, and in the other Πόμ, AL Γεζ; but the parallel passage in 1 Chron. xx. 4 reads Gezer [GEZER]. The two places were probably close together, but the site is unknown.—J. L. P.

GOBLET (גֹּבֶלֶת; LXX. κράτηρ, ἀγανῶθ). This word is only once used in the A. V., Song vii. 2, 'Thy navel is like a round goblet.' The Hebrew word גֹּבֶלֶת also occurs in two other places (Exod. xxiv. 6, A. V. 'basons,' and Is. xxii. 24, A. V. 'cups.') From Exod. xxiv. 6 it is clear that the vessel was large and round, or it would not have been adapted to hold the blood of the sacrifices. In Song vii. 2 the adjective סָרֹר (round) is incorrectly rendered *σπευτός*, although these goblets may of course have been occasionally embossed. From the third passage (Is. xxii. 24), it appears that vessels and instruments of all kinds were suspended from pegs on the temple walls. The Peshito is here obviously mistaken in rendering גֹּבֶלֶת, by 'psaltery;' a rendering which is the more strange because the cognate Syriac word is used to render ὑδρία in John ii. 6, 7. [See BASONS.]—F. W. F.

GOD. This word stands in the A. V. as the invariable representative of the Hebrew אֱלֹהִים, אֱלֹהִים, and אֱלֹהִים.* This seems, therefore, the proper place for introducing an enquiry into these terms.

I. We shall commence by a summary of the usages of these words.

1. אֱלֹהִים. This term is used in the most general way as a designation of Deity, whether of the true God or of the false gods, even the idols, of the heathen. In the latter reference it occurs Is. xlv.

10, 15; xlv. 20; xlv. 6; and in the pl. אֱלֹהִים, Exod. xv. 11; Dan. xi. 36; though in both these last instances it may be questioned whether the word is not used in the sense of *mighty ones*. To render the application of the term in this reference more specific, such epithets as אֲחֵר, *other, foreign* (Exod. xxxiv. 14), נָכַר, *strange, hostile* (Ps. lxxxi. 10), נֶכֶד, *strange* (Deut. xxxii. 12). When used of the true God, אֱלֹהִים is usually preceded by the article הָאֱלֹהִים, Gen. xxxi. 13; Deut. vii. 9), or followed by such distinctive epithets as עֶשְׂרִי, *Almighty* (Exod. vi. 3); עוֹלָם, *eternal* (Gen. xxi. 33; Is. xl. 28); עֶלְיוֹן, *Supreme* (Gen. xiv. 18); חַי, *living* (Josh. iii. 10); גִּבּוֹר, *mighty* (Is. ix. 5); or such qualifying adjuncts as כְּבוֹד, *of glory* (Ps. xxix. 3); אֱמֶת, *of truth* (Ps. xxxi. 6); גְּמוּלוֹת, *of retributions* (Jer. li. 56); בֵּית־אֵל, *of Bethel* (Gen. xxxi. 13); יִשְׂרָאֵל, *of Israel* (Gen. xxxiii. 20); יְהוָה (Deut. xxxiii. 26). In poetry אֱלֹהִים sometimes occurs as a sign of the superlative; as הַרְיֵי־אֵל, *hills of God,*

very high hills (Ps. xxxvi. 7); אֲחֵר־אֵל, *cedars of God* (Is. lxxx. 11). The phrase בְּנֵי־אֱלֹהִים occurs Ps. xxix. 1; lxxxix. 7; and is supposed by some to refer to *angels*; but others take אֱלֹהִים here for אֱלִים, and translate *Sons of the mighty* (see Rosenmüller, *in loc.*) There is no instance of אֱלֹהִים in the singular being used in the sense of *mighty one* or *hero*; for even if we retain that reading in Ezek. xxxi. 11 (though thirty of Kennicott's codices have the reading אֵל, and the probability is that in those which present אֱלֹהִים, the 'is quiescent), the rendering 'God of the nations,' may be accepted as conveying a strong but just description of the power of Nebuchadnezzar, and the submission rendered to him; comp. 2 Cor. iv. 4. In proper names אֱלֹהִים is often found sometimes in the first

* In a few places where the combination אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה, *Adonaj Jehovah*, occurs, our translators have given 'God' as the rendering of יְהוָה. They have done this, however, merely to avoid the awkwardness of such a combination as *Lord Lord*. These, as merely exceptional cases, may be passed over here. [JEHOVAH].

member of the compound word, *ex. gr.*, אֱלֹהִים *Eldad*, etc., and sometimes as the last member, *ex. gr.*, שְׁמוּאֵל *Samuel*, לֵמוּאֵל *Lemuel*, טַבְעֵל *Tabeel*, etc.

2. אֱלֹהִים, pl. אֱלֹהִים. The singular form occurs only in poetry, especially in Job, and in the later books such as Daniel, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. It is used as well of idol deities as of the true God (Dan. xi. 37, 38; Habak. i. 11; Deut. xxxii. 15; Ps. l. 22; Habak. iii. 3, etc.); once in the former case with the addition of נִכְר (Dan. xi. 39), and in the latter with that of יַעֲקֹב (Ps. cxiv. 7). The more common usage is that of the plural. This pervades all the books of the O. T., from the earliest to the latest. The word is used principally of the true God, and in this case frequently with the article prefixed (Gen. v. 22; vi. 9, 11; xvii. 18), as well as with such adjuncts as הַשְׁמַיִם (Neh. i. 4), or with the addition of הוֹאֲרִי (Gen. xxiv. 3); אֱמֶן (Is. lxxv. 16); צֶדֶק (Ps. iv. 2); הַצְּבֹאוֹת (Am. iii. 13), etc. When the relation of Israel to God is to be indicated, the phrases אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *Elohe Yishrael*, יְעֻקֵּב אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב *Elohe Yaaqob*, אֱבְרָהָם אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם *E. Abraham*, are used (Ezek. v. 1; Ps. xx. 2; xlvii. 10, etc.); and in this case, as the term Elohims is equivalent in effect to Jehovah, it is often used interchangeably with that term; thus Moses, who is designated עֶבְרִי *Ebed-Jehovah* (Deut. xxxiv. 5), is called in the same sense אֱלֹהִים עֶבְרִי *Ebed-Elohim* (Dan. ix. 11); and the same object is designated indifferently רֹחַ רוּחַ-יְהוָה *Ruach-Jehovah*, and רֹחַ אֱלֹהִים *Ruach-Elohim* (comp. Judg. iii. 10, and Exod. xxxi. 3, etc.) Not unfrequently the two terms are combined (Lev. xviii. 2, 4, etc.; xix. 2, etc.; 2 Sam. v. 10; 1 Kings i. 36; xiv. 13; Ps. xviii. 29, etc.) Most commonly, however, they are used distinctively, with respect, probably, to the difference between their primary meanings (see Hengstenberg, *Auth. d. Pent.* i. 181, ff.) In the Pentateuch this discriminative usage has given ground for certain hypotheses as to the composition of that work [PENTATEUCH]. In the earlier historical books, Jehovah is more frequently used than Elohims; in Job, Jehovah is more frequently used in the poetical, Eloah or Elohims in the prosaic portions; in the Psalms, sometimes the one sometimes the other predominates, and this has been thought to afford some criterion by which to judge of the age of the psalm, the older psalms being those in which Elohims is used; in Proverbs we have chiefly Jehovah; in Ecclesiastes, Daniel, and Jonah, almost exclusively Elohims, and in the other prophets chiefly Jehovah. Elohims is also used of idol deities or false gods, because these were worshipped as if they were God (Exod. xix. 20; xxxii. 31; Josh. xxiv. 20; Jer. ii. 11; Jonah i. 5, etc.), and like El it is used as a superlative (Ps. lxxviii. 16; lxxv. 10, etc.) Kings and Judges, as the viceregerents of Deity, or as possessing a sort of representative majesty, are sometimes called *Elohim* (Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6; Exod. xxi. 6; xxii. 8). Whether the term is used of *angels* may be made matter of question.

This is the rendering given to אֱלֹהִים by the LXX., Vulg., Targ., Syr., etc., in Gen. iii. 5; Ps. viii. 6; lxxxii. 1, 6; xcvi. 7; and cxxxviii. 1; but in the majority of these instances there can be little doubt but that the translators were swayed by

mere dogmatical considerations in adopting that rendering; they preferred it because they avoided thus the strongly anthropomorphic representation which a literal rendering would have preserved. In all these passages the proper signification of

אֱלֹהִים may be retained, and in some of them, such as Gen. iii. 5; Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6, this seems imperatively required. In Ps. viii. 6, also, the rendering 'angels' seems excluded by the consideration that the subject of the writer is the grace of God to man in giving him *dominion over the works of his hands*, in which respect there can be no comparison between man and the angels, of whom nothing of this sort is affirmed. In Ps. xcvi. 7 the connection of the last clause with what precedes affords sufficient reason for our giving Elohims its proper rendering, as in the A. V. That the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews should have adopted the LXX. rendering in citing these two passages (ii. 7; i. 6), cannot be held as establishing that rendering, for, as his argument is not affected by it, he was under no call to depart from the rendering given in the version from which he quotes. But though there be no clear evidence that Elohims is ever used in the sense of angels, it is sometimes used vaguely to describe unseen powers or superhuman beings that are not properly thought of as divine. Thus the witch of Endor saw 'Elohims ascending out of the earth' (1 Sam. xxviii. 13), meaning thereby some beings of an unearthly, superhuman character. So also in Zech. xii. 8 it is said, 'The house of David shall be as Elohims, as the angel of the Lord,' where, as the transition from Elohims to the angel of the Lord is a *minori ad majus*, we must regard the former as a vague designation of supernatural powers. Hengstenberg would explain Ps. viii. 6 in accordance with this; but the legitimacy of this may be doubted.

In three instances the phrase אֱלֹהִים בְּנֵי, *B'ney Elohims*, occurs (Job i. 6; ii. 1; xxxviii. 7), and in two instances (Gen. vi. 2, 4) בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים, *B'ney Ha-Elohims*, occurs. We have also the equivalent phrase בְּנֵי אֵל in Hos. ii. 1 (A. V. i. 10). In the book of Job the phrase unquestionably describes the angels, who are called sons of God partly as immediately created by him (in which sense Adam is called 'the son of God,' Luke iii. 38), partly as belonging to the spiritual world, and so appearing to be of the same essence as God, who is emphatically spirit as opposed to flesh (Is. xxxi. 3), and partly as characterised by that holiness which is the distinctive glory of God, and the communication of which to any of his creatures conveys to such an ethical affinity to Him. Of these elements the last is the most important, and hence, where it is possessed, divine sonship may be predicated of the possessor, though both the other elements are wanting. It is on this ground that the phrase may be used of men, as it is in the passage cited from Hosea, and frequently in the N. T. As used in the passages cited from Genesis, the phrase is confessedly difficult, and has called forth numerous explanations. Of these the greater part are purely conjectural, and need not occupy our attention. Our choice must lie between that which takes the phrase as denoting angels, and that which takes it as denoting men standing in some special relation to God.

The former of these is the older, and it is that

which the usage of the phrase most readily suggests. It is favoured by the LXX., the text of which fluctuates between *υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ* and *ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ* (Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, xv. 23), Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 4. 1), Philo (*De Gigant.* sub init.), the apocryphal book of Enoch, the Testament of the XII. Patriarchs, the later Jewish Hagada, and the majority of the Christian Fathers from Justin to Lactantius. The incongruity however of the supposition, that angels could have carnal intercourse with women, is so strong, that many have on this ground alone rejected the interpretation, some with strong expressions of contempt and indignation. Thus Theodoret speaks of it as *ἐμβρόντητον καὶ ἄγαν ἡλίθιον* (*Quæst. in Genesin.* sec. 47); Philastrius denounces it as a heresy; and Rabbi Simeon b. Jochai pronounces an anathema on all who adopt it (Delitzsch, *Genes.* in loc.) The Reformers generally repudiated it as a mere fable, which is refuted by its own absurdity (Calvin, *in loc.*); and the majority of more recent writers have followed in the same strain. Unfortunately, however, they have not succeeded in giving us any tenable explanation in its place. If we turn to the hypothesis that the phrase sons of God here is used of men standing in some special relation to God, we are met at the threshold by a difference of opinion as to the relation supposed. Some would class the phrase with those in which Elohim has the force of a superlative [see above], and would render 'men of power,' or 'eminence,' the high-born, as contrasted with the common people, or 'men of great height' as contrasted with men of ordinary stature. But the confusion of thought here is sufficient to condemn such an interpretation. When Elohim is used to express a superlative, it intimates that the quality expressed by the word to which it is appended exists in that particular instance in the highest degree. The phrase, for instance, 'Cedars of God,' means that the quality common to all cedars exists in these in the highest degree; these are cedars of surpassing excellence. But plainly this is inapplicable in the case of words, the quality denoted by which does not admit of degrees; and such is the case with the word *son*. There are no degrees in sonship; the male progeny of a rich man are no more his sons than the male progeny of a poor man are his; a dwarf is as much the son of his father as a giant is of his. Besides, on this hypothesis, who were the daughters of men with whom these sons of God had intercourse? The two designations are plainly in antithesis to each other. If therefore 'sons of God' mean powerful, great, or tall men; 'daughters of men' must mean low-born, poor, dwarfish women. Why it should be morally wrong for such to intermarry, or why a race differing from other men should spring from the intercourse of such does not appear, and seems to us inexplicable. Others resort to the ethical import of the phrase, 'sons of God,' and suppose that the parties so designated by Moses belonged to the pious race the descendants of Seth. This explanation is as old as the Clementines: 'Homines justi qui angelorum vixerant vitam' (*Recognitions*, i. 29), is found in many of the later Fathers, from Ephraem to Chrysostom, is followed by Luther, Calvin, and their associates and followers, and may be viewed as the favourite explanation of evangelical commentators. There is much in its favour. There can be no doubt that the phrase 'sons of God' may be used of men in an ethical

sense; there can be no doubt that the Cainites and the Sethites had before this time formed two separate communities, between which the primary distinction was a moral and religious one; and the course of the narrative is not opposed to the supposition that the general degeneracy of the race which brought on the flood was the result of an intermingling of the two communities by marriage. But though the phrase *may* have an ethical meaning, and *may* in this sense be used of men, there wants evidence of its ever being so used in the O. T. (excepting of Israel as a nation, a case not in point here); and besides, on this hypothesis, what are we to make of the phrase 'daughters of men,' as applied to the women with whom these pious Sethites intermarried? We cannot without the greatest violence take *הָאָדָם*, *Ha-Adam*, here as designating a special portion of the human race, when the very same word is used in the preceding verse to designate the race as such; nor can we, on any just grounds, take the word *Adam* without any qualifying adjunct as meaning *wicked* men. Besides, what reason is there for supposing that the union of men who worshipped God with women who did not, would specially tend to the procreation of a progeny marked by unwonted strength or size (*נַפְלִיִּים*)? This has led many* to adopt the oldest interpretation as the only one exegetically tenable. Now, strange as it may appear to us, that such a thing as the historian is thus understood to affirm should have happened, we should be slow to assert that it is impossible, and therefore incredible. That created spirits are not pure spirits, but to some degree partake of a material substance, is one of the common-places of theology; that such spirits can act on our bodies must also be believed from the testimony of Scripture; and that beings of angelic nature are liable to be ensnared by sinful passion is involved in the belief that the fallen angels were once among the hosts of the heavenly world. We are not, therefore, in circumstances to affirm that it is in the nature of things impossible that in some of these lustful passions may have been engendered by the beauty of women, and that they may have been able to assume forms in which these passions could be gratified. Still, in the face of the general statements of Scripture concerning angels, and especially of such a statement as that of our Lord recorded Matt. xxii. 30, it must be felt that a strong degree of improbability attaches to this hypothesis; and that we are entitled to demand some decisive authority from Scripture before we can receive it. Such authority, it has been supposed, is supplied by what St. Jude says in the 7th verse of his epistle,† where, after referring to the angels who kept not their first estate, he proceeds to say, *ὡς Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα καὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτὰς πόλεις τὸν ὅμιον τρόπον τοῦτους ἐκπορεύσασαι, κ. τ. λ.* Here the apostle is understood to mean that the crime by which the angels referred to fell was that of fornication, like that of which the inhabitants of these cities were guilty. This, however, is a most uncertain exegesis; for, in the first place, whatever was the offence

* See Kurtz, *Hist. of the Old Covenant*, i. sec. 25; Baumgarten, *Theol. Comment. zum A. T.*, i. p. 105; Delitzsch, *Genesis*, in loc.; Twisten, *Dogmatis II.*, i. p. 332, etc.

† See De Wette, Huther, and Alford on the passage.

of the B'ney Ha-Elohim, of whom Moses writes, it was not, certainly, *after the same manner* with that of the inhabitants of the cities of the plain; there is no reason to believe it was *πορνεῖα* of any sort, most assuredly it was not of that unnatural sort which drew down on these cities the special wrath and vengeance of heaven.* Then, secondly, the train of the apostle's thought here is unfavourable to this acceptance of his words. He has in view the reproving of two evils, the one that of proud insubordination, the other that of lascivious indulgence; and he illustrates by examples the evil of both. In illustration of that of the former, he adduces first the case of the rebellious Israelites who fell in the wilderness, and secondly, the case of the rebel angels who fell from heaven; and here his illustration of the first of the two sins terminates. With verse 7th begins his illustration of the evil of the second of these sins, and the case he adduces is the memorable one of Sodom and Gomorrha and the cities around them. Following out the train of thought in this way we are naturally led to connect verse 7th, not with what precedes, but with what follows, the *ὡς* introducing the protasis and the *ὁμοίως* of verse 8th the apodosis of one complete statement. In this case the *τούτους* of verse 7th does not refer to *ἄγγελοι* as its antecedent, but to *Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα*, or rather, by enallage, to the inhabitants of these cities; and the proper rendering is: 'As Sodom and Gomorrha, and the cities around them, which after the like manner with them gave themselves to fornication . . . are set forth as an example . . . likewise, also, these filthy dreamers,' etc. As to the difficulty arising from the use of the masculine *τούτους*, in reference to Sodom and Gomorrha, which, as *πόλεις*, must be held to be feminine, that need not deter us. Beza, long ago, dissipated that by the remark, 'neque nos offendere debet generis mutatio, urbium enim nomine incolas comprehendit.'

With this explanation of the passage in Jude vanishes the only shadow of Scriptural support which has ever been adduced for the hypothesis that the B'ney Ha-Elohim of Moses were angels—an hypothesis in itself to the last degree improbable, and which Hävernicks does not stigmatise too strongly when he places it among 'the silliest whims of the Alexandrian Gnostics and Cabalistic Rabbins' (*Intro. to the Pent.*, p. 111). 'It is,' says Bunsen, 'in itself disagreeable, and being mythologico-physical, is thoroughly unbiblical' (*Bibelwerk*, v. 51).

In the absence of anything more satisfactory, we would submit a modification of one of the views above noticed, that, viz., which identifies the parties here referred to with the Cainites and the Sethites. Instead of understanding the phrases B'ney Ha-Elohim, and B'noth Ha-Adam, in an ethical sense, we would view them rather as party designations; and instead of regarding the former as belonging to the Sethites, and the latter to the Cainites, we would reverse the application and regard the former as belonging to the Cainites, and the latter to the Sethites. In support of this view we would

offer the following suggestion. In Gen. v. 3, we are told that Adam 'begat a son in his own likeness after his image.' Now, without building any dogmatical position on this, it is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that the writer intended to place this statement in *contrast* with that in ver. 1, where he says that 'Adam was made in the likeness of God,' and along with that, to convey the idea that man was no longer produced in the likeness of God, but merely in the image and likeness of his parent. Further, in stating this in connection specially with the birth of Seth, may not he mean to intimate that in the family of Seth, this fact was specially recognised and acknowledged? By Cain, on the other hand, we know that this fact was not acknowledged. His great sin lay in his claiming to come before God as an unfallen being, who had no guilt to be expiated, but who had merely an acknowledgment of inferiority and dependance to make. This we take to be the only tenable hypothesis on which to explain the transaction recorded in Gen. iv. 3-7 (see Magee on *the Atonement*, notes, Nos. 58, 61, 62, 63; Faber on *Expiatory Sacrifice*, p. 85, ff.; Alexander, *Connection and Harmony of the O. and N. T.*, p. 339, 2d ed.) Now, is it not conceivable that the pious sons of Seth, in humble acknowledgment of the fact of men's fallen condition, may have contented themselves with the name of B'ney (B'noth) Ha-Adam, while the Cainites, claiming to retain the original dignity of man as he came from the hands of God, may have boastfully called themselves B'ney Ha-Elohim? In this case, the term 'Adam,' and the phrase 'sons of Adam,' though actually applicable to the whole race, would designate a portion of it on the same principle on which the descendants of Jacob called themselves 'Israel,' and 'the children of Abraham,' though they were not the only race that could claim descent from that patriarch. If this suggestion be adopted, the narrative we have been considering is a record of what we may very readily suppose to have happened, viz., that the descendants of Cain, and those of Seth, who had hitherto lived apart, came, as the land became filled with people, gradually to approach each other; and that the haughty sons of Cain, who had hitherto probably thought of the Sethites only with contempt, being in this way brought into contact with the daughters of Seth, were struck with their superior beauty, and so after their own high-handed fashion, 'took them wives of all which they chose.'

We now pass on to notice the peculiarity connected with the use of Elohim, a plural, to designate God. This, as a usage in the language of a people of all others the most tenacious of monotheism, is a remarkable phenomenon; and the peculiarity becomes still more noticeable when we find that they made the laws of language bend to this usage, and construed this plural as if it were a singular with singular verbs and adjuncts. Such a phenomenon has naturally drawn to it the attention of interpreters and grammarians, and various solutions of the difficulty, some resting on material, others on purely formal grounds, have been offered.

1. An old opinion is that the peculiarity in question was determined by dogmatical considerations; that as God has revealed himself in His Word as subsisting in Trinity, One yet Three, it is as corresponding to this revealed fact that a plural designation of Him, construed as if it were singular, is em-

* 'The manner was similar, because the angels committed fornication with another race than themselves,' Alford, *in loc.* What does this mean? With what other race than themselves did the men of Sodom sin? Did not their *peculiar* sin lie *ἐν τῇ δοξῇ αὐτῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους*?

ployed in Scripture. 2. It has been asserted that as the religion of the Hebrews may be supposed to have grown out of an original polytheism, this peculiarity is a remnant or product of that earlier state of things. 3. It is suggested that as God is conceived to be the sum of all perfections, the plural was used along with singular verbs, etc., to indicate this. 4. It has been maintained that this usage belongs to a class coming under the law, that words expressing majesty or mastership are in Hebrew put in the plural. 5. It is regarded as an instance of the plural used to denote the abstract; in this case the *ro Seior, numen venerandum*. 6. It is to be viewed as an instance of the plural intensive. Of these views the first has found few supporters among scholars, and has been formally repudiated by several who were strongly attached to Trinitarian views, as *ex. gr.* Calvin, Drusus, Belarmin, Buxtorf, Hottinger, etc. The second opinion has received the suffrages of some learned men, but has been rejected by the majority as resting on assumptions wholly arbitrary, and as insufficient to account for all the facts of the case. The sixth has been defended with much ability by Hengstenberg (*Auth. d. Pent.*, i. 200), and has received very general assent. Whilst, however, it suffices to account for several of the usages which grammarians have placed under the fiction of a *pluralis majestaticus*,* it will not account for all, and especially for Elohim. For whilst in such words as בעלים *Baalim*, אדנים *Adonim*, etc., the concept of the singular may be intensified, and this intensification may be expressed by the plural, this is not the case with Elohim; in this case the plural expresses no more than the singular, the very idea of intensified deity being absurd. Of the other proposed solutions, the only one which will bear an examination is the *third*. Ewald (*lib. cit.*) has adopted this view, and so has Fürst (*H. W. B.*, in verb.) It rests on a principle pervading the language, viz., that words describing objects which combine plurality with unity are used in the plural, and generally with verbs, etc., in the singular (comp. Jer. li. 58; Ps. lxxii. 15; Ps. xviii. 15; Is. lix. 12; Joel i. 20, etc.) If this hypothesis be adopted, it remains open to consider whether the first of the views above stated may not find place under it. If the plural so used be according to Ewald the idiomatic expression of 'multitude and variety existing in unity,' there seems no reason why we may not regard the plurality in unity expressed by Elohim as a plurality of *persons*, as well as a plurality of *attributes* (Hengstenberg, book cited; Smith, *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, I. 308; Alexander, *Connection and Harmony*, etc., p. 69, ff.; 2d ed.)

II. We now come to consider the etymology and derivation of these words.

The opinion which here most naturally presents itself is, that in אלה we have the simple primitive form, which in process of time was elongated into אלהים. This is the opinion of Gesenius (*Thes.*, s. v.), and also of Fürst (*H. W. B.*, s. v.), though both admit that the old opinion that אלה itself is a

* 'Nichts ist so falsch als dass die jetzige hebraische sprache für einen sog. *plur. majest.* sinn hätte.' Ewald, *Ausf. Lehrbuch d. Heb. Spr.*, sec. 178, 6.

derivative from אלה, to be strong, may have some foundation. In this case *El* is an appellation of God as the Mighty One, and *Eloah* is the same. By others the relative position of these words is reversed; *El* being regarded as an abbreviation of *Eloah*. Those who take this view, generally

derive אלה, from אלה, Ar. ^{أله} *coluit, adonavit, stupuit, attonitus est*. In this case *Eloah* is the *numen venerandum*, and *El* the same. By many, however, who regard the noun and the verb as connected, their relation is reversed, the verb being supposed to have come from the noun.

Hengstenberg has strenuously opposed the regarding of אלה as a primitive. He contends that such a view is without authority, that it is contrary to analogy (the name for God in all languages being a derivative word having an appellative signification), and that such a transition as that of אלה into אלה, is wholly unknown to the language. (*Auth. d. Pent.*, I. 251). He accordingly contends for the derivation of אלה from אלה, *coluit, adonavit, pavore correptus fuit*, and of אלה from אלה.

III. It may be useful to note the cognate terms in other Shemitic dialects. Samaritan: *El*, sometimes *Chilah* or *Chiulah*, *potens* (cf. Castelli Animad. Samar. in Pentateuch., p. 3, ap. Bibl. Polyg. t. vi.) Phœnician: *El* (אל or ܐܠ) as in 'En-d ('Ενλος, ענאל), Gag-el (Gagilus, גגאל), 'Eloesim (ap. Sanchuniathon.) Syriac: ܐܠܝܠܐ *Illo*, ܐܠܝܠܐ *Eloho*. Arabic: ايل, ال, الله, ail, al, allah.

(Besides the works referred to in this article, the following may be consulted:—Gussetius, *Commentarius Ling. Ebr. s. vocc.*; Leusden, *Philologus Hebr.* Diss. xxxii.; Hottinger, *Dissert. Theol. Philol.* Diss. iv.; Ewald, *Die Composition des Genesis*, sec. 5, ff.—W. L. A.

GODWYN, THOMAS, D.D., was born in 1587, and entered as a student of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1602. He was for some years head master of the free school at Abingdon, Berks. He was subsequently presented to the Rectory of Brightwell, near Wallingford, where he died, March 20, 1643. His reputation rests upon the valuable aid which he rendered to the study of Hebrew antiquities. Two works upon this subject were published by him, the first entitled *Synopsis Antiquitatum Hebraicarum ad explicationem utriusque Testamenti valde necessaria*, etc., Lib. iii., Oxford 1616, 4to; the other, which is more generally known, has the title *Moses and Aaron, Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites used by the ancient Hebrews, observed, and at large opened, for the clearing of many obscure texts throughout the whole Scripture*, Lond. 1625, 4to. This work passed rapidly through several editions, the seventh being published in 1655. It was translated into Dutch in 1629, and into Latin by Reiz in 1679, by Witsius, Bremæ 1694, 8vo; and by Hottinger, Francof. 1710, 8vo. It was very generally used as a text-book by teachers of theology; amongst others, by H. Witsius, and by Jones of Tewkesbury, both of whom wrote annotations upon it. It also formed the basis of Carp-

207's apparatus historico-criticus, and of Jennings' Jewish antiquities. The great learning and general accuracy of the work is sufficiently attested by these facts.—S. N.

GOEL [KINSMAN.]

GOG (גֹּג). 1. A people inhabiting the extreme north, and by metonymy the chief of that people (Ezek. xxxviii., xxxix.; Rev. xx. 8 [MAGOG]). 2. One of the sons of Joel, a Reubenite (1 Chron. v. 4). 3. In Num. xxiv. 7 the Samaritan codex and the LXX. read גֹּג, גֹּגִי, for גִּג, *Agag*. In Gen. xiv. 1 Symmachus would seem to have read גֹּג for גִּי, for he gives Σκυθῶν as the rendering.

The word גֹּג has been connected by some with the Pers. گوه *Koh*, mountain (comp. *Koh-Kaf* the Caucasus); by others with the Pehl. *Kōka*, the moon. A shemitic source, however, may be found for it. From גָּל, *to be high*, by reduplication גִּלְגִּל, whence גֹּל, *a roof*, may come גֹּל, *a height, a mountain*.—W. L. A.

GOLAN (גִּלְגָּל, and גִּלְגָּל; Sept. Γαυλῶν and Γαυλῶν), an ancient city of Bashan, allotted to the Levites, and made one of the three cities of refuge east of the Jordan (Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xx. 8; 1 Chron. vi. 71). The name does not occur in Bible history after the division of the country among the tribes. Josephus calls it Γαυλῶν (Antiq. xiii. 15. 3; Bell. Jud. i. 4. 8); and its province Γαυλανίτις (Antiq. viii. 2. 3). The site of Golan has not yet been identified. Jerome says that in his day it was 'villa prægrandis in Batanea' (Onomast. s. v.).

The province of *Gaulanitis* took its name from the city, as is stated by Eusebius and Jerome (Onomast. l. c.). It appears that after the Greek conquest of Syria the kingdom of Bashan was divided into four provinces, *Gaulanitis*, *Trachonitis*, *Auranitis*, and *Batanea* (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 253). The three last were only Greek forms of the names of ancient principalities; while *Gaulanitis* was the territory attached to the important city of Golan. The boundaries of *Gaulanitis* are not given by any ancient writer; but they may be ascertained from some incidental references of Josephus. On the south it was separated from Gadaris by the river Hieromax (Joseph. Bell. Jud. iii. 3. 1; *Journal of Sacred Literature* for July 1854, p. 292). The Jordan and Sea of Galilee formed its western border from the mouth of the Hieromax to Cæsarea Philippi (Joseph. Bell. Jud. iv. 1. 1). On the north it had *Ituraea*, and on the east *Auranitis* and *Trachonitis* (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 257-259). *Gaulanitis* was then the western province of Bashan; and it still retains its ancient name under the Arabic form *Faulân* (Arab. جولان; Heb. גִּלְגָּל).

Gaulanitis, or *Jaulân*, is about 40 miles long from north to south, by 20 broad. The greater part is flat table-land, with a deep soil and luxuriant pastures. The western side, as seen from Tiberias, resembles the declivities of a mountain range, furrowed deeply by torrents and ravines. This is occasioned by the elevation of the plateau (about 2500 feet), and the depression of the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan valley. On the north-west a spur from the Hermon range runs across it some 15

miles, and terminates in a conical peak called Tell el-Faras. The scenery of this ridge is picturesque—graceful conical summits clothed with evergreen oaks, long winding glens filled with tangled copse, and little upland plains carpeted with green grass and spangled with wild flowers. The 'oaks of Bashan,' of which prophets wrote and psalmists sung, are still here (Is. ii. 13; Zech. xi. 2), and among those rich pastures roamed in ancient days the herds of cattle, the pride of the country—'Strong bulls of Bashan' (Ps. xxii. 12). Flocks too, wandered along the hill sides, and spread themselves over the green plateau—'rams and lambs, and goats, and bullocks, all of them fatlings of Bashan' (Ezek. xxxix. 18; Deut. xxxii. 14). The province was once densely peopled. The ruins of no less than 127 towns and large villages are known, only eleven of which have now any settled inhabitants. The whole country is overrun periodically by the wild Bedawin of the eastern desert, whose vast droves of camels and flocks of sheep devour the pastures, and too often trample down the few corn-fields of the peasants (Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 250, seq.; *Handbook for S. and P.*, ii. 461; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, 277; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 319, seq.; Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 364, seq.)—J. L. P.

GOLD. [ZAHAB.]

GOLGOTHA (Γολγοθᾶ; Heb. גִּלְגָּל, and Chaldee ܡܬܝܬܐ, 'a skull.') In considering the import of this name, and the situation of the place, it is necessary to distinguish very clearly between what is purely historical and what is legendary and hypothetical. The Hebrew or Aramæan name *Golgotha* is mentioned by three of the evangelists, and the Greek equivalent given; thus in Matt. xxvii. 33, ἐλθόντες εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Γολγοθᾶ, ὃ ἐστὶν κρανίου τόπος λεγόμενος, 'Having come to the place called *Golgotha*, which is called the place of a skull.' John (xix. 17) gives it somewhat differently; 'Jesus, bearing his cross, went forth into a place called of a skull—εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον κρανίου τόπον; which is called in Hebrew *Golgotha*, ὃ λέγεται Ἑβραϊστὶ Γολγοθᾶ.' Luke gives the Greek name only, 'And when they were come—εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον Κρανίου (xxiii. 33)—to the place called *Kranion*, or *Calvary*, as it is rendered in the A. V. and in the Vulgate. It seems, therefore, that the place was commonly known by both its Hebrew name *Golgotha*, and its Greek name *Kranion*. Why this name was given to it none of the sacred writers state. Three etymologies have since been suggested.—1. Jerome mentions a tradition which he had heard, that Adam was buried in *Golgotha*, and that the name was given to the place because the skull of Adam was there preserved (*Comment. in Ephes. v. 14*; Epist. xlv.; *De Sanc. locis*). 2. Jerome says in another place, 'Outside the city and the gates are the places in which those that have been condemned are beheaded, et *Calvarie*, id est, decollatorum sumpserunt nomen' (*Comment. in Matt. xxvii. 33*). Against this it has been argued, that if this derivation were correct, *Golgotha* would have been called κρανίου τόπος, and not κρανίου, or κρανίου, as Luke has it. 3. It has been maintained by Reland, De Wette, and others, that the name arose from the skull-shaped hill on

the spot (Reland, *Pal.* p. 860). It must be remembered, however, that neither Eusebius, nor Cyril, nor Jerome, nor any of the earliest historical writers ever speak of Golgotha as a *hill*. Yet the expression must have become current at a very early period, for the Bordeaux pilgrim describes it in A.D. 333 as *Monticulus Golgotha* (*Itinerarium Hierosol.*, ed. Wessel p. 593). Dr. Robinson suggests that the idea of a *mount* originated in the fact that a rounded rock or monticule existed on the place where, in the beginning of the 4th century, tradition located the scene of the crucifixion (*Bib. Res.* ii. 376). Golgotha was probably the place of the public execution of criminals.

The situation of Golgotha and the holy sepulchre, which must be connected with it, has formed a subject of keen and even bitter controversy. Some confidently affirm that the spot is now marked by the Church of the Sepulchre; others as confidently deny it. The former was the almost universally accredited tradition down to last century; for though many were struck by the singular position of the church, yet they got over that difficulty by various means (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i. 408). The first who openly opposed the tradition was Korte, a German traveller who visited Jerusalem in 1738. He was followed by Dr. Clarke (*Travels*), Scholz (*Reise*, and *De Golgotha Situi*), Robinson, Tobler (*Golgotha*), and others. The identity of Golgotha has been maintained by Von Raumer (Palästina), Krafft (*die Topographie Jerusalems*), and especially Williams in his *Holy City*. This is not the place for considering the subject at length. All the information the Bible gives us regarding the site of Golgotha may be stated in a few words. Christ was crucified 'without the gate' (Heb. xiii. 12), 'nigh to the city' (John xix. 20), at a place called Golgotha (Matt. xxvii. 33), and apparently beside some public thoroughfare (xxvii. 39) leading to the country (Mark xv. 21). The tomb in which he was laid was hewn out of the rock (Mark xv. 46), in a garden or orchard (*κῆπος*), at the place of crucifixion (John xix. 41, 42). Neither Golgotha nor the tomb is ever afterwards mentioned by any of the sacred writers. No honour seems to have been paid to them, no sanctity attached to them during the apostolic age, or that which immediately succeeded it. It is not till the beginning of the 4th century that we find any attempt made to fix the position of, or attach sanctity to, Golgotha. Eusebius then informs us that the Emperor Constantine, 'not without divine admonition,' resolved to uncover the holy tomb. He states that wicked men had covered it over with earth and rubbish, and had erected on the spot a temple of Venus. These were removed, and the tomb and Golgotha laid bare. A magnificent church was built over them, and consecrated in A.D. 335 (*Vit. Constantini*, iii. 26-33). There can be little doubt that the present church of the sepulchre occupies the site of that built by Constantine (See, however, Fergusson, *Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*). The only point to be settled is, whether the church of Constantine stood on the real Golgotha. Eusebius is our first witness, and he lived 300 years after the crucifixion. His story is repeated with some changes, and numerous embellishments, by subsequent writers (Socrates, *H. E.* i. 17; Sozom., *H. E.*, ii. 1; Theodoret, *H. E.*, i. 18). It must be confessed that a critical examination of

the narratives does not impress us with any very deep sense of their historic accuracy.

The topography of Jerusalem is decidedly against Eusebius, and far outweighs his questionable testimony. The Church of the Sepulchre is in the centre of the modern city, though we know that Golgotha was 'without the gate' at a period when Jerusalem was at least five times its present size. This is not the place for a minute examination of the topography of the Holy City. It is enough to state that in the time of our Lord it had two walls. One encompassed Zion only. The second commenced at the gate Gennath in the first wall, enclosed Acra, and terminated at the Castle of Antonia. Beyond this second wall, on the north and north-west, were large suburbs, and these the elder Agrippa surrounded by a third wall a few years after the crucifixion. The advocates of the identity of Golgotha and the Sepulchre attempt to prove that these lay without the second wall. Their arguments, though put forward with great learning and great skill, are far from being conclusive.

A third theory regarding the site of Golgotha and the sepulchre was advanced by Mr. Fergusson in his *Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem* (London, 1847), and more recently in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible* (s. v. Jerusalem). He asserts that Golgotha was on Mount Moriah, and that the building now called the Mosque of Omar, or Dome of the Rock, is the church erected by Constantine over the Holy Sepulchre. Beneath its dome is a projecting rock with a cave in it; this, he says, is the real tomb. The arguments on which his theory rests are mainly architectural, and are unquestionably very forcible; were they supported by history and topography they would be conclusive. His historical argument is a complete failure. He says the site was transferred at the time of the Crusaders; but for this there is not a shadow of evidence. Any one who has examined, on the spot, the topography of Mount Moriah, and who has closely inspected the masonry of the massive wall which surrounds the whole of the Haram area, must see that this theory is untenable.

The writer of this article has had repeated opportunities of examining the topography of Jerusalem. The opinion which he was led to form regarding the site of Golgotha and the tomb of our Lord, is as follows:—The palace of Pilate and the judgment hall stood at the north-west angle of the Haram area, where the house of the pasha still stands. There Jesus was condemned, scourged, and mocked. Thence the soldiers 'led him out' (Mark xv. 20) to crucify Him. They met a man called Simon 'coming out of the country,' and compelled him to bear the cross. They brought Him unto Golgotha, and there they crucified Him. The passers by reviled Him. His mother and some others stood by the cross (John xix. 25). 'All his acquaintance stood afar off beholding these things' (Luke xxiii. 49). Such is the substance of the narratives. It would seem that the soldiers had not far to go from the palace to Golgotha. The gate of St. Stephen is about 200 yards from the palace, and leads directly into the country. Without the gate one road runs eastward across the Kidron, another northwards along the narrow brow of the hill. Between these is an open space, rugged and rocky; just below it, in the shelving bank of the Kidron, are several rock

tombs. This spot would seem to answer all the requirements of the narrative. The passers by on both roads would be within a few yards of Him; and his acquaintance could stand 'afar off' on the side of Olivet and see with the utmost distinctness the whole scene.

The traditional Golgotha is now a little chapel in the side of the church of the sepulchre, gorgeously decorated with marble, and gold, and silver. The monks profess to shew the hole in which the cross was planted, and a rent in the rock made by the earthquake! (See *Handbook for Syria and Pal.*, p. 166; Williams' *Holy City*, ii. 226, sq.)—J. L. P.

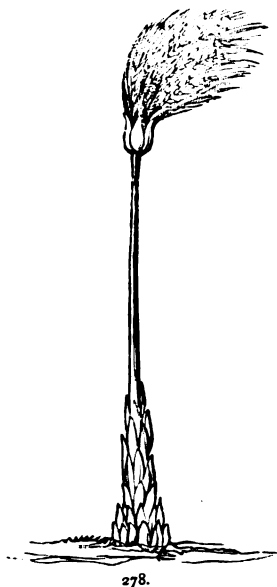
GOLIATH. [DAVID; GIANT.]

GOMAR, FRANCIS, celebrated in church history as the leading opponent of Arminius, was born at Bruges, Jan. 30, 1563, and died at Groningen, Jan. 11, 1641. His theological education was carried on partly in England, where he attended the lectures of Dr. John Rainolds at Oxford, and of Dr. William Whittaker of Cambridge, and partly at Heidelberg. In 1594 he accepted one of the chairs of theology at Leyden, in which university James Arminius was also, in 1603, appointed a professor. Almost immediately a warm controversy arose between the two professors. On the death of Arminius in 1609, the friends of Gomar being unsuccessful in their opposition to the appointment of Vorstius to the vacant chair, Gomar resigned his office and retired to Middleburgh. In 1614 he became professor of theology at Saumur, and four years afterwards accepted a similar appointment in the university of Groningen. Gomar was one of the members of the synod of Dort (1618), and took an active part in its proceedings. He enjoyed a high reputation for his Hebrew scholarship, and in 1633 assisted at Leyden in the revision of the translation of the O. T. His collected works were published at Amsterdam in 1644, fol. Those which relate to Biblical topics are the following—1. *Ex Evangelio Matthæi locorum explicatio*. 2. *Selectorum Ev. Lucæ locorum illustratio*. 3. *Selectorum Ev. Johannis locorum illustratio*. 4. *Analysis et explicatio epistolarum Pauli ad Rom., Gal., Philip., Coloss., Philem., Hebræos*. 5. *Explicatio epistolarum Petri, Johannis, et Judæ*. 6. *Explicatio capitum priorum quinque Apocalypsis*. 7. *Dissertatio de Evangelio Matthæi quanam lingua sit Scriptum*. 8. *Davidis Lyra, seu nova Ebræa ars poetica canonibus suis descripta et exemplis Sacris Pindari et Sophoclis parallelis descripta*. The commentaries of Gomar are highly commended by R. Simon (*Hist. Crit. du N. T.*, p. 761).—S. N.

GOME (גֹּמֶה), translated 'rush' and 'bulrush,' is mentioned in four places of Scripture, from which there is no doubt that it was a plant growing in moist situations in Egypt, and employed in the construction of vessels of different kinds, intended to float upon the water, such as the ark in which Moses was hid, and vessels for transit (Job viii. 11; Is. xxxv. 7; Exod. ii. 3; Is. xviii. 2). The name *gome*, according to Celsius (*Hierobot.* vol. ii. p. 138), is derived from גִּמְמָה *gimme*, 'absorbere, bibere, quia in aqua nascitur, et aquam semper imbibit.' Though other plants are adduced by translators and commentators as the *gome* of Scripture, yet it is evident that only the *papyrus* can be

meant, and that it is well suited to all the passages. Being in some respects so obvious, it could not escape the notice of all translators. Hence, in the Arabic Version, and in the *Annals of Eutychius*, the word **بردي**, *burdee*, is given as the synonym of

gome in Exod. ii. 3. The Sept. in Job (viii. 11) gives **πάπυρος**, in Isaiah (xviii. 2) **βιβλίνας**, and the Vulgate, in this last passage, *papyrus*. In Arabic authors on *Materia Medica*, we find the *papyrus* mentioned under the three heads of *Fascer*, *Burdee*, and *Chartas*. *Fascer* is said to be the Egyptian name of a kind of *burdee* (bur-reed) of which paper (*charta*) is made; and of *burdee*, the word *fasfururs* (evidently a corruption of *papyrus*) is given as the Greek synonym.



The *papyrus* is now well known: it belongs to the tribe of *sedges* or *cyperaceæ*, and is not a rush or bulrush, as in the A. V. It may be seen growing to the height of six or eight feet, even in tubs, in the hothouses of this country, and is described by the ancients as growing in the shallow parts of the Nile. The root is fleshy, thick, and spreading; the stems triangular, eight or ten feet in height, of which two or so are usually under water, thick below but tapering towards the apex, and destitute of leaves; those of the base broad, straight, and sword-shaped, but much shorter than the stem. This last is terminated by an involucre of about eight leaves, sword-shaped and acute, much shorter than the many-rayed umbel which they support. The secondary umbels are composed only of three or four short rays, with an involucre of three awl-shaped leaflets. The flowers are in a short spike at the extremity of each ray. Cassiodorus, as quoted by Carpenter, graphically described it as it appears on the banks of the Nile, 'There rises to the view this forest without branches, this thicket without leaves, this harvest of the waters, this ornament of the marshes.'

The *papyrus* was well known to the ancients as

a plant of the waters of Egypt. 'Papyrus nascitur in palustribus Ægypti, aut quiescentibus Nili aquis, ubi evagatæ stagnant' (Pliny, xiii. 11). Theophrastus, at a much earlier period, described it as growing, not in the deep parts, but where the water was of the depth of two cubits, or even less. It was found in almost every part of Egypt inundated by the Nile, in the Delta, especially in the Sebennytic nome, and in the neighbourhood of Memphis, etc. By some it was thought peculiar to Egypt; hence the Nile is called by Ovid 'amnis papyrifer.' So a modern author, Prosper Alpinus (*De Plant. Ægypti*, c. 36):—'Papyrus, quam *berd* Ægyptii nominant, est planta fluminis Nili.' By others it was thought to be a native also of India, of the Euphrates near Babylon, of Syria, and of Sicily. The genus *cyperus*, indeed, to which it is usually referred, abounds in a great variety of large aquatic species, which it is difficult for the generality of observers to distinguish from one another; but there is no reason why it should not grow in the waters of hot countries, as, for instance, near Babylon or in India. In fact, modern botanists having divided the genus *cyperus* into several genera, one of them is called *papyrus*, and the original species *P. nilotica*. Of this genus *papyrus* there are several species in the waters of India (Wight, *Contributions to the Botany of India*, Cyperæ, p. 88).

A brief description of the uses of this plant, as given in the works of the ancients, is thus summed up by Parkinson in his *Herbal*, p. 1207: 'The plant, say the ancients, is sweete, and used by the Egyptians, before that bread of corne was known unto them, for their food, and in their time was chewed, and the sweetnesse sucked forth, the rest being spit out; the roote serveth them not only for fewell to burne, but to make many sorts of vessels to use, for it yielded much matter for the purpose. *Papyrus ipse* (say they), that is the stalke, is profitable to many uses, as to make ships, and of the barke to weave, and make sailes, mats, carpets, some kinds of garments, and ropes also.' The construction of *papyrus* boats is mentioned by Theophrastus; so Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 24), 'Papyraceis navibus armamentisque Nili;' and again (vii. 56), 'Naves primum repertas in Ægypto in Nilo ex papyra.' Plutarch, as quoted by Rosenmüller, says, 'Isis circumnavigated the marshes in a *papyrus* wherry for the purpose of collecting the pieces of Osiris's body. From Heliodorus's account it appears that the Ethiopians made use of similar boats; for he relates that the Ethiopians passed in reed wherries over the Astaboras; and he adds that these reed wherries were swift sailing, being made of a light material, and not capable of carrying more than two or three men.' Bruce relates that a similar kind of boat was made in Abyssinia even in his time, having a keel of acacia wood, to which the *papyrus* plants, first sewed together, are fastened, being gathered up before and behind, and the ends of the plants thus tied together. Representations of some Egyptian boats are given in the *Pictorial Bible* (ii. p. 135); where the editor remarks that when a boat is described as being of reeds, or rushes, or *papyrus* (as in Egypt), a covering of skin or bitumen is to be understood. That the *papyrus* was employed for making paper is also well known, and Wilkinson mentions that from ancient paper being found at Thebes and elsewhere, it is

evident that this application of it was much anterior to the time of Alexander the Great.—J. F. R.

GOMER (גֹּמֶר; Sept. Γαμέρ). 1. A son of Japhet, from whom descended Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah (Gen. x. 2, 3).

2. A people descended from him, the troops of which appear along with those of Togarmah in the army of Gog (Ezek. xxxviii. 6). Bochart, following the Targ. Hierosol., and the Midrash Gen., which give גֹּמֶרִיקָא, or גֹּמֶרִיקָי (i.e., Phrygia), as its equivalent, concludes that Gomer was the stem-name of the Phrygians; and this he endeavours to confirm by an etymological parallel between the Aram. גֹּמֶר, *to consume*, and φρυγία, from φρύγην, *to roast* (Phrygia being, according to ancient testimony a χώρα εὐεκπύρωτος, and part of it bearing the name of κατακαυμένη, or *burnt*; Strab. xiii. p. 628; Diod. iii. p. 138). But to this it seems a fatal objection that the Phrygians formed only a branch of the Togarmians (Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 6. 1; Hieron. *Quæst. in Gen.* x. 3), and therefore cannot be regarded as the stem whence the Togarmians themselves sprang. The same objection applies to the suggestion that Gomer is the German race (Talm. *Joma*, 10a); for this comes under Ashkenaz, a branch of Gomer. Much more probable is the suggestion that Gomer is to be connected with the Γαμέριοι of Homer (*Od.* xi. 14) and Herodotus (i. 6, 15, 103; iv. 12), or the *Cimbri*, of the north of Europe, described by the classical writers sometimes as a German, sometimes as a Celtic race. The preponderance of authority is in favour of the latter (*Sall. Jug.* 114; *Flor.* iii. 3; Appian, *De Reb. Ill.* 4; *Bell. Civ.* i. 29; iv. 2; Diod. v. 32; xiv. 114; *Plut. Cam.* 15, *Mar.* 25, 27; *Dion. Cass.* xlv. 42; *Justin.* xxiv. 8; xxxviii. 3, 4); and the probability is that the *Cimbri* were Celtic, and of the same tribe as the *Cymry* of Britain (Prichard, *Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations*, by Latham, p. 142; Latham, *Germania of Tacitus*, Epilegom. p. clxv., ff.) By the ancients the *Cimmerii* and the *Cimbri* were held to be one people; an opinion which, though repudiated by many, is still regarded with favour by such men as Bunsen and Knobel. On the presumption that they were different, we are inclined to connect Gomer rather with the *Cimmerii* than with the *Cimbri*. From the place Gomer occupies in the roll of nations in Genesis, it may be presumed that the people descended from him was one of the oldest, and this would fall in with the half-mythic character of the *Cimmerii* as they appear in Homer. It is plain also from Ezek. xxxviii. 6, that the race of Gomer was regarded by the Hebrews as living to the far north of Palestine, and this accords exactly with the site assigned to the *Cimmerii* by Herodotus, who places them on the Caucasus, and represents them as skirting the Euxine and coming down on Asia Minor by way of Colchis, and across the river Halys. If the *Cimmerii* and the *Cimbri* are identified, and the latter be regarded as a Celtic-speaking people, the statement of Jerome that the Galatæ spoke a language not greatly differing from that of the *Treveri* (*Proleg. Lib. ii., ad Ep. ad Galatas*), may have an important bearing on the subject of the migrations of the original Gomerian stock. Cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 6. 1.

3. The wife of the Prophet Hosea (Hos. i. 3).—W. L. A.

GOMORRAH, in the N. T. **GOMORRAH** (ΓΟΜΟΡΡΑ; Sept. N. T. Γομορρά). One of the most ancient towns of Palestine, situated in that part of the once fertile plain of the Jordan which is now covered by the Dead Sea. Sodom appears to have been the chief city of this region; hence, ancient geographers call the whole plain 'the province of Sodom' (Σοδομικὴν Χώρα); and Eusebius describes Gomorrah as 'one of the five cities of Sodom' (μία τῆς πενταπόλεως Σοδόμων; *Onomast.* s.v.; see also Reland, *Pal.*, p. 815). The few allusions made in Scripture to the 'cities of the plain' appear to indicate that they stood close together (Gen. xiii. 10; xiv. 8-11), and that they lay near the southern extremity of the present lake, for Abraham, on going out to the brow of the mountain near Hebron, 'looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and all the land of the plain;' and this he could not have done had they been situated farther north (Gen. xix. 28). Gomorrah, with the other cities, was completely destroyed by fire from heaven. It has been questioned whether the cities of the plain were engulfed after their destruction, or whether they stood upon the shore of the present sea. The words of Gen. xiv. 3 appear to favour the former opinion. The battle between the eastern kings and the people of Sodom took place in the 'vale of Siddim, which is the Salt Sea.' The phrase, however, is not quite decisive; for, as Reland says, it is not affirmed that 'the five cities stood in the vale of Siddim' (*Pal.* 254). The name *Gomorrah* would seem to indicate that the popular opinion of the submersion of the cities is correct. The Hebrew גֹּמֶרֶר is most probably derived from the

Arabic root **غمر**, 'to cover with water.' For a full account of this matter see **SODOM** and **SALT SEA**; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 187-192; *Handbook for S. and P.*, i. 246, sq.; Stanley, *S. and P.*, 281, sq.)

M. de Saulcy astonished the world a few years ago by the announcement that he had discovered the sites of the whole Pentapolis, and he gives a minute description of what he calls their ruins (*Journey round the Dead Sea*). Gomorrah, he locates at Ain el-Feshkah, on the north-west shore of the lake, where are the ruins of a small tower and some rude walls, apparently field fences. Oriental travellers and geographers place little faith in M. de Saulcy's discoveries; indeed, they have been shewn by Van de Velde and others to be a series of delusions (Van de Velde, ii. 115, sq.) There is not a shadow of evidence tending to fix the site of Gomorrah at the place indicated.—J. L. P.

GONACH. [IBN GONACH.]

GOOD, JOHN MASON, M.D., was born in 1764 at Epping, where his father was pastor of a Congregational Church, and died in 1827. He commenced practice as a surgeon at Sudbury in 1784, but removed to London in 1793, where he continued for the rest of his life. Besides contributing largely to the literature of his profession, he devoted much time to Biblical studies, and produced several works of some value in this department. In 1800 appeared his *Translation of the Song of Solomon, with notes critical and explanatory*; and in 1812 his *Translation of the Book of Job, with notes critical and illustrative, and an Introductory Dissertation*.

Since his death there have appeared from his pen, *Historical outline of the Book of Psalms*, edited by the Rev. J. M. Neale, Lond. 1852; and *The Book of Psalms: a new translation, with notes critical and explanatory*, edited by the Rev. Dr. Henderson, Lond. 1854. Dr. Good was a man of extensive knowledge and unusual attainments as a linguist, and he has in his notes collected much that may be of use to the Biblical scholar; but he cannot be assigned any above a secondary place as an expositor of Scripture.—W. L. A.

GOODWIN, THOMAS, D.D., styled by Anthony Wood 'one of the Atlases and Patriarchs of Independency,' was born at Rollesby, Norfolk, Oct. 5, 1600. He was sent to Cambridge a little before the completion of his 13th year, and when only in his 20th year was chosen Fellow and Lecturer of Catherine Hall. In 1634, through dissatisfaction with the terms of conformity, he resigned his preferment and left the university. In 1639 he withdrew to Holland, and was for some time pastor of a church at Arnhem. He returned to England at the beginning of the long Parliament, and in January 1650 was appointed President of Magdalen College, Oxford, by order of the House of Commons. On the Restoration he retired to London, and there exercised his ministry as pastor of an Independent Church, until his death, Feb. 23, 1679. His collected works were published in London, 5 vols. fol., 1681-1704. They include an *Exposition on the First and part of the Second Chapters of the Epistle to the Ephesians*, and also an *Exposition on the Book of Revelations*. The criticism of Calamy is fairly characteristic:—'He was a considerable scholar and an eminent divine, and had a very happy faculty in descanting upon Scripture, so as to bring forth surprising remarks, which yet generally tended to illustration.'—S. N.

GOPHER WOOD. [ETZ-GOPHER.]

GOPHRITH (גֹּפְרִית), a mineral easily inflammable. The LXX. translate the word by *ῥέτωρ*, the Vulg. by *sulphur*, and the A. V. by *brimstone*. The Lexicons connect it with **גפר**, the name of a tree, probably a species of pine that exudes resin [ETZ-GOPHER]; but this may admit of doubt, as it has nothing in its favour except the identity of the letters composing this word with those composing the first part of Gophrith. The native brimstone or sulphur is found in crystals of different forms, and in almost all parts of the world. The sacred writers make frequent references to brimstone in connection with the inflictions of the Divine vengeance on the guilty. Comp. Deut. xix. 23; Job xviii. 15; Is. xxx. 33; xxxiv. 9; Ez. xxxviii. 22; Rev. xiv. 10; xix. 20; xx. 10; xxi. 8. These references undoubtedly find their basis in the fact recorded, Gen. xix. 24, 25.—W. L. A.

GORDON, JAMES, a Scottish Jesuit, born at or near Aberdeen in 1553. He spent his life chiefly on the Continent; he was professor in the colleges of Toulouse and Bourdeaux, and was the author of several works on history and chronology. He published also *Biblia Sacra cum Commentariis*, etc., Paris, 3 vols. fol. 1632. These volumes, according to Walch, contain many things which may be read with profit; they are also commended by Dupin. The author died in 1641.—W. L. A.

GORGIAS (*Γοργίας*), one of the generals of Antiochus Epiphanes, who is called in 1 Maccab. and in Josephus 'a mighty man of the king's friends' (*ἀνὴρ δυνατὸς τῶν φίλων τοῦ βασιλέως*; 1 Maccab. iii. 38; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 7. 3.) He was chosen by Lysias, the general and minister of Antiochus Epiphanes, and at this time in sole command of the provinces from the Euphrates to the sea, to undertake an expedition in company with Ptolemy, the son of Dorymenes, and with Nicanor, against Judæa, B.C. 166 (1 Maccab. iii. 38; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 7. 2, 3). These generals were, however, totally defeated near Emmaus by Judas Maccabæus (1 Maccab. iv. 1, *seq.*; Joseph. *Antiq.*, l. c.) In B.C. 165, Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, two captains in the service of Judas Maccabæus, anxious to get themselves a name, and acting without the orders of Judas, attacked the garrison of Jamnia. Gorgias, the governor of the forces at Jamnia, defeated them with great loss (1 Maccab. v. 56, *seq.*; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 7. 6.)

The account of Gorgias in 2 Maccab. is very confused. In one passage he is described simply as 'a captain, who in matters of war had great experience,' and therefore sent with Nicanor, the son of Patroclus, one of the special friends of Ptolemæus, the governor of Coele-Syria and Phœnicæ (cf. 1 Maccab. iii. 38; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 7. 3), to root out the whole nation of the Jews (2 Maccab. viii. 9). In another passage he is represented as 'governor of the holds' (*στρατηγὸς τῶν τόπων* [*τρόπων Alex.*], 2 Maccab. x. 14), and apparently of the holds of the Idumæans (?) (Acrabattene? cf. 1 Maccab. v. 3; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 8. 1; see Ewald, *Geschichte*, iv. 91, 358, and Smith, *Dict. of Bible*, vol. i., p. 42, *note*). He is afterwards, according to the present text, described as 'governor of Idumæa' (2 Maccab. xii. 32).

Grotius (see Wernsdorff, *De fid. Libr. Macc.*, sec. 73) suggests that the reading 'governor of Idumæa' is an error for 'governor of Jamnia' (as at 1 Maccab. v. 58). Josephus warrants this correction (*ὁ τῆς Ἰαμνείας στρατηγός*, *Antiq.* xii. 8. 6). From the epithet applied to Gorgias, he seems to have been held in the highest detestation by the Jews (A. V., that cursed man; *τὸν κατὰρατον*, 2 Maccab. xii. 35). The description of his flight to Marisa and his defeat by Dositheus, one of Judas' generals, is given at some length, though in an obscure and confused manner (2 Maccab. xii. 34-38; cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 8. 6).—F. W. M.

GORTYNA (*Γόρτυνα Alex.*, *Vat.*; * in classical writers, *Γόρτυρ*, *Γόρτυνα*; on a coin, *Κόρτυνα* [*Κορτυνίων*]), a city of Crete, and next to Cnos-

sus, the most important in the island for power and magnificence. At one time Gortyna and Cnossus in union held the whole of Crete in their power excepting Lyttus (Polyb. iv. 53, 54). In later times they were in a continual state of warfare (Strabo x., Didot. ed., p. 410). Gortyna was founded by a colony from Gortys of Arcadia (Plato, *Leges* iv., Didot. ed., p. 320). It was of very considerable size, its walls being fifty stadia in circuit, whilst those of its rival, Cnossus, were not more than thirty (Strabo x., Didot. ed., pp. 409-411). Homer bestows upon it the epithet 'walled' (*τειχιόσσα*, *Il.* ii. 646). It was situate on the south side of the island on the river Lethæus (*Μεσσαρά*), and at a distance of ninety stadia from the Libyan Sea (Strabo, *l. c.*) In the Peloponnesian war Gortyna seems to have had some relations with Athens (Thuc. ii. 85). Its connection with Philopœmen in B.C. 201, is shewn by the Gortynians having invited him to take the command of their army (Plut. *Philop.* 13). When the Achæan League was in alliance with the Romans, B.C. 197, against Philip V. of Macedon, 500 Gortynians joined Quinticius Flaminius when on his march to Thessaly, previous to the battle of Cynoscephalæ (Liv. xxxiii. 3). It is only recently that a coin bearing the well-known types of the League has been found, struck at Gortyna. The late Col. Leake has shewn that the coin with the legend ΚΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ ΑΧΑΙΩΝ, which had previously been assigned to Gortys in Arcadia by the late Mr. Burgon (*Num. Chron.*, vol. xix. p. 235-36), certainly belongs to the Cretan Gortyna (*Supp. Num. Hell.* p. 110), thus proving that cities beyond the continent were admitted into the League (R. S. Poole, *Num. Chron.*, N. S., vol. i. p. 173). About the same period there are evidences of an alliance, political or commercial, between Athens and several of the Cretan towns. Some of the coins of six of these—Cnossus, Cydonia, Gortyna, Hierapytna, Polyrrhenium, and Priansus—are tetradrachms with exactly the types of those of Athens of the same age, but distinguished by having the distinctive badges of the Cretan towns. They were probably struck by the Cretan cities of the great alliance against Philip V. of Macedon about B.C. 188 (Paus. i. 36, 5, 6; cf. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. ii. p. 221; Leake, *Num. Hell. Insular Græce*, p. 19; R. S. Poole, *Num. Chron.*, N. S., *l. c.*) As Cnossus declined, Gortyna rose to eminence, and became the metropolis of Crete. About A.D. 200 a brother of Septimius Severus held at Gortyna the office of proconsul and quæstor of the united provinces of Crete and Cyrene (Boeckh, No. 2591). In the arrangement of the provinces by Constantine, Gortyna was still the metropolis of Crete (Hierocl. *Synecd.*, p. 649; cf. Leake, *Supp. Num. Hell.*, p. 157).

The remains of Gortyna near Aghius Dheka (the ten Saints), and the cavern in the mountain, have been described by Tournefort (*Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*) and Pococke (*Description of the East*), and the cavern, more recently, by Mr. Cockerell (Walpole, *ii.* p. 402). The modern Gortynians hold this cavern to be the Labyrinth, thus claiming for themselves the honours of the myth of the Minotaur, but it does not appear from the Gortynian coins, which date from the time of the Persian war to that of Hadrian (and there are none later), that their ancestors ever entertained such an idea (Leake, *Num. Hell. Insular Græce*,

* We can find no authority for *Γόρτυνα*, as Winer (*Realwörterbuch*, s. v. *Gortyna*) and Howson (*Smith's Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. *Gortyna*) both state. We have carefully examined the Alexandrian MS., and looked at the text of that of the Vatican (ed. Mai.) In the former the reading is *καὶ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ Γόρτυναν*, in the latter *καὶ Ἀραδὸν καὶ Γόρτυναν*. We have also consulted the *Vetus Testamentum Græcum* (1798-1827), commenced by Holmes, and continued by Parsons, which professes to give a great variety of readings. The only variation regarding the word in question is in a MS. as late as the 13th century, where the passage reads *εἰς Γόρτυνα*.

p. 18). The famous Labyrinth is represented on the coins of Cnossus, and Col. Leake says that 'it is difficult to reconcile this fact with the existence of the Labyrinth near Gortyna, for that the excavation near Aghius Dheka, at the foot of Mount Ida, is the renowned Cretan labyrinth, cannot be doubted after the description of Tournefort, Pococke, and Cockerell' (*Supp. Num. Hell.*, p. 156). This opinion is given notwithstanding the assertion of Pausanias (δ ἐν Κνωσσῷ λαβύρινθος, i. 27, 9). One of the coins of Cnossus, bears, besides the Labyrinth on its reverse, the Minotaur on the obverse. It cannot be much later than the expedition of Xerxes, and thus affords evidence of the antiquity of the tradition of the Labyrinth, if not of its real existence; whereas Hoeck (*Kreta*, vol. i., p. 56, seq.), relying on the silence of Hesiod and Herodotus, and the assumed silence of Homer—though the Iliad contains what looks very like an allusion to the Cretan wonder (*Il.* xviii. 590, seq.) has supposed it to have been an invention of the later poets borrowed from Egypt (R. S. Poole, *Num. Chron.*, N. S., vol. i. pp. 171-72). A full account of the remains of the old site and the modern place is given in the *Museum of Classical Antiquities* (vol. ii. pp. 277-286). Mr. Falkener here describes the cavern near Gortyna from Sieber, who spent three days in examining it, and says, that certainly it had been nothing more than a quarry, which probably supplied the stone for building the city (*Reise nach der Insel Kreta*, vol. i. pp. 511-520). Hoeck seems to hold similar views (*Kreta*, vol. i. pp. 447-454).

The only Biblical interest attached to Gortyna is that it is mentioned in the Apocrypha in the list of cities to which the Romans sent letters on behalf of the Jews, when Simon the Maccabee renewed the treaty which his brothers Judas and Jonathan had made with Rome (1 Maccab. xv. 23; cf. 1 Maccab. viii. 1, seq.; xii. 1, seq.). There is no doubt that the Jews were settled in great numbers in Crete (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 12. 1; *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 7; Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, sec. 36), and Gortyna may have been their chief residence. Ptolemy Philometor, who treated the Jews kindly, and who had received a numerous body in Egypt when they were driven out of Judæa by the opposite party (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 3; *Bell. Jud.* i. 1. 1), rebuilt part of Gortyna (Strabo x., Didot. ed., p. 411). When St. Paul, as a prisoner, was on his voyage from Cæsarea to Rome, the ship, on account of a storm, was obliged to run under the lee of Crete, in the direction of Cape Salmone, and soon after came to a place called FAIR HAVENS, which was near a city called LASÆA (Acts xxvii. 8) [CRETE]. Lasæa is probably the Lasia of the Peutingerian Tables, and is there stated to be sixteen miles east of Gortyna. It is very uncertain how long the vessel was detained at Fair Havens, though 'much time had been spent' (Acts xxvii. 9), not since they had sailed from Cæsarea, but at the anchorage (Alford, *in loc.*) Doubtless, the sailors, soldiers, and prisoners, had frequent intercourse with Lasæa, and perhaps Gortyna. St. Paul may then have preached the Gospel at one or both of these places, but of this there is not the slightest proof (cf. Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, vol. ii. pp. 394-396).—F. W. M.

GOSHEN (גֹּשֶׁן; Sept. Γεσέν, Γεσέμ), a province or district of Egypt in which Jacob and his family

settled through the instrumentality of his son Joseph, and in which they and their descendants remained for a period of 430 years (Gen. xlv. 10; xlvii. 28; xlviii. 27; 1. 8; Exod. viii. 22; ix. 26). The Bible does not present any definite information as to the precise locality of Goshen, and of course later authorities possess only an inferior value. There are, however, incidental expressions, allusions, and implications in the Scriptures, which afford aid in determining the spot. That Goshen lay on the eastern side of the Nile may be justifiably inferred from the fact that Jacob is not reported to have crossed that river; nor does it appear that the Israelites did so in their flight out of Egypt. With this inference all the language employed (see the passages as given above), to say the least, agrees, if it does not afford an indirect evidence in its favour. By comparing Exod. xiii. 17 and 1 Chron. vii. 21, it appears that Goshen bordered on Arabia (see Gen. xlv. 10, Sept. Γεσέμ 'Αραβίας) as well as Palestine, and the passage of the Israelites out of Egypt shews that the land was not far removed from the Red Sea. It appears probable that we may fix the locality of Goshen in Lower Egypt, on the east side of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, in the district around Heroopolis. The Septuagint renders the words אֶרֶץ גֹּשֶׁן, 'land of Goshen' (Gen. xlvii. 28), καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν, εἰς γῆν 'Ραμεσσή, thus identifying Goshen with Rameses, or the district of Pithom or Heroopolis. (See map, No. 3, in Knight's Illuminated Atlas.) This would make Goshen correspond with one of the divisions of what was anciently termed the Prefectura Arabica, Ti-Arabia, the eastern district, lying, that is, on the eastern or Arabian side of the Nile. This division was that of Heliopolis or On, Matariyeh, or Ain-Shems. An attempt has been made to define it accurately, so as to identify Goshen (Rosenm. *Alterthum.*, iii. 246) with the Nomos Arabie (Ptol. iv. 5), or the country of Esch-schar Kijah (the eastern land), which stretches south from Pelusium as far as Belbeis (north-east from Cairo), and to the north-east borders of the desert El Dschefar. Traces are found here, it is thought, of the residence of the Israelites, in large heaps of ruins, a few hours' journey to the north-east of Cairo, which the Arabs call Tell el Jhud (Jews' hills), or Turbeh el Jhud (Jews' graves) (Niebuhr, i. 100). According to Bois Aymé (*Descrip. de l'Égypte*, viii. 111) Goshen was the valley of Sabal-yar, which begins in the vicinity of Belbeis, and embraces the district of Heroopolis. Robinson (*Palestine*, i. 37) makes light of the evidence supposed to be supplied by 'the mounds of the Jews,' just mentioned. He says, 'If there is any historical foundation for this name, which is doubtful, these mounds can only be referred back to the period of the Ptolemies, in the centuries immediately before the Christian era, when great numbers of Jews resorted to Egypt and erected a temple at Leontopolis.' This opinion, however, appears to us somewhat arbitrary. And whatever the actual origin of these mounds, the ordinary account of them may be the transmission or echo of a very ancient tradition. Robinson, however, does not deny that Goshen is to be found about where the best authorities ordinarily place it, as will appear from the following quotation; we regret that the wish here spoken of was not fulfilled: 'It had been our wish to take a more circuitous route from Suez to Cairo, descending

the eastern branch or canal of the Nile beyond Belbeis, as far as to the province of Shur-kiyeh, and thence along the valley of the ancient canal to the head of the gulf of Suez. Our object in taking this route would have been to make inquiries and observations personally in relation to the land of Goshen and the Exodus of the Israelites' (i. 54). The following passage, however, will serve to prove that even the desert is not unsuited to pastoral purposes:—'The desert which we were now crossing is not sandy, but its surface, for the most part, is a hard gravel, often strewed with pebbles. Numerous wadys, or shallow water-courses, intersect its surface. In all these wadys there are usually to be found scattered tufts of herbs or shrubs, on which the camels browse as they pass along, and which serve likewise as their pasturage when turned loose at night. During the rainy season and afterwards, the inhabitants of Belbeis and the Shur-kiyeh, as probably did the Israelites of old, still drive their mingled flocks of sheep and goats for pasturage to this quarter of the desert.'

Laborde (*Arabia Petrea*, p. 58) fixes Goshen in the country around Belbeis, on the eastern side of the Nile. Speaking of his journey from Cairo by Belbeis to Suez, he says, 'This plain is the province of Goshen, where the children of Egypt settled and multiplied: it was here that the meeting occurred between Jacob, the patriarch, and Joseph, the minister and master of Egypt.' Laborde passed the banks of the canal which formerly united the Nile with the Red Sea, and which, he says, Bonaparte was the first in modern times to observe. M. Quatremère has endeavoured to define the locality, and by comparing several passages collected from different writers, he infers that the Wady Tumilat (Wady Tomlate in Laborde), in which the canal of Cairo terminates, is the land of Goshen: such at least seems to have been the opinion of Saadias and Abu Said, the authors of the earliest Arabic Versions of the O. T.—the one for the use of the Jews, and the other for that of the Samaritans (*Mém. Géogr. sur l'Égypte*). J. D. Michaelis was of opinion (*Spicil.* p. 371) that Goshen extended from Palestine along the Mediterranean as far as the Tanitic mouth of the Nile, and thence inland up to Heliopolis, embracing a sweep of country so as to take in a part of Arabia, bordering on Egypt. The various opinions that have been held on the subject may be found classified and considered by Bellermand in his *Handb. d. Bibl. Lit.* iv. 191-220 (see also Jablonsky, *Dissert. viii. de Terra Gosen*).

This district was suitable for a nomadic people, who would have been misplaced in the narrow limits of the valley of the Nile. Children of the desert, or at least used as they were to wander freely from one fertile plain to another with their flocks and herds, the sons of Jacob required a spot where the advantages of an advanced civilization could be united with unrestricted freedom, and abundance be secured without the forfeiture of early and cherished habits. The several opinions which we have given substantially agree in referring Goshen to the country intervening between the desert of Arabia and Palestine on the one side, and the Pelusiatic arm of the Nile on the other, with the Mediterranean at the base. The district assigned to Jacob and his family was chosen for its superiority (Gen. xlvii. 6), 'In the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell, in

the land of Goshen let them dwell;' and the subsequent increase of the Israelites themselves, as well as the multiplication of their cattle, shews that the territory was one of extraordinary fertility. Time and circumstances have doubtless had their effect on the fertility of a country in which the desert is ever ready to make encroachments so soon as the repelling hand of man is relaxed or withdrawn. But Laborde (p. 53) represents the vicinity of Heliopolis as still covered with palm-trees, and as having an enclosure, comprehending a considerable space of ground, which is covered every year by the inundation of the Nile to the height of five feet. We are not, however, to expect evidences of luxuriant fertility. The country was chosen for its pre-eminent fitness for shepherds. If a nomadic tribe had wide space and good pasture-grounds, they would have 'the best (for themselves) of the land,' and these advantages the district in which we have placed Goshen abundantly supplied in ancient times, when the waters of the Nile were more liberally dispensed than at present to the eastern side of the country. Nothing is needed but water to make the desert fertile. 'The water of the Nile soaks through the earth for some distance under the sandy tract (the neighbourhood of Heliopolis), and is everywhere found on digging wells eighteen or twenty feet deep. Such wells are very frequent in parts which the inundation does not reach. The water is raised from them by wheels turned by oxen, and applied to the irrigation of the fields. Whenever this takes place the desert is turned into a fruitful field. In passing to Heliopolis we saw several such fields in the different stages of being reclaimed from the desert; some just laid out, others already fertile. In returning by another way more eastward, we passed a succession of beautiful plantations wholly dependent on this mode of irrigation' (Robinson's *Palestine*, vol. i. p. 36).—J. R. B.

GOSPELS, THE. The first four books of the N. T. early received the name 'Gospels,' not as historical or biographical writings, but because they announce the glad tidings (*εὐαγγέλιον*) concerning Jesus as the Messiah, in the form of a historical demonstration of His Messiahship (Meyer). They are ascribed to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, respectively; but instead of the genitive of authorship, the preposition *κατά*, 'according to,' is used in the inscription. The Gospel is properly 'the Gospel of God' or 'of Christ;' and 'the Gospel according to Matthew' is the Gospel-message, as Matthew delivered it. The inscription in the Peshito (Syriac) version is, 'The holy Gospel, the preaching of the Apostle Matthew.'

The integrity and genuineness of the Gospels admit of no reasonable doubt. The substantial sameness of the text from the beginning is proved by the agreement among the numerous manuscripts extant in various countries. This agreement, evidenced by a careful collation, is satisfactorily accounted for only when we admit that the existing copies have been derived from the same common exemplar faithfully copied. The various readings, however numerous, are comparatively unimportant, and do not affect the essential sameness of the books.

That the Gospels have been rightly ascribed to the writers whose names they bear, appears from the undisputed fact that they were regarded with

the highest reverence as genuine and sacred books by the great body of Christians during the last quarter of the 2d century (Norton). In support of this statement, Irenæus of Lyons, Theophilus of Antioch, Tertullian of Carthage, Clement and Origen of Alexandria, might be cited as witnesses. They all bear testimony to our present Gospels, although living in countries distant from each other, some in Asia, others in Africa and Europe. It should be remarked, further, that they were not only men of learning and ability, but that they represent the great body of Christians for whom they spoke, a circumstance which greatly enhances the importance of their testimony in favour of the Gospels. By way of example we shall quote Irenæus: *Contra Hæres.* iii. 1—'Matthew among the Hebrews published a Gospel in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel at Rome, and founding the church there. After their departure (death), Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, himself delivered to us in writing what had been preached by Peter. And Luke, the companion of Paul, committed to writing the Gospel preached by him. Afterwards, John the disciple of our Lord, who leaned upon His breast, likewise published a Gospel, while he dwelt at Ephesus in Asia.' Irenæus elsewhere (iii. 2, 5) assigns reasons why there can be neither more nor fewer Gospels than four. And (iii. 2, 7) he says, that these Gospels are so sure that even the heretics bear testimony to them, and attempt to confirm their own doctrine from them.

The personal relations of Irenæus strengthen his testimony. He was born in the first half of the 2d century, and died at the beginning of the 3d. He had listened to the discourses of Polycarp, who had been a disciple of John, and conversant with others who had seen the Lord.

About A.D. 175 or 180, then, or within a hundred years of the period when the Gospels were written, they were generally received among Christians. They were even admitted as genuine by Celsus, the opponent of Christianity, and the heretics who flourished about A.D. 140-150. Now, it seems impossible to account for the early and general reception of the four Gospels, and the reverence with which they were regarded in all parts of the world, except upon the supposition of their being known as the genuine productions of the writers whose names they bear.

Before passing from our brief survey of the direct historical evidence, we shall refer to two witnesses still earlier than those already mentioned. Justin Martyr was born in the latter part of the 1st or the beginning of the 2d century, and flourished about A.D. 150. His quotations are taken from 'Memoirs by the Apostles, which are called Gospels,' and which he further describes as 'composed by Apostles of Christ and their companions,' a description exactly applicable to our Gospels. Though Justin does not mention the names of the writers of our Gospels, his numerous quotations correspond to such a degree, both in matter and words, with the present Gospels, as to leave scarcely any room to doubt that it is from them he quotes. It is admitted that he did not always quote with verbal accuracy, but it was customary with most of the early fathers to quote loosely, as if from memory, and too much stress has been laid upon this circumstance in the case of Justin.

The other witness is Papias, who lived during the first quarter of the 2d century, and was acquainted, as he tells us, with many of the disciples of the Apostles. It appears from his testimony, as given in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39, that the Gospels of Matthew and Mark were well known before the time of Papias.

On the whole, it may be concluded that the historical testimonies in favour of our present Gospels are not merely equal, but far superior to those which can be adduced for any other writings of the same antiquity.

In proceeding to consider 'the mutual relations and peculiarities of the Canonical Gospels,' we are struck with the many points of resemblance or correspondence among the first three Gospels. In consequence of the combined view and harmony which seems to characterise them, as contra-distinguished from the fourth Gospel, they are called 'the Synoptic Gospels.'

Before inquiring how the correspondences among the first three Gospels are to be explained, it will be necessary for us to have a just idea of the phenomenon itself. 'Many portions of the history of Jesus (remarks Mr. Norton, who has minutely investigated the subject), are found in common in the first three Gospels, others are common to two of their number, but not found in the third. In the passages referred to, there is generally a similarity, sometimes a very great similarity, in the selection of particular circumstances, in the aspect under which the event is viewed, and the style in which it is related. Sometimes the language found in different Gospels, though not identical, is equivalent or nearly equivalent; and not unfrequently, the same series of words, with or without slight variations, occurs throughout the whole or a great part of a sentence, and even in larger portions' (*Genuineness of the Gospels*, i. p. 240).

Mr. Westcott exhibits the proportion of correspondences and peculiarities in several numerical tables:

'If (he says), the extent of all the coincidences be represented by 100, their proportionate distribution will be, Matthew, Mark, and Luke 53, Matthew and Luke 21, Matthew and Mark 20, Mark and Luke 6. . . . Looking only at the general result, it may be said that of the contents of the Synoptic Gospels, about two-fifths are common to the three, and that the parts peculiar to one or other of them, are little more than one-third of the whole.' He adds, 'in the distribution of the verbal coincidences a very simple law is observable; they occur most commonly in the recital of the words of our Lord or of others, and are comparatively rare in the simple narrative. Thus, of the verbal coincidences in St. Matthew, about seven-eighths; of those in St. Mark, about four-fifths; and of those in St. Luke, about nineteen-twentieths, occur in the record of the words of others' (*Introduction to the study of the Gospels*, p. 179).

The following instances may be referred to for illustration, Matthew viii. 2, 3 = Mark i. 40, 42 = Luke v. 12, 13; Matthew ix. 5, 6 = Mark ii. 9, 11 = Luke v. 23, 24; Matthew xix. 23, 24 = Mark x. 23-25 = Luke xviii. 24, 25. The amount of agreement, however remarkable, ought not to be over-rated; it occurs chiefly in reporting the words of Christ. Norton gives, as the most striking instance of verbal coincidence, in the case of

narrative, Luke ix. 16 (comp. Matt. xiv. 19; Mark vi. 41).

Along with the instances of correspondence, there are also many instances of difference. This renders the problem difficult of solution. No explanation can be satisfactory, which does not account for both the correspondences and differences.

Such is the phenomenon which has provoked so many attempts at explanation. The literature of the subject is of vast extent, and the question is regarded as still unsettled. Our aim in the present article is to inquire how near the principal hypotheses which have been proposed approach to a solution of the difficulty.

1. In order to account for this singular relationship between the Synoptic Gospels, the first supposition is, that the evangelists copied from one another, or that one evangelist used the Gospels of his predecessors, making such extracts as he thought necessary, with alterations and additions of his own. It is a curious circumstance, however, that the supposition of any one of the evangelists copying from the others is attended with insuperable difficulty. Whichever of them we suppose to be the original evangelist, and whichever we suppose to be the last, having one or both the others before him, we are unable in this way to explain the phenomenon. There are six possible ways of putting the case, every one of which has had learned advocates, and this variety of opinion itself is a strong argument against the hypothesis. Griesbach thought that Mark copied from Matthew and Luke, and this opinion is still held by some; but an opinion in favour of the originality of Mark has of late been gaining ground (Thiersch, Meyer, Weiss). It must, we think, be evident to any one who attentively compares the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, that the latter cannot with any propriety be called a copy or abridgment of the former. There is an air of originality and freshness in Mark's narrative which proves the work to be anything but a compilation; and besides, in several important particulars, Mark differs from Matthew. No explanation can be satisfactory which does not account for the want of agreement as well as the agreement between the Gospels. Indeed, it is not easy to see what object Mark or any other of the evangelists could have in compiling a new Gospel out of one or more which were acknowledged to be the works of apostles or their companions, 'In its simple form,' says Westcott, 'the 'supplemental' or 'dependent' theory is at once inadequate for the solution of the difficulties of the relation of the Synoptic Gospels, and inconsistent with many of its details; and, as a natural consequence of a deeper study of the Gospels, it is now generally abandoned, except in combination with the other principle of solution' (Westcott *on the Gospels*, p. 184).

2. We are thus brought to consider Eichhorn's famous hypothesis of a so-called *original Gospel*, now lost. A brief written narrative of the life of Christ is supposed to have been in existence, and to have had additions made to it at different periods. Various copies of this original Gospel, with these additions, being extant in the time of the evangelists, each of the evangelists is supposed to have used a different copy as the basis of his Gospel. In the hands of Bishop Marsh, who adopted and modified the hypothesis of Eichhorn, this original

Gospel becomes a very complex thing. He supposed that there was a Greek translation of the Aramæan original Gospel, and various transcripts with alterations and additions. But when it is considered that all these suppositions are entirely gratuitous, that they are made only to meet the emergencies of the case as they arise, one cannot help feeling that the licence of hypothesis is carried beyond just bounds. The grand objection to this original Gospel is the entire want of historical evidence for its existence. If such an original Gospel ever had existed, it must have been of the very highest authority, and, instead of being tampered with, would have been carefully preserved in its original form, or at least in its Greek translation. The alterations and additions supposed to have been made in it are not only inconsistent with its sacred and authoritative character as the original Gospel, but also with the habits of the Jews. Even if this hypothesis did adequately explain the phenomena presented in the first three Gospels, it is far too artificially contrived to be true; but it fails of its aim. The original work, supposed to consist of the sections common to the three Gospels, cannot be made out; and the individuality of character belonging to each of the evangelists is irreconcilable with the supposition that several different writers contributed materials. Notwithstanding the identity of subject among the three Gospels, each writer is distinguished by his own characteristic style.

It is remarkable that Dr. Weiss of Königsberg has quite recently (*Stud. u. Kritik*, Hefte, i. iv., 1861) propounded a theory of explanation very much akin to that of Marsh. He supposes that the first evangelist, the writer of Matthew's Gospel, as well as Luke, used a copy of Mark's Gospel, and, along with this, a second more ancient, perhaps immediately apostolic written source, which Mark also had already made use of in the composition of his Gospel. In this way he thinks all the phenomena are simply and easily explained. He endeavours to establish his view by a detailed examination and comparison of the three Synoptic Gospels, and holds that these results of criticism are confirmed by the ancient tradition that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, whilst there is no trace of the Hebrew Gospel itself. The conclusion is, that the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew must have been displaced at an early period by another containing its essential contents, but richer and more generally accessible in its Greek form. Hence the later Greek Gospel was held to be the work of Matthew the apostle, the more ancient Hebrew one having been really the apostle's work. This revival in the present day of what is substantially the hypothesis of Eichhorn and Marsh is significant of the still unsettled state of the question.

3. That our present Gospels are to be traced mainly to the oral teaching of the apostles as their source, was the opinion of Herder and Gieseler, and more recently of De Wette, Guericke, Norton, Westcott, and others. 'They have correctly apprehended (says De Wette) the spirit of Christian antiquity who regard the *oral tradition* of the Gospel (the *oral original Gospel*) as the basis and source of all the Christian Gospels, and who endeavour to apprehend the history of the origin of the latter in a definite relation to the former' (*Introd. to N. T.*, sec. 87).

The Gospel was published orally before it was

committed to writing, and the preaching of the apostles must, from the nature of the case, have consisted chiefly of a narration of the facts recorded in our present Gospels. It is naturally supposed that very soon a certain agreement or uniformity of narrative would be the result, and that we have a transcript, as it were, of this type or form of narrative in the first three Gospels. The verbal coincidences in the Gospels are found especially in those cases in which it might have been expected that the first preachers of the Gospel would be exact, namely, the recital of the words of Christ, and quotations from the O. T.

This account of the probable origin of the Gospels is not only in accordance with the character of the period as an age of oral tradition rather than of writing, but is also substantially the same as that which Luke gives in the preface to his Gospel (Luke i. 1-4). While Luke refers to written accounts of the ministry of Christ in the possession of some Christians at that time, he mentions that these accounts were founded directly or indirectly upon the oral accounts of the apostles (*καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γερῶν τοῦ λόγου*). The statement of Papias respecting the origin of Mark's Gospel is, that it was derived from the preaching of Peter, and we have already quoted the important testimony of Irenæus to the same effect.

To prevent misapprehension, however, it ought to be observed that our written Gospels date from the latter half of the first century, and that, 'so long as the first witnesses survived, so long the tradition was confined within the bounds of their testimony; when they passed away it was already fixed in writing' (Westcott, p. 192).

The theory of the oral origin of the Gospels, while it has much evidence in its favour, cannot be accepted as a complete solution of the problem. It does not explain the striking instances of verbal coincidence in the narrative portions common to the three synoptists, or to two of them; nor the instances in which either two or all the three evangelists agree with each other in their quotations from the Septuagint, and at the same time differ from the Septuagint itself (Matt. iii. 3; Mark i. 3; Luke iii. 4; compared with Is. xl. 3, LXX., and Matt. iv. 10; Luke iv. 8, compared with Deut. vi. 13, LXX.) De Wette would combine 'the two hypotheses of a common oral source, and of the influence through writing of one evangelist on another.'

There is a striking difference between the fourth

* Mr. Roberts (*Discussions on the Gospels*, p. 437) 'ventures to offer another hypothesis on this much-ventured subject.' 'My hypothesis,' he says, 'is simply this:—The Lord Jesus Christ spoke in Greek, and the evangelists independently narrated His actions and reported His discourses in the same language which He had Himself employed. This theory I propose as adequate to account for all the phenomena presented by the first three Gospels.'

It may be allowed that the difficulty of the question regarding the origin of the Gospels is aggravated by supposing that our Saviour generally spoke Aramaic, and that Matthew wrote his Gospel in that language; but, even if we should concede to Mr. Roberts the truth of his hypothesis, we could by no means accept it as an adequate solution of the problem.

Gospel and the Synoptic Gospels, in respect both to contents and form; but with all this difference, there is a general and essential agreement. John relates in part the same things as the Synoptists, and in a similar manner, but not with like verbal agreement. The following are parallel:—The purification of the temple, ii. 13-22 = Matt. xxi. 11, ff.; the feeding of the multitude, vi. 1-15 = Matt. xiv. 13-21; the walking upon the sea, vi. 16-21 = Matt. xiv. 22-36; the anointing, xii. 1-8 = Matt. xxvi. 6-13; the entry into Jerusalem, xii. 9-19 = Matt. xxi. 1-11; the prediction of the denial of Peter, xiii. 36-38 = Matt. xxvi. 33-35. In some of these instances the expressions are verbally parallel; also in the following—xii. 25 = Matt. x. 39; xiii. 20 = Matt. x. 40; xiv. 31 = Matt. xxvi. 46. There is a similarity between iv. 44 and Matt. xiii. 57; between xiii. 16 and Matt. x. 24, and Luke vi. 40 (De Wette, *Exeg. Handb. zum N. Test.*) On the other hand, however, much important matter has been omitted and much also added by John, whilst his manner of narration also differs from that of the Synoptists. In the first three Gospels, the scene of our Lord's ministry is laid chiefly in Galilee, but in the fourth Gospel it is chiefly in Judæa and Jerusalem. This may partly account for the different style of our Lord's discourses in the Synoptic Gospels, as compared with the Gospel of John (Hug, p. 433). In the former, Christ often makes use of parables and proverbial sayings; in the latter, John records long and mystical discourses. Yet we find proverbial maxims and parables also in John xii. 24-26; xiii. 16, 20; x. 1, ff.; xv. 1, ff.

Many points of difference between the fourth Gospel and the others may be satisfactorily accounted for from the fragmentary character of the narratives. None of them professes to be a complete biography, and, therefore, one may contain what others omit. Besides, the fourth Gospel was composed after the others, and designed to be in some respects supplemental. This was the opinion of Eusebius, and of the still more ancient writers whose testimony he cites, Clement of Alexandria and Origen; and the opinion appears to be well founded. Whether John was acquainted with the works of his predecessors or not is uncertain, but he was no doubt acquainted with the evangelical tradition out of which they originated. We have, then, in this circumstance a very natural explanation of the omission of many important facts, such as the institution of the supper, the baptism of Jesus by John, the history of his temptation and transfiguration, and the internal conflict at Gethsemane. These his narrative assumes as already known. In several passages he presupposes in his readers an acquaintance with the evangelical tradition (i. 32, 45; ii. 1; iii. 24; xi. 2).

It is not easy to reconcile the apparent discrepancy between John and the Synoptists with respect to the day on which Christ observed the last passover with his disciples. Lücke decides in favour of John, but thereby admits the discrepancy to be real. Again, in the Synoptic Gospels the duration of our Lord's ministry appears to be only one year, whereas John mentions three passovers which our Saviour attended, but neither the Synoptists nor John determine the duration of the Saviour's ministry, and, therefore, there is no contradiction between them on this point.

It has been alleged that there is an irreconcil-

able difference between the Synoptic and the Johannean representation of Christ, so that, assuming the historical reality of the former, the latter must be regarded as ideal and subjective; particularly, that the long discourses attributed to Christ in the fourth Gospel could hardly have been retained in John's remembrance, and that they are so unlike the sayings of Christ in the other gospels, and so like John's own style in his Epistles, that they appear to have been composed by John himself.

If the allegation could be made good that the Christ of John is essentially different from the Christ of the Synoptists, the objection would be fatal. On the contrary, however, we are persuaded that, on this all-important point, there is an essential agreement among all the Evangelists. We must remember that the full and many-sided character of Christ himself might be represented under aspects which, although different, were not inconsistent with each other. It is by no means correct to say that the fourth Gospel represents Christ as God, while the others describe him as a mere man. Yet we may find in the fact of his wondrous person as the God-man, an explanation of the apparent difference in their respective representations. That the Synoptists do not differ essentially from John in their view of Christ is shewn by Dörner in an admirable comparison (Dörner, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, i. 81, ff.; E. Tr. i. 50, ff.).

We are sorry that Lücke and Frommann, as well as De Wette, give in so much to the view that John has mingled his own subjectivity with the discourses of Christ, which he professes to relate. That the Evangelist does not transfer his own subjective views to Christ appears from the fact that while he speaks of Christ as the Logos, he never represents Christ as applying this term to himself. We may also refer to those passages in which, after quoting obscure sayings of the Redeemer or remarkable occurrences, he either adds an explanation or openly confesses his ignorance of their meaning at the time (ii. 19-22; vi. 70; vii. 37-39; xi. 11; xii. 16, 32; xiii. 27; xx. 9).

The susceptible disposition of John himself, and the intimate relation in which he stood to Christ, make the supposition reasonable that he drank so deeply into the spirit of his master, and retained so vivid a recollection of his very words, as to reproduce them with accuracy. Instead of transferring his own thoughts and expressions to Christ, John received and reproduced those of Christ himself. In this way the similarity between John's language and that of Christ is accounted for. It is acknowledged, even by Strauss and De Wette, that the most characteristic expressions in John were originally used by Christ himself. When it is objected that John could not retain in remembrance, or hand down with accuracy, such long discourses of Christ as he records in his Gospel, far too little regard is paid to the assistance of the Holy Spirit, to be expected especially in such a case as this, according to the Saviour's promise, 'He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you,' John xiv. 26.

(Kirchhofer, *Quellensammlung zur Gesch. d. N. T. Canons*; Norton on the *Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2 vols.; Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*; Hug, *Introduction to the N. T.*

(American translation); De Wette, *Historico-Critical Introduction to the Canonical Books of the N. T.* (American translation); Reuss, *Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments, Zweite Ausgabe*; Guericke, *Gesammitgeschichte des N. T.*; Thiersch, *Die Kirche im Apostolischen Zeitalter*; Weiss, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der drei synoptischen Evangelien (Studien u. Krit.*, 1861); H. A. W. Meyer, *Kommentar über das N. T.*; De Wette, *Exeget. Handbuch zum N. T.*; Lücke, *Kommentar über das Ev. des Johannes*; Frommann, *Der johanneische Lehrbegriff*.—A. T. G.

GOSPELS, SPURIOUS (PSEUDEPIGRAPHIA).

The canon of the N. T. having been finally settled before the close of the 4th century [CANON], the rejected writings which bore the names of the Apostles and Evangelists soon sunk into oblivion, and few, if any, have descended to our times in their original shape. From the decree of Gelasius and a few other sources we have the names and a few detached notices of a good many of these productions. We shall first speak of those which are still extant.*

THE HISTORY OF JOSEPH THE CARPENTER, which has been preserved in the East in an Arabic translation, was first made known in Europe in the commencement of the 16th century by Isidore de Isolani in his *Summa de donis Sti. Josephi*. He observes that the 'Catholics of the East' commemorate St. Joseph on the 19th March, and read the legend of the saint, omitting certain parts which are not approved in the Roman church. This work was first published by Wallin, at Leipzig, in 1722, from an Arabic MS. of the 13th century, in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, accompanied with a Latin translation. It was divided by Wallin into chapters and verses. It is also found in Coptic, Sahidic, and Memphic. It is highly esteemed by the Copts. The former part, to chap. ix., appears to have been derived from an ancient Gospel of the Infancy. The Latin was republished by Fabricius.

THE GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY was first published by Henry Sike, at Utrecht, in 1697, from an Arabic MS. Sike's Latin version was republished by Fabricius, who divided it into chapters. The Arabic was divided into corresponding chapters by Thilo, in 1832. There are several MSS. of this gospel extant, the oldest of which known is that in the Medicean Library, written in 1299. The narratives which it contains were current in the 2d century, and the account contained in this gospel respecting Christ's learning the alphabet is mentioned by Irenæus (*Adv. Hæres.* i. 20) as a fabrication of the Marcians. The Gospel of the Infancy is found in the catalogue of Gelasius, and it is especially remarkable from the fact that it was most probably this Gospel which was known to Mohammed, who seems to have been unacquainted

* [Of these pseudepigraphic gospels collections have been made by Neander (*Narrationes de Christo et rebus Christ.*, appended to *Catechesis Lutheri*, Gr. et Lat., Bas. 1567); Fabricius (*Codex Apocr.*, N. T., Hamb. 1703-43); Birch (*Auctarium Cod. Apoc. Fabriciani*, Hafn. 1804); Schmid (*Corpus Apocryph. extra Biblia*, Had. 1804); Thilo (*Cod. Apocr. N. T. Coll. et illust.*, 1832); Tischendorf (*Evangelia Apocrypha*, Lips. 1853); Grabe, *Spiæculum Patrum et Hæret.* Saec. i., ii., iii.; Oxon. 1698.]

with any of the canonical Scriptures, and who has inserted some of its narrations in the Koran. The *Sepher Toldoth Jesu*, a well-known publication of the Jews, contains similar fables with those in this gospel (Wagenseil's *Sota*). This work was received as genuine by many of the Eastern Christians, especially the Nestorians and Monophysites. It was found to have been universally read by the Syrians of St. Thomas, in Travancore, and was condemned at the Synod of Diamper, in 1599, by Archbishop Menezes, who describes it as 'the book called the *Gospel of the Infancy*, already condemned by the ancients for its many blasphemous heresies and fabulous histories.' Wherever the name Jesus occurs in this gospel, he is universally entitled **الرب**,

while Christ is called **السيد**. This was a distinction introduced by the Nestorians. The Blessed Virgin is also entitled the Lady Mary. The Persians and Copts also received this Gospel (De la Brosse's *Lexic. Pers. voc. Trinitaria ars*). The original language was probably Syriac. It is sometimes called the Gospel of Peter, or of Thomas.

THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS THE ISRAELITE (Greek), a work which has flowed from the same source with the former, was first published by Cotelerius (*Notes on the Constitutions of the Apostles*, l. vi. c. 17, tom. i. p. 348), from an imperfect MS. of the 15th century. It was republished and divided into chapters by Fabricius. The most perfect edition was that of Mingarelli, in the *Nuova Raccolta d' Opuscoli scientifiche e filosofice*, Venet. 1764, from a Bologna MS. of the 15th century. Mingarelli (who believed it to have been a forgery of the Manichees) accompanied his text with a Latin translation. Thilo has given a complete edition from a collation of Mingarelli's work with two MSS. preserved at Bonn and Dresden [and Tischendorf has given it in three different recensions]. It has been questioned whether this is the same work which is called the Gospel of Thomas, by Origen, Ambrose, Bede, and others. This gospel probably had its origin among the Gnostics, and found its way from them, through the Manichees, into the church; but having been more generally received among the heretics it was seldom copied by the monks, which accounts for the paucity of MSS. Nicephorus says that the Gospel of Thomas contained thirteen hundred *στίχοι*. This pseud-epigraphical work is probably the foundation of all the histories of Christ's infancy, but it is supposed to have been recast and interpolated.

THE PROTEVANGELION OF JAMES has descended to us in the original Greek, and was first published by Bibliander, at Basel, in 1552, in a Latin version by William Postell, who asserted that it was publicly read in the Greek churches, and maintained that it was a genuine work of the Apostle James, and intended to be placed at the head of St. Mark's Gospel. These commendations provoked the wrath of the learned Henry Stephen, who insinuated that it was fabricated by Postell himself, whom he calls 'a detestable monster' (*Introduction au Traité de la Conformité des Merveilles Anciennes avec les Modernes*, 1566). It was reprinted in the *Orthodoxographia* of J. Herold, Basil 1555; and again in the *Orthodoxographia*, vol. i. (1569), of Jacob Grynaeus, who entertained a very favourable

opinion of it. Subsequent discoveries have proved that, notwithstanding the absurdity of Postell's high pretensions in favour of the authenticity of this gospel, Stephen's accusations against him were all ill-founded. There had, even at the time when Stephen wrote, been already a Greek translation published by Neander, of which Stephen was not aware; it appeared among the Apocrypha annexed by Oporin to his edition of Luther's Catechism, Basel 1564. It was republished by Fabricius (who divided it into chapters), and subsequently by Birch, Thilo [and Tischendorf; a separate edition by C. A. Suckow appeared at Breslau in 1840]. Thilo collated for his edition six Paris MSS., the oldest of which is of the 10th century. From the circumstance of these MSS. containing a Greek calendar or martyrology, and from other internal evidences, there seems little doubt that this gospel was formerly read in the Greek Church (Montfaucon, *Palæogr. Græc.* p. 304). There are also extant versions of the Gospel of the Infancy in the Arabic and other languages of the Eastern churches, among which they appear to have possessed a high degree of authority.

Although this work is ascribed by Postell the *Protevangelium*, there is no MS. authority for this title, nor for the fact of its being ascribed to St. James the Apostle. It only appears that the author's name is James. The narrations of this gospel were known to Tertullian (*Adv. Gnost. c. viii.*), Origen (*Com. in Matt. p. 223*), Gregory Nyssen (*Orat. in diem Nat. Christ. ; Opp. vol. iii. p. 346*), Epiphanius (*Har. 79, sec. 5*), the author of the *Imperfect Work on Matt.*; Chrysost. (*Opp. tom. vi. p. 24*), and many others among the ancients [Suckow, *De arg. et ind. Protev. Jacobi*, Bresl. 1830.]

THE GOSPEL OF THE NATIVITY OF MARY. (Latin). Although the Latins never evinced the same degree of credulity which was shown by the Greeks and Orientals in regard to these fabulous productions, and although they were generally rejected by the fathers, they were again revived about the 6th century. Notwithstanding the contemptuous rejection of them by Augustine and Jerome, and their condemnation by Popes Innocent and Gelasius, they still found readers in abundance. Gelasius expressly condemns the book concerning the *Nativity of St. Mary and the Midwife*.

The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, which most probably, in its present form, dates its origin from the 6th century, has been even recommended by the pretended authority of St. Jerome. There is a letter extant, said to be written by the Bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus to Jerome, requesting him to translate out of Hebrew into Latin the history of the *Birth of Mary*, and of the *Birth and Infancy of Christ*, in order to oppose the fabulous and heretical accounts of the same, contained in the apocryphal books. To this Jerome accedes, observing at the same time that the real author of the book was not, as they supposed, the Evangelist Matthew, but Seleucus the Manichee. Jerome observes that there is some truth in the accounts, of which he furnishes a translation from the original Hebrew. These pretended letters of Jerome are now universally acknowledged to be fabrications; but the apocryphal gospel itself, which is the same in substance with the *Protevangelion of James*, is still extant in Jerome's pretended Latin version. It is from these Gospels of the Infancy that we have

learned the names of the parents of the Blessed Virgin, Joachim (although Bede reads Eli) and Anna. The narratives contained in these gospels were incorporated in the *Golden Legends*, a work of the 13th century, which was translated into all the languages of Europe, and frequently printed. There are extant some metrical accounts of the same in German, which were popular in the era of romance. These legends were, however, severely censured by some eminent divines of the Latin church, of whom it will be sufficient to name Alcuin, in his *Homilies*, in the 9th, and Fulbert and Petrus Damianus (bishop of Ostia) in the 11th century. Eadmer, the monk, in his book on the *Excellence of the Virgin*, speaks of them also in the language of censure (cap. ii. Anselm. *Opp.* p. 435, Paris, 1721). Luther also inveighs against the readers of these books (*Homil.* ed. Walch. tom. xi.; and *Table-Talk*, ch. vii. tom. xxii. p. 396).

There were several editions of Jerome's pretended translation published in the 15th century, one of them by Caxton. It is printed by Thilo from a Paris MS. of the 14th century, and divided by him into twenty-four chapters, after a MS. of the 15th century in the same library. One of the chief objects of the writer of these gospels seems to be to assert the Davidical origin of the Virgin, in opposition to the Manichees. An edition was also published by Mr. Jones, who conceives that the first author of these legends was a Hellenistic Jew, who lived in the 2d century, but that they were added to and interpolated by Seleucus at the end of the 3d, who became their reputed author; and that still further additions were made by the Nestorians, or some late Christians in India. Lardner (*Credibility*, vol. viii.) so far differs from Mr. Jones as to believe the author not to have been a Jew.

The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary was received by many of the ancient heretics. The Gnostics and Manichees endeavoured to found on its authority some of their peculiar opinions (such as that Christ was not the Son of God before his baptism, and that he was not of the tribe of Judah, but of that of Levi); as did also the Collyridians, who maintained that too much honour could not be paid to the Blessed Virgin, and that she was herself born of a virgin, and ought to be worshipped with sacrifices.

Although the GOSPEL OF MARCION, or rather that of St. Luke as corrupted by that heretic in the 2d century, is no longer extant, Professor Hahn has endeavoured to restore it from the extracts found in ancient writers, especially Tertullian and Epiphanius. This work has been published by Thilo.

Thilo has also published a collation of a corrupted Greek GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN, found in the archives of the Knights Templars in Paris. This work was first noticed (in 1828) by the Danish Bishop Muentzer, as well as by Abbé Grégoire, ex-bishop of Blois. It is a vellum MS. in large 4to, said by persons skilled in palæography to have been executed in the 13th or 14th century, and to have been copied from a Mount Athos MS. of the 12th. The writing is in gold letters. It is divided into nineteen sections, which are called *gospels*, and is on this account supposed to have been designed for liturgical use. These sections, corresponding in most instances with our

chapters (of which, however, the twentieth and twenty-first are omitted), are subdivided into verses, the same as those now in use, and said to have been first invented by Robert Stephen [VERSE]. The omissions and interpolations (which latter are in barbarous Greek) represent the heresies and mysteries of the Knights Templars. Notwithstanding all this, Thilo considers it to be modern, and fabricated since the commencement of the 18th century.

One of the most curious of the apocryphal gospels is the GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS, or ACTS OF PILATE. It is a kind of theological romance partly founded on the canonical gospels. The first part, to the end of ch. xv., is little more than a paraphrastic account of the trial and death of Christ, embellished with fabulous additions. From that to the end (ch. xxviii.) is a detailed account of Christ's descent into hell to liberate the spirits in prison, the history of which is said to have been obtained from Lenthius and Charinus, sons of Simeon, who were two of those 'saints who slept,' but were raised from the dead, and came into the holy city after the resurrection. This part of the history is so far valuable, that it throws some light upon the ancient ideas current among Christians on this subject. It is therefore considered by Birch (*Auctarium*, Proleg. p. vi.) to be as valuable in this respect as the writings of the Fathers.

The subscription to this book states that it was found by the emperor Theodosius among the public records in Jerusalem, in the hall of Pontius Pilate (A.D. 380). We read in chap. xxvii. that Pilate himself wrote all the transactions from the relation of Nicodemus, who had taken them down in Hebrew; and we are informed by Epiphanius that the Quartadecimans appealed to the *Acts of Pilate* in favour of their opinions as to the proper time of keeping Easter. It was written in these Acts that our Saviour suffered on the eighth Kal. of April, a circumstance which is stated in the subscription to the present *Acts*. It is uncertain, however, when this work was first called by the name of Nicodemus.

The two ancient apologists, Justin Martyr and Tertullian, both appeal in confirmation of our Saviour's miracles and crucifixion to the *Acts of Pilate* (Justin Martyr, *Apology*, pp. 76, 84; Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 21, or English transl. by Chevalier, 1833). From this circumstance it has been generally held that such documents must have existed, although this fact has been called in question by Tanquil Faber and Le Clerc (Jones, *On the Canon*, vol. ii. p. 282, pt. iii. ch. 29). These appeals, however, in all probability first furnished the idea of the present pious fraud. Mr. Jones supposes that this may have been done in order to silence those pagans who denied the existence of such Acts. The citations of those Fathers are all found in the present work. [Henke, *De Pontii Pilati actis in causa J. C. ad Tiber. missis*, 1784.]

We have already seen that a book entitled the *Acts of Pilate* existed among the Quartadecimans, a sect which originated at the close of the 3d century. We are informed by Eusebius that the heathens forged certain Acts of Pilate full of all sorts of blasphemy against Christ, which they procured (A.D. 303) to be dispersed through the empire; and that it was enjoined on schoolmasters to put them into the hands of children, who were to learn them by heart instead of their lessons.

But the character of the Gospel of Nicodemus, which contains no blasphemy of the kind, forbids us to identify it with those *Acts*. This gospel probably had its origin in a later age. From the circumstance of its containing the names of Lenthinus and Charinus, Mr. Jones conceives it to have been the work of the celebrated fabricator of gospels, Lucius Charinus, who flourished in the beginning of the 4th century. It is certainly not later than the 5th or 6th. 'During the persecution under Maximin,' says Gieseler (*Eccles. Hist.*, vol. i. sec. 24, note), 'the heathens first brought forward certain calumnious *Acts of Pilate* (Euseb. ix. 5), to which the Christians opposed others (Epiph. *Har.* 79, sec. 1), which were afterwards in various ways amended. One of these improved versions was called afterwards the Gospel of Nicodemus.'

Bausobre suspected that the latter part of the book (the descent into hell) was taken from the *Gospel of Peter*, a work of Lucius Charinus now lost. Thilo (*Codex Apocryphus*) thinks that it is the work of a Jewish Christian, but it is uncertain whether it was originally written in Hebrew, Greek, or Latin. The only Greek writer who cites it is the author of the *Synaxarion*, and the first of the Latins who uses it is the celebrated Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* i. 20, 23).

The Gospel of Nicodemus (in Latin) was one of the earliest books printed, and there are subsequent editions in 1490, 1516, 1522, and 1538, and in 1569 in the *Orthodoxographia* of Grynaeus. It was afterwards published by Fabricius (*Cod. Apoc.*), who divided it into chapters. Fabricius gives us no information respecting the age or character of his MS., which is extremely defective and inaccurate. Mr. Jones republished this with an English version.

The Greek Gospel of Nicodemus was first published from an incorrect Paris MS. by Birch (*Auctarium*), and subsequently from a collation of several valuable manuscripts, the most ancient of which are of the 13th century, by Thilo, with the Latin text of the very ancient MS. at Einsiedl, described by Gerbert in his *Iter Alemannicum*. It has been shewn by Smidt (*Bibl. für Kritik und Exegese*) that the present MSS. exhibit in their citations from the canonical books a text of the 6th century, and consequently that this gospel is extremely useful in a critical point of view.

The esteem in which this work was held in the middle ages may be seen from the number of early versions which were in popular use, of which innumerable MSS. have descended to our times. The earliest of these is the Anglo-Saxon translation, printed at Oxford in 1698, from a Cambridge MS. (Thwaites's *Heptateuchus*). This is a translation from the Latin, as none of the Greek MSS. contain Pilate's letter to Claudius. There are also MSS. of the same in the Bodleian and Canterbury libraries. That in the Bodleian is divided into thirty-four chapters. There are several MSS. of the English version in the Bodleian, one in Sion College, and one in English verse in Pepys's collection. It was also translated by Wickliffe; and there were versions printed in London, in 1507 and 1509, by Julian Notary and Wynkyn de Worde, which ran through several editions (Panzi's *Annals*). The latest published before Mr. Jones's work was by Joseph Wilson, in 1767. The regard, indeed, in which this book was held in England will be understood from the fact that, in 1524,

Erasmus acquaints us that he saw the Gospel of Nicodemus affixed to one of the columns of the cathedral of Canterbury. Translations were also common in French, Italian, German, and Swedish. In the French MSS. and editions it is united with the old romance of *Perceforest, King of Great Britain*. There was also a Welsh translation (Lhuys's *Archæologia*, p. 256), and the work was known to the Eastern Christians, and has been even supposed to be cited in the Coptic liturgy; but this has been shewn by Ludolf to be a mistake, as the lesson is from the history of Nicodemus, in John iii. [Brunn, *De indole adate et usu Evang. Nicod.*, Ber. 1794; Tischendorf, *Pilati circa Chr. judicio quid lucis afferatur ex Actis Pilati*, Lips. 1855].

Of the Gospels no longer extant, we know little more than that they once existed. We read in Irenæus, Epiphanius, Origen, Eusebius, and other ecclesiastical writers, of the Gospels of Eve or of Perfection, of Barnabas (ancient and modern), of Bartholomew, of Basilides, of Hesychius, of Judas Iscariot, of the Valentinians, of Apollon, of Cerinthus, of the Twelve Apostles, and several others. Some of these were derived from the Gnostics and other heretics; others, as the Gospel of Matthias, are supposed by Mill, Grabe, and most learned men, to have been genuine gospels now lost. Those of which we have the fullest details are the *Gospel of the Egyptians* and that of the NAZARENES. This latter is most probably the same with that of the Hebrews, which was used by the Ebionites. It was supposed by St. Jerome to have been a genuine Gospel of St. Matthew, who, he says, wrote it in the Hebrew language and letters. He copied it himself from the original in the library of Cæsarea, translated it into Greek and Latin, and has given many extracts from it. Grabe conceived this gospel to have been composed by Jewish converts soon after our Lord's ascension, before the composition of the canonical Gospel of St. Matthew. Baronius, Grotius, Father Simon, and Du Pin, look upon it as the Gospel of St. Matthew—interpolated, however, by the Nazarenes. Baronius and Grabe think that it was cited by Ignatius, or the author of the Epistles ascribed to him. Others look upon it as a translation altered from the Greek of St. Matthew. Mr. Jones thinks that this Gospel was referred to by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians. It is referred to by Hegesippus (Euseb. *Ecc. Hist.* iv. 22), Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* ii. p. 280), Origen (*Comm. on John*; *Hom. viii. in Matt.*), and Eusebius (*Hist. Ecc.* iii. 25, 27, 39). Epiphanius (*Har.* secs. 29, 30) acquaints us that it was held in great repute by the ancient Judaizing Christians, and that it began thus: 'It came to pass in the days of Herod king of Judæa that John came baptizing with the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan,' etc. It consequently wanted the genealogy and the first two chapters.

The GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS is cited by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* iii. pp. 445, 452, 453, 465), Origen (*Hom. in Luc.* p. 1), Ambrose, Jerome (*Pref. to his Comm. on Matt.*), and Epiphanius (*Har.* lxix. sec. 2). Grabe, Mill, Du Pin, and Father Simon, who thought highly of this Gospel, looked upon it as one of the works referred to by St. Luke in the commencement of his Gospel. Mill ascribes its origin to the Essenes, and supposes this and the former Gospel to have

been composed in or a little before A.D. 58. It is cited by the Pseudo-Clement (*Ep. Sec. ad Cor.* ch. 12; Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 9), who is generally supposed to have written not before the 3d century. [See Cave, *Hist. Liter.*, and Oudin, *Scriptt. Eccl.* passim; Mill, *Prolegg.* in *N. T.*, saepe; Ant. v. Dale, *De orig. idolol.* p. 253, seq.; Pritius, *Introduct.* in *N. T.* p. 6, 58; Kleuker, *Ueb. die Apocr. des N. T.*, Hamb. 1798; Mosheim, *De causis supposit. librorum inter Christianos Sæc. i. et ii.*, in his *Dissertationes ad Hist. Eccl. Spect.* i. 217; Nitzsch, *De Apocr. Evv. in explicandis canonicis usu et abusu*, Vit. 1808; Tischendorf, *De Evv. apocr. origine et usu*, Hag. 1851; Reuss, *Gesch. der H. S. neuen Test.*, sec. 258, seq.; Hofmann, *Das Leben Jesu nach den Apocryphen*, Leipz. 1851.]

GOTHIC VERSION.—The Mæso-Goths were a German tribe which settled on the borders of the Greek empire, and their language is essentially a German dialect. Their version of the Bible was made by Ulphilas, in the fourth century, after Greek MSS. in the N. T., and after the Seventy in the Old. The author is generally regarded as an Arian; but his peculiar doctrinal sentiments do not seem to have influenced his translation. Of the O. T. portion, nothing but a fragment of Nehemiah has been printed, although parts of other books have been discovered. A great part of the New has been published at different times in fragments. The four Gospels exist in the very celebrated MS. called the *Codex Argenteus*, now preserved in the library of the university at Upsal, and minutely described by Dr. E. D. Clarke and Zahn. This MS., however, has considerable chasms. The Gospels have been several times printed from it, but not very correctly. That of Uppström is the most exact and beautiful (1854). Knittel discovered fragments of Paul's Epistle to the Romans in a *codex rescriptus* belonging to the Wolfenbüttel library, which he published in 1762, 4to, and which were republished by Zahn in the complete edition of the Gospels issued in 1808, 4to. In 1817, Angelo Mai discovered important parts of the Gothic version among five *codices rescripti* in the Ambrosian library at Milan. They contain for the most part the Pauline Epistles, with the exception of that to the Hebrews; and two fragments of Matthew. Various portions were printed by Mai in conjunction with Castillionæus, in 1819. In 1829 the latter published the fragments of Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians. In 1834 fragments of the epistle to the Romans, the First to the Corinthians, and that to the Ephesians; and in 1835, the fragments to the Pauline Epistles to the Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, and the First to the Thessalonians. In 1839 the same scholar published the fragments of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon. These were all combined in the edition by Gabelentz and Loebe, 2 vols. 1836, 1847.—S. D.

GOURD. [KIKAYON; PAKKUOTH.]

GOVERNOR, a term used by the A. V. to denote various degrees of authority and power: absolute and limited, acquired by birth or by election, military and civil. The numerous and mostly vague original terms are found in other passages translated by 'ruler, chief, prince, cap-

tain, one who reigneth, holds dominion,' etc.: LXX., ἀρχων, ἡγεμὼν, δεσπότης, στρατηγός, ἀρχή, etc.; Luther: Regent, Oberst, Fürst, Befehlshaber, etc. Yet there is, in some cases at least, a distinctive meaning inherent as well in the roots as in the peculiar formation of the respective words of the text. So that, however much their primary significance may have been widened in the course of time,—in accordance with the ever-shifting circumstances of the Jewish commonwealth,—we are occasionally still able to trace it to a certain degree; aided chiefly by comparisons with cognate idioms. Instances of the different applications, principally of the Hebrew terms, in the Bible, no less than in the Rabbinical writings, will further illustrate their meaning and history.

We shall commence our list with those words of the O. T., the Katûl- or Katil-form of which points them out at once as participles passive: or, in other words, that the power which they express is a more or less delegated one—undoubtedly the first form of dominion and rulership. Next we shall enumerate those formed from the participle active, and finally speak of the one foreign, probably Persian, equivalent introduced, together with the corresponding dignity and office, at a very early period, into the Hebrew language and community.

נָגִיד, *Nagîd*; Phœn. נָגִיד, *Nagîd*; Ar. نَجِيد; Syr. ܢܓܝܕ, from נָגַד, a verb only used in Hiph.

and Hoph. in the signification of نَجَد, to tell.

The original meaning of this verb is 'to rise, to become conspicuous, visible, to be in front (cf. נָגַד, *praesto, vorstehen*, to lead, to be first; [*Germ.*, Fürst=Prince]. The substantive נָגִיד is used of a chief or prefect, 'governor' of the royal palace (Azrikam); נִגְבִּית, 2 Chron. xxviii. 7 (= על הבית, 1 Kings iv. 6; אשר על הבית, Is. xxii. 15; οὐκὸνομος, chamberlain, secretary of state), whose

power (מַשְׁלָט) seems to have been very considerable, cf. Is. xxii. 21, ff. ('Shebna . . . a nail to the throne'), and who, it would appear, was distinguished from the other court officers by a particularly brilliant uniform (girdle and robe), and to whose insignia belonged a key worn over the shoulder. In a wider sense the word is applied to the chief of the temple: Azariah, the high-priest, 'ruler of the House of God,' 1 Chron. ix. 11 (2 Chron. xxxi. 13); Pashur, 'chief governor of the House of God' (Jer. xx. 1); further, to the 'leader of the Aaronites,' Jehojadah (1 Chron. xii. 27). Again, it is used of the keeper of the sacred treasury, 'Shebuel, ruler of the treasures,' 1 Chron. xxvi. 24; of the chieftains of a tribe, 'Zebadiah, the ruler of the house of Judah' (2 Chron. xix. 11); of the 'captains' of the army (1 Chron. xiii. 1; 2 Chron. xxxii. 21); of the eldest son of the king, the heir-apparent 'Abijah, the son of Maachah [the chief] to be ruler among his brethren' (2 Chron. xi. 22). It is finally applied to the king himself:—to Saul (A. V. 'anoint him to be captain, 1 Sam. ix. 16, etc.), to Cyrus, מִשִּׁיחַ נָגִיד, 'Messiah [the Anointed], the Prince' (Dan. ix. 25, etc.) In Plur. the word occurs in the more general sense of Aristocracy, 'Nobles,' (Prov. vii. 16). The Targum renders שׁוֹפְטֵיהֶם, 'their judges,' by מַנְיִדֵיהֶם; and in the Talmud נָגִיד is used para-

holically for 'leader of a flock' (cf. **בְּרֹשֶׁת אֶלְיָהוּ**); **כִּדְרֵי רִנָּה עֲבִיד עֲנִיָּה נְנִידָא סְמִיתָא**, 'When the shepherd is angry with his flock he gives it a blind leader' (Baba K. 52)—a corrupt generation to which God appoints a bad king. How far the Talmudical use of **נָנַר**, in the sense of 'flagellate' (Pes. 52) and of 'extend' (Baba Mez. 74), may be connected with the notion of supremacy, reign, we cannot decide here.

נָשִׂיא, *Nasif*; from **נָשָׂא**, to carry, lift up; lit.

Raised, Exalted, Elected; LXX., *ἡγεμὸς, ἡγεμῶν*, a word applied to the chiefs of the families of which a tribe was composed, **נָשִׂיא בֵּית הָאֲבוֹת**, Num. iii. 24, 30, 32, 35; xvi. 2, etc. (as many as 250 on one occasion, Num. xvi. 2); and who, as Deputies (Commoners) at the National Assembly are also called **נָשִׂיא הָעֵדָה**, Nasis of the congregation, or **נָשִׂיא יִשְׂרָאֵל**, Nasis of Israel (elected, called to the assembly, (קָרָא) **נָשִׂיא מֵעַד**). But it was also used of the twelve supreme chiefs of the tribes themselves **נָשִׂיא נְשִׂאִים** (ראשי־הַמְּטוֹת) Num. ii. 3, ff.; vii. 2, ff.; iii. 32, etc. Both these dignities, the chieftom of a family as well as that of a tribe, would appear to have been elective—corresponding to the word **נָשִׂיא**—not hereditary, as Michaelis and Winer hold. The Nasi of Judah *f. i.*, Nahshon b. Aminadab, does not descend from the first line of the tribe (Num. ii., cf. 1 Chron. ii. 9, 10). The Nasi of Issachar, again, is called Nathaniel b. Shuar, a name not found among the eldest sons of this tribe (1 Chron. vii. 1-3). Finally, in the table of the Nasis—no doubt the chiefs of the tribes—to whom the division of the Promised Land was entrusted by Moses at his death, no son of the Nasis of the desert occurs (Munk P., p. 194).—**נָשִׂיא** is further employed for generals, under a head (ראש) 1 Chron. vii. 40;

of Abraham, **נָשִׂיא אֱלֹהִים**, a Nasi of God, a mighty Sheikh; for Nonisraelitish 'Princes' of the Midianites (Josh. xiii. 21), and of the Hivites (Shechem) (Gen. xxxiv. 2). On the Maccabæan coins Shimeon is called **נָשִׂיא יִשְׂרָאֵל**, 'Nasi of Israel.' Nasi was also the official name of the president of the Synedrium (under whom stood the **אֲבִיבֵית דִּין**, 'father of the tribunal, or vice-president'), whose seat was in the middle of the 71 members (Maim. *Jad. Chaz.* xiv., *Syn.* i.)

פָּקִיד, *Pakid*; from **פָּקַד**, to appoint; an officer, official, magistrate, applied to the ecclesiastical delegate of the High Priest (**פִּי כֹהֵן הָרָאשׁ**) who, together with the king's scribe, had to empty the chest containing the contribution to the Temple (2 Chron. xxiv. 11); to the Levites (Neh. xi. 22); to the 'chief' of the Temple **פָּקִיד נְנִידָא** (Jer. xx. 1, 2); to 'officers in the House of the Lord' (Jer. xxix. 26); to a military commander (2 Kings xxv. 19), **פִּי עַל אֲנָשִׁי**, **פִּי מַלְחָמָה** (Jer. lii. 25), and to his adjutant or principal manager (Judg. ix. 28). Further, to the officers whom Joseph suggested that Pharaoh should put over Egypt during the years of the famine (Gen. xli. 34); to those who were to gather all the virgins unto Shushan for Ahasuerus (Esth. ii. 3); to prefects, 'overseers,' etc. (Neh. xi. 9; xii. 42), and finally to the nobles or 'princes' of the king (Jer. xx. 1; 2 Chron. xxxv. 8).

שָׁלַט, *Shallit*, Hebr. and Aram. (from **שָׁלַט**, to rule, have power, Arab. **سلط** cf. **سلطان** Sultân). 'One who hath power' (Eccles. viii. 8); 'Arioch,

the king's captain' (Dan. ii. 15); 'Joseph, the governor over the land' (Gen. xlii. 6); a 'mighty man,' or hero (Eccles. vii. 19); a 'king' or satrap (Ezra iv. 20); Daniel, the third 'ruler' (Dan. v. 29), etc. The verb **שָׁלַט** is also used in later Hebrew in the sense: 'to have power,' of evil hours, evil spirits (**הָרַע יָצַר**), etc.

אַלְפָּה, *Allāph* (from **אַלַּף**; Arab. **الف**, to join, etc.); Pesh. **זָכַן**; originally, one who is put over

a 'thousand' or **אַלְפָּה**, viz. the round number of families, **מִשְׁפָּחוֹת**, **בְּנֵי אֲבוֹת**, which constitute a clan or subdivision of a tribe (cf. old Saxon 'Hundred'); parallel with **נָוִי**, Is. ix. 22; and **בֵּית אָב** itself, Judg. vi. 15. First used of the chiefs, 'dukes' of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 1; 1 Chron. i. 51), we find it at a later period also applied to Jewish chiefs (Zech. ix. 7; xii. 5, 6). This word is not to be confounded either with the **רֹאשׁ אֲלָפִים**, the captain of a body of thousand men (*χιλιάρχος*, LXX.) or with the **שָׂרֵי אֲלָפִים**, 'rulers of thousands,' a kind of magistrates, selected by Moses, on the advice of Jethro, for the purpose of judging the smaller matters during the sojourn of the Israelites in the desert; and who were, at a later period, superseded by the regular institution of the **שׁוֹפְטִים**, Judges. The further use of the word in the sense of 'friend' (parallel with **יָרֵךְ**, companion, Mich. vii. 5, Prov. xvi. 28, or **יָרֵךְ** acquaintance, Ps. lv. 14); [cf. Arab.

صاحب and of husband (**נְעוּרִיָּה**), 'friend, companion of her youth' must be traced directly to the root (see above), since our **אַלְפָּה**, governor, can only be derived from the derivative **אַלְפָּה**, a thousand.

It may further be noticed here, that Matt. ii. 6 seems to have read the passage in Micah v. 2, **בְּאֲלָפֵי יְהוּדָה**, 'among the thousands [clans] of Judah,' as **בְּאֲלָפֵי יְהוּדָה**, 'among the princes of Judah.'

Derived from the Partic. Act. (Kal and Piel) are the following four:—

חָקַק, *Chokék, Mechokék* (from **חָקַק**, lit. an engraver, a writer (cf. *γράφειν*),—scil. of laws (**חָק**, **חָקֵק**, **חָקֵק**, law, decree; ar. **حقوق**, a lawgiver, Gen. xlix. 10, Deut. xxxiii. 21; one who decides by the law: a judge, Is. x. 1, parallel with **מְכַתְּבִים**, 'they that write,' with **מְכַתְּבִים**, 'they that handle the pen of the writer,' Judg. v. 14; 'the Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Law-giver, the Lord is our King' (Is. xxxiii. 22); 'Princes decree justice' (Prov. viii. 15), etc. The Talmud has retained the original meaning of engraving, painting, writing, *c. g.* **יִנְתֵּן חֻקֹּה**, Gem. Pes. i. a, is explained by **סוֹפֵר**, 'of the engravers, scribes,' (Aruch, s. v.), and the imitation implied in the notion of 'drawing' has become fixed in the word **חָקַק**, Talm. Chul. 41 b, **שָׁלַח יָחֵק אֶת הַצְּדִיקִים**, 'that he shall not imitate the Sadducees.'

מָשַׁל, *Moshel*; (**מָשַׁל**, to be strong = ar. **بَسَلَ**) one who reigns, holds dominion, 'rules.' used for nearly all degrees of power: of the taskmaster of the ant (Prov. vi. 7), the husband who rules his

wife (Gen. iii. 16), Eliezer, who has the management of Abraham's house (Gen. xxiv. 2), Joseph, the second in command over a country, Gen.

xlv. 8, an absolute king (מֶלֶךְ, *Melek*), Ps. cv. 20, Is. xvi. 1; also in the bad sense of despot (Is. xiv. 5); of the Messiah (Mic. v. 1); of God (1 Chron. xxix. 12, Ps. ciii. 19), etc. No less is the word applied to the sway which sun and moon hold over day and night, Gen. i. 18 [omnium moderator et dux sol, Cic. Tusc. i. 68; sol cœli rector, Plin. ii. 4]. In Treat. Jad. 76, מֶלֶךְ is used for Pharaoh עַם הַשָּׁם בְּרַף.

כותב־מַלְאכָה מֶלֶךְ עִם הַשָּׁם בְּרַף, *Melek*, to rule, reign), [cf. *Phoen.* שָׂר, *Sar*, king, *e.g.*, 'Nabukudurrusur Sar Babilu,' Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, Inscr. Borsippa, etc.], a word used of nearly all degrees of chiefdom or wardenship. It is applied to the chief baker of Pharaoh (Gen. xl. 16), to the chief butler (*ib.* xl. 2), to the 'ruler over the cattle' (*ib.* xlvii. 6), to the keeper of the prison (*ib.* xxxix. 21), to the taskmaster of the Israelites (Ex. i. 11), to the 'prince of the eunuchs' (Dan. i. 7), to the 'master of the song' (Chenanjah, (שׁ) הַמִּשְׁכָּן (1 Chron. xv. 27). Further, to prefects, civil or military, of very limited or very extensive authority: Zebul, the 'ruler of Shechem' (Judg. x. 30); 'Amon, the governor of the city' (1 Kings xxii. 26); 'שׁ, the prefects of the provinces' (1 Kings xx. 15); 'שׁ, 'Decurion' (Ex. xviii. 21); 'שׁ, 'a captain of fifty', *καταστάρχος* (2 Kings i. 19); 'שׁ, captains (judges) over hundreds (Deut. i. 15); over a thousand (1 Sam. xviii. 3), over many thousands (1 Chron. xv. 25); 'שׁ, 'captain over half of the chariots of war' (1 Kings

xvi. 9; 'שׁ, 'captain of the host' (2 Sam. xix. 2); general-in-chief, (LXX. ἀρχιστρατήγος (Gen. xxi. 22, 1 Sam. xii. 9): hence

used—after אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת, God of Hosts—of God Himself (Dan. viii. 11). It occurs by itself in the stat. absol. as a parallel to 'judge': 'who has made thee a prince [שׁ] and a judge over us?' (Ex. ii. 14), to 'elder' (Ezra x. 8), to 'counsellor' (Ezra viii. 25), to 'king' (Hos. iii. 4). The merchants of Tyre are called שָׂרִים [merchant-princes], Is. xxiii. 9; the same term is applied to noblemen and courtiers, 'the princes of Pharaoh,' Gen. xii. 15; 'princes of Zoan,' Is. xix. 11, 13. The priests are called שָׂרִים chiefs or princes of the sanctuary (Is. xliii. 28, 1 Chron. xxv. 5), and the chief priests again are called שָׂרִים. Gradually the word came to be used of angels, as patrons and representatives of special nations (guardian-angels): of Persia, Dan. x. 13, 20; of Greece, Dan. x. 20; of Israel, x. 21: Michael, 'the great prince,' xii. 1; the chief princes, x. 13; שָׂרִים, 'the Prince of Princes':—God, *ib.* viii. 25 (cf. LXX. in Deut. xxxii. 8). The use of שָׂר as guardian-angel (עֶשֶׂר, etc.) is retained in the Midrash, but the word is also applied in the Talmud to 'a hero at the table, a mighty drinker' (Nidd. 16, etc.).—On the proper noun formed from this word, viz. שָׂרָה, שָׂרִי, Sarah, Sarai, we need not enlarge.

Of foreign origin is:—

פֶּשֶׁל, *Pesh.* מַלְאכָה, *Shultan*; *Luther*: Landpfleger, Landvogt; Joseph. *ἑταρχος* (of Tatnai,

Antiq. xi. 4. 4). This word has been variously derived from the Persian *בֵּכִית*, 'Magnates' (Bohlen); Pers. *پختن*, 'to cook' (Ewald); Pers.

بيک, 'Satelles,' 'Pedisequus' (Gesenius); from the Turk. *بيک*, 'General' (Frähn); from the Assyrian *Pakha* (Sanskrit. *Pakhsha*); whence *پاشا*, *Pasha*—friend [of the king], adjutant, governor of a province (Benfey, Stern); from *بي*, *Pê*, 'the lower'; and *گاہ*, *gâh*, 'royal office,'

= *Pêgâh*, Sub-king (Jul. Fürst); from 'the Arab. verb *ساقط*, *saqat*, (Jahn);* and finally from the Hebr. *פָּחַק* = *פָּחַק*, *parqat*. It is applied to a sub-prefect of a province, who is subject to the authority of the prefect or real governor, in contradistinction to *אחשדרפן*, a satrap (Esth. viii. 9); to *שָׂר*, *ib.* [see above]; to *סָגָן*, 'sagan' (municipal officer), Jer. li. 28; to *מֶלֶךְ*, 'king' (or sub-king), 2 Chron. ix. 14. It is used of the 'chiefs' of provinces in the Assyrian (2 Kings xviii. 24; Is. xxxvi. 9); Babylonian (Chaldee), (Jer. li. 57; Ezek. xxiii. 6, 23; Dan. iii. 2); Median and Persian Empires (Jer. li. 28; Esth. iii. 12; viii. 9). Palestine stood, while under Persian dominion, under such officers, called *עַבְרֵי נָהַר*, 'P. over the river' (Euphrates), whose official residence [כְּסֵא] was in Jerusalem, Neh. iii. 7; Ezra v. 3; vi. 6; Neh. ii. 7, 9. They were also called *הַיּוֹדֵה*, 'P. of Judah' (Hagg. i. 1); *e.g.*, Zerubabel (Ezra ii. 63; Hagg. ii. 21, etc.); Nehemiah, who succeeded Sheshbazzar *לַיהוּדָה*, 'the prince of Judah' (Neh. v. 5, 14; xviii. 12). The word seems to have been adopted into the Hebrew idiom at an early period, since we find it used in 1 Kings x. 15 (2 Chron. ix. 14), of the tributary chieftains 'of the country'—together with the 'kings of Arabia'; further, of Syrian captains, to be put in the room of the (vice-) kings at the time of Benhadad, 1 Kings xx. 24, and finally it passed current for any person in high authority who was to be propitiated by gifts, Mal. i. 8. With respect to the *שׂ* of Judæa, introduced by Persian rule, it would appear that their remuneration ('Bread of the governor,' Ezra iv. 14), consisted partly in kind, partly in money ('bread, wine, and forty shekels of silver,' Neh. v. 15), chargeable upon the people (Neh. v. 18: 'One ox, and six choice sheep, also fowls, and once in ten days store of all sorts of wine'). Their office seems chiefly to have consisted in collecting the taxes of the province (Ezra vi. 8); an office at a later period in the hands of the high-priest, and later still let out on lease [JUDÆA; ROME].

It will not be necessary to dwell here with any length upon the Greek terms for governor met with in the N. T. and the Apocrypha, since those will be found for the most part treated fully in other articles (ROME; JUDÆA; FEAST; HOUSE, etc.) We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to

* *תְּרִשְׁתָּא* being probably the Persian denomination for this office, Ez. ii. 36; Neh. vii. 65, 70. The name Nehemiah seems inserted by clumsy copyists, Neh. viii. 9; x. 2' (Jahn, Bibl. Arch.)

name them, and to indicate their meaning briefly, as far as necessary for our present purpose:—

Of a military and public capacity are:—

Ἐθράρχης (*ἔθρος, ἀρχή*):—*Luther*: Landpfleger, Fürst; a prefect over a province or a people, without either possessing the authority or the name of king. Aretas, a prefect of the Arabian king, stationed at Damascus, 2 Cor. xi. 32. Simon, the high-priest (1 Maccab. xiv. 47; xv. 12). Archelaus, Herod's son, a Roman vassal 'Ethnarch' of Idumæa, Judæa, and Samaria, Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 4; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 6. 3. The seven chiefs between whom Egypt was divided during the Roman dominion are called Ethnarchs (Strabo xvii. 798.) In the widest sense it is applied also to Jewish chiefs of Jewish communities in larger cities, Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 2; xiv. 8. 5; *Bell. Jud.* vii. 6. 3, the duties of whose office may be learned from Strabo in Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 2.

ἡγεμὼν (*ἡγέομαι*), 'Leader' [Talmud **הגמון** Sabb. 145, Aboda Sar. 11 = **רוכסא**, *dux*; or **שלטנות**, rulership], chief, prince, Matt. ii. 6 [see **אֶלְיָהוּ**]; more especially the ambassador (Legatus) sent into a province with the emperor's authority. *Prefect*, Matt. x. 18; 1 Pet. ii. 14. *Procurator*, Matt. xxvii. 2, 11, etc.; Luke xx. 20; Acts xxiii. 24, etc. In classical Greek the word is also used for king, as chief of the land, cf. Soph. O. R. 103, etc.—

Governors in a domestic capacity are:—

Ἀρχιτρίκλινος, John ii. 9, 'the ruler of the feast,' 'the governor of the feast' ('Obertruchsess'), the man who has the chief superintendence of the table. His functions (in the N. T. passage quoted), are not clearly defined. He has been identified with the Roman 'arbiter bibendi,' with the Greek **συντροπάρχης**, and with the **παραξοιστός**; but neither of these formal offices would seem in accordance with the somewhat humble marriage-feast described there. He is much more likely to have been a friend of the bridegroom's who undertook the superintendence of the feast for the time being [See FEAST; TABLE].

Οἰκονόμος (*οἶκος, νέμω*), the chief butler and steward of the house (Xen. Mem. ii. 10, etc.); in the N. T. more especially one entrusted with the management of the property (Luke xvi. 1, etc.) of the heirloom of a minor (Gal. iv. 2; 1 Cor. iv. 2; cf. Gen. xxiv. 2; 1 Kings iv. 6, etc.) Further, a 'chamberlain of the city' (Erastus), (Rom. xvi. 23), cf. Esth. viii. 9; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 4. 7, etc.; a 'dispenser' of the gospel, 1 Cor. ix. 17 = 'the Lord's steward,' Tit. i. 7.—E. D.

GOZAN (**גוזן**; Sept. **Γωζαν**), a province or district of Assyria. Ptolemy, in his description of Media, mentions a town called *Gausania* (*Geogr.* vi. 2) situated between the Zagros mountains and the Caspian Sea. Bochart, Rennell, and others, have attempted to identify this town with Gozan (Bochart, *Opp.* i. 194). Rennell further states, that the river Gozan (1 Chron. v. 26) is the modern *A'zûl Ozen*, which rises near Sinna in the eastern part of the Zagros chain, and, after a winding course, joins the *Sefid-rud*, which flows into the Caspian (*Geography of Herodotus*, i. p. 521, 2d ed.; see also Ritter, *Erskunde*, viii. 615; Sir Ker Porter, *Travels*, i. 267). This theory, however, places Gozan too far east for the requirements of the Scripture narrative. Dr. Grant supposes that

the word *Gozan* signifies 'pasture,' and is the same as the modern *Gozan*, the name given by the Nestorians to all the Highlands of Assyria which afford pasturage to their flocks. He thinks that the ancient province of Gozan embraced the mountainous region east of the Tigris, through which the Khabûr and the Zab flow (*Nestorian Christians*, p. 125, sq.)

A close examination of the notices in Scripture, and a comparison of them with the Geography of Ptolemy and modern researches, enable us to fix, with a high degree of probability, the true position of Gozan. It appears from 2 Kings xvii. 6 (also xviii. 11), that Gozan was in Assyria, which is there distinguished from Media; and that Habor was a 'river of Gozan.' There can be little doubt that the Habor is identical with the Khabûr of Mesopotamia (HABOR). Gozan must, therefore, have been in Mesopotamia. The words of 2 Kings xix. 12 appear to confirm this view, for there Gozan and Haran are grouped together, and we know that Haran is in Mesopotamia. (See also Is. xxxvii. 12; Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, i. 245, sq.) In 1 Chron. v. 26, Gozan is called a river, and is distinguished from Habor. The explanation seems to be, that in this passage Habor is the name of a district, probably that watered by the lower *Khabûr*; while the upper part of the same river, flowing through the province of Gozan, is called **נהר גוזן**, 'the river of Gozan.'

Ptolemy states that *Gausanitis* was one of the provinces of Mesopotamia adjoining Chalcitis (*Geogr.* v. 18). The same province Strabo calls *Mygdonia* (xvi. 1), which may probably be, as suggested by Professor Rawlinson, another form of the same name (*Ancient Monarchies*, i. 245). As we find Halah, Habor, and Haran, grouped together in Mesopotamia; as we find beside them a province called Gausanitis; and as in Scripture Gozan is always mentioned in connection with the above places, we may safely conclude that Gozan and Gausanitis are identical. Gausanitis lay along the southern declivities of Mons Masius, and extended over the region watered by the upper Khabûr and Jerujer rivers to the ranges of Sinjar and Hama. The greater part of it is an undulating plain, having a poor soil and scanty vegetation. (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 324.)—J. L. P.

GRABE, JOHN EARNEST, an eminent scholar and divine, was born at Königsberg, July 10, 1666, and educated at the university of the same, where his father was professor of divinity and history. Having devoted himself to the study of the Fathers, he was led to question the validity of the orders of the clergy of the Lutheran church, and felt disposed to join the Church of Rome. Advised to visit England to have his doubts resolved, he was well received there by William III., who conferred a pension on him. He became a minister of the Church of England, and was made D.D. of the university of Oxford, 1706. He died 1711, in the forty-fifth year of his age. His theological views were of the Anglo-Catholic type. He was the author of many learned works, of which those relating to Biblical science are subjoined:—1. *Epistola ad clarissimum virum, Jo. Millium; quâ ostenditur Libri Judicium Genuinum LXX. Interpretum Versionem eam esse, quam MS. Cod. Alex*

*andrinus exhibet; Romanam autem editionem, quoad dictum librum, ab illâ prorsus diversam, atque eandem cum Hesiychianâ esse; Subnexa sunt tria Novæ τῶν 6 Editionis Specimina, Oxonii, 1705, 4to. 2. Vetus Testamentum Græcum ex Versione LXX. Interpretum, ex antiquissimo MS. Codice Alexandrino accurate descriptum, et ope aliorum exemplarium ac priscorum Scriptorum, præsertim vero Hexaplaris Editionis Origenianæ, emendatum atque suppletum, etc., Oxonii, 1707, 1709, 1719, 1720, 4 vols. fol., and 8 vols. 8vo. The whole of this great work Dr. G. prepared for the press, but only lived to publish the first and fourth vols.; the second vol. was edited by Francis Lee, M.D.; and the third by W. Wigan, L.L.D. 'The prolegomena contain a treasure of sacred criticism.' 3. *Dissertatio de Variis Vitiis Septuaginta Interpretum Versioni ante B. Originis ævum illatis, et remediis ab ipso in Hexaplaris ejusdem Versionis Editione adhibitis, deque hujus editionis reliquiis tam Manuscriptis quam prelo excusis*, Oxonii, 1710, 4to. 4. *Collatio Codicis Cottoniani Genesios cum Editione Romana*, etc., edita ab Henrico Owen, Londini, 1778, 8vo.—I. J.*

GRAMBERG, KARL P. W., a Biblical critic, was born at Seefeldt, in the duchy of Oldenburg, November 27th, 1797. Having lost his father when he was but ten years of age, he was placed at Stooden, and afterwards at Oldenburg, where he studied the classical and modern languages. Subsequently, with a view to preaching, he devoted himself to Hebrew and the Oriental tongues. The O. T. became the chief subject of his examination. After being master of the school at Oldenburg, he became a professor of the first class at the royal institution of Züllichau, 1822. His death took place on the 29th March 1830. His Biblical works are—*Libri Genesios secundum fontes rite dignoscendos Adumbratio*, 8vo, 1828; *Das Buch d. Sprüche Salomo's neu ubersetzt, u. s. w.*, 8vo, 1828; *Kritische Geschichte d. Religionsideen d. alten Testaments*, 2 Theile 8vo, 1829, 1830. Gramberg was one of the free theologians of Germany. His critical abilities were not great; but he had a good knowledge of Hebrew, and occupied a respectable place among the critics of his day. Men like Gesenius and De Wette attached some importance to his opinions on the books of the Bible.—S. D.

GRAPE. [VINE.]

GRASS. [DESHÈ and CHAZIR.]

GRASSHOPPER. [CHAGAL.]

GRAVE. [BURIAL.]

GRAVES, RICHARD, D.D., Dean of Ardagh, was born in 1763, and died in 1829. He was the author of *Lectures on the four last books of the Pentateuch, designed to shew the Divine origin of the Jewish Religion chiefly from internal evidence; in three parts*, Lond. 1815, 2 vols. 8vo; and *An Essay on the Character of the Apostles and Evangelists, designed to prove that they were not Enthusiasts*, Dublin 1798, 8vo. The former of these may still be consulted with advantage, although on many points it is necessarily behind the requirements of the present day.—S. N.

GRAY, ROBERT, D.D., bishop of Bristol, was born in 1762, and died Sept. 28th, 1834. He was the author of the following two Biblical works—1.

A key to the O. T. and Apocrypha, or an account of their several books, their contents, and authors, and of the time in which they were respectively written, Lond. 1790, 8vo, 10th ed., 1841, 8vo. 2. *The connection between the Sacred Writings and the Literature of Jewish and heathen authors, particularly that of the classical ages, illustrated principally with a view to evidence in confirmation of the truth of revealed religion*, Lond. 1816, 8vo; 2d ed., 2 vols, 1819, 8vo. The former of these works had for many years a considerable reputation, but is now superseded.—S. N.

GREAT SABBATH. [PASSOVER, vol. iii. p. 425.]

GT. SYNAGOGUE. [SYNAGOGUE, vol. iii. p. 909.]

GREAVES (ἡμῖς, κρημίδες, οὐρα). All the ancient versions and Josephus (*Antiq.* vi. 9. 1) agree in regarding the Hebrew term so translated in the A. V., 1 Sam. xvii. 6, as a defensive armour for the leg. It is to be distinguished from ἄνδρ, which was a sort of military shoe like the Roman *caliga*; and was probably similar to the *κρημὶς* of the Greeks, or the greaves of the Assyrians, as represented in their sculptures, which not only protected the leg, but covered the upper part of the foot like our gaiters (Layard, *Nineveh* ii. 337).—J. E. R.

GREECE. The relations of the Hebrews with the Greeks were always of a distant kind, until the Macedonian conquest of the East: hence in the O. T. the mention of the Greeks is naturally rare. It appears by Cruden's *Concordance* that 'Tubal and Javan,' in connection, are named four times, Dan and Javan once (*Ezek.* xxvii. 19), and Javan, translated by us Greece and Greeks, five times, of which three are in the book of Daniel. Of these passages, that which couples Dan and Javan is generally referred to a different tribe [see JAVAN]; in the rest Javan is understood of Greece or its people. The Greek nation had a broad division into two races, Dorians and Ionians: of whom the former seem to have long lain hid in continental parts, or on the western side of the country, and had a temperament and institutions more approaching to the Italic. The Ionians, on the contrary, retained many Asiatic usages and tendencies, witnessing that they had never been so thoroughly cut off as the Dorians from Oriental connection. When afterwards the Ionic colonies in Asia Minor rose to eminence, the Ionian race, in spite of the competition of the half Doric Æolians, continued to attract most attention in Asia; and it is not wonderful that the Ionian name (for *Javan* is the same word as 'Idaw) should have maintained its extensive application in Oriental usage. Just so in the 'Persæ' of the tragic poet Æschylus (178, 564), the Persians are made to style all the Greeks *Idæes*, i.e., Javan.

The few dealings of the Greeks with the Hebrews seem to have been rather unfriendly, to judge by the notice in Zech. ix. 13. In Joel. iii. 6, the Tyrians are reproached for selling the children of Judah and Jerusalem to the Grecians: but at what time, and in what circumstances, must depend on the date assigned to the book of Joel [see JOEL]. With the Greeks of Cyprus or Chittim, the Hebrews were naturally better acquainted; and this name, it would seem, might easily have extended itself in their tongue to denote the whole Greek nation. Such at least is the most plausible explanation of its use in 1 Maccab. i. 1, and viii. 9.

The Greeks were eminent for their appreciation of beauty in all its varieties : indeed their religious creed owed its shape mainly to this peculiarity of their mind ; for their logical acuteness was not exercised on such subjects until quite a later period. The puerile or indecent fables of the old mythology may seem to a modern reader to have been the very soul of their religion ; but to the Greek himself these were a mere accident, or a vehicle for some embodiment of beauty. He thought little whether a legend concerning Artemis or Apollo was true, but much whether the dance and music celebrating the divinity were solemn, beautiful, and touching. The worship of Apollo, the god of youth and beauty, has been regarded as characterising the Hellenic in contrast with the older Pelasgian times ; nor is the fact without significance, that the ancient temple and oracle of Jupiter at Dodona fell afterwards into the shade in comparison with that of Apollo at Delphi. Indeed the Dorian Spartans and the Ionian Athenians alike regarded Apollo as their tutelary god, who was Ἀπόλλων πατρώος at Athens, and Ἀπόλλων Καρπείος at Amyclæ. Whatever the other varieties of Greek religious ceremonies, no violent or frenzied exhibitions arose out of the national mind ; but all such *orgies* (as they were called) were imported from the East, and had much difficulty in establishing themselves on Greek soil. Quite at a late period the managers of orgies were evidently regarded as mere jugglers of not a very reputable kind (see Demosth. *De Corona*, sec. 79, p. 313) ; nor do the Greek States, as such, appear to have patronized them. On the contrary, the solemn religious processions, the sacred games and dances, formed a serious item in the public expenditure ; and to be permanently exiled from such spectacles would have been a moral death to the Greeks. Wherever they settled they introduced their native institutions, and reared temples, gymnasias, baths, porticoes, sepulchres, of characteristic simple elegance. The morality and the religion of such a people naturally were alike superficial ; nor did the two stand in any close union. Bloody and cruel rites could find no place in their creed, because faith was not earnest enough to endure much self-abandonment. Religion was with them a sentiment and a taste rather than a deep-seated conviction. On the loss of beloved relatives they felt a tender and natural sorrow, but unclouded with a shade of anxiety concerning a future life. Through the whole of their later history, during Christian times, it is evident that they had little power of remorse, and little natural firmness of conscientious principle : and, in fact, at an earlier and critical time, when the intellect of the nation was ripening, an atrocious civil war, that lasted for twenty-seven years, inflicted a political and social demoralization, from the effects of which they could never recover. Besides this, their very admiration of beauty, coupled with the degraded state of the female intellect, proved a frightful source of corruption, such as no philosophy could have adequately checked. From such a nation then, whatever its intellectual pretensions, no healthful influence over its neighbours could flow, until other and higher inspiration was infused into its sentiment.

Among the Greeks the arts of war and peace were carried to greater perfection than among any earlier people. In navigation they were little

behind the Tyrians and Carthaginians ; in political foresight they equalled them ; in military science, both by sea and land, they were decidedly their superiors ; while in the power of reconciling subject-foreigners to the conquerors and to their institutions, they perhaps surpassed all nations of the world. Their copious, cultivated, and flexible tongue carried with it no small mental education to all who learned it thoroughly ; and so sagacious were the arrangements of the great Alexander throughout his rapidly acquired Asiatic empire, that in the twenty years of dreadful war among his generals which followed his death, no rising of the natives against Greek influence appears to have been thought of. Without any change of population adequate under other circumstances to effect it, the Greek tongue and Greek feeling spread far and sank deep through the Macedonian dominions. Half of Asia Minor became a new Greece ; and the cities of Syria, North Palestine, and Egypt, were deeply imbued with the same influence.

When a beginning had been made of preaching Christianity to the Gentiles, Greece immediately became a principal sphere for missionary exertion. The vernacular tongue of the Hellenistic Christians was understood over so large an extent of country, as almost of itself to point out in what direction they should exert themselves. The Grecian cities, whether in Europe or Asia, were the peculiar field for the Apostle Paul ; for whose labours a superintending Providence had long before been providing, in the large number of devout Greeks who attended the Jewish synagogues. Greece proper was divided by the Romans into two provinces, of which the northern was called Macedonia, and the southern Achaia (as in 2 Cor. ix. 2, etc.) ; and we learn incidentally from Acts xviii. that the proconsul of the latter resided at Corinth. To determine the exact division between the provinces is difficult ; nor is the question of any importance to a Biblical student. Achaia, however, had probably very nearly the same frontier as the kingdom of modern Greece, which is limited by a line reaching from the gulf of Volo to that of Arta, in great part along the chain of Mount Othrys. Of the cities celebrated in Greek history, none are prominent in the early Christian times except Corinth. Laconia, and its chief town Sparta, had ceased to be of any importance : Athens was never eminent as a Christian church. In Macedonia were the two great cities of Philippi and Thessalonica (formerly called Thēme) ; yet of these the former was rather recent, being founded by Philip the Great ; the latter was not greatly distinguished above the other Grecian cities on the same coast. Nicopolis, on the gulf of Ambracia (or Arta), had been built by Augustus, in memory of his victory at Actium, and was, perhaps, the limit of Achaia on the western coast (Tacitus, *Annal.* ii. 53). It had risen into some importance in St. Paul's days, and, as many suppose, it is to this Nicopolis that he alludes in his epistle to Titus. (See further under ACHÆA and NICOPOLIS.)—F. W. N.

GREEK LANGUAGE (BIBLICAL). There has been much discussion as to the peculiar nature of the language used by the Septuagint translators and by the writers of the N. T. It would be useless to attempt to give a history of these discussions in this article. We shall simply indicate the

main facts which have come out in the course of investigation, stating at the same time the theory which seems to us to account most satisfactorily for the peculiarities of Greek which these writings present.

In the earliest stages of a language the dialects are exceedingly numerous, every small district having peculiar variations of its own. Such we find to have been the case with Greek, for though its dialects have been generally reckoned as four, we know that each of these was variously modified in various places. In course of time, however, one of these dialects, the Attic, drove the rest from the field of literary composition, and almost all Greeks who wrote books wrote in that dialect wherever they might have been born. The Attic which they used underwent some changes, and then received the name of the 'common dialect.' This dialect has been used by Greeks for literary purposes from the time of Alexander the Great down to the present age.

While Attic thus became the literary language, the various communities spoke Greek as they had learned it from their parents and teachers. This spoken Greek would necessarily differ in different places, and it would gradually become very different from the stationary language which was used in writings. Now it seems to us that the language used by the Septuagint and N. T. writers was the language used in common conversation, learned by them, not through books, but most likely in childhood from household talk, or if not, through subsequent oral instruction. If this be the case, then the Septuagint is the first translation which was made for the great masses of the people in their own language, and the N. T. writers are the first to appeal to men through the common vulgar language intelligible to all who spoke Greek. The common Greek thus used is indeed considerably modified by the circumstances of the writers, but these modifications no more turn the Greek into a peculiar dialect than do Americanisms or Scotisms turn the English of Americans and Scotsmen into peculiar dialects of English.

In considering a language we have to look at its inflections, its syntax, and its vocabulary.

Inflections.—It is in the inflections that the main proof of our theory in regard to the N. T. Greek lies. Max Müller justly affirms that the grammar of a language is 'the most essential element, and therefore the ground of classification in all languages which have produced a definite grammatical articulation' (*Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 74). Now the grammar of the Septuagint and N. T., in very many of its departures from the 'common dialect,' approximates to the modern Greek of Ptochoprodromus in the 12th century, and to the modern Greek of the present day, both of which are simply the language of the common people. The modern Greek grammar of our own time is only a full development of the tendencies which shew themselves in the Septuagint and N. T. Thus the N. T. and modern Greek have no dual. In their declension of nouns we find a mixture of dialects, such as, for instance, α in the genitive singular of proper names in $\alpha\varsigma$; and $\eta\varsigma$ in the genitive, and η in the dative, of nouns in $\rho\alpha$ (*σπελρῆς*, Acts xxvii. 1; *μαχαλρῆ*, Rev. xiii. 10, etc.). There is in both a change from the second to the third declension in the words *νοῦς*, *σκότος*, *ἔλεος*, and *πλοῦτος*. The N. T., however,

declines some of them occasionally as of the second declension. Both display great peculiarities in the forms for the comparative and superlative of adjectives, such, for instance, as *μειζότεραν*, 3 John 4. In modern Greek the optative mood is rare, and occurs only in wishes. It is rare also in the N. T., and in some of the books it does not occur at all. The modern Greek declines the second Aorist as the first. This is the case frequently in the N. T. also, as *ἔπεσα* for *ἔπεσον*. The N. T. sometimes forms the imperative by means of *ἀφίημι*, as *ἄφεσ ἐκβάλω*, *ἄφεσ ἰδομεν*. This is now the common form in modern Greek, *ἄφεσ* being contracted into *ἄς*. The second person singular in the present passive or middle ends in modern Greek in the regular *σαι*; so in the N. T. *καυχᾶσαι* and *δύνασαι*. The third person plural of the imperfect active of contracted verbs in modern Greek ends in *σαν*; so in Septuagint and N. T. *ἐδολοῖσαν*. There is a striking similarity in the conjugation of verbs in both. Both have a tendency to form all the parts regularly. Both also deal arbitrarily with augments. Both avoid the use of verbs in μ , and both generally strengthen pure verbs by the insertion of a ν . Sometimes they change the vowel ϵ into α , as *ἐλεᾶτε*, in Jude 23. These are some of the points in which the grammar of the N. T. Greek, and that of modern Greek, agree. Many more might have been added. Instances of several of these peculiarities may be found in our texts of the classical writers, and a still larger number in our manuscripts of them; but it is to be noted that in them they appear as rarities; in the N. T. their occurrence is more frequent, and in modern Greek they have passed into customary forms. Some of these forms have been set down as Alexandrian or Macedonian, but Sturz (*De Dialecto Macedonica et Alexandrina Liber*, Lipsiæ, 1808) has entirely failed to prove that there was either a Macedonian or an Alexandrian dialect. The Macedonian words which he has adduced indicate that the Macedonians were non-Hellenic. And there are no forms adduced as Alexandrian which are not to be found in some earlier dialect. In fact there is nothing in any of the statements to which he appeals, to contradict the opinion that Alexandrians, like other Greek-speaking people, mixed up various dialects in their spoken language. The written language of the Alexandrians, as we know from the works of Philo and other residents in Alexandria, was the so-called 'common dialect.' Moreover, the Greek of the N. T. is to be found not in writings of any special locality, but in writings which made no pretensions to literary excellence, such as the fragments of Hegesippus, some of the Apocryphal gospels, the Apostolical constitutions, the liturgies, the Chronicon Paschale and Malelas.

Syntax. In the syntax the peculiar elements that mixed themselves with the common spoken language in the N. T. writings, make their appearance. The Hebrew element especially is noteworthy. The translators of the Septuagint went on the principle of translating as literally as possible, and consequently the form of the sentences is essentially Hebrew. Some of the writers of the N. T. were themselves Jews, or derived part of their information from Jews, and accordingly the form of portions of their writings, particularly in narrative, is influenced by Hebrew modes. At the same time too much stress is not to be laid on this Hebrew influence; for the writers appear sometimes

to differ from the classical types, not because they were Jews, but because they were simple plain-speaking (τῆν γλῶτταν διωρεῖσιν, Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 24) men, who cared little about rounded sentences. The Hebrew element shews itself in particular phrases and constructions, as in ποιεῖν ελεος μετὰ τινος; but the amount of this Hebrew element is not so great as it has often been supposed to be, and in some of the N. T. writers it is scarcely noticeable at all. Generally speaking, the syntax, like the grammar, is a tendency towards modern Greek. It has, like it, frequent recourse to the use of prepositions, and we find such expressions even as δόξα εἰς ὑμᾶς, 1 Thes. iv. 8. After the comparative παρά is used frequently instead of ἢ in the N. T.; in modern Greek it is always employed. On account of the rareness of the optative, and an avoidance of the infinitive by some of the writers, both the N. T. and modern Greek abound in the use of ἵνα with the subjunctive, and sometimes even with the indicative, as in Revelations. The neuter plural is more regularly joined with a plural verb in N. T. Greek; it is always joined with it in modern Greek. Many other peculiarities in which the syntax of the N. T. and that of modern Greek agree might be noted.

Vocabulary.—The words used by the N. T. writers shew a still greater variety of elements. Here we notice distinctly, also, the tendency towards the modern language, as, for instance, in the use of χορεύω, to feed men, in the frequent employment of diminutives, in attaching a weakened sense to words like βάλλω, which had originally the idea of vigour in them, and in a variety of adverbs and conjunctions rarely used by the classical writers. Some of these peculiar uses have been assigned to the supposed Alexandrian dialect; but in the discussions no attempt has been made to distinguish between what may have been pure Alexandrianisms, and what may have been common in Greek conversation though not in Greek writings.

In the words we find a Latin element, as might be expected. The Latin words used in the N. T. are not very numerous, but they show plainly that the writers had no other desire than to call things by their common names. They do not translate them into Greek, as a scholar of those days or an imitator of Attic writings would have done. We find a few Greek phrases in the N. T. which have evidently been translated from Latin, such as συμβούλιον λαβεῖν—consilium capere.

There are also several Aramaic words used in the N. T., especially by Christ. Most of these words and expressions are of a peculiar nature. They are almost all of them utterances employed on some solemn occasion. They were at one time appealed to as proof that Jesus regularly used the Aramaic in his addresses to the people; but they have been recently adduced, and with considerable force, to prove exactly the contrary, that Jesus frequently used the Greek language in his public conversations as being more intelligible to all, but that when powerfully moved or deeply touched, he employed Aramaic words as being more expressive from their associations (Roberts, *Discussions on the Gospels*, pt. I. ch. iv.) Besides this, the Hebrew or Aramaic has exercised an influence on the meanings of some Greek words, as, for instance, in the use of ὀφειλῆμα, for a sin. In several instances, however, where this Hebrew influence has been set down as existing, a more satisfactory

explanation is given in another way. Thus δικαιοσύνη is taken by some to mean *liberality* in 2 Cor. ix. 9, 10, because they suppose that דִּקְיֻנָּה has this

meaning in Ps. cxii. 9, where the Sept. translates δικαιοσύνη. In both cases it may be doubted whether δικαιοσύνη ought to receive this meaning, and unquestionably in the second Epistle to the Corinthians it is much simpler to suppose that Paul looks on liberality as an essential part of righteousness, and righteousness therefore as including liberality.

There is also another element in the vocabulary of a peculiar nature. This arises from the novelty of the teachings combined with their exalted morality. The new thoughts demanded new modes of expression, and hence the writers did not hesitate to use words in senses rare if not entirely unknown to the classical writers. This fact could not be fully illustrated without exhibiting the results of investigation into various characteristic words, such as μυστήριον, δίκαιος, δικαιοσύνη, δικαιοῦν, πίστις, ζωή, θάνατος, δόξα, δοξάζω, ὁρᾶν, etc. These results seem to us to form no inconsiderable addition to the proof of the divinity of Christianity, for the grand moral ideas that were expressed by some of them are unique in the age in which they were uttered. Thus the word ζωή is frequently used to denote an entire and absolute consecration of soul, body, and spirit, to God, for it is this entire consecration which they look upon as the life-principle of man. Living with them, if it be not living to God in Christ, is not living at all, but death,—and a death which works not merely in the soul, but necessarily also in the body. Plato and the Stoics have something like this notion of ζωή, but with them it is a speculation. They are continually reasoning about it. The writers of the N. T. treat it as an unquestionable realized fact. So again δόξα means glory; but the writers of the N. T. separate from it every notion of material splendour or earthly renown, and use it to denote that spiritual irradiation of the whole man which takes place when God reigns in him, when the image of God is realized in him. Thus we come short of God's glory when we fail to present the purity and holiness of his character and image in our characters. And so the δόξα of the N. T. is purely spiritual and moral. Then, again, it is remarkable how in the case of words like ὕδωρ, λουτρὸν, and βαπτίζω, the material meaning often vanishes entirely out of sight, and the writers express by them the spiritually purifying power of Christ, which really and entirely cleanses both soul and body (Alexander, *Anglo-Catholicism not Apostolical*, p. 293). The moral fervour of the writers is seen also in their omission of certain words. Thus the sensuous ἐρᾶν is never used to express the idea which they had of love. The words εὐδαίμων and εὐτυχής are also unknown to the N. T., and indeed the writers do not use any word to express mere happiness. μακάριος is used several times to denote something more than mere earthly felicity. They avoid all words connected with mythology, such as the compounds of δαίμων, which, with its diminutive, is used in a peculiarly Jewish and Christian sense. The writers of the N. T. are also remarkable for confining a word to one meaning. Thus, μετάνοια is a turning of the whole soul from evil to good, and no other compound with μετὰ is used in the same sense, while Justin Martyr uses

μετάνοια as a change from good to evil as well as from evil to good, and he employs μεταγινώσκω and μετανοέω, as well as μετανοώ for the same idea.

The works on the subject of this article are very numerous. They are enumerated and criticised in Winer's *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*, Fünfte Auflage, Leipzig 1844, 8vo; and Schirlitz's *Grundzüge der Neutestamentlichen Gräcität*, Giessen 1861, 8vo. Much information will be found in works that discuss later Greek, such as Lobeck's *Phrynichus*, and Jacobs's *Achilles Tattius*, and especially in a *Glossary of Later and Byzantine Greek*, by E. A. Sophocles, published as vol. vii. new series of the *Memoirs of the American Academy*, Cambridge and Boston, 1860, 4to. Much interesting and instructive matter is also to be found in the glossaries and articles given in the *Pandora*, a fortnightly periodical published in Athens.—J. D.

GREEK VERSIONS.—I. SEPTUAGINT. The oldest version of the O. T. in any language is the Greek translation commonly called the Septuagint, either because it was approved and sanctioned by the Jewish Sanhedrim consisting of seventy-two persons, or rather from the Jewish account which states that so many individuals were employed in making it. The history of this version is obscure. Few notices of its origin are extant; and even such as exist are contradictory.

The space allotted to the present article will only allow the writer to touch upon the chief points relating to the Septuagint. A radical and minute investigation cannot be expected. *Results alone must be briefly stated.*

The oldest writer who makes mention of the Septuagint is Aristobulus, an author referred to by Eusebius (*Præpar. Evang.* xiii. 12, vol. iii. p. 310, ed. Gaisford), and Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata*, i. v. vi.) According to Eusebius, he was a Jew, who united the Aristotelian with the Jewish philosophy, and composed a commentary on the law of Moses, dedicated to Ptolemy Philometor. He is also mentioned in 2 Maccab. i. 10. Both Clement and Eusebius make him contemporary with Philometor; for the passages in their writings, in which they speak of him under Philadelphus, must either have been corrupted by ignorant transcribers, or have been so written by mistake (Valckenaer, *De Aristobulo Judeo, Philosopho Peripatetico, Alexandrino, etc.*, secs. 10, 11; Daehne, *Geschichtliche Darstellung der Jüdisch-Alexandrinischen Religions-Philosophie, zweyte Abtheilung*, p. 73, et seq.) His words relative to the Septuagint are ἡ δ' ὅλη ἐρμηνεία τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως—Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων. The entire passage, of which the preceding words form a brief portion, has occasioned much conjecture and discussion. It is given by Valckenaer, Thiersch, and Frankel. It appears to us, that the words of Aristobulus do not speak of any *prior Greek translation*, as Hody supposes, or indeed of any translation whatever. They rather refer to some brief extracts relative to Jewish history, which had been made from the Pentateuch into a language commonly understood by the Jews in Egypt, before the time of Demetrius. *The entire law*, ἡ δ' ὅλη ἐρμηνεία τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων, was first rendered into Greek under Ptolemy I. Hody, and after him Eichhorn, conjectured that

the fragments of Aristobulus preserved by Eusebius and Clement were written in the 2d century by another Aristobulus, a Christian; and that Aristobulus, the professed Peripatetic, was a heathen. But the quotation of Cyril of Alexandria (*contra Julianum*, lib. vi.), to which they appeal, was erroneously made by that father, as may be seen by comparing it with Clement. Richard Simon also denied the authenticity of Aristobulus's remains (*Histoire Critique du V. T.*, p. 189). But Valckenaer has sufficiently established their authenticity. The testimony of Aristobulus is corroborated by a Latin scholion recently found in a MS. of Plautus at Rome, which has been described and illustrated by Ritschl in a little book entitled '*Die Alexandrinischen Bibliotheken und die Sammlung der Homerischen Gedichte nach Anleitung eines Plautinischen Scholium's*,' Berlin, 1838. From the passage of Aristobulus already quoted, it appears that in the time of Aristobulus, i.e., the beginning of the 2d century B. C., this version was considered to have been made when Demetrius Phalereus lived, or in the reign of Ptolemy Lagi. Hody has endeavoured to shew that this account contradicts the voice of certain history, because it places Demetrius in the reign of Philadelphus. The son is manifestly confounded with the father; Ptolemy Philadelphus with Ptolemy Lagi, both by Aristobulus and in the scholion. The object of Demetrius in advising Lagi to have in his library a copy of the Jewish laws in Greek, is not stated by Aristobulus; but Aristes relates that the librarian represented it to the king as a desirable thing that such a book should be deposited in the Alexandrian library. Some think that a *literary*, rather than a *religious* motive, led to the version. So Havernick. This, however, is improbable. Hody, Sturz, Frankel, and others conjecture that the object was *religious* or *ecclesiastical*. Eichhorn refers it to *private impulse*; while Hug takes the object to have been *political*. It is not probable, however, that the version was intended for the king's use, or that he wished to obtain from it information respecting the best mode of governing a nation and enacting laws for its economic well-being. The character and language of the version unite to shew that an Egyptian king, probably ignorant of Greek, could not have understood the work. Perhaps an *ecclesiastical* motive was in the minds of the Jews who were originally interested in it; while Demetrius Phalereus and the king were actuated by a *political* design.

It is difficult to ascertain whether Aristobulus's words imply that *all* the books of the O. T. were translated into Greek under Ptolemy Lagi, or simply the Pentateuch. Hody contends that νόμος, the term used by Aristobulus, meant at that time the Mosaic books alone; although it was afterwards taken in a wider sense to embrace all the O. T. Vaickenaer thinks that *all* the books were comprehended under it. It is certainly more natural to restrict it to the Pentateuch. The Pentateuch, therefore, was completed under Lagi.

The next historical testimony regarding the Septuagint, is the prologue of Jesus the son of Sirach, a document containing the judgment of a Palestinian Jew concerning the version before us. His words are these: οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων οὐ μικρὰν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἐκ τῶν τοῖς λεγόμενα—'and not only these things, but the law

itself, and the prophets, and the rest of the books, have no small difference when they are spoken in their own language.' Supposing that these words refer to the Septuagint, it is not easy to settle the time when the writer lived. The most probable opinion seems to be that which places him about 130 B.C., in the reign of Euergetes II.

The account given by Aristæas comes next before us. This writer pretends to be a Gentile, and a favourite at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus King of Egypt. In a letter addressed to his brother Philocrates, he relates that Philadelphus, when forming a library at great expense, was advised by Demetrius Phalereus to apply to the Jewish high-priest Eleazar for a copy of the book containing the Jewish laws. Having previously purchased the freedom of more than a hundred thousand captive Jews in Egypt, the king sent Aristæas and Andreas to Jerusalem, with a letter requesting of Eleazar seventy-two persons as interpreters, six out of each tribe. They were despatched accordingly, with a magnificent copy of the law; and were received and entertained by the king for several days, with great respect and liberality. Demetrius led them to an island, probably Pharos, where they lodged together. The translation was finished in seventy-two days, having been written down by Demetrius, piece by piece, as agreed upon after mutual consultation. It was then publicly read by Demetrius to a number of Jews whom he had summoned together. They approved of it; and imprecations were uttered against any one who should presume to alter it. The Jews requested permission to take copies of it for their use; and it was carefully preserved by command of the king. The interpreters were sent home, loaded with presents. Josephus agrees in the main with Aristæas; but Philo's account differs in a number of circumstances. Justin Martyr endeavoured to harmonise the various traditions current in his day, but without success. Exaggerations and glaring falsehoods had been added to the story of Aristæas, in the days of Justin and Epiphanius; which these credulous men received without hesitation, and to which it is probable they themselves contributed. The interpreters are said to have been shut up in separate cells, where they made separate versions, which were found on comparison to agree in every minute particular. Hence they were looked upon as inspired, and their version as infallibly correct. Most of the Fathers received this tradition; and the early Jewish Rabbins equally believed it. Even Philo regarded the translators as inspired; but it is evident that he was ignorant of Hebrew. Jerome seems to have been the first who distinctly rejected the story of their inspiration; although he did not doubt the veracity of Aristæas, whose simpler narrative makes no mention of inspiration. Until the latter half of the 17th century, the origin of the Septuagint as given by Aristæas, was firmly believed; while the numerous additions that had been made to the original story, in the progress of centuries, were unhesitatingly received as equally genuine. The story was first reckoned improbable by L. Vives (in a note to Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*); then Scaliger asserted that Aristæas's letter was written by a Jew; and Richard Simon was too acute a critic not to perceive the truth of Scaliger's assertion. Hody was the first who demonstrated, with great learning, skill, and discrimination, that the

narrative could not be authentic. It is now universally pronounced fabulous.

The work of Aristæas, which was first published in the original Greek by Simon Schard, at Basel, 1561, 8vo, and several times reprinted, was also given by Hody, in Greek and Latin, in his book entitled *De Bibliorum textibus originalibus, versionibus Græcis, et Latina Vulgata*, Oxonii, 1705, fol. The most accurate edition, however, is that by Galland, in the *Bibliotheca Vet. Patrum*, vol. ii. It was translated into English by Whiston, and published at London in his *Collection of Authentic Records*, part 2 (London, 1728).

It is a difficult point to determine the extent to which truth is mixed up with fable in this ancient story. However absurd the traditions may appear in the view of modern criticism, some truth must lie at the basis of them. In separating the true from the fabulous, it appears to us that Hody has not been successful. From the extreme credulity manifested in the reception of the fable, he has gone to the extreme of scepticism. Yet he has been generally followed. He thinks that the Pentateuch was translated a considerable time before the prophets; and that the Jews first resorted to the reading of the prophets in their synagogues when Antiochus Epiphanes forbade the use of the law; consequently the prophetic portion was not translated till after the commencement of Philometor's reign. It is wholly improbable, however, that Antiochus interdicted the Jews merely from reading the Pentateuch (comp. 1 Maccab. i. 41, etc.; and Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 5; Frankel, pp. 48, 49). The interval between the translating of the law and the prophets, of which many speak, was probably short. In order to reconcile conflicting statements, Hody assigned the version of the Pentateuch to the two years during which Philadelphus reigned conjointly with his father, about 286-285 B.C. We prefer assuming that it was begun under Ptolemy Lagi, the son and father having been confounded by Aristobulus and the scholion on Plutarch; by Aristæas too, probably on purpose. Hody's proof that the book of Joshua was not translated till upwards of twenty years after the death of Ptolemy Lagi, founded upon the word *γὰρ*, is perfectly nugatory; although the time assigned cannot be far from the truth. The epilogue to the book of Esther does not state that this part of the O. T. was translated under Ptolemy Philometor, or that it was dedicated to him. On the contrary, it refers to the apocryphal additions of the canonical book (Valckenauer, pp. 33, 63). It is a fruitless task to attempt to ascertain the precise times at which separate portions of the version were made. All that can be known with any degree of probability is, that it was begun under Lagi. Hody supposes that the book of Judges was not translated till after Christ, but his proof is invalid. The same may be said of the assumption made by Michaelis and Bertholdt, that Daniel was not rendered into Greek till after Christ.

It is obvious, from internal evidence, that there were several translators; but certainly not seventy-two. Hody has endeavoured to parcel out their version into small portions, assigning each part to a separate person, and affirming that they were put together in one cento without revision; but his notions of rigid uniformity in the translators are such as exclude perspicuity, freedom, variety, and elegance. Internal evidence is in favour of the

Pentateuch having been made by more than one. Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy are better rendered than the other two books; Leviticus best of all. But Thiersch and Herschfeld endeavour to shew that *one* translator only appears in the Pentateuch. The whole version was the work of five or six translators at least, and must therefore be of unequal merit.

In opposition to the Pseudo-Aristeas, we cannot but maintain that the translators were *Alexandrian*, not *Palestinian* Jews. The internal character of the entire version, particularly of the Pentateuch, sufficiently attests the fact. We find, accordingly, that proper names, and terms peculiar to Egypt, are rendered in such a manner as must have been unintelligible to a Greek-speaking population other than the Egyptian Jews. That the translators were Egyptians has been proved to the satisfaction of all by Hody; although some of his examples, such as the words *γέρας* and *λαρόδρους*, are not appropriate or conclusive. Frankel supposes that the version was made not only at different times, but at *different places*. This is quite arbitrary. There is no reason for believing, with him, that different books originated after this fashion, the impulse having gone forth from Alexandria, and spreading to localities where the Jews had settled, especially Cyrene, Leontopolis, and even Asia Minor.

Next to the Pentateuch, in point of goodness, is the version of Proverbs. The translator of Job, though familiar with the Greek poets, and master of an elegant diction, was very imperfectly acquainted with Hebrew. The Psalms and Prophets have been indifferently executed. Jeremiah is best translated among the prophetic books. Amos and Ezekiel stand in the next rank. Isaiah met with a very incompetent translator. The version of Daniel is the worst. That of Theodotion was very early substituted for it. Jerome did not know the reason of the substitution. Most of the historical books are ill interpreted.

With regard to the *external form* of the MSS. from which this version was made, we may remark that the letters were substantially the same as the old Samaritan characters—that there were no vowel-points—that there was no separation into words; no final letters; that the letter *W* wanted the *diacritic point*; and that words were frequently abbreviated. The division into verses and chapters is much later than the age of the translators. Our present editions have been printed in conformity with the division into chapters made in the 12th century; though they are not uniform in this particular. Still, however, many MSS. have separations in the text. The Alexandrine codex is said by Grabe to have one hundred and forty divisions, or as they may be called, *chapters*, in the book of Numbers alone (*Prolegomena*, c. i. sec. 7).

The titles given to the books, such as *Γένεσις*, etc., could hardly have been affixed by the translators, since they do not often harmonise with the version of the book itself to which they belong.

It has been inquired, whether the translator of the Pentateuch followed a Hebrew or Samaritan codex. The Septuagint and Samaritan harmonise in more than a thousand places, where they differ from the Hebrew. Hence it has been supposed that the Samaritan edition was the basis of the version. Various considerations have been adduced in favour of this opinion; and the names

of De Dieu, Selden, Whiston, Hottinger, Hassenkamp, and Eichhorn, are enlisted on its behalf. But the irreconcilable enmity subsisting between the Jews and the Samaritans, both in Egypt and Palestine, effectually militates against it. Besides, in the prophets and hagiographa the number of variations from the Masoretic text is even greater and more remarkable than those in the Pentateuch; whereas the Samaritan extends no farther than the Mosaic books. No solution, therefore, can be satisfactory, which will not serve to explain at once the cause or causes both of the differences between the Seventy and Hebrew in the Pentateuch, and those found in the remaining books. The problem can be fully solved only by such an hypothesis as will throw light on the remarkable form of the Septuagint in Jeremiah and Esther, where it deviates most from the Masoretic MSS., presenting such transpositions and interpolations as excite the surprise of the most superficial reader. How, then, is the agreement between the Samaritan and Septuagint to be explained?

Some suppose that the one was *interpolated* from the other—a conjecture not at all probable. Jahn and Bauer imagine that the Hebrew MS. used by the Egyptian Jews agreed much more closely with the Samaritan in the text and forms of its letters, than the present Masoretic copies. This hypothesis, however, even if it were otherwise correct, would not account for the great harmony existing between the Samaritan and Septuagint.

Another hypothesis has been put forth by Gesenius (*Commentatio de Pent. Samar. orig. indole, et auctor.*), viz., that both the Samaritan and Septuagint flowed from a common recension (*ἐκδόσις*) of the Hebrew Scriptures, one older than either, and different in many places from the recension of the Masoretes now in common use. 'This supposition,' says Prof. Stuart, by whom it is adopted, 'will account for the differences and for the agreements of the Septuagint and Samaritan.'

This hypothesis, more ingenious and refined than the others, is less liable to objection. Much may be said in its favour. With some minor improvements and modifications we should not oppose it. Taking *recension* as not necessarily equivalent to *revision*, but rather in connection with the Samaritan and Septuagint *a want* of revision, as far as the text at their basis is concerned, the hypothesis bears a very plausible character. In the absence of a better it might be adopted. But it is not probable that the Samaritan copy was subsequently corrected and interpolated, as Gesenius supposes; at least it could not have been much transcribed, and therefore its liability to interpolation was less. Some considerations might be urged as adverse to the hypothesis; but they are of a subtle character, not patent to ordinary apprehension. We waive all mention of them in the present place, especially as they are of comparatively little weight or importance. We do not feel at liberty to adopt the hypothesis, however plausible it appears, believing it insufficient to account for all the phenomena. We admire the ingenuity of the contriver, but cannot fully coincide with him.

Dr. Lee (*Prolegomena to Bagsters' Polyglott*) accounts for the agreement between the Septuagint and Samaritan in another way. He conjectures that the early Christians interspersed their copies with Samaritan glosses, which ignorant transcribers afterwards inserted in the text. But he has

not shewn that Christians in general were acquainted with the Samaritan Pentateuch and its additions to the Hebrew copy; neither has he taken into account the reverence entertained by the early Christians for the sacred books. We cannot, therefore, attribute the least probability to this hypothesis.

Another hypothesis has been mentioned by Frankel, viz., that the Septuagint flowed from a Chaldee version which was used before and after the time of Ezra—a version inexact and paraphrastic, which had undergone many alterations and corruptions. This was first proposed by R. Asaria di Rossi, in the midst of other conjectures.

Frankel admits that the assumption of such a version is superfluous, except in relation to the Samaritan Pentateuch, where much is gained by it. This Chaldee version circulated in various transcripts here and there; and as the same care was not applied in preserving its integrity as that of the original Hebrew, the copies of it presented considerable differences among themselves. Both the Greek version and the Samaritan Pentateuch were taken from it. Frankel concedes that this hypothesis is not satisfactory with regard to the Septuagint, because the mistakes found in that version must have frequently originated in misunderstanding the Hebrew text. There is no evidence, however, that any Targum or Chaldee version had been made before Ezra's time, or soon after. *Explanations of the lessons publicly read by the Jews* were given in Chaldee, not regularly perhaps, or uniformly; but it can scarcely be assumed that a Chaldee version had been made out in writing, and circulated in different copies. Glosses, or short expositions of words and sentences, were furnished by the public readers for the benefit of the people; and it is by no means improbable that several of these traditional comments were incorporated with the version by the Jewish translators, to whom they were familiar.

In the present state of the question, nothing better can be proposed than that the countries where the Samaritan Pentateuch originated and the Jewish MSS. at the basis of the Seventy had been in circulation, were much less favourable to the preservation of a pure text than Palestine, or rather its metropolis, Jerusalem. The people, too, who possessed the Pentateuch and the Jewish MSS. in question, were less careful of them. They lived amid less conservative influences than the Palestinian brethren. The Samaritan Pentateuch suffered in its text from the hands it passed through—not from any bad motive, but a mistaken desire of making it more intelligible, regular, and full. The Alexandrian Jews, living under the influence of the philosophy that prevailed in Egypt, had little superstitious veneration for the mere text of the sacred volume. The translators, too, were more intent on giving the sense than adhering to the literal text. They were inexperienced; and often failed in the difficult task they had undertaken. But why the agreement of the one document with the other should be so extensive; why both texts should harmonise so often where they differ from the Masoretic, we are unable to explain.

Tychsen (*Tentamen de variis codd. Heb. V. T. MSS. gener.*) thought that the Septuagint was made from the Hebrew transcribed into Hebrew-Greek characters. It is almost unnecessary to re-

fer to such a notion. It never obtained general currency; having been examined and refuted by Dathe, Michaelis, and Hassencamp.

The Septuagint does not appear to have obtained *general authority* as long as Hebrew was understood at Alexandria. It is remarkable that Aristobulus quotes the original, even where it departs from the text of the Seventy. The version was indeed spread abroad in Egypt, northern Africa, and Asia Minor; and it acquired a high reputation among the Hellenistic Jews. It is spoken of in the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. It was read in *some* synagogues at least out of Egypt, as may be inferred from statements in Justin Martyr and Tertullian. Philo and Josephus adopted it; and it was universally received by the early Christians.

When controversies arose between Christians and Jews; and the former appealed with irresistible force of argument to this version, the latter denied that it agreed with the Hebrew original. Thus by degrees it became odious to the Jews—as much execrated as it had before been commended. Hence arose the Talmudic statement of a fast on the eighth day of the month *Thebet*, the day on which the law was turned into Greek, to perpetuate the remembrance of an event so inauspicious. The Jews had then recourse to the translation of Aquila, who is *imagined* to have undertaken a new work from the Hebrew with the express object of supplanting the Septuagint and favouring the sentiments of his brethren.

After the general reception of the Septuagint version, numerous mistakes were made in the transcription and multiplication of copies. In the time of the early fathers its text had already been altered; and the Jews, in argument with the Christians, commonly said, that such and such things were not in the Hebrew original. This affirmation was generally sufficient to silence the professors of the Christian religion, who were unable to follow their critical antagonists into the Hebrew text.

In order to rectify the text of the Septuagint, and to place Christians on even ground with their Jewish opponents, Origen undertook to revise it. After travelling about for twenty-eight years in quest of materials, and getting six Greek translations—three belonging to Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion respectively, and three anonymous—he began his great work, probably at Cæsarea. He had first published his *Tetrapla*, containing in four columns the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and the Seventy. Thus the *Tetrapla* was only preparatory to his projected emendation of the Seventy. In an enlarged edition, undertaken after he had found the three anonymous versions, he added the Hebrew text in Hebrew and in Greek letters; and as the work then consisted of six columns, it was termed *Hexapla*. Such is the opinion of Hody, Montfaucou, and Bauer. But Eichhorn, Eichstaedt, and Frankel, think that the *Tetrapla* was not a distinct work preparatory to the *Hexapla*, but only an abridgment of the latter. In some parts he used two other Greek versions made by unknown authors, and occasionally a third anonymous translation. Hence the name *Octapla*. Thus the different appellations by which the work is distinguished refer merely to the number of columns. The following is their order:—1. The Hebrew

text in its proper characters; 2. The same in Greek letters; 3. Aquila; 4. Symmachus; 5. Septuagint; 6. Theodotion; 7, 8, and 9. The three anonymous Greek versions were called the fifth, sixth, and seventh, in relation to the other four (see a specimen in Davidson's *Bib. Criticism*, vol. 1, p. 204).

Origen's object in this laborious work was not so much to correct the Septuagint, as to shew where and how it differed from the original Hebrew. When he discovered a word in Hebrew, or in the Greek versions, which was not in the Seventy, he inserted it out of Theodotion. If Theodotion wanted it also, he made up the deficiency from Aquila, and occasionally from Symmachus. In every case, he put the name of the translation from which a supplement was made, with an asterisk at the commencement, and two dots at the end, to show the extent of the supplied matter. And where the Septuagint, as compared with other Greek versions and the original, seemed to be redundant, he did not expunge the superfluity, but appended marks to point out this particular. His recension is called the *Hexaplarian* text, to distinguish it from the text as it existed before, which has been styled the *common* (*κοινή*) or *ante-hexaplarian*.

This great work, consisting of nearly fifty volumes, is thought to have perished at Cæsarea, when the town was sacked by the Saracens, A.D. 653. It was never transcribed.

In the beginning of the 4th century, Pamphilus and Eusebius copied the column containing the text of the Seventy, with the passages and scholia out of the other translators, and the critical marks used by Origen. It is to be regretted that this copy was soon extensively corrupted. The Hexaplarian text, coming through such a transcript, with fragments of the other versions, was published by Montfaucon, at Paris, 1714, 2 vols. fol.; and afterwards reprinted by Bahrdt, Leipzig, 1769-70, 2 vols. 8vo. Subsequent contributions to the same text were made by Doederlein, Spohn, Scharfenberg, Matthæi, Bruns and Adler, Schleusner, Vincentius de Regibus. The last-named scholar published Ezekiel in this text, from a Chigian MS. Pomæ, 1840, 8vo.

At the beginning of the same century, Lucian, a presbyter of Antioch, undertook to amend the text of the Seventy after the Hebrew original. This recension was called the *editio vulgata* (*κοινή* and also *Λουκιανός*), and became current in various churches. Another revision was undertaken about the same time by Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop, which, according to Jerome, was generally used in the churches of Egypt. Hesychius and Lucian probably used the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, not the Hebrew Text; although Hody thinks otherwise. From these three recensions all our printed editions have been derived. In the two great MSS. of the Seventy, the Vatican and Alexandrine, the basis of the former is the *common* or earlier text, according to John Morin; an opinion adopted by Holmes only so far as the Pentateuch is concerned. The Alexandrine exhibits more of the readings and interpolations of the Hexaplarian text. Both have not been always kept distinct. The Vatican text is far purer than the Alexandrine. It is free from the asterisks, obeli, and other marks used by Origen, as well as from the transpositions he made. Besides, the

Alexandrine has been very frequently conformed to the Masoretic text, which must be considered as a corruption.

All printed editions of the Septuagint may be reduced to four; viz., the Aldine, the Complutensian, the Roman, and the Grabian.

The Aldine or Venetian appeared at Venice in 1518, fol. The editor has not specified the MSS. from which the text was taken. He merely affirms that he collated many very ancient copies, and was favoured with the advice of some learned men. According to Walton, the text of this edition is purer than the Complutensian, and resembles most the Roman text. It has been interpolated, however, in various instances, out of Theodotion, Aquila, and the N. T.

The Complutensian was printed 1514-1517, but not published till 1522, as a column of the Complutensian Polyglott. It has been suspected that the text was altered by the editors to bring it into agreement with the Hebrew. So Ussher, Walton, Hody, and Frankel suppose. But the conjecture is unfounded. The text was taken from Greek MSS. containing Origen's improved Hexaplaric text, as Simon believed.

The Roman edition appeared under the auspices of Sixtus the Fifth, in 1587, fol., superintended by Cardinal Carafa and others. The text follows the celebrated *codex Vaticanus*. Yet the editors made alterations in the orthography, and in particulars which they looked upon as the mistakes of copyists. Other MSS. were necessarily used; since almost the entire book of Genesis is wanting in cod. B., besides from Psalm cv. 27 to cxxvii. 6, and other parts.

The Grabian edition appeared at Oxford, in 1707 and following years, 4 vols. fol., and 8 vols. 8vo, being prepared for the press by Dr. Grabe, a learned Prussian, and published in part by himself. This edition exhibits the text of the Codex Alexandrinus, but not perfectly; since Grabe altered and improved many places.

The latest and most splendid critical edition is that begun in 1798 by Dr. Holmes, and finished by Parsons, Oxford, 1798-1827, five vols. folio, with a large critical apparatus. The continuator appears to have become weary of his task; for he has only selected the readings most important in his own judgment. The text is that of the Roman edition, not a critically revised one. The work is merely a storehouse of materials for such an edition. The Roman edition is still the best; though no one edition should be followed absolutely (see Credner's *Beiträge*, vol. ii. pp. 74-98).

In 1857 Cardinal Mai published the O. and N. T. from the Vatican MS. The Old is in 4 vols. 4to. Unfortunately this edition offers no security for its being an exact and faithful representation of the MS. The gaps are supplied from other MSS., and so careless was the Cardinal, that many leaves had to be reprinted before publication. Doubtless many errors still remain. A very convenient manual edition is that of Tischendorf, 2 vols. 8vo, 3d edition, 1860, with a good selection of various readings taken in part from MSS. which he published for the first time. The text is that of the Vatican MS.

The proper Alexandrine version of Daniel was first published from a MS. in the library of Cardinal Chigi, at Rome, 1772, fol. After being reprinted at Göttingen (by Michaelis), and at Leyden

[by Segaar], it was critically edited by Hahn (1845); and by Tischendorf in his edition of the Seventy. In 1859 Tischendorf found a MS. in the convent of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, which he rightly supposes to belong to the 4th century, and to be more valuable internally than any other existing one. Besides the New Testament entire, it has the Old imperfectly. If the Codex Fridericus-Augustanus, previously discovered by the same scholar, be part of the Sinaitic one, as seems to be the case, a good portion of the O. T. is thus preserved. The text of the MS., after having been described (see *Notitia editionis codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici*, etc., by Prof. Tischendorf, Lipsiæ, 1860, fol.), has since been published in fac-simile at St. Petersburg, at the expense of the Emperor of Russia (4 vols. folio, 1862).

The best Lexicon to the Septuagint is that of Schleusner, published at Leipzig, in 1820, 1821, in five parts, and reprinted at Glasgow, 3 vols. 8vo., 1822. The best Concordance is that of Trommius, published at Amsterdam, 2 vols. fol., 1718.

A number of versions have been founded on the Seventy. 1. The old Latin or *Vetus Italica*; 2. The Coptic and Sahidic; 3. The Ethiopic; 4. The Armenian; 5. The Georgian; 6. Various Syriac versions; 7. Some Arabic versions; 8. The Slavonic; 9. The Gothic.

Great value unquestionably belongs to this version. In the criticism and interpretation of the O. T., it holds a conspicuous place. Yet most of the translators were incompetent. They often mistook the sense of the original; and indulged in many liberties with regard to the text. They inserted glosses, and paraphrased with unmeaning latitude. Their errors are neither few nor small. It must be recollected, however, that the text is in a state of irremediable disorder. The labours of Origen, however laudable the motive that prompted them, introduced great confusion. On the whole, the translation is *free* rather than *literal*. Figures, metaphors, and anthropomorphic expressions are frequently resolved. Still the document is important, both in the criticism and exposition of the O. T. It is difficult to say whether Palestinian exegesis had an influence upon Alexandrian hermeneutics; or that the position is proved by the character of the Septuagint. Frankel has endeavoured to establish it, with great learning and ingenuity. But Herzfeld objects; and he is a man who usually can give a good reason for his statements (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. iii. p. 548, et seq.).

(For a more copious account of the Septuagint, the reader is referred to Davidson's *Treatise on Biblical Criticism*; and *Text of the O. T. Considered*, etc., 2d edition (1859). On the Pentateuch part, the best work is that of Thiersch, *De Pentateuchi Versione Alexandrina, libri tres*, Erlangæ, 1841, 8vo, in which the character of the diction employed by the translator is minutely and admirably investigated. See also Toepfer, *De Pentateuchi interpretationis Alexandrinæ indole critica et hermeneutica*, Hal. Sax. 1830, 8vo; Plüschke, *Lectiones Alexandrinæ et Hebraicae*, etc., Bonn, 1837, 8vo. This writer would correct the present Hebrew text by the Seventy in many cases; which is preposterous. *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, von Dr. Z. Frankel; Leipzig, 1841, 8vo, is the most important work on the Septuagint that has appeared for many years. It was followed by *Über den Einfluss der Palæstinischen Exegese*

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auf die Alexandrinische Hermeneutik, Leipzig, 1851. The *prolegomena* to Tischendorf's 3d edition; Bleek's *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, p. 750, et seq. Gfrörer, *Kritische Geschichte des Urchristenthums, Erster Band, Zweite Abtheilung*, Stuttgart, 1831, 8vo; Dähne, *Jüdisch-Alexandrinische Philosophie*, Th. ii., Halle, 1834, 8vo; Fabricii *Bibliotheca Sacra*, ed. Harless, vol. iii.; Michaelis's *Oriental. Bibliothek*, and *Neue Orient. Biblioth.*; Eichhorn's *Allgem. Bibliothek und Repertorium*; Studer, *De Versionis Alexandrinæ origine, historia, usu, et abusu critico*, Bernæ, 1823, 8vo; Grabe's *Prolegomena* to his edition of the Seventy; Holmes's *Præfatio* to his edition; Credner's *Beiträge zur Einleitung*, u. s. w., vol. ii., 8vo, Halle, 1838; Amersfoort, *Dissertatio de variis lectionibus Holmesianis*, Lugd. Bat. 1815, 4to; Valckenauer, *Diatriba de Aristobulo Judæo*, ed. Joh. Luzac, Lugd. Bat. 1806, 4to).

II. AQUILA. Aquila was a Jew of Pontus, who lived in the reign of Adrian, and undertook a Greek version of the O. T. about A.D. 160. It appears from Jerome (*in Ezek.* iii.) that there were two editions of this version, the second more literal than the first. It was very highly prized by the Jews, and much preferred to the Septuagint, because the latter was employed as an authorized and genuine document by the early Christians in their disputations with the Hebrew opponents of the new religion. The very circumstance of its being adopted and valued by the Jews would tend to create a prejudice against it among the Fathers, independently of all perversion of Messianic passages. Irenæus, the earliest writer who mentions Aquila, pronounces an unfavourable opinion respecting his translation (*Advers. Hæres.* iii. 24, p. 253, ed. Grabe). So also Eusebius (*Ad Psalm xc. 4*) and Philastrius. Jerome speaks of him in various parts of his writings, sometimes disparagingly, and again in terms of commendation: the former, in allusion to his doctrinal prepossessions; the latter, in reference to his knowledge of the Hebrew language and exceeding carefulness in rendering one word by another. He was early accused of distorting several passages relating to the Messiah; and Kennicott, in modern times, has re-echoed the censure. There is some ground for the charge, but certainly not so much as Kennicott imagines. A polemic tendency may be detected in the work, yet not to a greater degree than in most translations. [AQUILA.]

The version before us is extremely, and even unintelligibly, literal. It adheres most rigidly to the original. So highly did the Jews esteem it that they called it the *Hebrew verity*. Its use in criticism is considerable, but in interpretation it is comparatively worthless.

III. SYMMACHUS. Symmachus appears to have been an Ebionite (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 17; *Demonstr. Evang.* vii. 1, Jerome, *Pref. in Ezram*: Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* ii. 278; iii. 1, 17). His Greek version of the O. T. was made after that of Theodotion, as may be inferred from the silence of Irenæus, and the language of Jerome in his commentary on the 38th chapter of Isaiah. The style of the work is good, and the diction perspicuous, pure, and elegant (Thieme, *De puritate Symmachi*; Hody, *De Bibl. text. Originali*). It is of less benefit in criticism than that of Aquila, but of greater advantage in interpretation. It would seem from Jerome, that there was a second edition of it (*Comment in Jerem.* xxxii.; *in Nah.* iii.)

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IV. THEODOTON. Theodoton, like Symmachus, was an Ebionite. Irenæus states (*Advers. Hæres.* iii. 24) that he belonged to Ephesus, and was a Jewish proselyte. His Greek version of the O. T. appeared during the former half of the 2d century, and is first mentioned by Irenæus. He follows the Septuagint very closely, so that he appears to have intended to make a revision of its text rather than a new version. He is not so scrupulously literal as Aquila, nor so free as Symmachus. He was certainly not well acquainted with Hebrew, as the numerous errors into which he has fallen demonstrate. It is probable, if credit can be given to Jerome, that there were two editions of the translation (*in Jerem.* xxix. 17). His translation of Daniel was very early adopted by the Christians in place of that belonging to the Septuagint. The Jews do not seem to have had much regard for this castigated edition of the Seventy; although Von Lengerke inclines to the opposite opinion.

V., VI., VII. When Origen travelled into Eastern countries collecting materials for his Polyglott, he discovered three other Greek versions not extending to the entire O. T., but only to several books. These are usually designated the *fifth*, *sixth*, *seventh*. The authors were unknown to Origen himself. As far as we can judge, they appear to have translated the original somewhat freely and paraphrastically. The *fifth* comprehended the Pentateuch, Psalms, Song of Solomon, and the twelve Minor Prophets, besides the books of Kings. Jerome says that the author was a Jew, meaning probably a Jewish Christian. The *sixth* version contained the same books as the *fifth*, except those of the Kings. The author appears to have been a Jewish Christian also. This inference has been drawn from his rendering of Habak. iii. 13. The *seventh* embraced the Psalms and minor prophets. Perhaps the author was a Jew. The three translations in question were made subsequently to those of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodoton. Very few fragments of them remain. (See Epiphanius, *De Pond. et Mens.*, cap. 17; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 16; Jerome, *Comment in Tit.* cap. 3; *Apolog. contra Rufin.* ii. 34; Hody, p. 590, *et seq.*)

VIII. GRÆCO-VENETA. In a MS. belonging to St. Mark's Library at Venice, there is a Greek version of several O. T. books. Its internal character proves that the translation was made directly from the Hebrew. It is more literal than any other ancient version, even that of Aquila, adhering with slavish scrupulosity to the original words. In the Chaldee portions of Daniel, the Attic dialect is changed for the Doric. The style, however, is a singular compound. Attic elegancies occur along with barbarous expressions; high-sounding words used by the best Greek writers, by the side of others contrary to the genius of the Greek language. The origin of the version cannot be placed higher than the 9th century; the MS. itself was written in the 14th. It is uncertain whether the author was a Jew or a Christian. Michaelis supposes that he was a Jew. With Bertholdt, we believe that he was a Christian. It is probable that it was made at Byzantium for private use. The text seldom differs from the Masoretic; and the translator consulted the Septuagint and other Greek versions, besides adhering, as he generally does, to the current exegetical tradition of the Jews. Criti-

cism can never derive much use from this version. Extracts from it are given in Holmes's edition of the Septuagint. The Pentateuch was published by Ammon, in three volumes, at Erlangen, in the years 1790-91. Different parts of the Pentateuch had been previously published, along with Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Lamentations, Daniel, and Canticles, by Villosion, at Strasburg, 1784. (See Eichhorn's *Allgem. Biblioth.* iii. p. 371, *et seq.*; v. p. 743, *et seq.*; vii. p. 193, *et seq.*; Dahler, *Ani-madversiones in versionem Græcam Proverb.*, Argentor. 1786; the Introductions of Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, and Hävernick; and Davidson's *Treatise on Bib. Crit.*)—S. D.

GREEN, WILLIAM, rector of Hardingham, Norfolk, and fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge. He took the degree of B.A. in 1737, and of M.A. in 1741. He died in 1794. As a writer he devoted himself chiefly to the translation of the poetical books of the O. T., and published successively the following works—1. *The Song of Deborah reduced to metre, with a translation and commentary*, 1753, 4to. 2. *A translation of the Prayer of Habakkuk, the Prayer of Moses, and the 139th Psalm, with a commentary*, 1755, 4to. 3. *A new Translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew original, with notes, critical and explanatory, to which is added a dissertation on the last prophetic words of Noah*, 1762, 8vo. 4. *A new translation of Isaiah vii. 13 to the end of liii., from the original Hebrew, with notes critical and explanatory*, 1776, 4to. 5. *Poetical parts of the O. T., newly translated from the Hebrew, with notes critical and explanatory*, 1781, 4to.—S. N.

GREENFIELD, WILLIAM, was born in London 1st April 1799. He received the elements of his education in Scotland, to which his family originally belonged, but in his thirteenth year he became apprentice to a London bookseller. Whilst but a child his talent and desire for learning languages shewed itself, and whilst engaged in his duties as a bookseller's apprentice he found means to gratify this tendency. Beginning with Hebrew, which he thoroughly mastered, he proceeded to the other Semitic dialects, from them to Greek and Latin, and then to French and other modern western tongues. These acquirements were all made whilst he was labouring in his master's service from six in the morning till six, and sometimes eight, in the evening, with the interval of meal hours. In 1822 he submitted to an eminent publisher, Mr. Bagster, the prospectus of a Polyglott grammar, of nearly thirty languages, on the principles of comparative grammar. This led to his being employed to edit the Comprehensive Bible issued by that firm in 1826. In 1828-9 he was engaged in carrying through the press an edition of the Syriac New Testament for their Polyglott series, and in 1830 he prepared his revised translation of the N. T. into Hebrew. He now became regularly engaged in connection with Messrs. Bagster's Biblical publications; and, besides editing several works for them, he prepared a lexicon of the Greek N. T., followed by an abridgment of Schmidt's Greek Concordance. In 1830 he was appointed editor of foreign versions to the British and Foreign Bible Society, an appointment which exposed him to much obloquy on the part of some who sought to find occasion against the Society by attacking the notes in the Comprehensive Bible as heretical and

reologist. He defended himself by collecting and publishing in a consecutive form the notes and prefaces of the book, leaving them to speak for themselves; which they did to the full satisfaction of all competent judges. To the Bible Society his services were invaluable; but the excessive labour which these services and his devotion to literature imposed upon him overmastered his strength, and he sank into a premature grave on the 5th Nov. 1831. He was a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, having been elected to this honour in compliment to his extensive Oriental acquirements.—W. L. A.

GREENHILL, WILLIAM, M.A., was born in 1581, and died 27th Sept. 1671. He was educated at Oxford, and during the Commonwealth held the vicarage of Stepney, though at the same time pastor of a Congregational Church which he had collected at Stepney Meeting House. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, where he was one of 'the Dissenting brethren.' After the execution of Charles I. he was appointed chaplain to the royal children, an office for which some earlier relations with the royal family, and his own polished manners, rendered him especially eligible. In 1654 he was appointed one of Cromwell's 'Triers.' At the Restoration he was ejected from his vicarage, and from this time till his death lived in private, officiating as opportunity offered to his special flock at the meeting house. His *Exposition on the 28 first chapters of Ezekiel*, which is his principal work, was delivered in lectures to his congregation, and appeared in five volumes 4to, published at different times. The first volume was issued in 1645, and is dedicated, in courtly terms, to the Princess Elizabeth, with whom Greenhill seems to have been well acquainted; the fifth appeared in 1662. A new edition, in one vol. imperial 8vo, was issued by Mr. Sherman in 1846. This commentary is much prized by the lovers of Puritan theology and exposition. He published also several sermons and works on practical divinity.—W. L. A.

GREGORY, surnamed 'the Great,' one of the Popes of Rome, and the first of that name, and a saint in the Romish Calendar, was born at Rome about 540, was made Pope in 590, and died in 604. He was descended from one of the highest patrician families of the city. He filled the office of prefect of the city for a time. On his father's death he gave this up and devoted the large property which descended to him to the establishment of several monasteries. Into one of these, at Rome, he retired, and was ordained deacon. He was employed on important services by the Pope Pelagius II.; on whose death he was elected, against his wishes, to succeed him.

Gregory's theological works are not of great importance to the interpretation of Scripture. They consist of (1) *A Commentary on Job*, in which we find the distinction between the historical or literal, the allegorical, and the moral or spiritual interpretation; (2) *Homilies on the Prophecy of Ezekiel*, delivered to the people during the war with the Lombards; (3) *Homilies on the Evangelists*; (4) *De curâ Sacerdotali*, a work on the duties of bishops; (5) *Dialogues*. Besides these we have a valuable collection of his letters during fourteen years. He was the author, moreover, of great alterations in the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church, and more especially of improve-

ments in the music. The Gregorian chant derives its name from him.

The best edition of his works is that published at Paris, 1705, in 4 vols. fol., by the Benedictines of Saint Maur.—H. W.

GREGORY, JOHN, an English theologian, was born in Buckinghamshire, November 10, 1607. At the age of sixteen he went to Oxford with Sir William Drake, where he studied with great diligence. About 1631 he entered into orders in the Church. In 1638 he was appointed domestic chaplain to the bishop of Chichester, his patron; and was subsequently made a prebend. From his being a loyalist he was deprived of his benefices, and reduced to great straits. He died of gout in an obscure ale-house near Oxford, March 13, 1646. Gregory was an excellent scholar, and was highly esteemed by some of the most learned and distinguished men of the age, belonging to all sects. He is the author of *Notes and Observations on some Passages of Scripture*, 1646, 4to. These notes were reprinted four times, translated into Latin, and inserted in the *Critici Sacri*. His posthumous works, edited by Gurgany, appeared in 1 vol. 4to, 1650. Among them is 'a discourse' upon the Septuagint, and 'a disproof' of the second 'Cainan' in Luke iii. 36, 37.—S. D.

GREGORY, JOHN, born at Wotton near Woodstock, and educated at Cambridge, where he became a Fellow of Trinity College, was subsequently master of Gloucester school and Archdeacon of the diocese of Gloucester. At his death he left behind him a collection of scholia on the Greek N. T., gathered from the writings of the Greek fathers. These were published by his son along with the text from Fell's edition in one vol. folio, Oxford 1793. This is a splendid book, with head and tail pieces from the burin of Vandergucht and Gribelin. It is also a very useful book, containing in narrow compass the cream of what the Greek fathers have offered for the elucidation of the N. T. The editor was assisted in preparing it for and carrying it through the press by Dean Aldrich and J. E. Grabe. We regret that we have not been able to recover the dates of Gregory's life. All that we know for certain is that when he was ready to go to the University of Oxford he was prevented by the circumstance of that city being besieged by the Parliamentary forces, and that it was at the Restoration he settled at Gloucester. He was probably born about 1630, and died about 1700.—W. L. A.

GREGORY OF NYSSA was born at Cæsarea of Cappadocia in the year 331 or 332. He was ordained by his brother Basil the Great, and became Bishop of Nyssa about the year 372. He took a leading part in the controversy with the Arian party, to whose views he was very determinately opposed. The date of his death is uncertain, but probably it took place before the close of the century. His works consist of treatises on controversial and practical theology, homilies, orations, and epistles. His principal work of an exegetical kind is his *Hexæmeron sive de opera sex dierum*, intended as a supplement to the work of his brother Basil on the same subject. He wrote, also, eight homilies on Ecclesiastes, an exposition of the Song of Songs, homilies on the Lord's Prayer, and on some of the Psalms. As an expositor he follows the proper rather than the allegorical method of inter-

pretation; though his desire to find the deeper sense of Scripture not unfrequently betrays him into undue spiritualizing of the text. The best edition of his works is that published at Paris in 1638, 3 vols. folio.—W. L. A.

GREYHOUND. [ZARZIR; KELEB.]

GRIESBACH, JOHANN JAKOB, was born 4th Jan. 1745, at Butzbach, a small town of Hesse Darmstadt, where his father was pastor. Having received his school education at Frankfurt on the Maine, he studied theology at the universities of Tübingen, Halle, and Leipsic. Whilst at Halle he came under the influence of Semler, whose methods, opinions, and pursuits, gave a powerful bias to the mind of the young student. Having finished his academical career at Leipsic, he returned to Halle, but before settling himself there, he, in 1769, commenced a literary tour for the purpose especially of examining the MSS. of the N. T. in the principal libraries of Germany, Holland, England, and France. He returned to Halle in 1770 laden with materials, and set himself to make use of them for the emendation of the text of the N. T. In 1773 he was appointed extraordinary professor of theology at Halle; and two years after he became ordinary professor of theology at Jena. Here the rest of his useful and laborious life was spent; and here he died on the 24th of March 1812.

Griesbach's name and fame stand connected with the textual criticism of the N. T. On this principally he spent his time and his strength. In 1771, soon after his return from his extended tour, he submitted to the University of Halle a dissertation, *De codicibus quatuor Evangelistarum Origenianis*. In 1774 he issued the first volume of his N. T. containing the historical books, with the first three gospels arranged synoptically; in 1775 appeared the second volume, containing the epistles and the Apocalypse; and along with this a new edition of vol. i., but without the synoptic arrangement of the first gospels. Between 1777 and 1794 he published a series of critical works on the text of the N. T., and having thus prepared the way for his great work, he sent forth, in 1796, the first volume of a completely remodelled and carefully prepared edition of the N. T., with copious apparatus and valuable prolegomena; followed, in 1806, by vol. ii. This edition was published both at Halle and London. A sumptuous edition in 4 vols. 4to, or small folio, with copperplate illustrations, was issued in 1805-1807. Manual editions, containing the principal various readings, but without the authorities, appeared in 1805 and in 1825. A third edition of the larger work was commenced by Dr. D. Schulz, of which only the first volume appeared, Berol. 1827.

Griesbach's labours on the text of the N. T. commenced an era in Biblical criticism. Not only were his collections of various readings more extensive and more carefully sifted than those of any who had preceded him; not only did he carry out more thoroughly than any of his predecessors the principle of determining the value of a reading by its antiquity and its source; but he contributed more than any of them to place textual criticism on a scientific basis, and to furnish rules for the guidance of the critic in his work. His system of recensions may be unsound, and he may have been hampered or misled by it in some of his decisions;

but there can be no doubt as to the important bearing both of the facts he has collected and the theories he has offered to account for them, on the subsequent progress of Biblical criticism. Ever where he had little to guide him but his own judgment, more recent investigations have generally shewn that his conclusions were correct. He was the first, also, who ventured to print the text as the principles of his criticism determined, instead of retaining the *Textus Receptus* and treating the readings of the codices simply as departures from that. Griesbach's *Opuscula*, which consist chiefly of academic programmes and addresses, and are not of much value, were collected and published by Gabler in 2 vols, Jena 1824.—W. L. A.

GRIMM, HEINR. ADOLF, D.D., professor of theology at Duisburg, was born 1 Sept. 1747, and died 29th Aug. 1813. He was a distinguished Oriental and Biblical scholar. His works are:—*Der Prophet Jonas übers. und mit anmerk. herausgegeben*, 1789; *Nahum übers. mit anmerk.* 1790; *Exeget. Aufsätze zur aufklärung schwierige stellen d. Schrift*, 1793; *Chald. Chrestomathie mit Glossarium*, 1801; *Jonæ et Obadiæ oracula Syriace, cum notis philol. et crit.* 1805.—W. L. A.

GRINDING. [MILL.]

GROTIUS (HUGO DE GROOT). This great man, prominent among the leading writers of the 17th century as a jurist, a scholar, a statesman, and a theologian, was born at Delft, in Holland, April 10, 1583. He was so precocious, that before he arrived at the age of sixteen he had published an edition of Marcianus Capella. In 1598 he accompanied the famous Barneveldt on his embassy to the court of Henri IV., and won the esteem of that monarch. At the age of twenty-four he was made advocate-general, and in 1613 settled at Rotterdam. After the synod of Dort having warmly espoused the views of the Arminians, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the castle of Louvestein (June 6, 1619), where for a year and a half he suffered great hardships, till his wife enabled him to effect his escape in a book-chest. He retired to France, where he was well received, and had a pension assigned to him by Louis XIII. After spending eleven studious years in France, during which he still suffered persecutions from his unrelenting enemies the Calvinists, he returned to Holland, from which he was once more driven by the violence of his theological opponents. In 1634 Christina, Queen of Sweden, appointed him her ambassador to the French court, where he again resided for ten years. Being permitted to resign this appointment, he intended to return from Stockholm to his native country, but was shipwrecked, during his voyage, on the coast of Pomerania. He continued his journey by land, but died of fatigue and exposure at Rostock, Aug. 28, 1645, and was buried at Delft. It is certain that he died in the faith of Christ, although the same furious malice which had embittered his life strove to blacken his deathbed by the assertion that he had died a Socinian. He was frequently accused both of popery and Socinianism, but it is probable, both from his own writings, and from the facts adduced by J. Clericus at the end of his edition of the *De Veritate*, that the Anglican church, the liturgy of which he specially admired, received a larger share of his approval than any other.

As a theologian Grotius stands very high, and as a commentator on the Bible deserves the first rank among his contemporaries, although sectarian animosity caused his merits to be for a long time depreciated, and almost ignored. He was particularly successful in illustrating the meaning of various passages from the classical parallels supplied by his immense learning. Simple explanation is always his main object, and he makes it chiefly depend on history and philology, in which method he was followed by Ernesti. He was one of the first to reject altogether the irregularities and mysticisms of Patristic and mediæval exegesis; and (in strong contrast to his fellow-countryman Cocceius) he always proceeds on the maxim that the inspired writers wrote with the intention of being understood. His clear judgment and strong good sense led him, on this ground, to acquiesce for the most part in the primary and obvious meaning, which he learnedly elucidates by the ordinary canons of criticism. As long as keen acumen, moderation, liberality, and learning are valued, so long will the commentaries of Grotius be read with a respectful appreciation, as having been among the first to recall the science of Biblical hermeneutics into the domain of erudition and common sense, and rescue it from the hands of superstitious, arbitrary, and fanciful allegorists.

His chief theological works are the *De Veritate relig. Christianæ*, 1627, which has been reproduced in a vast number of editions and translations; the *Defensio fidei catholica de satisfactione Christi*, Leyden, 1617; and especially the *Annotationes ad Vetus et Novum Testamentum*, first published, in various parts, at Paris, between the years 1641 and 1650, and afterwards republished by Vogel and Doederlein. There is an edition of them by Moody, 2 vols. 4to, Lond. 1727. The entire theological works of Grotius were published under the title *Opera Theologica*, Amsterdam, 1679, and Bâle, 1731 (See Bayle, *Dict.* vii. 270, seqq.; Herzog, *Encycl.* s. v.; Hallam, *Lit. of Europe*, ii. 356, etc.; Horne's *Intrad.* ii. 228; Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrines*, Engl. Tr., ii. passim; Butler, *Life of Grotius*, Lond. 1827, etc.)—F. W. F.

GROVES. [HIGH PLACES.]

GUARD. 1. מִשְׁמָרָה [EXECUTIONER]. 2. רִצֵּי [FOOTMAN]. 3. מִשְׁמָרָה, מִשְׁמָר, words which primarily denote the place where a watch or guard is posted (Is. xxi. 8; Hab. ii. 1; 2 Chron. vii. 6), and came afterwards to designate the persons so employed (Neh. iv. 3, 16 [A. V. 22]; vii. 3) [CAPTAIN].—†.

GUEST. [HOSPITALITY.]

GULLOTH (גֻּלּוֹת; LXX. Vat. Γουλαθ; Alex. Γουλαθ; Onom. Γουλαθματ=ים גֻּלּוֹת) occurs only in Josh. xv. 19 and Judg. i. 15, where it refers to the springs granted by Caleb to his daughter Achsah. These springs are described as 'upper' and 'lower.' The same epithets are applied to Bethnuron, Josh. xvi. 3, 5, where they clearly designate the relative positions of the two places. It is therefore most probable that the springs in question were situated some on higher and some on lower ground. Their exact site has not been determined.—S. N. [Stanley (*Jewish Church*, v.

263) finds Gulloth in a stream flowing through a beautiful green valley about one hour south-west of Hebron. The spots are now called *Ain-Nun-kar* and *Dewir-Ban*.]

GUNI (גֻּנִי; Sept. Γωνι, Alex. Γωνι, Gen. xlv. 24; 1 Chron. vii. 13; Γωνι, Num. xxvi. 48). 1. A son of Naphthali, and head of the house of the Gunites (גֻּנִי; Sept. δῆμος ὁ Γωνι). 2. A descendant of Gad and father of Abdiel (1 Chron. v. 15). The words that follow, 'chief of the house of their fathers,' refer to Ahi and not to Abdiel.—†

GUR (גֻּר; Sept. Γατ). The name of an ascent (מַעְלֵה) where Ahaziah king of Judah was slain (2 Kings ix. 27). This ascent was at or near Ibleam, a town of Western Manasseh. Neither place has been identified, but the steep pass of Gur must have been near Megiddo, and formed, probably, one of the ascents from the plain of Esdraelon to the higher grounds. Eusebius and Jerome mention a Γατ, which they simply describe as φάραγξ, *vallis sine præruptum*.—†

GUR-BAAL (גֻּר-בַּעַל; Sept. τῆς πέτρας), the site of certain Arabians against whom God helped Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 7). The rendering of the LXX. probably arose from their thinking of the chief city of the Edomites, Sela or Petra; but, though Uzziah's conquests may have lain in this direction, we have no means of proving this. The Targum makes it the well-known Gerar. This is probably correct, as the inhabitants of Gur-Baal are mentioned along with the גֻּר-בַּעַל, who dwelt by Gerar (1 Chron. iv. 41; comp. Ewald, *Gesch. V. Israel*, vol. i. p. 322) [MAONITES]

GUTBIR, GILES, born at Wirstensee in Thuringia, 1617, studied at Rostock, Königsberg, and Leyden, and after visiting Oxford and Lübeck, became, in 1652, professor of Oriental languages at Hamburg. In 1660 the University of Giessen made him doctor in theology, after which he taught logic and philosophy as well as Eastern tongues. He is chiefly noted for his Syriac works. He printed himself, in a press of his own, the *Peshito N. T.*, with the vowels, Ham. 1664, also a *Syriac Lexicon*, containing all the words and particles of N. T. *Nota Critica in N. T. Syriacum; Novum Musa Orientale; De Angelis; De Controversia rebaptisationis; De Sibyllis et earum oraculis*. Died 1667.—S. L.

GUYSE, JOHN, D.D., was born at Hertford in 1680. For many years he was pastor of the Independent Church in his native town. In 1727 he removed to London, and was the first pastor of the church in New Broad Street. Here he continued until his death, Nov. 22, 1761. His chief work was a paraphrastic exposition of the N. T., the first volume of which was entitled *A practical exposition of the four Evangelists, in the form of a paraphrase, with occasional notes in their proper places for further explication, and serious recollections at the close of every chapter*, Lond. 1739, 4to. The second volume was published with a similar title in 1747, and included the Acts, and the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians. The third volume, issued in 1752, included the remaining books of the N. T. The work is inferior to

Doddridge's both for expository and for devotional purposes. A complete list of Guyse's other works may be found in Wilson's *Dissenting Churches*, ii. 240.—S. N.

GYMNASIUM (γυμνάσιον, Syr. ܓܝܡܢܝܐܝܐ),

a large unroofed building for the purpose of exercise, consisting usually of different compartments, or a set of separate buildings conjoined, each of which was set apart to some special sport, as the *Sphæristērion* for playing at ball, the *Palestra* for wrestling and the exercises of the pancratium, etc. (Smith, *Dict. of Antiquities*, s. v.) This was almost exclusively a Greek institution, and there was hardly a Greek town of any size that had not its gymnasium. To the Jews it was unknown until the Hellenising party introduced it in the age of the Maccabees (1 Maccab. i. 14). Jason, the Hellenising high-priest, caused one to be erected at Jerusalem (2 Maccab. iv. 12, ff.) This innovation was viewed with much displeasure by the strict party among the Jews. Whether Herod the Great, when he introduced the theatre and the amphitheatre, restored the gymnasium does not appear, but the probability is that he did (Joseph. *Antiq.* 15. 8. 1; comp. *Bell. Jud.* i. 21. 11). [GAMES].—W. L. A.

H.

HABAKKUK (חֲבַקּוּךְ; Ἀμβακούμ), a distinguished Jewish prophet who flourished about 610 B.C., the name descending, in the form of חֲבַקּוּךְ, from חֲבַק, *amplēcti*, and denoting, as observed by Jerome, as well a 'favourite' as a 'struggler.' Abarbanel thinks that in the latter sense it has allusion to the patriotic zeal of the prophet fervently contending for the welfare of his country: but other prophets did the same; and in the former and less distant signification, the name would be one like Theophilus, 'a friend of God,' which his parents may have given him for a good omen. The Greeks, not only the Septuagint translators but the fathers of the Church, probably to make it more sonorous, corrupt it into Ἀραβακούμ, Ἀραβακούρω, or as Jerome writes, Ἀβακούρω, and only one Greek copy, found in the library of Alcalá in Spain, has Ἀββακούμ, which seems to be a recent correction made to suit the Hebrew text. Of this prophet's birth-place, parentage, and life, we have only apocryphal and conflicting accounts. The Pseudo-Epiphanius (*De Vitis Prophet.*, Opp. tom. ii. 18, p. 247) states that he was of the tribe of Simeon, and born in a place called Βηδόκηρ (*al.* Βηδέγδαρ); that he fled to Ostrarine when Nebuchadnezzar attacked Jerusalem, but afterwards returned home, and died two years before the return of his countrymen. But rabbinical writers assert that he was of the tribe of Levi, and name different birth-places (Huetius, *Dem. Evang.*, Prop. iv. p. 508). In the apocryphal appendix to Daniel, in the story of Bel and the Dragon, we are told that an angel seized Habakkuk by the hair, when he was in Judæa carrying food to his reapers in the field, and transported him through the air to the lions' den in Babylon, where Daniel then lay; and that, after having provided the latter with victuals, he was the same day carried back to his own country in like manner. Eusebius notices

that in his time the tomb of Habakkuk was shewn in the town of Ceila, in Palestine; and this is repeated also by Nicephorus (*Hist. Eccles.* xii. 48), and Sozomen (vii. 29); still there are other writers who name different places where, according to common opinion, he had been buried (Carpzov, *Introd. ad libros canonicos V. T.*, p. 402).

A full and trustworthy account of the life of Habakkuk would explain his imagery, and many of the events to which he alludes; but since we have no information on which we can depend, nothing remains but to determine from the book itself its historical basis and its age. Now, we find that in chap. i. the prophet sets forth a vision, in which he discerned the injustice, violence, and oppression committed in his country by the rapacious and terrible Chaldeans, whose oppressions he announces as a divine retribution for sins committed; consequently he wrote in the Chaldean period, shortly before the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar which rendered Jehoiakim tributary to the king of Babylon (2 Kings xxiv. 1). When he wrote the first chapter of his prophecies, the Chaldeans could not yet have invaded Palestine, otherwise he would not have introduced Jehovah saying (i. 5), 'I will work a work in your days, which ye will not believe, though it be told you;' (ver. 6) 'for I raise up the Chaldeans, that bitter and hasty nation, which shall march through the breadth of the land to possess the dwelling-places that are not theirs.' From ver. 12 it is also evident that the ruin of the Jews had not then been effected; it says, 'the Lord ordained them for judgment, established them for correction.' Agreeably to the general style of the prophets, who to lamentations and announcements of divine punishment add consolations and cheering hopes for the future, Habakkuk then proceeds in the second chapter to foretell the future humiliation of the conquerors, who plundered so many nations. He also there promulgates a vision of events shortly to be expected; (ver. 3) 'the vision is yet for an appointed time, but at the end it shall speak, and not lie; though it tarry, wait for it, because it will surely come; it will not tarry.' This is succeeded in the third chapter by an ode, in which the prophet celebrates the deliverances wrought by the Almighty for his people in times past, and prays for a similar interference now to mitigate the coming distresses of the nation; which he goes on to describe, representing the land as already waste and desolate, and yet giving encouragement to hope for a return of better times. Some interpreters are of opinion that ch. ii. was written in the reign of Jehoiachin, the son of Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiv. 6), after Jerusalem had been besieged and conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, the king made a prisoner, and, with many thousands of his subjects, carried away to Babylon; none remaining in Jerusalem save the poorest class of the people (2 Kings xxiv. 14). But of all this nothing is said in the book of Habakkuk, nor even so much as hinted at; and what is stated of the violence and injustice of the Chaldeans does not imply that the Jews had already experienced it. The prophet distinctly mentions that he sets forth what he had discerned in a vision, and he, therefore, speaks of events to be expected and coming. It is also a supposition equally gratuitous, according to which some interpreters refer ch. iii. to the period of the last siege of Jerusalem, when Zedekiah was taken, his sons slain, his eyes put out, the walls of the

city broken down, and the temple burnt (2 Kings xxv. 1-10). There is not the slightest allusion to any of these incidents in the third chapter of Habakkuk; and from the 16th verse it appears that the destroyer is only coming, and that the prophet expresses fears, not of the entire destruction of the city, much less of the downfall of the state, but only of the desolation of the country. It thus appears beyond dispute, that Habakkuk prophesied in the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim, about the year stated above. Carpzov (*Introductio ad libr. canon. V. T.*, pp. 79, 410) and Jahn (*Introd. in libros sacros V. T.*, ii. sec. 120) refer our prophet to the reign of Manasseh, thus placing him thirty odd years earlier; but at that time the Chaldeans had not as yet given just ground for apprehension, and it would have been injudicious in Habakkuk prematurely to fill the minds of the people with fear of them. Some additional support to our statement of the age of this book is derived from the tradition, reported in the apocryphal appendix to Daniel and by the Pseudo-Epiphanius, that Habakkuk lived to see the Babylonian exile; for if he prophesied under Manasseh he could not have reached the exile at an age under 90 years; but if he prophesied early in the reign of Jehoiakim he would have been only 50 odd years old at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the exile. He was, then, a contemporary of Jeremiah, but much younger, as the latter made his first appearance in public as early as B.C. 629, in the thirteenth year of Josiah. Ranitz (*Introductio in Hab. Vatic.*, pp. 24, 59), Stirkel (*Prolog. ad interpr. tertii cap. Hab.*, pp. 22, 27), and De Wette (*Einleit.* Berlin, 1840, p. 338) justly place the age of Habakkuk before the invasion of Judæa by the Chaldeans.

The style of this prophet has been always much admired. Lowth (*De Poesi Hebræor.* p. 287) says: 'Poeticus est Habaccuci stylus; sed maxime in oda, quæ inter absolutissimas in eo genere merito numerari potest.' Eichhorn, De Wette, and Rosenmüller are loud in their praise of Habakkuk's style; the first giving a detailed and animated analysis of the construction of his prophecies (*Einleitung in das A. T.*, iii. p. 333). He equals the most eminent prophets of the O. T.—Joel, Amos, Nahum, Isaiah; and the ode in ch. iii. may be placed in competition with Ps. xviii. and lxviii. for originality and sublimity. His figures are all great, happily chosen, and properly drawn out. His denunciations are terrible, his derision bitter, his consolation cheering. Instances occur of borrowed ideas (ch. iii. 19, comp. Ps. xviii. 33; ch. ii. 6, comp. Is. xiv. 4; ch. ii. 14, comp. Is. xi. 9); but he makes them his own in drawing them out in his peculiar manner. With all the boldness and fervour of his imagination, his language is pure and his verse melodious. Eichhorn, indeed, gives a considerable number of words which he considers to be peculiar to this prophet, and supposes him to have formed new words, or altered existing ones, to sound more energetic or soft, as the sentiments to be expressed might require; but his list needs sifting, as De Wette observes (*Einleitung*, p. 339); indeed בִּקְלָל, ch. ii. 16, is the only unexceptionable instance. The ancient catalogues of canonical books of the O. T. do not mention Habakkuk by name; but they must have counted him in the twelve minor prophets, whose number would

otherwise not be full. In the N. T. some expressions of his are introduced, but his name is not added (Rom. i. 17; Gal. xiii. 11; Heb. x. 38, comp. Hab. ii. 4; Acts xiii. 40, 41, comp. Hab. i. 5).

1. Introductory works: T. C. Friederich, *Historisch-kritischer Versuch über Hab. Zeitalter und Schriften*, in Eichhorn's *Allg. Biblioth. des Bibl. Lit.* x. 379-400; A. C. Ranitz, *Introductio in Hab. Vaticanam*, Lipsiæ 1808; Hänlein, *Symb. Crit. ad Interp. Vatican. Hab.*, Erlangæ 1795.

2. General commentaries: Abarbanel, *Rabbinicus Comment. in Hab. Latine reditus a Diderico Sprecher*, Helmst. 1790; D. Chytræi, *Lectiones in Proph. Hab.* in his *Opp.* t. ii.; Kofod, *Commentarius crit. atque exeget.*, Götting. et. Lips. 1792; I. A. Tingstadli *Animadv. phil. et. crit.*, Upsal. 1795; 4.—F. Delitzsch, *Der Prophet Habakkuk ausgelegt*, Leipzig 1853.

3. Translations with notes, explanatory and critical: S. F. G. Wahl (Hanover, 1790), G. C. Horst (Gotha, 1798), and K. M. Justi (Leipzig 1721).

4. Commentaries on single chapters:—The first and second chapters are interpreted by G. A. Rupert in the *Commentat. Theol.* ed. Velthusen, Kuinoel et Ruperti, iii. 405, sq. The third chapter is explained by G. Perschke (Frankfort 1777), G. A. Schroeder (Gröning 1781), Oh. F. Schnurrer (Tübing. 1786; also in his *Dissertat. phil. crit.* p. 342). and by Moerner (Upsalæ 1791).—J. v. H.

HABAZZELETH. [CHABAZZELETH.]

HABERGEON (חֶבְרֹן, חֶבְרֹן) [ARMS; ARMOUR.]

HABOR (חָבֹר; Sept. Ἀβὺρ, and Χαβὺρ). A river, and apparently also a district, of Assyria, to which considerable interest is attached in connection with the first captivity. We read in 1 Chron. v. 26, that Tilgath-pilneser carried away 'the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river Gozan.' About seventeen years later Shalmaneser, the successor of the former monarch, 'took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Habor, the river of Gozan' (A. V., 'by the river Gozan,' 2 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 11). There are two rivers still bearing this name, and geographers are not agreed as to which is here referred to.

A river called Khabûr (Arab. خابور = Heb. חָבֹר) rises in the central highlands of Kurdistan, flows in a south-westerly direction, and falls into the Tigris about seventy miles above Mosul (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 56; Schultens, *Index Geogr. in vitam Saladini*, s. v.) Many suppose this to be the Habor of Scripture, for the following reasons: 1. It is within Assyria proper, which Ptolemy says was bounded on the west by the Tigris (vi. 1). 2. It is affirmed that the Assyrian monarch would place his captives in a central part of his kingdom, such as this is, and not in the outskirts (Keil on 2 Kings xvii. 4-6). 3. Habor is termed 'a river of Gozan' (חָבֹר נְהַר גֹּזָן), and Gozan is supposed to signify 'pasture,' and to be identical with the word *Zozan*, now applied by the Nestorians to the pasture-lands in the highlands of Assyria, where the Khabûr takes its rise (Grant, *The Nestorian*

Christians, p. 124). 4. Ptolemy mentions a mountain called *Chabor* (χαβώρας) which divides Assyria from Media (vi. 1); and Bochart says the river Chabor has its source in that mountain (*Opera*, i. p. 194, 242, 362). Some have supposed that the modern Nestorians are the descendants of the captive Jews (Grant, *l. c.*)

The other and much more celebrated river, *Khabâr*, is called *Aborrhâs* by Strabo (*Γεωγρ.*, xvi. p. 514), *Chaboras* by Ptolemy (v. 18) and Pliny (*H. N.* xxx. 3). 'It rises about lat. 36° 40', long. 40°, flows only a little south of east to its junction near Koukab with the Jeruger or river of Nisibis, which comes down from Mons Masius. Both of these branches are formed by the union of a number of streams. Neither of them is fordable for some distance above their junction; and below it they constitute a river of such magnitude as to be navigable for a considerable distance by steamers. The course of the Khabour below Kaukab is tortuous, but its general direction is south-south-west. The entire length of the stream is not less than 200 miles' (Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, i. 236; Ainsworth, *Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand*, p. 79; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 304). Winer (*Realwörterbuch*, s. v.), Ritter (*Erdkunde*, x. p. 248), Gesenius (*Thesaurus*), Layard, Rawlinson, and others, maintain that this is the ancient *Habor*. There can be no doubt that Assyria proper was confined to the country lying along the banks of the Upper Tigris, and stretching eastward to Media. But its territory gradually expanded, so as to include Babylonia (Herodotus, iii. 92), Mesopotamia (Pliny, *H. N.*, vi. 26), and even the country westward to the confines of Cilicia and Phœnicia (Strabo, xvi.) At the time of the captivity the power of Assyria was at its height. The Jewish captives were as secure on the banks of the western as of the eastern Habor. The ruins of Assyrian towns are scattered over the whole of northern Mesopotamia. 'On the banks of the lower Khabour are the remains of a royal palace, besides many other traces of the tract through which it runs having been permanently occupied by the Assyrian people. Even near Seruj, in the country between Haran and the Euphrates, some evidence has been found not only of conquest but of occupation' (Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, i. p. 247; Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, i. p. 114; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, pp. 275, 279-300, 312). There can be no doubt that the Khabûr was in Assyria, and near the centre of the kingdom, at the time of the captivity. Further, Ptolemy mentions a province in Mesopotamia called *Gauzanitis* (v. 18). It lay around the Khabûr, and was doubtless identical with *Gozan*, hence the phrase, 'Habor the river of Gozan' (2 Kings xvii. 6). *Chalcitis*, which appears to be identical with *Halak*, mentioned in the same passage, adjoined Gauzanitis. It is a remarkable fact that down as late as the 12th century there were large Jewish communities on the banks of the Khabûr (Benjamin of Tudela, in *Early Trav. in Pal.*, 92, 99.) This appears to be the Habor of the Bible. The district along the banks probably took its name from the river, as would seem from a comparison with 1 Chron. v. 26. Ptolemy mentions a town called *Chabor* (v. 18). It seems doubtful whether Habor was identical with the river Chebar (כבר), on which Ezekiel saw his visions. The latter was perhaps farther south in Babylonia (Ezek. i. 3, etc.).—J. L. F.

HACHILAH, THE HILL OF (נֶבֶת הַחִילָה), is mentioned three times in the history of David's flight from Saul, 1 Sam. xxiii. 19; xxvi. 1 and 3. The Hebrew is the same in all the passages; but the versions vary: the LXX. reads 'Ο Βουρὸς τοῦ Ἐχελᾶ in (1), and 'Ο Βουρὸς ὁ [or τὸ] Ἐχελᾶ,* as apposition nouns, in (2) and (3); the Vulgate has *Collis Hachila* in (1) and (2), and *Gabaa Hachila* in (3); the Syriac drops *Hachila* in (1), and reads ܒܝܬ ܓܒܐ only [i.e., in *Gebaath*], while in

(2) and (3) it adds to this word a second proper name, ܒܝܬ ܚܝܠܐ, *Chevila*, thus producing the compound designation '*Gebaath Hevila*.' Fürst (*Hebr. W. B.* s. v.) supposes the name to mean 'hill of barrenness'; Simon (in *Onomast.*, p. 75), and, with less precision, Gesenius (in *Thes.* and *Lex.*, s. v.), connect '*Hachilah*' with the obsolete root חָכַל, *to be dark*, and call it *the darksome hill*. ['Collis obscuritatis,' says Simon, 'i.e., *umbrosus*, adeoque absconsioni commodus.'] This is probably the correct idea, as indicating (like the Mount Zalmon of Judg. ix. 48) the woodland character of the hill of Hachilah in the days of David. One of the most remarkable points of contrast between ancient and modern Palestine arises from the entire destruction of woods which once covered its mountains (see Stanley, *Sin. and Palest.*, p. 120), so that no conclusion can be drawn of its ancient condition from the present sterility of any place.† Our 'hill of Hachilah' is, no doubt, the '*mountain of the wilderness of Ziph*' mentioned in 1 Sam. xxiii. 14; and 'the wood' of the 15th verse, which aided David's concealment, very probably covered its slopes and crest, and so gave great propriety to its name of *Hachilah*, or 'hill of shade.' So much indeed seems expressed in verse 19, where David's 'woody fastness' is described as 'on the hill of Hachilah. [נֶבֶת הַחִילָה]

* But Cod. *Alex.* reads ὁ βουρὸς τοῦ Ἀχλᾶ in 1 Sam. xxvi. 1, and ὁ βουρὸς τοῦ Ἐχελᾶ in xxvi. 3.

† Such was the beauty and productiveness of these elevated plains ['the hill country' of Judah], that the estate of Caleb, as well as the Israelitish Goshen, and (at no great distance northwards) the rich meadows on which the numerous flocks of Nabal browsed, as well as the vineyards of Engedi, all lay in different parts of the hill country. In short, lofty mountains, on which the light sandy soil was supported by terraces almost to the top, spacious plains enriched with an infinite variety of springs, small lakes and rivers, and adorned with luxuriant crops of grain and extensive woods—pastures in which grass of the loveliest verdure afforded an almost inexhaustible store of food to the grazer, and gardens, redolent with fruit and flowers of every name, composed the beautifully variegated landscapes of Judah; a few bleak spots, such as at Maon, Ziph, Zin, valleys which, in the language of the Hebrews, were called 'deserts,' but which, though inferior to the rest of the tribe, contained too good pasture to be considered barren wastes, were all that detracted from the general and extraordinary fertility of the country.—Paxton's *Illustrations, Sacred Geography*, p. 469.

‡ The Sept. rendering of this passage is ἐν Μορ

הַחִילָה are three locatives of co-ordinate descriptive force, indicating that 'the strongholds' were in 'a thicket-wood' and that that wood was on 'the hill of Hachilah.' The name of this hill does not survive, so far as research has yet shewn, in any modern place; it is not, however, difficult to discover its situation by help of the names mentioned in chapters xxiii. and xxv.—Ziph, Carmel, and Maon. These names have been identified in the modern *Tell Zif*, *Kurmul* [*Kirmel* in Seetzen], and *Tell Main* (See Van de Velde, *Map and Memoir*; Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* [ed. 1], vol. ii. p. 200, etc.; Ritter, *Erdk.* [*Pal. u. Syr.*, ii. 636-640]; Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 600; Von Raumer, *Palästina*, 183, 211). We will, in order approximately to fix the site of our hill, quote the topographical notes of R. Jos. Schwarz (*Descriptive Geog. of Palest.*, p. 106), because of their succinctness; 'Maon, the village *Maun*, five English miles south of Hebron; Carmel is the village *Al Kirmil*, situated two English miles north-north-west of *Maun*, on a small mount; it has an excellent water-course called *Birkat al Kirmil*, in the vicinity of which is a small fort whence the Dead Sea can be seen; Ziph, the village *Ziff*, two English miles south-east of Hebron, and two English miles north-east of *Al Kirmil*.' These distances are substantially correct, within a mile or two, according to Van de Velde's excellent map, with which that of Robinson and Smith (*Bibl. Res.*, vol. ii., ed. 1) agrees. Dr. Thomson, *L.c.*, in reference to the sacred history which mentions the subject of this article, observes:—'The people of Ziph obtained an odious reputation in the time of David by betraying his hiding-place in the hill of Hachilah to king Saul. One of these rough hills below Ziph must doubtless be the scene of that venturesome visit of David into the camp of his enemy while he and all his troop were asleep (1 Sam. xxvi. 1-12). That entire region is now almost deserted, except by Bedawin robbers, who render it at least as dangerous to honest shepherds as it seems to have been before David and his company frequented it. The men of Carmel mention it as something remark-

able that they were not *hurt*, neither missed anything as long as they were conversant with them in the fields. 'They were a wall unto us night and day all the while we were with them keeping the sheep' (1 Sam. xxv. 15, 16). It is refreshing to read such a testimony to David's admirable government over the band that followed him; and if there were now such an emir in that same region, we might have safely extended our rambles down to the Dead Sea, etc.' Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.*, ii. 201) refers to the character of David's outlaws and his control over them, and adds: 'In all these particulars we were deeply struck with the truth and strength of the Biblical descriptions of manners and customs, almost identically the same as they exist at the present day.' The additional information about the site of our 'hill of Hachilah,' as 'south of Jeshimon' (xxiii. 19, *מִיְמֵי הַיְשִׁמֹן*, 'on the right hand,' i.e., of one facing the east; or (as it is in xxvi. 1 and 3) *עַל פְּנֵי הַי*, 'in front of,' or 'before' Jeshimon), gives us no assistance. If 'Jeshimon' be a proper name, as the LXX., the Vulgate, the Syriac, and St. Jerome (*Onomast.* s.v. *Isimoth*) make it, we have no clue of its ancient situation.* But it is much better to regard it as an appellative, after Aquila and Symmachus and Eusebius (if his reference to these two translators in his *Onomasticon* may be deemed an indication of his own opinion in opposition to St. Jerome, who simply assumes *Isimoth* to be a proper name, without deference to Aquila and Symmachus), together with the *margin* of our own A. V., which, in 1 Sam. xxiii. 19, instead of Jeshimon, reads 'the wilderness.' This version, which is corroborated by those of Aquila and Symmachus, is rendered extremely probable by the article in the Hebrew *הַיְשִׁמֹן* (in Num. xxi. 20 the same marginal note occurs), and by the frequent use of the word in the Psalms (e.g., lxxviii. 40) and Isaiah (e.g., xlii. 19) as an appellative, parallel to *מִדְבָּר*.

If so, the local note about the site of the hill of Hachilah must be only regarded as placing it on the south edge of the wilderness and facing it, as if the heights of Hachilah commanded the view of the entire wilderness towards the north. The wilderness itself seems to be called indifferently by the names of the towns which lay on its northern and southern borders—'Ziph' on the north, and 'Maon' on the south (comp. xxiii. 14 and 25). Hachilah, with its slopes of thicket-wood, seems to have been the chief rising-ground on all the plain; another hill is mentioned in the history 'afar off' (xvi. 13); this agrees with the modern accounts and larger maps of the district (See that of Van de Velde). *Ἐχελά*, the form of Hachilah,

σὰδ, ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἐν τῇ Κανῇ, ἐν τῷ βουνῷ τοῦ Ἐχελά. Here ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, from being a gloss explanatory of *Μεσὰδ*, has crept into the text. *Μεσὰδ* is a corruption of the Hebrew מַסְעָדָה, the double sigma representing the tsadi, and the *daleth* being mistaken, as often happens, for the *resh* (Stanley, *S. and P.*, appendix, 94). Another instance of mistaking ט for ר curiously happens in this very passage—for the LXX. ἐν τῇ Κανῇ is clearly the rendering of קָנֶה, 'New,' instead of קֶנֶה, 'a wood.'

Josephus has the same version as the LXX. (*Antiq.* vi. 13. 2). It will be observed that the *Masada*, so famous in the wars of Josephus (vii. 8), as 'the very last scene in the tragedy of Israel's destruction' (Thomson, *Land and Book*, p. 602), more correctly retained the Hebrew מַסְעָדָה, fortress or stronghold. Eusebius and St. Jerome (*Onomast.*) give the form of the LXX. nearly, *Μασερεθ* and *Masereth*; but they express their doubt whether it be a proper noun at all by quoting Aquila's rendering 'stronghold,' Symmachus' 'retreat' or 'refuge,' and Theodotion's 'cave' (Origen, *Hexapla*, in loc.)

* The *Bethsimuth* and Βηθσαιμὺθ of St. Jerome and Eusebius (*Onomast.*), ten miles south of Jericho, which some have identified with our *Jeshimon*, was no doubt another place. There can, therefore, be no ground for Dr. Kitto's conjecture that our hill of Hachilah was the same locality as the subsequently famous stronghold *Masada* (*Pictor. Bible* on 1 Sam. xxiii. 19; and comp. Bonfrerius on *Onomast.*, for the true situation of Jerome's 'Bethsimuth,' which led to Kitto's conjecture; see also Kruse and Fleischer's note on Seetzen, *Reisen*, iv. 405).

seems to have misled Eusebius and St. Jerome in their *Onomast.*, for, as Reland (*Palastina*, 745) has shewn, they have described both 'Ἐχέλα and Κέελα (Keilah) as seven miles from Eleutheropolis in the same direction; this distance holds good indeed of Keilah, which is north-west of Hebron, but is of course untrue of our hill, which is south and slightly east of Hebron. [The existence of two ancient Ziphis in Judah (Josh. xv. 24, 55), and the mention of 'the wilderness' of Paran (xxv. 1), have suggested a more southern situation for the events of this portion of David's life; but the arguments in support of that view do not invalidate our conclusion that the site of the hill of Hachilah was in the neighbourhood of the northern Ziph. (ZIPH)].—P. H.

HACHMONITE. This is the rendering in 1 Chron. xi. 11 of חֲכֹמֹנִי, more properly rendered in the margin, and in xxvii. 32, 'son of Hachmoni.' In the former of these passages this appellation is used of Jashobeam, one of David's mighty men; in the latter of Jehiel, who 'was with the king's sons,' probably as their tutor. As Jashobeam was the son of Zabdiel (xxvii. 2), we must regard Hachmoni either as the name of an ancestor who founded a family, or as a title of Zabdiel = the *Hachmonite*, i.e. *the wise man*, from חָכֵן (Jerome renders it by *sapientissimus*, and applies it to David, *Quaest. Hebr.* ad. loc.) In 2 Sam. xxiii. 8 he is called 'the Tachmonite,' probably by a clerical error [EZNITE].—W. L. A.

HACKSPAN, DIETRICH, or, in the Latinized form of his name, THEODORICUS HACKSPANNUS, was born at Weimar in 1607. He early devoted himself to the study of sacred philology, and on this account became an earnest student of the Oriental languages. He studied for seven years in the theological and philosophical schools of Jena, then at Altorf under the Orientalist Schwenter, and subsequently at Helmstadt under G. Calixtus. In 1636 he returned to Altorf, and became professor of Oriental languages in that university, where he also held a chair of theology. He was reputed to be the first scholar of his age in Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, and Arabic. He died Jan. 19, 1659. His most important Biblical works are—1. *Lucubrations Frankenthalenses, sive specimen aliquod interpretationum et expositionum, quas plurimas in difficultillima quaque utriusque Testamenti loca meditatus est B. C. Bertramus*, Altorf 1645, 8vo. 2. *Sylloge disputationum theologicarum et philologicarum*, Alt. 1663, 4to. 3. *Miscellaneorum sacrarum, libri duo*, Alt. 1660. 4. *Notae philologico-theologicae in varia et difficultiora Veteris et Novi Testamenti loca*, Alt. 1664, 3 vols. 8vo. 5. *Observationes, Arabico-Syriacae in quadam loca Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, Alt. 1662, 4to. Zeltner, quoted by Buddeus (*Isagoge*, p. 1476), speaks in the highest terms of Hackspan's skill in the exegesis of the O. T. R. Simon's only complaint is the absence of originality [*Hist. Crit. du N. T.*, p. 721].—S. N.

HADAD, properly CHADAD (חֲדָד; Sept. Χοδδάρ, Χοδδάρ, Alex. Χοδδάρ). A son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Chron. i. 30). The textual reading in the former of these passages is חֲדָר, but the Sam., LXX., Josephus, Gr. Venet., Arab., etc., read חֲדָד, and this is held to be the correct reading. On the border of the Persian Gulf there is a

district called by Polybius (xiii. T. iii. 205, ed. Lips. 1764) Χαρρηνία, inhabited by the Gerrhaeans; Ptolemy (vi. 7, 15) mentions the Ἀτταίοι to the south of the Gerrhaeans; Pliny speaks of the Chateni along with the Gerrhaeans, and has Attene as the name of a district there (*H. N.* vi. 32); and the Arabians celebrate a place which they call

حَثْثَة Chathth, between Oman and Bahrein. It is here, therefore, we are probably to look for the settlement of the descendants of Chadad.—W. L. A.

HADAD (חֲדָד; Sept. Ἀδδδ) is equivalent to Adad, the name of the chief deity of the Syrians [ADAD], and borne, with or without additions, as a proper name, or more probably as a title, like 'Pharaoh' in Egypt, by several of the kings of Southern Syria.

1. A king of Edom, who defeated the Midianites in the intervening territory of Moab (Gen. xxxvi. 35; 1 Chron. i. 46). This is the only one of the ancient kings of Edom whose exploits are recorded by Moses. Another king of Edom of the same name is mentioned in 1 Chron. i. 50, 51.

2. A king of Syria, who reigned in Damascus at the time that David attacked and defeated Hadad-ezer, king of Zobah, whom he marched to assist, and shared in his defeat. This fact is recorded in 2 Sam. viii. 5, but the name of the king is not given. It is supplied, however, by Josephus (*Antiq.* vii. 5. 2), who reports, after Nicolas of Damascus, that he carried succours to Hadad-ezer as far as the Euphrates, where David defeated them both.

3. A young prince of the royal race of Edom, who, when his country was conquered by David, contrived, in the heat of the massacre committed by Joab, to escape with some of his father's servants, or rather was carried off by them, into the land of Midian. Thence Hadad went into the desert of Paran, and eventually proceeded to Egypt. He was there most favourably received by the king, who assigned him an estate and establishment suited to his rank, and even gave him in marriage the sister of his own consort, by whom he had a son, who was brought up in the palace with the sons of Pharaoh. Hadad remained in Egypt till after the death of David and Joab, when he returned to his own country in the hope of recovering his father's throne (1 Kings xi. 14-22). The Scripture does not record the result of this attempt farther than by mentioning him as one of the troubleshooters of Solomon's reign, which implies some measure of success. After relating these facts the text goes on to mention another enemy of Solomon, named Rezin, and then adds (ver. 25), that this was 'besides the mischief that Hadad did; and he abhorred Israel and reigned over Syria.' On this point the present writer may quote what he has elsewhere stated—'Our version seems to make this apply to Rezin; but the Septuagint refers it to Hadad, reading דִּינָן Edom, instead of דִּינָן Aram or Syria, and the sense would certainly be improved by this reading, inasmuch as it supplies an apparent omission; for without it we only know that Hadad left Egypt for Edom, and not how he succeeded there, or how he was able to trouble Solomon. The history of Hadad is certainly very obscure. Adopting the Septuagint reading, some conclude that Pharaoh used his interest with Solomon to allow Hadad to reign as a tributary prince, and that he ultimately asserted his independence.

Josephus, however, seems to have read the Hebrew as our version does, 'Syria' not 'Edom.' He says that Hadad, on his arrival at Edom, found the territory too strongly garrisoned by Solomon's troops to afford any hope of success. He therefore proceeded with a party of adherents to Syria, where he was well received by Rezin, then at the head of a band of robbers, and with his assistance seized upon part of Syria and reigned there. If this be correct, it must have been a different part of Syria from that in which Rezin himself reigned, for it is certain, from verse 24, that he (Rezin) did reign in Damascus. Carrières supposes that Hadad reigned in Syria after the death of Rezin; and it might reconcile apparent discrepancies, to suppose that two kingdoms were established (there were more previously), both of which, after the death of Rezin, were consolidated under Hadad. That Hadad was really king of Syria seems to be rather corroborated by the fact, that every subsequent king of Syria is, in the Scripture, called Ben-Hadad, 'son of Hadad,' and in Josephus simply Hadad; which seems to denote that the founder of the dynasty was called by this name. We may observe that, whether we here read Aram or Edom, it must be understood as applying to Hadad, not to Rezin' (*Pictorial Bible*, on 2 Kings xi. 14).—J. K.

HADADEZER (הַדָּדְעֶזֶר, *Hadad-helped*; Sept.

Ἰδπαδῆζερ), or HADADREZER, king of Zobah, a powerful monarch in the time of David, and the only one who seems to have been in a condition seriously to dispute with him the predominancy in south-western Asia. He was defeated by the Israelites in the first campaign (B.C. 1032) in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, with a great loss of men, war-chariots, and horses, and was despoiled of many of his towns (2 Sam. viii. 3; 1 Chron. xviii. 3). This check not only impaired, but destroyed his power. A diversion highly serviceable to him was made by a king of Damascene-Syria (whom the Scripture does not name, but who is the same with Hadad, 3), who, coming to his succour, compelled David to turn his arms against him, and abstain from reaping all the fruits of his victory (2 Sam. x. 6, *seq.*; 1 Chron. xix. 6, *seq.*) The breathing-time thus afforded Hadadezer was turned by him to such good account that he was able to accept the subsidies of Hanun, king of the Ammonites, and to take a leading part in the confederacy formed by that monarch against David. The first army brought into the field was beaten and put to flight by Abishai and Joab; but Hadadezer, not yet discouraged, went into the countries east of the Euphrates, and got together the forces of all his allies and tributaries, which he placed under the command of Shophach, his general. To confront so formidable an adversary, David took the field in person, and in one great victory so completely broke the power of Hadadezer, that all the small tributary princes seized the opportunity of throwing off his yoke, of abandoning the Ammonites to their fate, and of submitting quietly to David, whose power was thus extended to the Euphrates.—J. K.

HADAD-RIMMON (הַדָּד־רִמּוֹן; Sept. *kawerds* Ἰδπαδῆρ). This place is only mentioned in one passage of Scripture, and there it is introduced incidentally—'In that day there shall be great lamentation in Jerusalem, as the lamentation of Hadad-

rimmon in the valley of Megiddon' (Zech. xii. 11). Reference is manifestly made to the mourning for the death of king Josiah, who fell in battle against Pharaoh-Necho (2 Kings xxiii. 29; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20-23); though others have understood it differently (see Poole, *Synopsis*, ad loc.) Jerome says that in his day Hadad-rimmon was called *Maximianopolis* (*Comment. in Zachariam*, ch. xii. 11), which he tells us was in the plain near Jezreel (*Comment. in Osee*, ch. i. 5). The *Jerusalem Itinerary* locates Megiddo seventeen miles from Cæsarea, and ten from Jezreel (ed. Wesseling, p. 586). This would indicate a site at or near Lejjün, which accordingly von Raumer would identify with Maximianopolis (*Palästina*, p. 402, 3d ed.) But Dr. Robinson has shewn that Lejjün is the Roman *Legio*, and the Hebrew *Megiddo* (*Bib. Res.* ii. 329, *sq.*); and the same city could scarcely have had two Roman names given to it. One great road from Egypt to northern Syria passed through the low ridge which separates Sharon from Esdraelon, and enters the latter plain a short distance to the east of Lejjün. Here Josiah rashly attempted to bar the progress of the Egyptian army while defiling into the great plain. Hadad and Rimmon were both names of Syrian deities; the city, therefore, appears to have been an ancient Syrian stronghold, perhaps intended to defend the road. At it the king of Judah fell, and here the first wail of that lamentation was raised, which was afterwards renewed at Jerusalem (Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 339). About four miles south of Lejjün is a small village called *Kummāneh*, which Van de Velde identifies with Hadad-rimmon (*Memoir of Map*, p. 333); but its position among the hills, and a considerable distance from the great road, does not accord with the above specifications.—J. L. P.

HADAR (הָדָר; Sept. *Xoddāḥ*), a son of Ishmael.

In Chron. i. 30 the name is written Hadad (הָדָד; *Xoddād*; *Xoddāḥ*). The former, according to Gesenius, is the correct reading. Hadar was the eighth of the twelve sons promised to Ishmael's parents long before; and though all became 'princes according to their nations' (Gen. xxv. 16), and the progenitors, it is believed, of the great Arabian tribes, only the slightest traces of them now remain (Burckhardt's *Notes on the Bedouins*; *Pict. Bible*, Gen. xxv.). The mountain of Hadad, on the borders of the Syrian desert, is supposed to indicate the district of the tribe of Ishmaelites sprung from Hadar—a supposition by no means unlikely; but this is the most that can be said for it.—W. J. C. [**HADAD**.]

HADAS (הָדָס), always translated 'myrtle,' occurs in several passages of the O. T., as in Isaiah xli. 19; lv. 13; Neh. viii. 15; Zech. i. 8, io, 11. The Hebrew word *hadas* is identical with the Arabic *هَدَس*, *hadas*, which in the dialect of Arabia Felix signifies the myrtle-tree (Richardson's *Pers. and Arabic Dict.*) The myrtle is, moreover, known throughout Eastern countries, and is described in

Arabic works under the name *أس*, *As*. The present writer found the berries of the myrtle sold in the bazaars of India under this name (*Illustr. Himal. Bot.* p. 217). Esther is supposed by Simonis (*Bibl. Cabinet*, xi. 262) to be a compound

of *As* and *tur*, and so to mean a fresh myrtle; and hence it would appear to be very closely allied in signification to *Hadassah*, the original name of Esther. Almost all translators unite in considering the myrtle as intended in the above passages; the Sept. has *μυρτην*, and the Vulgate *myrtus*.

The myrtle has from the earliest periods been highly esteemed in all the countries of the south of Europe, and is frequently mentioned by the poets: thus Virgil (*Ecl.* ii. 54)—

Et vos, O lauri, carpam, et te, proxima myrte :
Sic positæ quoniam suaves miscetis odores.

By the Greeks and Romans it was dedicated to Venus, and employed in making wreaths to crown lovers, but among the Jews it was the emblem of justice. The note of the Chaldee Targum on the name Esther, according to Dr. Harris, is, 'they call her Hadassah because she was just, and those that are just are compared to myrtles.'



The repute which the myrtle enjoyed in ancient times it still retains, notwithstanding the great accession of ornamental shrubs and flowers which has been made to the gardens and greenhouses of Europe. This is justly due to the rich colouring of its dark green and shining leaves, contrasted with the white starlike clusters of its flowers, affording in hot countries a pleasant shade under its branches, and diffusing an agreeable odour from its flowers or bruised leaves. It is, however, most agreeable in appearance when in the state of a shrub, for when it grows into a tree, as it does in hot countries, the traveller looks under instead of over its leaves, and a multitude of small branches are seen deprived of their leaves by the crowding of the upper ones. This shrub is common in the southern provinces of Spain and France, as well as in Italy and Greece: and also on the northern coast of Africa, and in Syria. The poetical celebrity of this plant had, no doubt, some influence upon its employment in medicine, and numerous properties are ascribed to it by Dioscorides (i.

127). It is aromatic and astringent, and hence, like many other such plants, forms a stimulant tonic, and is useful in a variety of complaints connected with debility. Its berries were formerly employed in Italy, and still are so in Tuscany, as a substitute for spices, now imported so plentifully from the far East. A wine was also prepared from them, which was called *myrtidandum*, and their essential oil is possessed of excitant properties. In many parts of Greece and Italy the leaves are employed in tanning leather. The myrtle, possessing so many remarkable qualities, was not likely to have escaped the notice of the sacred writers, as it is a well-known inhabitant of Judæa. Hasselquist and Burckhardt both notice it as occurring on the hills around Jerusalem. It is also found in the valley of Lebanon. Capt. Light, who visited the country of the Druses in 1814, says, he 'again proceeded up the mountain by the side of a range of hills abounding with myrtles in full bloom, that spread their fragrance round,' and, further on, 'we crossed through thickets of myrtle.' Irby and Mangles (p. 222) describe the rivers from Tripoli towards Galilee as generally pretty, their banks covered with the *myrtle*, olive, wild vine, etc. Savary, as quoted by Dr. Harris, describing a scene at the end of the forest of Platanea, says, 'Myrtles, intermixed with laurel-roses, grow in the valleys to the height of ten feet. Their snow-white flowers, bordered with a purple edging, appear to peculiar advantage under the verdant foliage. Each myrtle is loaded with them, and they emit perfumes more exquisite than those of the rose itself. They enchant every one, and the soul is filled with the softest sensations.'—J. F. R.

HADASHAH (הַדָּשָׁה; Sept. 'Αδασα; Alex.

'Αδασά), a city of Judah in the low country (*Josh.* xv. 37). Of this the Talmud says, that it was the smallest city in Judah, and contained only fifty houses (*Reland, Pal.* p. 701). It is in all probability the place which is called 'Αδασά, i Maccab. vii. 40, 45, and where Nicanor was slain by Judas Maccabæus. Josephus places this thirty stadia from Bethhoron (*Antiq.* xii. 10. 5); and from the narrative it must have been to the west of this place towards Gezer. Eusebius calls it a village near Gouphnae (*Onom.* s. v.) By this he cannot mean Gophna, the modern Jifna, which lies to the north-east of Bethhoron; and besides, Jerome corrects Eusebius for placing Adasa in Judah, saying it was in Ephraim. Both Eusebius and Jerome seem to have known the place, but it cannot now be identified.—W. L. A.

HADASSAH. [ESTHER.]

HADATTAH (הַדָּטָה). In the A. V. this appears as a town in the southern border of Judah, between Beersheba and Kadesh (*Josh.* xv. 25). The pointing of the Hebrew would seem to indicate that it is to be taken as an adjective qualifying הַדָּשָׁה; and that Hazar was here called *Hasor-hadattah*, perhaps to distinguish it from the other town of the same name in verse 23. The Vulg. renders it *Asor nova*; and both Eusebius and Jerome give this explanation of the word, but err in locating the town near Ascalon (*Onomast.* s. v. *Asor*).—J. L. P. [The LXX. omits the word according to both the Cod. Vat. and the Cod. Alex. Bos in a note gives *Αλασὶν τῇ καυρῇ*, but without any reference.]

HADES. [HEAVEN; HELL]

HADID (חַדִּיד; Vulg. *Hadid*) is mentioned in Ezra ii. 33; Neh. vii. 37, and xi. 34. In the first and second of these passages it is combined with two other towns, thus 'Lod, Hadid, and Ono;' the LXX. in both passages makes one word out of 'Lod, Hadid'—Λοδαῖδ: in the third passage, however, where Hadid occurs first, and separate from its companions by two other names, it has an independent designation in the LXX. [Cod. Alex.] under the form of 'Αδῶδ. The three places were near each

other; and the version Αὔδδα for 'Lod' [Λῶν], in Neh. xi. 34, offers a clue of their situation. Αὔδδα is unquestionably the *Lydda* of Acts ix. 32. This Lydda or Disopolis is marked on Van de Velde's map 9½ miles south-east of the maritime town of Yāfa (Joppa). It agrees very well with the close association of the towns Lod and Adid in Ezra and Nehemiah, that, three miles due east of the modern Ludd [Lod, Lydda] occurs the village *el-Haditheh*, at the end of the *Wady Muzairah*, where it runs into the *Wady Bādrā*. This, no doubt, is the site of the ancient 'Hadid.' We will add the succinct notice of the place given in Van de Velde's *Memoir*; 'Hadid was a city inhabited by the Benjamites [on their return from the captivity] (Neh. xi. 34); near Lod and Ono (Ezra ii. 33; Neh. vii. 37); probably the same which is called Adida (1 Maccab. xii. 38; xiii. 12; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 2; *Bell. Jud.* iv. 9. 1); and identical with *el-Haditheh*, a village at the foot of the hills of Ludd (Van Seden, ii. 40; Rabbi Schwarz, p. 134).' R. Schwarz, however, puts the village 'on the summit of a round hill,' and in this he is corroborated by E. ha-Parchi, an Israelite geographer on the Holy Land, of the age of Abulfeda. (See Zunz, in *Asher's Benj. Twadd*, vol. ii. p. 439.) If Adida be the same place, we may quote Josephus in support of its high situation, for he says in the first of the cited passages: 'The city Adida is upon a hill, and beneath it lie the plains of Judæa' (comp. Gesenius, s. v. חַדִּיד). The alleged site 'in *Sephela*' (1 Maccab. xii. 38) induces Mr. Grove (*Dict. of Bible*, s. v.) to doubt the identity of our Hadid, a Benjamite city, with the Adida of the Maccabean history, on the ground that the plain called 'Sephela' was more to the south. But according to R. Schwarz (with whom agree Winer and Gesenius, s. v. *Sephela*), this long range of lowland extended as far north as Ludd and even Yāfa,* beyond which it was called 'The plain of Sharon' (see also Van de Velde's map). As to Josephus' statement that 'the plains of Judæa lie beneath Adida,' we must not forget that the 'Judæa' of the N. T. and later times stretched much further north than the ancient tribe of Judah. The boundary-line, in fact, of Samaria and Judæa would include the whole of the level country around Yāfa and Ludd within the southern province of Palestine, and so justify the statement of the Jewish historian. [ADIDA; SEPHELA].—P. H.

* There is nothing in the *Onomast.* of Eusebius and St Jerome opposed to this view; 'Usque hodie,' says the latter, somewhat vaguely, 'omnis regio juxta Eleutheropolim campestris et plana, quæ vergit ad aquilonem et occidentem, Sephela dicitur.' (πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ δυσμᾶς, Euseb.)

HADORAM (הָדוֹרָם; LXX. Ἰδωράμ, Κεδουσόμ, Ὀδορᾶμ; Vulg. *Aduram*, *Adoram*; Joseph. Ἀδωραμ). The name of one of the Bnei-Joktan mentioned Gen. x. 27 and 1 Chron. i. 21; but whether it be the name of a tribe, or of the chief from whom the tribe was named, is uncertain. According to Gen. x. 30, the descendants of Joktan settled in Arabia, and amongst the Arab tribes mentioned by Ptolemy are the Adramitæ ('Αδραμίται), whom he places on the south coast between the Homeritæ and the Sachalitæ (vi. 7). Pliny also (*N. H.* vi. 28; xii. 14) refers to the same tribe under the name Atramitæ, and tells us that their principal city was Sabota. There is little doubt that this is the tribe referred to in the Scripture narrative. Some writers refer to the modern *Hadramaut* as preserving the ancient designation of this tribe; but it is more probable that this name is the representative of *Hazarmaveth*, Gen. x. 26 (חֲצַרְמַוֶּתֶת), the Χατραπευτίς of Ptolemy, and the Chatramotitæ of Pliny.—S. N.

HADRACH (חֲדָרַח; Sept. Σεδράχ). The meaning of the only passage in which this name occurs (Zech. ix. 1) is obscure. It may be thus rendered, 'The announcement of the Word of the Lord upon the land of Hadrach, and Damascus shall be its (the word's) resting-place,' etc. Adrichomius says, 'Adrach, or Hadrach, *alias* Adra . . . is a city of Coele Syria, about 25 miles from Bostra, and from it the adjacent region takes the name of Land of Hadrach. This was the land which formed the subject of Zechariah's prophecy' (*Theatrum Terra Sancte*, p. 75). Michaelis says—'To this I may add what I learned, in the year 1768, from Joseph Abbassi, a noble Arab of the country beyond Jordan. I inquired whether he knew a city called *Hadrakh* (حدرک) . . . He replied that there was a city of that name, which, though now small, had been capital of a large region called the *land of Hadrakh*,' etc. (Hengstenberg, *Christology*, iii. p. 372, Edin. 1858). The two names, however, are entirely different (חֲדָרַח, *Hadrach*; ادرع, *Edhr'a*), and there is no

historical evidence that Edhr'a ever was capital of a large territory [EDREI]. Mövers suggests that Hadrach may be the name of one of the old deities of Damascus (*Die Phönizier*, i. 478); and Bleek conjectures that reference is made to a king of that city (*Studien und Kritik*, 1852, ii. p. 258). Henderson supposes it to be only a corruption of חֲדָר, the common names of the kings of Syria (*Comment.* ad loc.). Jarchi and Kimchi say, 'Rabbi Juda interpreted it as an allegorical expression relating to the Messiah, Who is *harsh* (חָר) to the heathen, and *gentle* (רַךְ) to Israel.' Jerome's interpretation is somewhat similar—'Et est ordo verborum; assumptio verbi Domini, acuti in peccatores, mollis in justos. Adrach quippe hoc resonat ex duobus integris nomen compositum: AD (חָד) *acutum*, RACH (רַךְ) *molle, tenerumque* significans' (*Comment.* in *Zach.* ad loc.) Hengstenberg adopts the same etymology and meaning, but regards the word as a symbolical appellation of the Persian empire, whose overthrow by Alexander Zechariah here foretells. He says the prophet does not mention the real name, because, as he lived during the supremacy of Persia, such a reference would have

exposed him to danger. It will thus be seen that the interpretations of the word are almost as numerous as the commentators upon the passage.

Looking at the passage in what appears to be its plain and natural meaning, no scholar can deny that, according to the usual construction, the proper name following **אֶרֶץ** is the name of the 'land' itself, or of the nation inhabiting the land, and the analogy presented by all the other names in the section is a sufficient proof that this must be the case here (Hengstenberg, iii. 375). All the other names mentioned are well known—Damascus, Hamath, Tyre, Zidon, Gaza, etc.; it is natural to infer that *Hadrach* is also the name of a place, known to the prophet. Its position is not accurately defined. The words of the passage do not connect it more closely with Damascus than with Hamath. It is remarkable that no such name is elsewhere found in ancient writers. The translators of the Septuagint were ignorant of it. So was Jerome. No such place is now known. The writer can affirm that there is no town or province near Damascus or Hamath bearing a name at all resembling *Hadrach*. Yet this does not prove that there never was such a name. Many ancient names have disappeared, as it seems to be the case with this (see Hengstenberg *l.c.*; Winer, *Realwörterbuch* s.v.; Alpheus, *Diss. de terra Chadrach*, etc.)—J. I. P.

HAGADIC or Homiletic Exegesis. [MIDRASH, iii. 167.]

HAGAR (**הָגָר**, a stranger; Sept. *Ἀγαρ*), a native of Egypt, and servant of Abraham; but how or when she became an inmate of his family we are not informed. The name Hagar, which is pure Hebrew, signifying *stranger*, having been probably given her after her arrival, and being the one by which she continued to be designated in the patriarch's household, seems to imply that her connection with it did not take place till long after this family had emigrated to Canaan; and the presumption is that she was one of the female slaves presented to Abraham by Pharaoh during his visit to Egypt (Gen. xii. 16). But some derive the name from **הָגַר**, to flee; and suppose it to have been applied to her from a remarkable incident in her life, to be afterwards mentioned; just as the Mohammedans call the flight of Mohammed by the collateral term 'Hegira.' Whatever were her origin and previous history, her servile condition in the family of Abraham must have prevented her from being ever known beyond the limits of her humble sphere, had not her name, by a spontaneous act of her mistress, become indissolubly linked with the patriarch's history. The long-continued sterility of Sarah suggested to her the idea (not uncommon in the East) of becoming a mother by proxy through her handmaid, whom, with that view, she gave to Abraham as a secondary wife [ABRAHAM; ADOPTION; CONCUBINE].

The honour of such an alliance and elevation was too great and unexpected for the weak and ill regulated mind of Hagar; and no sooner did she find herself in a situation, which made her, in the prospect of becoming a mother, an object of increasing interest and importance to Abraham, than she openly indulged in triumph over her less favoured mistress, and shewed by her altered behaviour a growing habit of disrespect and insolence. The feelings of Sarah were severely wounded, and she broke out to her husband in loud complaints

of the servant's petulance. 'My wrong be upon thee,' she cried—language which is generally considered an impassioned burst of temper, in which she unjustly charged Abraham with causing or encouraging, by his marked attention to the concubine, the ill usage she met with; but it appears susceptible of other constructions much more favourable to Sarah's character. The words **וְעָלַי**

עָלַי signify either 'My wrong be *super te*,' as Cocceius and others render it, *i.e.*, lieth upon thee, pointing to his duty as her protector, and soliciting his interference, or else, 'My wrong is *propter te*'—on your account. 'I have exposed myself to these indignities solely out of my intense anxiety to gratify you with a son and heir.' Whichever of these interpretations we prefer, the exclamation of Sarah expresses bitter indignation at the misconduct of her slave; and Abraham, whose meek and prudent behaviour is strikingly contrasted with the violence of his wife, leaves her with unfettered power, as mistress of his household, to take what steps she pleases to obtain the required redress. In all Oriental states where concubinage is legalized, the principal wife has authority over the rest; the secondary one, if a slave, retains her former condition unchanged, and society thus presents the strange anomaly of a woman being at once the menial of her master and the partner of his bed. In like manner Hagar, though taken into the relation of concubine to Abraham, continued still, being a dotal maid-servant, under the absolute power of her mistress, who, after her husband had left her to take her own way in vindication of her dignity as the principal wife, was neither reluctant nor sparing in making the minion reap the fruits of her insolence. Sarah, indeed, not content with the simple exertion of her authority, seems to have resorted even to corporal chastisement, the word **וַתַּעֲנֶה** conveying such a meaning, and hence Augustine has drawn an elaborate argument for inflicting civil penalties on heretics (*Epist.* xlviii.) But whether she actually inflicted blows, or merely threw out menaces to that effect, cannot be determined, as the two renderings, 'Sarah afflicted' and 'would afflict' her, have received equal support from respectable lexicographers and versions. Sensible, at length, of the hopelessness of getting the better of her mistress, Hagar determined on flight; and having seemingly formed the purpose of returning to her relations in Egypt, she took the direction of that country; which led her to what was afterwards called Shur, through a long tract of sandy uninhabited country, lying on the west of Arabia Petraea, to the extent of 150 miles between Palestine and Egypt. In that lonely region she was sitting by a fountain to replenish her skin-bottle or recruit her wearied limbs, when the angel of the Lord, whose language on this occasion bespeaks him to have been more than a created being, appeared, and in the kindest manner remonstrated with her on the course she was pursuing, and encouraged her to return by the promise that she would ere long have a son, whom Providence destined to become a great man, and whose wild and irregular features of character would be indelibly impressed on the mighty nation that should spring from him. Obedient to the heavenly visitor, and having distinguished the place by the name of Beer-lahai-roi, 'the well of the visible God,' Hagar retraced her

steps to the tent of Abraham, where in due time she had a son; and having probably narrated this remarkable interview to Abraham, that patriarch, as directed by the angel, called the name of the child Ishmael, 'God hath heard.'

Fourteen years had elapsed after the birth of Ishmael when an event occurred in the family of Abraham, by the appearance of the long-promised heir, which entirely changed the prospects of that young man, though nothing materially affecting him took place till the weaning of Isaac, which, as is generally thought, was at the end of his third year. Ishmael was then a lad of seventeen years of age; and being fully capable of understanding his altered relations to the inheritance, as well as having felt perhaps a sensible diminution of Sarah's affection towards him, it is not wonderful that a disappointed youth should inconsiderately give vent to his feelings on a festive occasion, when the newly-weaned child, clad according to custom with the sacred symbolic robe, which was the badge of the birthright, was formally installed heir of the tribe (see *Biblioth. Bibl.* vol. i.; Vicas, *Annot.* 32; Bush on Gen. xxvii. 15). Our feelings of justice naturally lead us to take part with Ishmael, as hardly dealt with in being so unexpectedly superseded after having been so long the acknowledged heir. But the procedure of Abraham in awarding the claim to the inheritance to Isaac in preference to his elder son was guided by the special command of God; and it may be remarked, moreover, that it was in harmony with the immemorial practice of the East, where the son of a slave or secondary wife is always supplanted by that of a free woman, even if born long after. The harmony of the weaning feast was disturbed by Ishmael being discovered mocking. The Hebrew word *צחק*, though properly signifying 'to laugh,' is frequently used to express strong derision, as in Gen. xix. 14; Neh. ii. 19; i. 1; Ezek. xliii. 32; accompanied, as is probable on some of the occasions referred to in these passages, with violent gestures; and in accordance with this idea the Chaldee and Septuagint versions render it by 'I play,' which is used by the latter in 2 Sam. ii. 14-17, as synonymous with boxing, whence it might very justly be characterised as persecution (Gal. iv. 29). This conduct gave mortal offence to Sarah, who from that moment would be satisfied with nothing short of his irrevocable expulsion from the family; and as his mother also was included in the same condemnation, there is ground to believe that she had been repeating her former insolence, as well as instigating her son to his improprieties of behaviour. So harsh a measure was extremely painful to the affectionate heart of Abraham; but his scruples were removed by the timely appearance of his divine counsellor, who said, 'Let it not be grievous in thy sight, because of the lad, and because of thy bondwoman: in all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken unto her voice: 'for,' adds the Targum of Jonathan, 'she is a prophetess.' Accordingly, what she said is called the Scripture (Gal. iv. 30), and the incident affords a very remarkable instance of an overruling Providence in making this family feud in the tent of a pastoral chief 4000 years ago the occasion of separating two mighty peoples, who, according to the prophecy, have ever since occupied an important chapter in the history of man. Hagar and Ishmael departed early on the day fixed for their removal, Abraham

furnishing them with the necessary supply of travelling provisions. The Septuagint, which our translators have followed, appears to represent Ishmael as a child, placed along with the travelling-bags on the heavily-loaded shoulders of Hagar. But a little change in the punctuation, the observance of the parenthetical clause, and the construction of the word 'child' with the verb 'took,' remove the whole difficulty, and the passage will then stand thus: 'And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread, and a bottle of water (and gave it unto Hagar, putting it on her shoulder), and the child, and sent her away.'

In spite of their instructions for threading the desert, the two exiles missed their way. Overcome by fatigue and thirst, increasing at every step under the unmitigated rays of a vertical sun, the strength of the young Ishmael, as was natural, first gave way, and his mother laid him down in complete exhaustion under one of the stunted shrubs of this arid region, in the hope of his obtaining some momentary relief from smelling the damp in the shade. The burning fever, however, continued unabated, and the poor woman, forgetting her own sorrow, destitute and alone in the midst of a wilderness, and absorbed in the fate of her son, withdrew to a little distance, unable to witness his lingering sufferings; and there 'she lifted up her voice and wept.' In this distressing situation the angel of the Lord appeared for the purpose of comforting her, and directed her to a fountain, which, concealed by the brushwood, had escaped her notice, and from which she drew a refreshing draught, that had the effect of reviving the almost lifeless Ishmael. This well, according to the tradition of the Arabs, who pay great honour to the memory of Hagar, is Zemzem, near Mecca.—R. J.

[The only additional fact mentioned concerning Hagar is, that she took a wife for her son, with whom she had settled in the wilderness of Paran (Gen. xxi. 21). The Apostle Paul (Gal. iv. 22, ff.) allegorises the story of Hagar, for the purpose of elucidating the relation of the Jewish to the Christian dispensation. Hagar he compares to the former, and Sarah to the latter; and in order to strengthen or give point to his allegory, he lays hold of the fact (ver. 25) that, among the Arabians, Hagar is the name of Mount Sinai (جبل, a stone). Pro-

perly the Heb. *הַר* corresponds to the Arab. *جبل*, *jugil*; but where a general resemblance of one word to another existed, the sacred writers seem to have deemed that enough for the purpose of allegorical identification; comp. Matt. ii. 23; John ix. 7 (Borger, Meyer, De Wette, in loc.)

HA-GAON. [SAADIA.]

HAGARITE, THE (הַגָּרִיטָה), is used twice in the singular number—(1) In 1 Chron. xi. 38 of MIBHAR, one of David's mighty men, who is described as *בֶּן־הַגָּרִיטָה*, *vids* 'Agarai, *filius Agarai*, 'the son of Haggeri,' or better (as the margin has it), 'the Haggerite,' whose father's name is not given. This hero differs from some of his colleagues, 'Zelek the Ammonite' (ver. 39), for instance; or 'Uriah the Hittite' (ver. 41), or 'Ithmah the Moabite' (ver. 46), in that, while they were foreigners, he was only the son of a foreigner—a domiciled settler perhaps. (2) In 1 Chron. xxvii. 31 of JAZIZ,

another of David's retainers, who was 'over his flocks.' This man was himself an 'Hagarite,' ὁ Ἀγαρίτης, *Agareus*. A comparison of next article (1) will show how well qualified for his office this man* was likely to be from his extraction from a pastoral race. One of the effects of the great victory over the Hagarites of Gilead and the East was probably that individuals of their nation entered the service of the victorious Israelites, either voluntarily or by coercion, as freemen or as slaves. Jaziz was no doubt among the former, a man of eminence and intelligence amongst his countrymen, on which account he attracted the notice of his royal master, who seems to have liberally employed distinguished and meritorious foreigners in his service.—P. H.

HAGARITES (1 Chron. v. 10, 19, 20; הַהַגָּרִיטִים; Sept. Ἀγαρίται [v. 19], Ἀγαρίται [v. 20, in v. 10 deest]; Vulg. *Agarei*): HAGARENES (Psalm lxxxiii. 6 [7 Hebr. Bib.] הַגָּרִינִים; Sept. Ἀγαρίνοι [lxxxiii. 6]; Vulg. *Agareni*): AGARENES (Baruch iii. 23; of vol Ἀγάρ; Vulg. *Fili Agar*). Such are the three forms in which occurs the designation of probably the same Arab people who appear at different periods of the sacred history—in hostile relation to the Hebrew nation.

(1.) Our first passage treats of a great war, which in the reign of King Saul was waged between the transjordanic tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh on the one side, and their formidable neighbours, the Hagarites, aided by the kindred tribes† of 'Jetur and Nephish and Nodab,' on the other. The result of this war was extremely favourable to the Eastern Israelites; besides the capture of immense booty from the enemy,‡ many of whom

* 'A Hagarite had charge of David's flocks and an Ishmaelite of his camels, because the animals were pastured in districts where these nomadic people were accustomed to feed their cattle' [or rather, because their experience made them skillful in such employments]. Bertheau on *Chronicles* [Clark's tr.], ii. 320.

† Kindred tribes, we say, on the evidence of Gen. xxv. 15. The Arab tribes derived from Hagar and Ishmael, like the earlier stocks descended from Cush and Joktan, were at the same time generically known by the common patronymic of Ishmaelites or Hagarenes. Some regard the three specific names of Jetur, Nephish, and Nodab, not as distinct from, but in apposition with, Hagarites; as if the Hagarites with whom the two tribes and a half successfully fought were the clans of Jetur, Nephish, and Nodab. See Forster's *Geog. of Arabia*, vol. i. pp. 186-189.

‡ 'Of camels 50,000, and of sheep 250,000, and of asses 2000' (ver. 21). Rosenmüller, (*Bibl. Geog.* [tr. by Morren], iii. 140), following LXX. and Luther, unnecessarily reduces the number of camels to 5000. When it is remembered that the wealth of a Bedouin chief, both in those and these times, consisted of cattle, the amount of booty taken in the Hagarite war, though great, was not excessive. Job's stock is described as '7000 sheep, 3000 camels, 500 yoke of oxen, and 500 she-asses' (i. 3). Meshia, king of Moab, paid to the king of Israel a tribute of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams (2 Kings iii. 4). In further illustration of this wealth of cattle, we may quote

were taken and many slain in the conflict (ver. 21, 22), the victorious two tribes and a half took possession of the country, and retained it until the captivity (ver. 22). By this conquest, which was still more firmly ratified in the subsequent reign of David, the promise, which was given as early as Abraham's time (Gen. xv. 18) and renewed to Moses (Deut. i. 7) and to Joshua (i. 4), began to receive that accomplishment, which was consummated by the glorious Solomon (1 Kings iv. 21). The large tract of country which thus accrued to Israel, stretched from the indefinite frontier of the pastoral tribes, to whom were formerly assigned the kingdoms of Sihon and Og, to the Euphrates. A comparison of 1 Chron. v. 9-20 with Gen. xxv. 12-18, seems to shew that this line of country, which (as the history informs us) extended eastward of Gilead and Bashan in the direction of the Euphrates, was substantially the same as that which Moses describes as peopled by the sons of Ishmael, whom Hagar bore to Abraham. 'They dwelt,' says Moses, 'from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest towards Assyria'—in other words, across the country from the junction of the Euphrates with the Tigris to the isthmus of Suez; and this is the spacious tract which we assign to the Hagarites or Hagarenes. The booty taken from the Hagarites and their allies proves that much of this territory was well adapted to pasturage, and therefore valuable to the nomadic habits of the conquerors (Num. xxxii. 1). The brilliancy of the conquest, moreover, exhibits the military prowess of these shepherds. Living amidst races whose love of plunder is still illustrated in the predatory Bedouins of Eastern Palestine, they were obliged to erect fortresses for the protection of their pastures (Michaelis, *Law of Moses*, art. xxxiii.), a precaution which seems to have been resorted to from the first. The sons of Ishmael are enumerated, Gen. xxv. 16, 'by their towns and by their castles,' and some such defensive erections were, no doubt, meant by the children of Reuben and Gad in Num. xxxii. 16, 17.

(2.) Though these eastern Israelites became lords paramount of this vast tract of country, it is not necessary to suppose that they exclusively occupied the entire region; nor that the Hagarites and their kindred, though subdued, were driven out; for it was probably in the same neighbourhood that 'the Hagarenes' of our second passage were living, when they joined in the great confederacy against Israel with, among others, Edom and Moab and Ammon and Amalek. When this combination took place is of little importance here; Mr. Thrupp (*Psalms*, vol. ii. pp. 60, 61) gives excellent reasons for assigning it to the reigns of Jehoash and of his son Jeroboam II. The nations, however, which constituted the confederacy with the Hagarenes, seem to confirm our opinion that these were still residing in the district, where in the reign of Saul they had been subjugated by their Israelite neighbours. Rosenmüller (*Bibl. Geog.*

a passage from Dr. Stanley's *Jewish Church*, i. 215, 216: 'Still the countless flocks and herds may be seen [in this very region conquered from the Hagarites], droves of cattle moving on like troops of soldiers, descending at sunset to drink of the springs—literally, in the language of the prophet, 'rams and lambs, and goats and bullocks, all of them fatlings of Bashan.'

[trans.], iii. 141) and Gesenius (*Thes.*, s. v. הַגָּרִי) suggest that the Hagarenes when vanquished migrated to the south-east, because on the coast of the Persian Gulf there was the province of Hagar

or *Hadjar* (هَجَر). This is the district which the Arabian geographers have carefully and prominently described (comp. De Sacy's *Chrest. Arab.*, ii. 123; Abulfeda [by Reinaud], ii. 1. 137, who quotes Jakut's *Moschtarek* for some of his information; and Rommel's Commentary on Abulfeda, *De Prov. Hagar*, هَجَر, *sive Bahhrain*,

البحرين, pp. 87, 88, 89; D'Herbelot, s. v. *Hagr*). We will not deny that this province probably derived its name and early inhabitants from *Hagar* and her son Ishmael (or, as Rabbi D. Kimchi would prefer, from Hagar, through some son by another father than Abraham); but we are not of opinion that these Hagarenes of the Persian Gulf, whose pursuits were so different,* were identical with the Hagarenes of the Psalm before us, or with the Hagarites of 1 Chron., whom we have identified with them. The fact seems to be that many districts in Arabia were called by the generic appellation of *Hagarite* or *Hagarene*, no doubt after Hagar; as Keturah, another of Abraham's concubines, occasioned the rather vaguely-used name of Ketureans for other tribes of the Arabian peninsula (Forster, *Geog. of Arabia*, ii. 7). In the very section of Abulfeda which we have above quoted, that geographer (after the author of the *Moschtarek*) reminds us that the name *Hadjar* (Hagar) is as extensive in meaning in Arabia as *Scham* (Syria) and *Irak*, elsewhere; in like manner Rommel, within a page or two, describes an Hagar in the remote province of Yemen; this, although an unquestionably different place (Reinaud, ii. 1-137, note), is yet confounded with the

* Nothing *pastoral* is related of this maritime tribe; Rommel quotes from two Arabian geographers, Taifaschi and Bakui, who both describe these Hagarenes of the coast as much employed in pearl-fishing and such pursuits. Niebuhr (*Travels in Arabia* [Engl. tr.], ii. 151, 152) confirms their statement. Gesenius is also inexact in identifying these *maritime* Hagarenes with the *Ἀγάραιοι* of Ptolemy, v. 19. 2, and Eratosthenes, in Strabo xvi. 767, and Pliny vi. 28. If the tribes indicated in these classical authors be the same (which is doubtful), they are much more correctly identified by our own writer Dr. T. Jackson (*Works* [ed. Oxon.], vol. i., p. 220), who says:—'The seat of such as the Scripture calls *Hagarens* was in the desert Arabia betwixt Gilead and Euphrates, 1 Chron. v. 9, 10. This people were called by the heathen *Ἀγάραιοι*, Agræi, rightly placed by Ptolemy in the desert Arabia, and by Strabo in that very place which the Scripture makes the eastern bounds of Ishmael's posterity, to wit, next unto the inhabitants of Havilah.' Amidst the difficulty of identification, some modern geographers have distributed the classical Agræi in various localities. Thus, in Forster's maps of Arabia, they occupy both the district between Gilead and the Euphrates in the north, as well as the western shores of the Persian Gulf.

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maritime Hadjar. In proof of the uncertainty of the situation of places in Arabia of like name, we may mention that, while Abulfeda, Edrisi, Giau-hari, and Golius distinguish between the Hagarenes of the north-east coast and those of the remote south-west district which we have just mentioned, Nassir Edin, Olugbeig, and Busching confound them as identical.* Such being the uncertainty connected with the sites of these Arab tribes, we the less hesitate to place the Hagarenes of the Psalm in the neighbourhood of Edom, Moab and Ammon in the situation, which was in Saul's time occupied by the Hagarites, 'near the main road which led' [or, more correctly, in the belt of country which stretched] 'from the head of the Red Sea to the Euphrates' (Smith's *Dict. of Geog.*, s. v. Agræi; see also Bochart, *Phaleg*, [ed. Villemandy], iv. 11, p. 225). The mention both of Ishmaelites and Hagarenes in this Psalm has led to the opinion that they are separate nations here meant. The verse, however (7th in the Hebrew Bible) is in the midst of a poetic *parallelism*, in which the clauses are *synonymous* and not *antithetic* (comp. vv. 5-11), so that if '*Edom and the Ishmaelites*' is not absolutely identical in geographical signification with '*Moab and the Hagarenes*,' there is at least a poetical identity between these two groups which forbids our separating them widely from each other in any sense (for the *dispersed* condition of the Hagarenes, see also Fuller, *Misc. Sacr.*, ii. 12).

Combinations marked the unrelenting hostility of their neighbours towards the Jews to a very late period. One of these is mentioned in 1 Maccab. v., as dispersed by Judas Maccabæus. 'The children of Bean' (*viol Balaw*) of ver. 4 have been by Hitzig conjectured to be the same as our Hagarenes; there is, however, no other ground for this opinion than their vicinity to Edom and Ammon, and the difficulty of making them fit in with any other tribe as conveniently as with that which is the subject of this article (see J. Olshausen, *die Psalmen*, p. 345).

(3). In the passage from Baruch iii. 23, we have attributed to 'the Agarenes' qualities of wisdom for which the Arabian nation has been long celebrated, skill in proverbial philosophy (Cf. Freytag, *Arab. Prov.*, tom. iii., præf.); in this accomplishment they have associated with them 'the merchants of Meran and of Theman.' This is not the place to discuss the site of Meran, which some have placed on the Persian Gulf and others on the Red Sea; it is enough to observe that their mercantile habits gave them a shrewdness in practical knowledge which rendered them worthy of comparison with 'the merchants of Theman' or Edom.† The wisdom of these is expressly men-

* Winer, *R. W. B.*, s. v. *Hagariter*, mentions yet another هَجَر, *Ihadjar*, which, though slightly different in form, might be written much like our word in Hebrew, הַגָּרִי, and is actually identical with it in the Syriac ܗܝܓܪܝܐ (Assemani, *Biblioth.*

Orient., iii. 2. 753). This place was in the province of Hedjaz on the Red Sea, on the main route between Damascus and Mecca.

† Forster makes these *Themanese* inhabitants of the maritime Bahrain, and therefore *Hagarenes* (i.

c

tioned in Jer. xlix. 7 and Obad., ver. 8. The Agarenes of this passage we would place among the inhabitants of the shores of the Persian Gulf, where (see 1) Gesenius and others placed 'the Hagarites' after their conquest by the trans-jordanic Israelites. The clause, 'that seek wisdom on earth' [that is, 'which acquire experience and intelligence from intercourse with mankind'], seems to best fall in with the habits of a seafaring and mercantile race (see Fritzsche, *das Buch Baruch*, p. 192; and Hävernicks, whose words he quotes: 'Hagareni terram quasi perlustantes dicuntur, quippe mercatores longe celeberrimi antiquissimis jamjam temporibus').—P. H.

HAGGAI (חַגַּי; Sept. and Joseph. Ἀγγαῖος; Jerome and Vulg. *Aggeus* or *Aggeus*, otherwise *Haggæus*), one of the twelve minor prophets, and the first of the three who, after the return of the Jews from the Babylonian exile, prophesied in Palestine. Of the place and year of his birth, his descent, and the leading incidents of his life, nothing is known which can be relied on. Some assert that he was born in Babylon, and came to Jerusalem when Cyrus, in the year B.C. 536, allowed the Jews to return to their country (2 Chron. xxxvi. 23; Ezra i. 1),—the new colony consisting chiefly of people belonging to the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi, with a few from other tribes. [From ch. ii. 2 Ewald conjectures that Haggai may have been of the number of those who had seen the former temple; and Hävernicks, Keil, and Bleek, accept this as not improbable.] The more fabulous traditions of Jewish writers, who pass him for an Assessor of the *Synagoga Magna*, and enlarge on his literary avocations, have been collected by Carpzov (*Introductio in V. T.* iii. p. 426). [Jerome (*Comment. ad Agg.* 1) says that some, resting on the words כִּלְמָן יְהוָה (i. 13), held Haggai to have been really an angel doctically incarnate.] This much appears from his prophecies, that he flourished during the reign of the Persian monarch Darius Hystaspis, who ascended the throne B.C. 521. These prophecies are comprised in a book of two chapters, and consist of discourses so brief and summary as to have led some German theologians to suspect that they have not come down to us in their original complete form, but are only an epitome (Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das A. T.* iii. sec. 598; Jahn, *Introductio in libros sacros Vet. Fed.*, edit. 2, Viennæ 1814, sec. 156). Their object generally is to urge the rebuilding of the Temple, which had indeed been commenced

303; but in this he is flagrantly inconsistent with his own good canon (i. 291); the name of the son of Eliphaz and of his descendants [the Edomites] is uniformly written Tema in the original Hebrew; and that of the son of Ishmael and his family [the Hagarenes or Ishmaelites] as uniformly Tema [without the n].

* The LXX., of ἐκζητοῦντες τὴν σύνεσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, is surely corrupt, because meaningless: by the help of the Vulgate and the Syriac it has been conjectured by some (by Hävernicks and Fritzsche, *in loc.*, for instance) that instead of οἱ ἐπὶ we should read τὴν ἐπὶ, *q. d.*, 'the wisdom [or common sense] which is cognisant of the earth—its men and manners'; an attainment which mercantile persons acquire better than all else.

as early as B.C. 535 (Ezra iii. 10), but was afterwards discontinued, the Samaritans having obtained an edict from the Persian king which forbade further procedure, and influential Jews pretending that the time for rebuilding the Temple had not arrived, since the seventy years predicted by Jeremiah applied to the Temple also, from the time of the destruction of which it was then only the sixty-eighth year. As on the death of Pseudo-Smerdis, and the consequent termination of his interdict, the Jews still continued to wait for the end of the seventy years, and were only engaged in building splendid houses for themselves, Haggai began to prophesy in the second year of Darius, B.C. 520.

[In the LXX. the name of Haggai occurs along with that of Zechariah in the inscriptions of Ps. cxxxvii., cxlv.-cxlviii.; in the Vulg. the same names are prefixed to Ps. cxi. and Ps. cxlv.; and in the Syr. they are prefixed to Ps. cxv., Ps. cxxvi., and Ps. cxlv.-cxlviii. The purport of this is not that these prophets were the authors of the psalms in question, but only that they introduced them into the service of the Temple, or specially adapted them to the circumstances of the people at the time, or themselves conducted the chanting of them in the service. This last view is favoured by the statement of the Pseudo-Epiphanius (*De Vit. Proph.*), that Haggai 'himself first sung a Hallelujah, which is interpreted Praise ye the Living God, and Amen, which is, Be it, Be it; wherefore, he adds, we say Hallelujah, which is, the hymn of Haggai and Zechariah.' The writer cannot intend by this that Haggai and Zechariah introduced the word Hallelujah into the Psalms; he can only mean that in singing the Hallelujah Psalms these prophets in some way took the lead (Carpzov, *Introd. in Libb. V. T.* ii. 4, 28; Hamaker, *Commentatio in Libellum de Vitis Proph.* 207.)

His first discourse (ch. i.), delivered on the first day of the sixth month of the year mentioned, foretells that a brighter era would begin as soon as Jehovah's house was rebuilt; and a notice is subjoined, stating that the address of the prophet had been effective, the people having resolved on resuming the restoration of the Temple. The second discourse (ch. ii. 1-9), delivered on the twenty-first day of the seventh month, predicts that the glory of the new Temple would be greater than that of Solomon's, and shows that no fear need be entertained of the Second Temple not equalling the first in splendour, since, in a remarkable political revolution, the gifts of the Gentiles would be brought thither. The third discourse (ch. ii. 10-19), delivered on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month, refers to a period when building materials had been collected, and the workmen had begun to put them together; for which a commencement of the Divine blessing is promised. The fourth and last discourse (ch. ii. 20-23), delivered also on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month, is exclusively addressed to Zerubbabel, the political chief of the new Jewish colony, who, it appears, had asked for an explanation regarding the great political revolutions which Haggai had predicted in his second discourse: it comforts the governor by assuring him they would not take place very soon, and not in his lifetime. The style of the discourses of Haggai is suitable to their contents: it is pathetic when he exhorts; it is vehement when he reproves: it is somewhat elevated when he treats of

HAGGERI (הגרי; Sept. 'Αγαρί; Alex. 'Αραπατ
[HAGARITE].

HAGGI, prop. CHAGGI (חַגִּי; Sept. 'Αγγίς; Alex. 'Αγγίς), second son of Gad (Gen. xli. 16), and head of the Sept or family of the Haggites (חַגִּי, contracted from חַגִּי; Num. xxvi. 15).—†

HAGGITH, prop. **CHAGGITH** (חַגִּית; *festive*
Gesen., *born at the Feast of Tabernacles*, Fürst;
Sept. Ἀγγιθ; Alex. Φεγθθ, Ἀγθ, Ἀγγεθ), one
of David's wives and the mother of Adonijah
(2 Sam. iii. 4; 1 Kings i. 5, 11; ii. 13; 1 Chron.
iii. 2). Her son was born at Hebron.—†

HAGIOGRAPHHA, *Sacred Writings*. The word *ἁγιογραφα* is first found in Epiphanius (*Panarium*, p. 58), who used it, as well as *γραφεαί*, to denote the third division of the Scriptures, called by the Jews *כתובים*, or the *Writings*, consisting of *five books* [MEGILLOTH], viz., the three *poems* (מִשְׁנָה), Job, Proverbs, and the Psalms, and the two books of Chronicles. [CANON.]

The word *Hagiographa* is once used by Jerome in a peculiar sense. Speaking of Tobit, he asserts that the Jews, cutting off this book from the catalogue of the divine Scriptures, place it among those books which they call *Hagiographa*. And again, of Judith he says, 'by the Jews it is read among the *Hagiographa*, whose authority is not sufficient to confirm debated points;' but, as in the latter instance, the greater number of manuscripts read *Apocrypha*, which is doubtless the true reading, it is highly probable that the word *Hagiographa*, used in reference to the book of Tobit, has arisen from the mistake of a transcriber. The two words were in the middle ages frequently

HAL. [A1]

HAI (חַי) or **HAJA** (חַיָּה), **GAON B. SHERIRA**. **GAON**, was the last rector of the renowned college at Pumbedita in Babylon. This celebrated Talmudist, jurist, poet, and commentator, was born at Pumbedita A.D. 969, and displayed at a very early period such extraordinary talents that he was made president of the College of Law (בֵּית דִּין) at Pumbedita, at the age of 18 (in 987), at 20 (in 989) he was co-gaon with his father, and at 30 (in the year 999) was elevated to the dignity of sole gaon, i. e., spiritual head of the Jewish community in Babylon. The liberality of mind and frankness which he manifested in his expositions of Scripture have hardly ever been surpassed. When discussing in his academical lectures a difficult passage in the Psalms, and not being able to arrive at any satisfactory explanation, this spiritual head of the synagogue sent to his friend Mar-Elijah, the spiritual head of the Eastern Church at Bagdad, to ask what he had learned about it; and when Maziach Ibn Al-Bazak, judge of Sicily, one of the audience who had come to amass Talmudic lore at the renowned college at Pumbedita, expressed his amazement at such a proceeding, Hai demonstrated to him that according to the Talmud every man is bound to learn truth from any one (comp. Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, Longman, 1857, pp. 78, 125). His exposition of the celebrated declaration in the Talmud about Job is of great interest to the Biblical student. 'R. Hai writes in his *Theological Decisions*,' says Joshua Ibn Shœib (דְּרוֹשׁוֹת), Cracow 1570, p. 77), 'that Job has actually existed, and that no one [among Israel] has ever doubted it. When it is said in the Talmud אֵין לוֹ

15 a: *Baba Bathra* 15 a: the meaning is that he is to be an example to all the children of men, who are to act as he did, and are, like him, to confide in God, who will recompense their losses and turn their chastisements into blessings. Hai, moreover, says that in their copies of the Talmud the reading actually is **לֹא הָיָה וְלֹא** **נִבְרָא אֱלֹהִים לְמַשַּׁל**, and not **מַשַּׁל הָיָה**, for Job did exist, as is evident from Ezek. xiv. 11.

Passing by his extraordinary productions connected with the Talmud and his *Theological Decisions*, which more or less also explain the legal portion of the Scriptures, we shall specify his labours which directly bear upon the Bible and its language.

Hai wrote commentaries on the Bible, which have not as yet come to light. We have, however, fragments of them given in the exegetical and lexical works of Rashi (on Judg. iv. 19; Hos. iii. 4), Ibn Ezra (Deut. xxxiii. 39; Is. xli. 8; Amos v. 22; Ps. lviii. 10; Job. iv. 15; vi. 10; xiii. 27; xxi. 32), and Kimchi (Is. v. 5; xxxviii. 14; Jer. xii. 6; Ezek. xix. 10); Lexicon under Art. **חֲזַק**.

* The passage also occurs in the Jerusalem Talmud *Sota* 15 a, where, however, the reading is אֵינוֹ Job neither did nor will exist.

בלע, נרש, חננ, חמד, מור, מלא, נחל, נקר, ענר, ענר, ענר, פרד, רעד, שמס, שון, on the Aramaean expressions and *הצדא*, p. 417, יר, ed. Biesenthal et Lebracht.

He also wrote a Hebrew Lexicon in Arabic, called *אלחאו*, which Ibn Ezra, who had it before him when he wrote his grammatical treatise entitled *מאחונים*, calls *המאסר*, and describes as *מלא חכמה וכליל יופי*, *full of wisdom and perfect in beauty*. This work, too, has not as yet come to light. From the fragments of his works as given by the above-mentioned commentators, we see that Hai was a liberal and impartial interpreter of the Hebrew Scriptures, and that he resorted to the *Koran* and the ancient traditions of the Mohammedans for aid to settle the meaning of archaic expressions and peculiar phrases in the Bible. If we bear in mind the extraordinary esteem in which he was held by Jews throughout Babylon and elsewhere, who called him by the distinguished title 'the Father of Israel' (*אב ישראל*), the salutary influence which this liberal example of Hai must have exercised upon the development of Biblical exegesis will easily be understood. Hai died 28th March 1038, after holding the highest office among the Jews for 39 years. Comp. Rapaport's masterly *Biography of Hai*, *Bikkure Ha-Itim*, x. 79-95; xl. 90-92; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, i. 355-358; Steinschneider, *Catal. Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, 1026-1030; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vi. 6-13; Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft, etc.*, Breslau 1862, 206-217; 312-314.—C. D. G.

HAIR is frequently mentioned in Scripture, and in scarcely anything has the caprice of fashion been more strikingly displayed than in the various forms which the taste of different countries and ages has prescribed for disposing of this natural covering of the head. The Greeks let their hair grow to a great length, and their natural fondness for this attribute of beauty has been perpetuated not only by the frequently recurring epithet of Homer, *καρχαρόδωρες*, as descriptive of the *Ἀχαιοί*, but by the circumstance of the poets and artists of that ancient people representing even the gods themselves with long hair. The early Egyptians, again, who were proverbial for their habits of cleanliness, removed the hair as an incumbrance, and the almost unavoidable occasion of sordid and offensive negligence. They shaved even the heads of young children, leaving only certain locks, as an emblem of youth, on the front, the back, and the sides. In the case of royal children those on the sides were covered and enclosed in a bag, which hung down conspicuously as a badge of princely rank. All classes amongst that people, not excepting the slaves imported from foreign countries, were required to submit to the tonsure (Gen. xli. 14); and yet, what was remarkable in the inhabitants of a hot climate, while they removed their natural hair, they were accustomed to wear wigs, which were so constructed that 'they far surpassed,' says Wilkinson, 'the comfort and coolness of the modern turban, the reticulated texture of the ground-work on which the hair was fastened allowing the heat of the head to escape, while the hair effectually protected it from the sun *Anc. Egyptians*, iii. 354). Different from the

custom both of the Greeks and the Egyptians, that of the Hebrews was to wear their hair generally short, and to check its growth by the application of scissors only. The priests at their inauguration shaved off all their hair, and when on actual duty at the temple, were in the habit, it is said, of cutting it every fortnight. The only exceptions to this prevailing fashion are found in the Nazarites (Num. vi. 5), whose hair, from religious duty, was not to be cropped during the term of their vow; of young persons who, during their minority, allowed their hair to hang down in luxuriant ringlets on their shoulders; of such effeminate persons as Absalom (2 Sam. xiv. 26); and of Solomon's horse-guards, whose vanity affected a puerile extravagance, and who strewed their heads every day with particles of gold-dust (Joseph. *Antiq.* viii. 7. 3). Although the Hebrews wore their hair short, they were great admirers of strong and thickest locks; and so high a value did they set on the possession of a good head of hair, that they deprecated nothing so much as baldness; to which, indeed, so great ignominy was attached that, whether a man was destitute of hair or not, bald-head became a general term expressive of deep and malignant contempt (2 Kings ii. 23). [BALDNESS.] To prevent or remedy this defect they seem, at an early period, to have availed themselves of the assistance of art, not only for beautifying the hair, but increasing its thickness, while the heads of the priests were anointed with an unguent of a peculiar kind, the ingredients of which, with their various proportions were prescribed by divine authority, and the composition of which the people were prohibited, under severe penalties, from attempting to imitate (Exod. xxx. 32, ff.). This custom spread till anointing the hair of the head became a general mark of gentility and an essential part of the daily toilet (Ps. xxiii. 5; xlv. 7; Eccles. ix. 8; Mark xiv. 3); the usual cosmetics employed consisting of the best oil of olives mingled with spices, a decoction of parsley-seed in wine, and more rarely of spikenard. The prevailing colour of hair among the Hebrews was dark; 'locks bushy and black as a raven,' being mentioned in the description of the bridegroom as the perfection of beauty in mature manhood (Sol. Song, v. 11). Hence the appearance of an old man with a snow-white head in a company of younger Jews, all whose heads, like those of other Eastern people, were jet black—a most conspicuous object—is beautifully compared to an almond-tree, which in the early part of the year is in full blossom, while all the others are dark and leafless (Eccles. xii. 5). Red hair, however, occasionally appeared, and seems to have been regarded as ornamental rather than otherwise. The word *אדמוני*, *Admoni*, rendered in the A.V. 'of a ruddy complexion,' properly means *red-haired*. It would thus appear that Esau (Gen. xxv. 25) and David (1 Sam. xvi. 12; xvii. 42) were red-haired. Red hair is so uncommon in the East, that it forms a particular distinction, as in the Scriptural instances; but it is by no means unknown, especially in mountainous countries. The writer has observed it in Persia repeatedly, accompanied with the usual fresh complexion. Such hair and complexion together seem to have been regarded as a beauty among the Jews. The personal characters of Esau and David appear to agree well with the temperament which red hair usually indicates. A story is told of Herod, that in order

to conceal his advanced age, he used secretly to dye his gray locks with a dark pigment (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvi. 8. 1); and although the anecdote was probably an unfounded calumny on that prince, yet that it was customary with many of his Roman contemporaries to employ artificial means for changing or disguising the silver hue of age, is sufficiently apparent from the works of Martial and other satirical poets. From Rome the fashion spread into Greece and other provinces, and it appears that the members of the church of Corinth were, to a certain extent, captivated by the prevailing taste, some Christians being evidently in the eye of the Apostle, who had attracted attention by the cherished and womanly decoration of their hair (1 Cor. xi. 14-16). To them the letter of Paul was intended to administer a timely reproof for allowing themselves to fall in with a style of manners which, by confounding the distinctions of the sexes, threatened a baneful influence on good morals; and that not only the Christian converts in that city, but the primitive church generally, were led by this admonition to adopt simpler habits, is evident from the remarkable fact that a criminal, who came to trial under the assumed character of a Christian, was proved to the satisfaction of the judge to be an impostor by the luxuriant and frizzled appearance of his hair (Tertullian, *Apol.*; Fleury, *Les Mœurs des Chrétiens*).

With regard to women, the possession of long and luxuriant hair is allowed by Paul to be an essential attribute of the sex—a graceful and modest covering provided by nature; and yet the same Apostle elsewhere (1 Tim. ii. 9) concurs with Peter (1 Pet. iii. 3) in guarding women professing godliness against the pride and passionate fondness often displayed in the elaborate decorations of the head-dress. As the hair was pre-eminently the 'instrument of their pride' (Ezek. xvi. 39, margin), all the resources of ingenuity and art were exhausted to set it off to advantage and load it with the most dazzling finery; and many when they died carried their longest locks to be cut off, and placed separately in an urn, to be deposited in their tomb as the most precious and valued relics. In the daily use of cosmetics they bestowed the most astonishing pains in arranging their long hair; sometimes twisting it round on the crown of the head, where, and at the temples, by the aid of gum, which they knew as well as the modern belles, they wrought it into a variety of elegant and fanciful devices—figures of coronets, harps, wreaths, diadems, emblems of public temples and conquered cities, being formed by the mimic skill of the ancient friseur; or else, plaiting it into an incredible number of tresses which hung down the back, and which, when necessary, were lengthened by ribbons so as to reach to the ground, and were kept at full stretch by the weight of various wreaths of pearls and gold fastened at intervals down to the extremity. From some Syrian coins in his possession Hartmann (*Die Hebräerin am Putzische*) has given this description of the style of the Hebrew coiffure; and many ancient busts and portraits which have been discovered exhibit so close a resemblance to those of Eastern ladies in the present day, as to shew that the same elaborate and gorgeous disposition of their hair has been the pride of Oriental females in every age.

[As illustrative of the above remarks reference may be made to the seven locks in which Samson's hair was arranged, these being probably plaits into

which his hair was divided. This also is probably what Josephus intends in the description he gives of the style in which Herod dressed his hair when called in his youth before the Sanhedrim; he appeared *τὴν κεφαλὴν κεκοσμημένον τῇ συνθέσει τῆς κόμης* (*Antiq.* xiv. 9. 4). When Judith was about to go to the camp of Holofernes *διέταξε τὰς τρίχας* 'she braided her hair' (A. V.) On the Assyrian monuments figures appear with the hair parted into several bands or plaits, and curled at the extremities, but whether the hair in these is natural or artificial remains matter of doubt. Writing of the Turkish ladies, Lady Mary Wortley Montague says, 'The hair hangs at its full length behind, divided into tresses, braided with pearl or ribbon, which is always in great quantity. . . .

In one lady's head,' she adds, 'I have counted a hundred and ten of these tresses, all natural' (*Letters*, etc., edited by Lord Wharcliffe, i. 372). This style of dressing the hair, and the practice of fixing pearls or ornaments of precious stones or metals in the hair, is referred to by St. Paul and St. Peter as a thing to be avoided by Christian women (1 Tim. ii. 9; 1 Peter iii. 3), partly perhaps because of the undue cost of such modes of dressing the hair, partly also because the practice was associated with usages not compatible with true female modesty (comp. with the *πλέγματα* of the one apostle and the *ἐμπλοκή* of the other, the *περίπλοκαι ἐταιρικαὶ τῶν τριχῶν* of Clem. Alex. *Pedag.* iii. 11). It is to this style of dressing the hair that Isaiah seems to allude under the expression *כְּשֵׁי מֶלֶךְ*

(iii. 24) 'well-set hair' A. V., rather 'braided hair,' i.e., 'hair artificially made up into braids and interwoven, and stiffened with ribbands and other materials' (Henderson, *in loc.*) In the Song of Songs are various allusions to modes of dressing the hair. Thus (ch. v. 11) we have *לִתְלוּחַת*, *flowing, waving locks*, from *לָחַל* to *vibrate* (Sept. *ἐλάται*; Vulg. *elathæ palmarum*); in vii. 6 we have *כְּסֵי* = locks arranged in rows like channels by which water is conveyed (A. V. 'galleries,' by mistake [GALLERY]); and in the same verse *קָדָה*

('hair,' A. V.) means *hanging tresses* (Sept. *πλόκιον*, Syr. *ḥor* *intorsiones, cincinni*), from *לָחַל* to hang down, be pendulous; comp. Ar. *دالية*, *dalya*, the pendulous filaments at the top of the lofty palm. Whether *צִמָּה* (iv. 1, 3; vi. 7) and *עֲנָן* (iv. 9) refer to the hair is doubtful; the former probably means *veil*, and the latter *necklace*. In Ezek. viii. 3 the word *צִמָּה* occurs, denoting a lock, perhaps a forelock, curling round the forehead like a flower (*צִמָּה*).

In the Talmud frequent references are made to women who were professional hair-dressers for their own sex, and the name applied to whom was *גְּזֵלָה* 'femina gnara alere crines' (Maimon. *in Tr. Shabbath* x. 6; comp. also Wagenseil, *Sota* p. 137; Jahn, *Archæol. P. i.* vol. 2, p. 114). As *גְּזֵלָה* is formed from *גָּזַל*, to *twine* or *plait*, it may be presumed that the principal duty of these artistes was to plait the hair into locks or arrange it in tresses.]

From the great value attached to a profuse head of hair arose a variety of superstitious and emblematic observances, such as shaving parts of the head, or cropping it in a particular form; parents dedicating the hair of infants (Tertullian, *De Anima*) to the gods; young women theirs at their marriage; warriors after a successful campaign; sailors after deliverance from a storm; hanging it up on consecrated trees, or depositing it in temples; burying it in the tomb of friends, as Achilles did at the funeral of Patroclus; besides shaving, cutting off, or plucking it out, as some people did; or allowing it to grow in sordid negligence, as was the practice with others, according as the calamity that befel them was common or extraordinary, and their grief was mild or violent.

Various metaphorical allusions are made to hair by the sacred writers, especially the prophets. 'Cutting off the hair' is a figure used to denote the entire destruction of a people by the righteous retributions of Providence (Is. vii. 20). 'Gray hairs here and there on Ephraim' portended the decline and fall of the kingdom of Israel (Hos. vii. 9). 'Hair as the hair of women' forms part of the description of the Apocalyptic locusts, and historically points, as some suppose, to the prevailing head-dress of the Saracens, as well as the voluptuous effeminacy of the Antichristian clergy (Rev. ix. 8). And finally, 'hair white as wool' was a prominent feature in the appearance of the glorified Redeemer, emblematic of the majesty and wisdom that belong to him (Rev. i. 14).—J. K.

HAKKOZ (חֲקֹז, *Haggots*; Sept. δ Ἠκός; Alex. Ἀκκός), a priest who was set over the seventh of the courses in the service of the sanctuary by David (1 Chron. xxiv. 10). The rendering of the LXX. raises the question whether the חֲ here is not the definite article, in which case the name would be *Qols* or *Koz*. The same word occurs Ezra ii. 61; Neh. iii. 4, 21; vii. 63; where the A. V. gives simply Koz. That there was a priestly family bearing this name we learn from 1 Chron. iv. 8.—†

HALACHA. [MIDRASH.]

HALAH (חָלַח; Sept. Ἀλαε and Χαλαε). One of those places in Assyria in which Tiglath-pileser placed the captive Israelites:—'In the ninth year of Hoshea the King of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in *Halah*, and in *Habor*, the river of *Gozan*,' etc. (2 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 11; 1 Chron. v. 26). The position of *Halah* has been disputed. Ptolemy mentions *Calacene*, a province of northern Assyria (*Geogr.* vi. 1), which Bochart would identify with *Halah* (Opp. i. 194). It seems to be the same place which Strabo calls *Calachene*, and describes as embracing a section of the great plain of the Tigris around Nineveh (xvi. 1). The name is probably derived from the very ancient city of *Calah*, whose site is now marked by the mounds of *Kalah Sherhat* [CALAH]. This city, however, is distinct, as the name would indicate (חָלַח, *Halah*; חָלַח, *Calah*), from *Halah*. Ptolemy mentions another province in Mesopotamia, beside Gausanitis (*Gozan*), and this appears to be the true *Halah* (*Geogr.* v. 18). It lay along the banks of the upper *Khabûr*, extending from its source at *Ras el-Ain*, to its

junction with the *Jeruher*. It is worthy of note that one of the mounds, marking the site of an ancient city, on the side of this river, bears the name of *Kalah*. Here, as in most other places in central and western Asia, we find the primeval name clinging to the ruins of a primeval city. *Halah*, *Habor*, and *Gozan* were situated close together on the left bank of the Euphrates (Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, i. 246; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 312, note).—J. L. P.

HALAK, THE MOUNT (הַהָר הַחֲלָק; Sept. ὄρος Ἀλάκ, and τοῦ Χελαχά). This name is applied to a mountain on the southern border of Palestine, apparently on account of its *bare* or *bald* aspect. It is used by Joshua, as Beersheba was used by later writers, to mark the southern limit of the country—'So Joshua took all that land . . . From the *Mount Halak*, that goeth up to Seir, even unto Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon, under Mount Hermon' (xi. 17; xii. 7). The situation of the mountain is here pretty definitely indicated. It adjoins Edom, and lay on the southern border of Palestine; it must, consequently, have been in, or very near, the great valley of the Arabah. The

expression, 'that goeth up to Seir' (הַהָר הַחֲלָק שֶׁעוֹר), is worthy of note. Seir is the mountainous province of Edom [SEIR]; and Mount Halak would seem to have been connected with it, as if running up towards it, or joining it to a lower district. About ten miles south of the Dead Sea a line of *naked* white cliffs, varying in height from 50 to 150 feet, runs completely across the Arabah. As seen from the north the cliffs resemble a ridge of hills (and in this aspect the word חֲלָק may be legitimately applied to them) shutting in the deep valley, and connecting the mountain chain on the west with the mountains of Seir on the east. It is doubtless this ridge which is referred to in Num. xxxiv. 3, 4, and Josh. xv. 2, 3, under the name 'Ascent of Akrabim,' and as marking the south-eastern border of Judah; and it might well be called *the bald mountain, which ascends to Seir*. It was also a natural landmark for the southern boundary of Palestine, as it is near Kedesh-barnea on the one side, and the northern ridge of Edom on the other. To this ridge bounding the land in the great valley on the south, is very appropriately opposed, on the north, 'Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon' (*Keil on Joshua*, xi. 17). The cliffs, and the scenery of the surrounding region, are minutely described by Robinson (*Bib. Res.*, ii. pp. 113, 116, 120).—J. L. P.

HALDANE, ROBERT, Esq., a Scottish gentleman of fortune, who devoted himself to the service of religion, and to Biblical and theological studies. He was born in London 28th Feb. 1764, and died at Edinburgh 12th Dec. 1842. Having resolved to establish a mission for preaching the Gospel in Bengal, he sold his paternal estate of Airthrey, near Stirling, intending to employ the proceeds in furthering this scheme; but obstacles having been put in his way by the Government of the day, he relinquished the attempt, and resolved to employ his efforts and resources in evangelistic labours at home. These he carried on to a large extent in Scotland, aided by his brother, Mr. J. A. Haldane, and a band of devoted men of like mind, some of whom had been clergymen of the national Church. He afterwards devoted himself in the same way in

the south of France and Switzerland, and to him instrumentally the revival of religion in these parts is primarily and chiefly due. When at Geneva he delivered lectures on the Epistle to the Romans in French, and these he subsequently published (2 vols. Paris, 1819). This was the commencement of a work which occupied much of his time and thought in his later years, and which he at length issued, in its completed form, in 1842, under the title *Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans*, 3 vols., 3d edit. He published also *Evidences and Authority of Divine Revelation*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1834; 3d edition, 3 vols. 12mo, 1843; besides many controversial pamphlets and books. He was a man of a vigorous intellect, with great clearness of perception, power of reasoning, and force of expression. His exposition of the Romans is a masterly work. It is to be viewed rather as a theological than as a philological or strictly exegetical commentary; but so viewed, it may be pronounced a work of the highest order. The author's stringent Calvinism is somewhat too forcibly enunciated, and an occasional air of dogmatism pervades the work; but most competent readers will, we feel persuaded, confess that after perusing it they understand, as they never did before, the train of the Apostle's thought and reasoning in that epistle. The work has been translated into French and German. His brother, Mr. J. A. Haldane, also published an *Exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians*, 1848; and since his death, which took place in Feb. 1851, an *Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, from his pen, has appeared. Neither of these works approach in ability the Exposition of the Romans by the older brother. The two brothers were somewhat differently endowed; but no two men have left a deeper mark on the religious character of their age, both at home and on the Continent, than have they. (*Memoirs of the Lives of R. Haldane of Airthrey and his brother, J. A. Haldane*, by Alexander Haldane, Esq., 1852).—W. L. A.

HALES, WM., A. M., and afterwards D.D., of Trinity College, Dublin, of which he was also sometime Fellow, as well as Professor of Oriental Languages in the University, was born about the middle of the last century, and died A.D. 1831, at his Rectory of Killesandra, in the county of Cavan, and diocese of Kilmore, Ireland. He was an accomplished scholar of very various learning. His earlier publications related almost entirely to mathematical science and were written in Latin; among them occur, '*Sonorum doctrina ex Newtoni scriptis*,' and '*De motibus planetarum secundum theoriæ Newtonianam Dissertation.*' Besides these he was the author of sundry works connected more or less with religious politics, such as a Treatise *On the Political Influence of the Pope's Supremacy*. In the year 1807, he issued his *Prospectus of an analysis of Ancient Chronology*, the harbinger of a work which he had been some time preparing, and for the reputation of which he deserves a place in this Biblical Cyclopædia. In the interim, however, between the issuing of this prospectus and the appearance of the work itself, Dr. Hales, in the year 1808, published his *Dissertations on the principal Prophecies respecting the divine and human character of our Lord Jesus Christ*. The next year appeared the first instalment, in a 4to volume, of his *New Analysis of Chronology*; vols. ii., iii., and iv., completing the work, were published respec-

tively in the years 1811, 1812, and 1814. A revised and corrected edition of this elaborate treatise was published in the year 1830, in four volumes 8vo. Dr. Hales' system is a revision of the longer Biblical chronology, based upon the Septuagint, in opposition to the usually received system of Archbishop Ussher, which was founded upon the Masoretic text. In accomplishing his scheme the author relied with greater confidence than is deemed safe, on the aid of Josephus, many of whose leading dates, adulterated as he thought by early editors, in order to make them correspond with the Jewish system, he corrected and modified. On the precarious ground of this part of Dr. Hales' labours the reader will find more information in vol. i. pp. 508, 509, of the present work. Extravagant commendation has been bestowed on Hales' Analysis (see Dr. A. Clark's *Commentary* [Introd.]; Horne's *Introduction* [ed. 9] vol. v. p. 465; Watt's *Bibliotheca Britan.* i. 4570). Inherent defects, however, arising from the author's system, as well as the changes which subsequent discoveries have occasioned in chronological literature, have considerably modified critical opinions respecting the great work of Dr. Hales. Its title in full runs thus—'*A new Analysis of Chronology and Geography, History and Prophecy*, in which their elements are attempted to be explained, harmonized, and vindicated upon scriptural and scientific principles; tending to remove the imperfection and discordance of preceding systems, and to obviate the cavils of sceptics, Jews, and infidels.' It is in the evolution of this ambitious complexity of purpose, that the author's work is most valuable to the general student; for using all the resources of his undoubtedly great learning he has thrown much light upon many parts of Holy Scripture. Thus, as in the case of many other useful writers, Dr. Hales has produced a work which will be more valued for its collateral subjects than for the success with which it has accomplished its direct purpose. The *Geographical* portion of the work was designed by the author 'to remedy the imperfection or incorrectness of the explanations of sacred geography as given by Wells, Cellarius, Reland, etc., in several material points;' and it must be admitted that he accomplished his object not only with learning and great resources of illustration, but with an agreeable luminousness of style, which will long secure for his elaborate treatise the favourable attention and respect of the Biblical student.—P. H.

HALHUL (חַלְחֻל; Sept. Ἀλουά; Alex. Ἀλουά).

A town of Judah, mentioned in a group of six lying on the north of Hebron; among which are Gedor and Bethzur (Josh. xv. 58). Jerome describes it as, in his day, a village belonging to the region of Aelia (Jerusalem), near Hebron, and called *Alula* (*Onomast.*, s.v. *Elul*). Four miles north of Hebron, and about a mile east of the road leading to Jerusalem, an old mosque, dedicated to Neby Vernas (Prophet Jonah), stands on the top of a hill; and just below it on the eastern slope is the village of *Hal-hal*, encompassed by fields and fine vineyards. This is unquestionably the ancient Halhul, and both Bethzur and Gedor are within a few miles of it to the north-west. A Jewish traveller of the 14th century (J. Chelo in 1334, Carmoly, p. 242) says it contains the tomb of Gad, David's seer (2 Sam. xxiv. 11; Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i. 216; iii. 282, *seq.*) The village was for a time a place of

Jewish pilgrimage (Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, i. 384). The modern name, *حلول*, is identical with the Hebrew; and the name has thus remained unchanged for more than 3300 years!—J. L. P.

HALI (הלל; Sept. Ἀλλή; Alex. Ὀλλει). One of the cities mentioned by Joshua, on the border of Ashur (xix. 25). Its position is not stated in Scripture, and we have no other guide to its site. Van de Velde suggests its identity with *Alia*, a ruin about five hours north-east of Acre, 'where the rock-hewn foundations of a large city are seen' (*Memoir*, p. 318). But the two names, *עלי* and *הלל*, though somewhat similar in sound, are radically distinct.—J. L. P.

HALICARNASSUS (Ἀλικαρνασσοί), a large and strong city of Caria, situated on the Ceramian gulph. In 1 Maccab. xv. 25 it is mentioned as a place where the Jews had settled; and Josephus has preserved a decree of the Romans, by which the Jews at Halicarnassus are allowed the free exercise of all their sacred rites, according to their own laws, and the privilege of τὰς προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος (*Antiq.* xiv. 10. 23; comp. Acts xvi. 13). Halicarnassus made a vigorous and protracted defence against Alexander the Great, which so enraged him that when he at length became master of it he destroyed it by fire—a calamity from which it never recovered.—W. L. A.

HALL. This word occurs in the A. V. of the N. T. three times; twice (Matt. xxvii. 27; Mark xv. 16) in reference to the *πραιτώριον*, *praetorium*, or residence of the Roman governor at Jerusalem, which was either the palace built by the elder Herod, or the tower of Antonia; his usual abode was at Caesarea (Acts xxiii. 23). Mark uses the word *αὐλή*, but adds, as he is wont in other cases, an explanatory phrase, *ὅ ἐστι πραιτώριον*, *atrium praetorii*, Vulg. In Luke xxii. 55, *αὐλή* means the open court or quadrangle belonging to the high-priest's house, such as was common to Oriental dwellings. It has the same meaning in Matt. xxvi. 69 and Mark xiv. 66, and in both passages is incorrectly rendered *Palace* in the A. V., as the adverbs *ἔξω* and *εἰς* plainly distinguish the *αὐλή* from the *οἶκος* to which it was attached (Luke xxii. 54). The *αὐλή* was entered from the street by a *προαύλιον* or *vestibule* (Mark xiv. 68), through a *πύλων* or *portal* (Matt. xxvi. 71), in which was a *θύρα* or *wicket* (John xviii. 16; Acts xii. 13).—J. E. R.

HALLEL (הלל, θνος), the designation of a particular part of the hymnal service, chanted in the Temple and in the family on certain festivals.

1. Origin of the name, contents of the service, etc.

The name *Hallel* (הלל, which signifies praise, is *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, given to this distinct portion of the hymnal service because it consists of Psalms cxiii.-cxviii., which are Psalms of praise, and because this group of Psalms begins with *Hallelujah* הלל יהוה. It is also called הלל המצרי, the Egyptian Hallel, because it was chanted in the Temple whilst the Passover lambs, which were first enjoined in Egypt, were

being slain. There is another *Halla* called הלל הגדול, the Great Hallel,* which, according to R.

Jehudah (*Pesachim* 118) and Maimonides, comprises Psalms cxviii.-cxxxvi. (*Iod Ha-Chezaqa*, *Illichoth Chama u. Maza*, viii. 10). Others, however, though agreeing that this Hallel ends with Psalm cxxxvi., maintain that it begins with Psalm cxx. or Psalm cxxxv. 4 (*Pesachim* 118).

2. Time and manner in which it was chanted. This hymnal service, or Egyptian Hallel, was chanted at the sacrifice of the first and second Pesach, after the daily sacrifice on the first day of Passover (*Mishna*, *Pesachim*, v. 7), after the morning sacrifice on the Feast of Pentecost, the eight days of the Feast of Tabernacles (*Mishna*, *Succa*, iv. 8), and the eight days of the Feast of Dedication (*Mishna*, *Taanith*, v. 5), making in all twenty days in the year. 'On twelve days out of the twenty, viz., at the sacrifice of the first and second Pesach, of the first day of Pesach, of the Feast of Pentecost, and of the eight days of the Feast of Tabernacles, the flute was played before the altar when the Hallel was chanted' (*Mishna*, *Pesachim*, ii. 3), whilst after the morning sacrifice during the eight days of the Feast of Dedication, the Hallel was chanted without this accompaniment of the flute. The manner in which these hymns of praise were offered must have been very imposing and impressive. The Levites who could be spared from assisting at the slaying of the sacrifices took their stand before the altar, and chanted the Hallel verse by verse, the people responsively repeated every verse, or burst forth in solemn and intoned *Hallelujahs* at every pause, whilst the slaves of the priests, the Levites, and the respectable lay people, assisted in playing the flute (comp. *Pesachim* 64, a; *Erachim* 10, a, b; and *Tosefta* on *Cap. i.*; *Sota*, 27, b; *Taanith* 28, a, b). No representatives of the people (אנשי מעמד) were required to be present at the Temple at the morning sacrifices on the days when the Hallel was chanted (*Mishna*, *Taanith*, iv. 4).

The Egyptian Hallel was also chanted in private families at the celebration of the Passover on the

* So called, because of the reiterated response after every verse, 'For thy mercy endureth for ever,' in Ps. cxxxvi., which is part of this Hallel.

† The fact that every individual who brought a sacrifice had to be present in the Temple when it was offered, gave rise to the opinion that the daily morning and evening sacrifices which were brought for the whole congregation of Israel, required that the congregation should be represented in the Temple at the offering of these national sacrifices. Hence the whole people was divided into twenty-four divisions or orders, corresponding to the divisions of the priests and Levites. Every division chose a number of representatives (אנשי מעמד), one of whom was appointed chief (המנעם), and in turn sent up some of them as a deputation to Jerusalem to represent the nation at the daily sacrifices in the Temple, and pronounce the prayers and blessings in behalf of the people, whilst the sacrifices were being offered. They had also to fast four days (i. e., the second, third, fourth, and fifth day) during the week of their representation. Those of the representatives who remained at home assembled in a synagogue to pray during the time of sacrifice.

first evening of this feast. On this occasion the *Hallel* was divided into two parts, the part comprising Ps. cxiii. and cxiv. was chanted during the partaking of the second cup, whilst the second part, comprising Ps. cxv. and cxvi. was chanted over

the fourth and finishing cup (רביעי, נומר עליו את) הלל, *Mishna, Pesachim* x. 7); and it is generally supposed that the singing of the hymn by our Saviour and his disciples at the conclusion of the Passover supper (Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26) refers to the last part of this Hallel.* In Babylon there was an ancient custom, which can be traced as far back as the 2d century of the Christian era, to recite this Hallel on every festival of the new moon (*Taanith* 28, a), omitting, however, Ps. cxv. 1-11, and cxvi. 1-11.

The great Hallel (הלל הגדול) was recited on the first evening at the Passover supper by those who wished to have a *fifth cup*, i. e., one above the enjoined number (Maimonides, *Jod Ha-Chesaka, Hilchoth Chamez u. Maza*, viii. 10). It was also recited on occasions of great joy as an expression of thanksgiving to God for special mercies (*Mishna, Taanith* iii. 9).

3. *Present use of the Hymnal Service.*—The Jews to the present day recite the Egyptian Hallel at the morning prayer immediately after the *Eighteen Benedictions* (שמונה עשרה) on all the festivals of the year except *New Year* and the *Day of Atonement*, omitting Ps. cxv. 1-11 and cxvi. 1-11 on the last six days of the Feast of Passover, and on the new moon. Before the Hallel is recited they pronounce the following benediction: 'Blessed art thou, Lord our God, King of the world, who hast sanctified us with thy commandments, and enjoined upon us to recite the Hallel!' At the Passover supper, on the first two evenings of the festival, both the Egyptian Hallel and the Great Hallel are now recited, the former is still divided in the same manner as in the days of our Saviour.

4. *Institution of this Hymnal Service.*—It is now impossible to ascertain precisely when this service was first instituted. Some of the Talmudists affirm that it was instituted by Moses, others say that Joshua introduced it, others derive it from Deborah, David, Hezekiah, or Hananiah, Mishaël and Azariah (*Pesachim* 117, a). From 2 Chron. xxxv. 15 we see that the practice of the Levites chanting the Hallel while the Paschal lambs were being slain was already in vogue in the days of Josiah, and it is not at all improbable that it was customary to do so at a much earlier period.

5. *Literature.*—Maimonides, *Jod Ha-Chesaka, Hilchoth Chamez u. Maza*, sections vii. and viii. vol. i. p. 263-265; Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, s. v. הלל, col. 613-616; and Bartolocci, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, vol. ii. 227-243, have important treatises upon this subject, but their information is most uncritically put together, and no distinction is made between earlier and later practices. A thoroughly masterly and critical investigation is that of Krochmal, *More Neboche Ha-Seman*, Leopoli 1851, p. 135, ff.; comp. also Edelman's edition of the *Siddur*, with Landshuth's *Critical Annotations*,

Königsberg 1845, p. 423, ff.; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Nordhausen 1857, vol. ii. p. 169, ff.—C. D. G.

HALLELUJAH (הללֵיָהּ) or ALLELUIA (Ἀλληλουῖα), a word which stands at the beginning of many of the Psalms. From its frequent occurrence in this position it grew into a formula of praise, and was chanted as such on solemn days of rejoicing. This is intimated by the Apocryphal book of Tobit (xiii. 18), when speaking of the rebuilding of Jerusalem, 'And all her (Jerusalem's) streets shall sing Alleluia' (comp. Rev. xix. 1, 3, 4, 6). This expression of joy and praise was transferred from the synagogue to the church, and is still occasionally heard in devotional psalmody.

HALLETT, JOSEPH, a learned nonconformist minister born at Exeter in the year 1692. He was the son of Joseph Hallett, one of the pastors of the presbyterian congregation in Exeter, and was the grandson of another Joseph Hallett who was ejected from Chesleborough in Somersetshire by the Act of Uniformity. He was educated for the Christian ministry at a seminary conducted by his father and his father's colleague, J. Pierce; and when, in the year 1719, Messrs. Hallett and Pierce were removed from their pastoral charge in consequence of the avowal of Arian opinions, young Hallett was appointed co-pastor with Pierce over the new congregation assembling in what was called James's Meeting. He died in 1744. In addition to some minor works on controversial topics, he published—1. *Index Librorum MSS. Græcorum et Versionum antiquarum Novi Fœderis, quos viri eruditissimi J. Millius et L. Kusterus cum tertia editione Stephanica contulerunt*, Lond. 1728, 8vo. This work was published as an aid to the use of Kuster's edition of Mill's New Testament, and contains an account of the several MSS. referred to by these editors. 2. *A free and impartial study of the Holy Scriptures recommended, being notes on some Peculiar Texts, with Discourses and Observations, etc.*, 3 vols., Lond. 1729, 1732, 1736, 8vo. Besides the notes on various texts of Scripture, and some discussions on doctrinal and practical topics, these volumes contain dissertations on the quotations from the O. T. in the Apocrypha; on the Septuagint version; on the errors in the present Hebrew copies of the O. T.; on the original meaning of the ten commandments, and on the Agape or Love Feasts. 3. *A Paraphrase, and notes on the three last Chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Lond. 1733, 4to. This was designed to be a supplement to Pierce's paraphrase and notes on this Epistle, a work which had been published in an unfinished state in consequence of the death of its author. Prefixed are two introductory dissertations, one on the authorship, and the other on the language, of the epistle. The former supports the Pauline authorship, and is still valuable for its trustworthy array of historical testimonies, the author having, as he tells us, 'trusted to no second-hand quotations, but taken every passage immediately from the original authors themselves.' In the second dissertation he advocates the opinion of a Hebrew or Syriac original, the translation into Greek being made probably by Luke.—S. N.

HALLOHESH (הללוֹשֵׁשׁ; Sept. Ἀλωής, Alex. Ἀδω), one of the chiefs of the people who sealed the

* Dean Alford (*The Greek Testament*, etc., Matt. xxvi. 30, vol. i., p. 256, 4th ed.) most strangely confounds this Hallel with the *Great Hallel*.

covenant with Nehemiah (x. 24). It is the same name which appears in the A. V. as HATHOTHETH (iii. 12). Probably the first syllable is the article, and the word means *the whisperer* or *wizard*.—†.

HAM or CHAM (חם; LXX. Σαμ; Vulg.

Cham) was one of the three sons of Noah.

Ham's place in his Family. *Idolatry connected with his Name.*—Like his brothers he was married at the time of the Deluge, and with his wife was saved from the general destruction in the ark which his father had prepared at God's command. He was thus with his family a connecting link between the antediluvian population and those who survived the Flood. The salient fact of his impiety and dishonour to his father has also caused him to be regarded as the transmitter and representative in the renovated world of the worst features of idolatry* and profaneness, which had grown to so fatal a consummation amongst the antediluvians. The old commentators, full of classical associations, saw in Noah and his sons the counterpart of Κρόνος, or Saturn, and his three divine sons, of whom they identified Jupiter or Ζεύς with Ham, especially, as the name suggested, the African Jupiter Ammon (Ἀμμών γάρ [or, more correctly, Ἀμμών, so Gaisford and Baehr], Ἀγῶνιστοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία, Herod. *Euterp.*, 42; Plutarch explains Ἀμμών by the better known form Ἀμμων, *Is. et Osir.* ix. In Jer. xlvii. 25, 'the multitude of No' is אֲמֹן מִנָּה, *Amon of No*; so in Nahum iii. 8,

'Populous No' is *No-Amon*, אֲמֹן נֹחַ. For the identification† of Jupiter Ammon with Ham, see J. Conr. Dannhauer's *Politica Biblica*, ii. 1; Is. Vossius, *de Idol.*, lib. ii. cap. 7). One of the reasons which leads Bochart (*Phaleg.* i. 1, ed. Villemand, p. 7) to identify Ham with Jupiter or Zeus, is derived from the meaning of the name. חם (from the root חָמַם, *to be hot*) combines the ideas *hot* and *swarthy* (comp. Ἀΐδης); accordingly St. Jerome, who renders our word by *calidus*, and Simon (*Onomast.* p. 103) by *niger*, are not incom-

patible. In like manner Ζεύς is derived a *servendo*, according to the author of the *Etymol. Magn.*, παρὰ τὴν ζέω, θερμότητος γὰρ ὁ ἀήρ, ἢ παρὰ τὸ ζέω, *to scethe, or boil, fervere*. Cyril of Alexandria uses Σεραφίας as synonymous (l. ii. *Glaphyr. in Genes.*) Another reason of identification, according to Bochart, is the fanciful one of comparative age. Zeus was the youngest of three brothers, and so was Ham in the opinion of this author. He is not alone in this view of the subject.* Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 489) calls him 'filius natu tertius et minimus'; similarly Fürst (*Hebr. Wörterb.* i. 408), Knobel (*die Gen. erkl.* p. 101), Delitzsch (*Comment. über die Gen.* p. 280), and Kalisch (*Genesis*, p. 229), who lays down the rule in explanation of the בְּנֵי חָמֶן applied to Ham in Gen. ix. 24, 'if there are more than two sons, בן נורא, the eldest, בן קטן the youngest son,' and he aptly compares I Sam. xvii. 13, 14. The LXX., it is true, like the A. V., renders by the comparative—ὁ νεώτερος, 'his younger son.' But, throughout, *Shem* is the term of comparison, the central point of blessing from whom all else diverge. Hence not only is Ham the חָמֶן ὁ νεώτερος, in comparison with Shem, but Japheth is relatively to the same הַנּוֹרָא, ὁ μεῖζων (see Gen. x. 21). That this is the proper meaning of this latter passage, which treats of the age of Japheth, the eldest son of Noah, we are convinced by the consideration just adduced, and our conviction is supported by the LXX. translators, Symmachus, Raschi,† Abenezra, Luther, Junius, and Tremellius, Piscator, Mercerus, Arias, Montanus, Clericus, Dathius, J. D. Michaelis, and Mendelssohn, who gives a powerful reason for his opinion: 'The tonic accents make it clear that the word הַנּוֹרָא, the elder, applies to *Yapheth*; wherever the words of the text are obscure and equivocal, great respect and attention must be paid to the tonic accents, as their author understood the true meaning of the text better than we do' (De Sola, Lindenthal, and Raphall's *Trans. of Genesis*, p. 43). In consistency with this seniority of Japheth, his name and genealogy are first given in the *Toldoth Beni Noah*, of Gen. x. ‡

* Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 6. 3) expressly calls Ham the youngest of Noah's sons, ὁ νεώτατος τῶν παίδων.

† Raschi says: 'From the words of the text I do not clearly know whether the elder applies to Shem or to Japheth. But as we are afterwards informed that Shem was 100 years old, and begat Arphaxad two years after the deluge (xi. 10), it follows that *Japheth was the elder*, for Noah was 500 years old when he began to have children, and the deluge took place in his 600th year. His eldest son must consequently have been a hundred years old at the time of the flood, whereas we are expressly informed that *Shem* did not arrive at that age until two years after the deluge.'

‡ Shem's name stands first, when the three brothers are mentioned together, probably because the special blessing (afterwards to be more fully developed in his great descendant Abraham) was bestowed on him by God. But this prerogative by no means affords any proof that Shem was the eldest of Noah's sons. The obvious instances of

* Lactantius mentions this ancient tradition of Ham's idolatrous degeneracy: 'Ille [Cham] profugus in ejus terrae parte consedit, quæ nunc Arabia nominatur; eaque terra de nomine suo Chanaan dicta est, et posterum ejus Chananæi. Hæc fuit prima gens quæ Deum ignoravit, quoniam princeps ejus [Cham] et conditor cultum Dei a patre non accepit, maledictus ab eo; itaque ignorantiam divinitatis minoribus suis reliquit.' (*De orig. erroris*, ii. 13; *De falsa Relig.*, 23.) See other authors quoted in Beyer's *Addit. ad Seldeni Syntag. de Diis Syris* (Ugol. *Thes.* xxiii. 288). This tradition was rife also among the Jews. R. Manasse says 'חָמֶן בֶּן נֹחַ שִׁמְרָה אֶת אוֹנִים וְנָן', moreover Ham, the son of Noah, was the first to invent idols, etc. The Tyrian idols called חֲמָנִים, *Chamanim*, are supposed by Kircher to have their designation from the degenerate son of Noah (see Spencer, *de legg. Hebr.* [ed. Pfaff.] pp. 470-482).

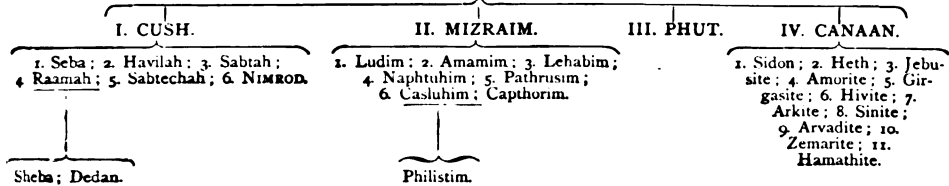
† This identification is, however, extremely doubtful, eminent critics of modern times reject it; among them Ewald (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. 375 [note]), who says: 'Mit dem ägyptischen Gotte Amôn oder Hammôn ihn zusammenzubringen hat man keinen Grund,' u. s. w.

[The table, which we present in a genealogical method, will speak for itself. The abbreviations denote the names of the commentators quoted; the italicised words indicate the countries in which the

descendants of Ham settled; and the *Greek* words are those by which Josephus renders the proper names which occur in Ham's history, as he states it, in his *Antiq. Jud.* i. 4. 1 and 6. 2.]

‘These are the sons of HAM,
after their families (למשפחותם, or clans), after their tongues (ללשונותם),
in their countries (בארצותם), [and] in their nations’ (בגויותם), Gen. x. 20.

HAM (Xduas).



N.B.—In the following explanatory remarks, which we have selected from Commentators of the greatest authority on this subject, Joseph stands for Josephus; Jer. for St. Jerome; Abul. for Abulfaragius; B. for Bochart; C. a L. for Corn. a Lapide; C. for Calmet; Patr. for Bp. Patrick; J. for Sir W. Jones; A. for Asseman; V. for Volney; Br. for Bryant; M. for J. D. Michaelis; Ros. for E. F. C. Rosenmüller; H. for Dr. Hales; Cl. for Dr. A. Clarke; G. for Gesenius; K. for Dr. Kitto; F. for Feldhoff; Boh. for Von Bohlen; L. for Lenormant; D. for Delitzsch; Kl. for Keil; Kal. for Kalisch; Kn. for Knobel; R. for Rawlinson.

Descendants of Ham, and their locality.—With the particulars of this important document we have here no further to do than so far as it has relation to the posterity of Ham, *i.e.*, with the second section contained in vers. 6-20. The loose distribution, which assigns *ancient Asia* to Shem, and *ancient Africa* to Ham, requires much modification; for although the Shemites had but little connection with Africa, the descendants of Ham had, on the contrary, wide settlements in Asia, not only on the shores of the Syrian, Mediterranean, and in the Arabian peninsula, but (as we learn from linguistic discoveries, which minutely corroborate the letter of the Mosaic statements, and refute the assertions of modern rationalism) in the plains of Mesopotamia. One of the most prominent facts alleged in Gen. x. is the foundation of the earliest monarchy by the grandson of Ham, in *Babylonia*. ‘Cush [the eldest son of Ham] begat Nimrod . . . the beginning of whose kingdom was Babel [margin, Babylon], and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar’ (vers. 6, 8, 10). Here we have a primitive Babylonian empire distinctly declared to have been Hamitic, through Cush. For the complete vindication of this statement of Genesis from the opposite statements of Bunsen, Niebuhr, Heeren, and others, we must refer the reader to Rawlinson’s *Five great Monarchies*, vol. i. chap. iii., compared with his *Historical Evidences*, etc. [Bampton Lectures], pp. 18, 68, 355-357. The idea of an ‘*Asiatic Cush*’ was declared by Bunsen to be ‘an imagination of interpreters, the child of despair’ (*Phil. of Univ. Hist.* i. 191). But in 1858 Sir H. Rawlinson having obtained a number of Babylonian

documents more ancient than any previously discovered, was able to declare authoritatively, that the early inhabitants of South Babylonia were of a cognate race with the primitive colonists both of *Arabia* and of the *African Ethiopia* (Rawlinson’s *Herodotus* i. 442). He found their vocabulary to be undoubtedly *Cushite* or *Ethiopian*, belonging to that stock of tongues which in the sequel were everywhere more or less mixed up with the Semitic languages, but of which we have the purest modern specimens in the *Mahra* of *Southern Arabia* and the *Galla* of *Abyssinia* (*Ibid*, note 9). He found also that the traditions both of *Babylon* and *Assyria* pointed to a connection in very early times between *Ethiopia*, *Southern Arabia*, and the cities on the lower *Euphrates*. We have here evidence both of the widely-spread settlements of the children of Ham, in *Asia*, as well as *Africa*, and (what is now especially valuable) of the truth of the 10th chapter of Genesis, as an ethnographical document of the highest importance.* This is not the place to give full details of the settlement of Ham’s posterity in *Asia* and *Africa*. As, however, the subject is of growing interest, and in order to present the reader with a general view of facts, which are spread over many volumes, we propose to collect in a table the various opinions of some leading commentators as to the several countries, which were colonised by the descendants of Ham, referring the reader for our own views of the details to the different articles in this work which are devoted to the subject.

* Some writers push the settlements of Ham still more towards the east; Feldhoff (*Die Völkertafel der Genesis*, p. 69), speaking generally of them, makes them spread, not simply to the south and south-west of the plains of Shinar, but east and south-east also; he accordingly locates some of the family of Cush in the neighbourhood of the Paropamisus chain [the *Hindu Kōosh*], which he goes so far as to call the centre whence the Cushites emanated (*Vielleicht gar ist der Hindu Kusch*

Seth, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Judah, Joseph, Ephraim, Moses, David, and Solomon (besides this of Shem), give sufficient ground for observing that primogeniture was far from always securing the privileges of *birthright and blessing*, and other distinctions (comp. Gen. xxv. 23; xlviii. 14, 18, 19, and 1 Sam. xvi. 6-12).

I. CUSII (Χούσι) 'reigned over the Ethiopians' [African Cushites], Joseph. ; 'Æthiopia' (vaguely), Jer. (in *Quest. Hebr. in Genes.*); 'Both the Arabian Ethiopia, which was the parent country, and the African, its colony' [Abyssinia = Cush in Vulg. Syriac], Ros.* after M. ; but these gradations (confining Cush first, with Joseph., to the western shore of the Red Sea, and then, with M. and Ros., extending the nation to the Arabian Peninsula) require further extension ; modern discoveries tally with this most ancient ethnographical record in placing Cush on the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, R. The earliest empire, that of Nimrod, was Cushite, literally and properly, not *per catachresin*, as Heeren, Bunsen, and others, would have it, R.† According to V., the term *Ethiopian*, coextensive with *Cush*, included even the Hindus ; he seems, however, to mean the Southern Arabians, who were, it is certain, sometimes called Indians,‡ especially the Yemenese ; J. indeed, on the ground of Sanscrit affinities ('*Cus* or *Cush* being among the sons of Brahma, i. e., among the

als Mutterland aller kuschitischen Stämme), and he peoples the greater part of Hindustan, Birmah, and China, with the posterity of the children of Cush (see under their names in this art.) The late Dr. Prichard (*Analysis of the Egyptian Mythology*) compares the philosophy and the superstitions of the ancient Egyptians with those of the Hindus, and finds 'so many phenomena of striking congruity' between these nations that he is induced to conclude that *they were descended from a common origin*. Nor ought we here to omit that the Armenian historian *Abulfaragius* among the countries assigned to the sons of Ham expressly includes both *Scindia* and *India* (by which he means such parts of Hin-

dustan as lie west and east of the river Indus والهند

والسند Greg. Abul-Pharagii, *Hist. Dynast.* [Ed. Pocock, Oxon. 1673], Dyn. i. p. 17.

* When Ros. (*Scholia in Gen. in loc.*) claims Josephus for an 'Asiatic Cush', as well as an 'African' one, he exceeds the testimony of the historian, who says no more than that 'the Ethiopians of his day called themselves Cushites, and not only they, but all the Asiatics, also gave them that name' (*Antiq. i. 6. 2*). But Joseph. does not specify what Ethiopians he means : the form of his statement leads to the opposite conclusion rather, that the Ethiopians were *Africans* merely, excluded from all the Asiatics (ὁπὸ ταυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πᾶσι), the ταυτῶν referring to the Ἀἰθίοπες just mentioned. (For a better interpretation of Joseph. here, see *V. Système Geog. des Hébreux*, v. 224.)

† J. (*On the Origin and Families of Nations, Works*, iii. 202) shows an appreciation of the wide extent of the *Cushite* race in primæval times, which is much more consistent with the discoveries of recent times than the speculations of the neocritical school prove to be ; 'The children of Ham,' he says, 'founded in Iran (the country of the lower Euphrates) the monarchy of the first Chaldeans, invented letters, etc. etc.' (comp. R. as above quoted).

‡ In *Menologio Græco*, p. ii. pag. 197. Felix Arabia India vocatur ... ubi felix vocatur India Arabica, ut ab Æthiopica et Gangetica distinguitur.' Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* iii. (2.) 569.

progenitors of the Hindus, and at the head of an ancient pedigree preserved in the *Ramayan*'), goes so far as to say, 'We can hardly doubt that the Cush of Moses and Valmiki was an ancestor of the Indian race.' J., however, might have relied too strongly on the forged Purana of Wilford (*Asiatic Researches*, iii. 432) ; still, it is certain that Oriental tradition largely (though in its usual exaggerated tone) confirms the Mosaic statements about the sons of Noah and their settlements. 'In the *Rozit ul Suffah* it is written that God bestowed on Ham nine sons,' the two which are mentioned at the head of the list (*Hind, Sind*, with which comp. Abul. as quoted in one of our notes above), expressly connected the *Hindus* with Ham, although not through *Cush*, who occurs as the sixth among the Hamite brethren. See the entire extract from the *Khelasut ul Akhbar* of Khondemeer in Ros. (*Bibl. Geog.* append. to chap. 3, vol. i. p. 109 [*Bibl. Cab.*]) Boh. (*Genes. in loc.*), who has a long but indistinct notice of Cush, with his Sanscrit predilections, is for extending Cush 'as far as the dark India,' claiming for his view the sanction of Ros., Winer, and Schumann. When Job (xxviii. 19) speaks of 'the topaz of Ethiopia' [פְּתוֹר־יָפֶת],

Boh. finds a Sanscrit word in पथरत, and consequently a link between India and Cush [פֶּתֶר, Ethiopia.] He refers to the Syriac, Chaldean, and Saadians versions as having India for Cush, and (after Braun, *de Vest. Sacerd.* i. 115), assigns Rabbinical authority for it. Assemani, who is by Boh. referred to in a futile hope of extracting evidence for the identification of Cush and India (of the Hindus), has an admirable dissertation on the people of Arabia (*Bibl. Or.* iii. (2), 552, ff.), one element of the Arab population he derives from Cush (see below). We thus conclude that the children of Ham, in the line of Cush, had very extensive settlements in Asia, as far as the Euphrates and Persian Gulf at least, and probably including the district of the Indus ; while in Africa they both spread widely in Abyssinia, and had settlements apparently among their kinsmen, the Egyptians ; this we feel warranted in assuming on the testimony of the Arabian geographers ; e. g., Abulfeda (in his section on Egypt, tables, p. 110 in the original, p. 151 trans. by Reinaud) mentions a *Cush* or rather *Cus* [قوص] as the most important city in Egypt after

the capital *Fosthaht* ; its port on the Red Sea was *Cosseyr*, and it was a place of great resort by the Mohammedans of the west on pilgrimage. We have dwelt the longer on these particulars about the Cushites, because we wish to give greater prominence to their Asiatic settlements than has been done by some writers ; this we would do and at the same time avoid the extravagance of opinions which (like those of Feldhoff, for instance) cover all Southern Asia to the Pacific with an Hamitic population. We conclude this part of our art. with some remarks of Br. on the enterprise of the Cushites, and the affinity of the primitive Chaldeans and Egyptians, so corroborative of Holy Scripture, — 'The sons of Cush where they once got possession were never totally ejected. If they were at any time driven away, they returned after a time and recovered their ground ; for which reason I make no doubt but many of them in process of time returned to Chaldæa, and mixed with those of their family who resided there. Hence arose the

tradition, that the Babylonians not only conquered Egypt, but that the learning of the Egyptians came originally from Chaldaea: and the like account from the Egyptians, that people from their country had conquered Babylon, and that the wisdom of the Chaldeans was derived from them' (*On Ancient Egypt, Works*, vi. 250).

1. SEBA (Σάβας) is 'universally admitted by critics to be the ancient name for the Egyptian [Nubian] Meroë,' Boh. This is too large a statement; Bochart denies that it could be Meroë, on the assumption that this city did not exist before Cambyzes, relying on the statement of Diodorus and Lucius Ampelius. Joseph. (*Antiq.* ii. 10), however, more accurately says that Saba 'was a royal city of Ethiopia [Nubia], which Cambyzes afterwards named Meroë, after the name of his sister.' B. would have Seba to be *Saba-Mareb* in Arabia, confounding our Seba, written with a Samech [סבא], with Sheba [שבא], with a Schin.

Meroë, with the district around it, was no doubt settled by our Seba. (See G. s.v., who quotes Burckhardt, Ruppell, and Hoskins; so C. a L., Ros., and Kal.; Patr. agrees with B.; V. (who differs from B.) yet identifies Seba with the modern Arabian *Sabbea*; Heeren throws his authority into the scale for the Ethiopian* Meroë; so Kn.) It supports this opinion, that Seba is mentioned in conjunction with the other Nile lands (Ethiopia and Egypt) in Isaiah xliii. 3, and xlv. 14. [*The Sheba* of Arabia, and our Ethiopian *Seba*, as representing opposite shores of the Red Sea, are contrasted in Ps. lxxii. 10.] See F. (*Volkertafel*, 71), who, however, discovers many *Sebas* both in Africa (even to the south-west coast of that continent) and in Asia (on the Persian Gulf), a circumstance from which he derives the idea that, in this grandson of their patriarch, the Hamites displayed the energy of their race by widely extended settlements.

2. HAVILAH (Εὐλάς), not to be confounded with the son of Joktan, who is mentioned in ver. 29 (as he is by Ros., and apparently by Patr., after B.) Joseph. and Jer., as quoted by C. a L., were not far wrong in making the *Gatulians* [the people of the central part of North Africa, between the modern Niger and the Red Sea] to be descended from the Cushite Havilah. Kiepert (*Bibel-Atlas*, 51. I.) rightly puts our Havilah in *East Abyssinia*, by the straits of *Báb-d-Mandeb*. Ges., who takes this view, refers to Pliny, vi. 28, and Ptolemy, iv. 7, for the *Avalita*, now *Zeilah*, and adds, that Saadias repeatedly renders חוילה by زويلة or زيلة (*Zeilah*). Boh. at first identifies the two

Havilahs, but afterwards so far corrects himself, as to admit, very properly, that there was probably on the west coast of the Red Sea an Havilah as well as on the east of it—'just in the same way as

there was one *Seba* on the coast of Arabia, and another opposite to it in Ethiopia.'*

3. SABTAH (Σαββάδ, Σαββάδας) is by Joseph., with great probability, located immediately north of the preceding, in the district east of Meroë, between the Astabaras (Tacaze), a tributary of the Nile, and the Red Sea, the country of the *Astabari*, as the Greeks called them (Σαβαστηνούς ὀνομαζοῦνται δὲ Ἀσταβάροι παρ' Ἑλλήνων, *Antiq.* i. 6. 2). Kal. quite agrees in this opinion, and Ges. substantially, when he places Sabtah on the south-west coast of the Red Sea, where was the Ethiopian city *Σαβάρ*. (See Strabo, xvi. p. 770 [ed. Casaub.], and Ptolemy, iv. 10.) Ros., Boh., and Kn., with less propriety, place it in Arabia, with whom agree Del. and Kl., while F., with his usual extravagance, identifies it with Thibet.

4. RAAMAH ('Ρέγμα, 'Ρέγμος) and his two sons Sheba (Σαβās) and Dedan ('Ιου δάδας) are separated by Joseph. and Jer., who place the last-mentioned in *West Ethiopia* (Αἰθιοπικὸν ἔθνος τῶν Ἑσπερίων, which Jer. translates *Gens Ethiopia in occidentali plaga*). Ezekiel, however, in xxvii. 20, 22, mentions these three names together in connection with *Arabia*. According to Niebuhr, who, in his Map of Yemen, has a province called *Sabîl*, and the town of *Sabbea* (in long. 43° 30' lat. 18'), the country south of *Sabîl* abounds with traces of the name and family of Cush. Without doubt, we have here veritable Cushite settlers in Arabia (Assemani *Bibl. Oriental.* iii. (2.) 554). All the commentators whom we have named (with the exception of F.) agree in the Arabian locality of these grandsons and son of Cush. A belt of country stretching from the Red Sea, opposite the Ethiopian Havilah, to the south of the Persian Gulf, across Arabia, comprises the settlements of Raamah and his two sons. The city called 'Ρέγμα, or 'Ρήγμα, by Ptolemy (vi. 7), within this tract, closely resembles *Raamah*, as it is written in the original [רעמה]; so does the island *Dāden*, in the Persian Gulf, resemble the name of one of the sons, *Dedan*.

5. SABTECHAH (Σαβακαθδ, Σαβακδθας) is by Kal. thought to have settled in *Ethiopia*, and the form of the word favours the opinion, the other compounds

* Meroë, the capital of Ethiopia, was one of the greatest of African cities. Among the ruins of its temples are those of a magnificent one dedicated to *Ammon*, the tutelary deity of the Hamitic race. (For details of this great city, see Strabo, xviii. 821; Herod. i. 29; Diod. i. 23; Pliny, ii. 73, etc.; also Heeren, *African Nations*, i. 335-473, for a full description of its grandeur and commerce and ruins, with plans of the *Ammonium*, etc.)

* There is no such difficulty as Kal. (*Gen. Pref.* 93) supposes in believing that occasionally kindred people should have like names. It is not more incredible that there should be a Havilah both in the family of Ham and in that of Shem (*Gen.* x. ver. 7 comp. with ver. 29) than that there were Enochs and Lamechs among the posterities of both Cain and Seth (comp. *Gen.* iv. 17, 18, with ver. 18, 25). Kalisch's cumbersome theory of a vast extent of country from the Persian Gulf running to the south-west and crossing the Red Sea, of the general name of Havilah (possessed at one end by the son of Joktan, and at the other by the son of Cush), removes no difficulty, and indeed is unnecessary. There is no 'apparent discrepancy' (of which he speaks, p. 249) in the Mosaic statement of two Havilahs of distinct races; nor any violation of consistency, when fairly judged by the nature of the case. M. and F. strangely flounder about in their opposite conjectures: the former supposes our Havilah to be the land of the *Chivalisci*, on the Caspian, the latter places it in China Proper, about Pekin (!)

of *Sub* being apparently of Ethiopic or Kushite origin. * Its obvious resemblance to the Ethiopian name *Subatok*, discovered on Egyptian monuments (comp. the king **MD**, in 2 Kings xvii. 4, and the *Selechus* of Manetho), renders its position in Arabia, or at the Persian Gulf, improbable; but *Samyadace*, in Gedrosia (as B. supposes), or *Tabachosta*, in Persia (as Boh. suggests), or *Satakor*, are out of the question. The Targum Jonathan renders here **נִמְרֹד** (*Zings*), which is the Arabic name for the African district *Zanguebar*, and which is not inappropriate here,* Kal.

6. NIMROD (*Νεβρώδης*), the mighty founder of the earliest imperial power, and the *crindest* name,* not only among the children of Ham, but in primeval history, must be reserved to another part of this work [NIMROD] for a detailed description. He is noticed here in his place, in passing, because around his name and exploits has gathered a mass of eastern tradition from all sources, which entirely corroborates the statement of Moses, that the primitive empire of the Chaldeans was *Cushite*, and that its people were closely connected with Egypt, and Canaan, and Ethiopia. R. (*Five Great Mon.*, chap. iii.) has collected much of this tradition, and shewn that the hints of Herodotus as to the existence of an *Asiatic* Ethiopia, as well as an *African* one (iii. 94; vii. 70), and that the traditional belief which Moses of Chorene, the Armenian historian, has, for instance how that *Nimrod is in fact Belus*, and grandson of Cush by Mizraim (a statement substantially agreeing with that of the Bible), have been too strongly confirmed by all recent researches (among the cuneiform inscriptions) in comparative philology to be set aside by criticism based on the mere conjectures of ingenious men. It would appear that Nimrod not only built cities, and conquered extensive territories, 'subduing or expelling the various tribes by which the country was previously occupied' (R., p. 195; comp. Gen. x. 10-12 [marginal version]), but established a dynasty of some eleven or twelve monarchs. By and by (about 1500 B.C.; see R. p. 223) the ancient Chaldeans, the stock of Cush and people of Nimrod, sank into obscurity, crushed by a foreign Shemitic stock, destined after some seven or eight centuries of submission to revive to a second tenure of imperial power, which culminated in grandeur under the magnificent Nebuchadnezzar.

II. MIZRAIM (*Μεσραιμ*, *Μεσραΐμος*), that is, the father of *Egypt*, is the second son of Cush. Of this *dual* form of a man's name we have other instances in *Ephraim* and *Shakaraïm* (1 Chron. viii. 8). We must, to avoid repetition, postpone particulars of this important name to a future art. [MIZRAIM]. We simply call the reader's attention to the fact, vouched for in this genealogy of the Hamites, of the *nearness of kindred between Nimrod and Mizraim*. This point is of great value in the study of ancient eastern history, and will reconcile many difficulties which would otherwise be insoluble.

* Nimrod seems to have been deified under the title of *Bilu-Nipru*, or Bel-Nimrod, which may be translated 'the god of the chase,' or 'the great hunter.' (The Greek forms *Νεβρώδ* and *Νεβρώδ* serve to connect *Nipru* with **נִמְרֹד**). The native root is thought to be *nafar*, 'to pursue,' or 'cause to flee'), R. p. 196.

'For the last 3000 years it is to the Semitic and Indo-European races that the world has been mainly indebted for its advancement; but it was otherwise in the first ages. *Egypt and Babylon*, Mizraim and Nimrod, both descendants of Ham, led the way and acted as the pioneers of mankind in the various untrodden fields of art, literature, and science. Alphabetic writing, astronomy, history, chronology, architecture, plastic art, sculpture, navigation, agriculture, and textile industry, seem, all of them, to have had their origin in one or other of these two countries' (R. p. 75).

Land of Ham.—We shall have no more convenient place than this to notice the poetic terms by which the Psalmist designates *Egypt* in Ps. cv. 23 ('Jacob sojourned in the *land of Ham*,' **בְּאֶרֶץ חָמ**).

חָמ, here parallel and synonymous with **מִצְרַיִם**, with which comp. ver. 27, and cvi. 22, 23), and in Ps. lxxviii. 51 (where '*the tabernacles of Ham*,'

מִצְרַיִם, is again parallel with **מִצְרַיִם**). That which is in these passages the *poetical* name of Egypt in Hebrew was among the Egyptians themselves probably the domestic and usual designation of their country (G.) According to G. this name of *Ham* ['Coptic **ΧΗΕΙ**,' for which Lepsius, however, substitutes another word, **Hee**

[Memph.] or **ΣΗΕ** [Thebaic]]* is derived from the swarthy complexion of the people, while Lepsius says, 'not from the colour of its inhabitants, which was red, but from that of its soil, which formed a strong contrast with the adjacent countries (Comp. Herodotus' *μελάγλαιον*, ii. 12; and Plutarch's *Ἀλεξάντρον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα μελάγγειον οὐσαν* . . . *Χημία καλοῦσι*, *De Isid. et Osir.* [Reiske] vol. vii. p. 437). In the Hieroglyphic language the name occurs as **KM**. The inscription of it, as it frequently occurs on the Rosetta stone, is pronounced by Champollion, Akerblad, and Spohn, *Chmé* (G. *Theb.* 489). The name by which Egypt is commonly called in Hebrew, **מִצְרַיִם** (**מִצְרַיִם**) should probably be translated *Egypt* in 2 Kings xix. 24; Is. xix. 6; xxxvii. 25; and Micah vii. 12; Ges. and Fürst, s. v.), was not used by the Egyptians (Baehr, *Herodot.* note, in l. c.), but by *Asiatics* it appears to have been much used of the land of the Nile, as is evident from the cuneiform inscriptions.

* What G. calls *Coptic* Lepsius designates by the now more usual term *Memphitic*: G. adds the *Sahidic* (Lepsius' *Thebaic*) form of our word **KHEE** (from **KHEE**, *niger*); but Lepsius denies that the name of Egypt, *Ham* (**חָמ**), has 'any direct connection' with this word; he substitutes the root **Hee**, or **Hee** [Memphitic], which is softened into **Σεε**, or **ΣΗε**, *Hem*, in the sister dialect of Thebes; the meaning of which is *to be hot* ('fervere, ardere,' Tattam, *Lex. Egypt.* Lat. p. 653, 671). **ΧΗΕΙ**, however, and **KHEE**, are, no doubt, the constantly used terms for the name of the country (see Tattam, pp. 155, 560, and Uhlemann, *Copt. Gr. & Lex.* p. 154).

The Median form of the name was *Mitzariga*; the Babylonian *Mizir*; the Assyrian *Muzri*. The Arabic name of the present capital of Egypt is *El Maar*, and the country also is *مصر* [*Misr*.]

(Sir H. Rawlinson, *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. xiv. (1.) p. 18; Lepsius, in Herzog, *s. v.* Egypt). Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 6. 2) renders the Hebrew name of Egypt by *Μέστρη*, and of the people by *Μεστραίοι*. Whether, however, we regard the native name from the father, or the Asiatic from the son, they both vouch for the *Hamitic* character of Egypt, which probably differed from all the other settlements of this race in having Ham himself as the actual ἀρχηγός of the nation, among whom also he perhaps lived and died. This circumstance would afford sufficient reason both why the nation itself should regard the father as their *eponymus*, rather than the son, who only succeeded him in the work of settlement, and why, moreover, foreigners with no other interest than simply to distinguish one Hamitic colony from another, should have preferred for that purpose the name of the son, which would both designate this particular nation, and at the same time distinguish it from such as were kindred to it. On the sons of Mizraim we must be brief; Josephus noticed the different fortune which had attended the names of the sons and of the grandsons of Ham, especially in the family of Mizraim; for while 'time had not hurt' the former, of the latter he says (*Antiq.* i. 6. 2), '*we know nothing but their names.*' Jer. (who in these points mostly gives us only the echo of Joseph.) says similarly: 'ceteræ sex gentes ignotæ sunt nobis... quæ usque ad oblivionem præteritorum nominum pervenerunt.' They both, indeed, except two names from the obscurity which had oppressed the other six, *Labim* and *Philistim*, and give them 'a local habitation with their name.' What this is we shall notice soon; meanwhile we briefly state such identifications of the others as have occurred to commentators.

1. LUDIM (Λουδιεῖς)* is not to be confounded with Shem's son *Lud* (ver. 22), the progenitor of the Lydians. The Ludim are often mentioned in Scripture (Is. lxi. 19; Jer. xlv. 9; Ezek. xxvii.

* Joseph., it will be observed, renders all these plural Hebrew names by singular forms. These plurals seem to indicate *clans speaking their own languages* (comp. ver. 20, which surmounts our table), centered around their patriarch, from whom, of course, they derived their *gentile* name; thus, *Ludim* from *Lud*; *Pathrusim* from *Pathros*, etc. (F. p. 94). L. notices the fact of so many nations emerging from Egypt, and spreading over Africa (*Asie occidentale*, p. 244), for he understands these names to be of peoples, not individuals; so Michaelis, *Spicileg.* 254, who quotes Aben Ezra for the same opinion. Aben Ezra, however, does not herein represent the general opinion of the Jewish doctors. The relative כִּסְמִים אֲשֶׁר misled him; he thought it necessarily implied *locality*, and not a *personal* antecedent. Mendelssohn declares him wrong in this view, and refers to Gen. xlix. 24; 'It is probable (he adds) that *Ludim* and the other names were those of *men*, who gave their names to their descendants. Such was the opinion of Raschi, etc.,' who takes the same view as the old Jewish historian.

10; xxx. 5) as a warlike nation, skilled in the use of spear and bow, and seem to have been employed (much as the Swiss have been) as mercenary troops (G.'s *Iesaia*, iii. 311). B. (who placed Cush in Arabia) reserved *Æthiopia* for these Ludim; one of his reasons being based on their use of the bow, as he learns of Herod., Strabo, Heliodor., and Diod. Sicul. But the people of North Africa were equally dexterous in this implement of war; we have therefore no difficulty in connecting the Ludim with the country through which the river *Lud* or *Laud* ran (Pliny, v. 2), in the province of *Tingitania* (Tangier); so Boh., D., and F., which last writer finds other names of cognate origin in North Africa, e. g., the tribe called *Ludaya*, inhabiting one of the oases, and the district of *Ludamar*, in Nigritia. Kal. suggests the Egyptian *Letopolis* or *Letus*, and Cl. the *Mareotis* of Egypt; while Kl. supposes the Berber tribe *Lewdath*; and L. (*L'Asie Occid.* p. 244) the *Nubians*; they think a proximity to Egypt would be most compatible with the fact that the *Ludim* were Egyptian auxiliaries (Jer. xlv. 9).

2. AMAMIM (Ἀμαμῖμοι) are, with unusual unanimity, placed by the commentators in Egypt. C. represents the older opinion, quoting Jonathan's Targ. for the *Mareotis*. Kn. (with whom agree D., Kl., F.) places them in the Delta, the LXX. rendering Ἐνεμεριεμ suggesting to him *Sanemhit*, the Egyptian word for *north country*. The word occurs nowhere else in O. T.

3. LEHABIM (Λαβιέμ, Λαβίμοι) is, with absolute unanimity, including even Jer. and Joseph. [who says, Λ. τοῦ κατοικήσαντος ἐν Αἰθίῳ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλεῖσάντος], identified with the shorter word לִבִּים, *Lubim*, in 2 Chron. xii. 3; xvi. 8; and again in Nahum iii. 9; Dan. xi. 43. They are there the Libyans; B. limits the word to the *Libyaegyptii*, on the west frontier of Egypt, so Kn. The Hebrew word has been connected (by B.)

with לִהְבָּה, and the plur. of לִהְבָּה, which means *flame*; Raschi supposing that they are so called 'because their faces were inflamed with the sun's heat' [Is. xlii. 8] from their residence so near the torrid zone. Hitzig's idea that the Lehabim may be *Nubians* is also held* by L. (*L'Asie Occid.* p. 244).

4. NAPHTUHIM (Νέφθυμοι), according to B. and Ros., should be identified with *Nephtys* in the north of Egypt; Boh. suggests the *Nobatae* in Libya; C. a L. the *Numidians*; Patr. (after Grotius) *Nepata*, in Ethiopia; but none of these opinions appear to us so probable as that of Kn., who thus vindicates for the Memphitic, or Middle Egyptians, the claim to be the *Naphtuhim*. Memphis was the chief seat of the worship of ΠΤΔΘ,

* L.'s opinion is based upon the general principle entertained by him, that, as Cush peopled *Æthiopia*, and Phut *Libya*, and Canaan *Phanicia*; so to Mizraim must be appropriated Egypt, or (at least) the vicinity of that country. There is some force in this view, although the application of it in the case of the Lehabim need not confine his choice to Nubia. *Libya*, with which the name is associated by most writers since Josephus, is contiguous to Egypt, on its western frontier, and would answer the conditions as well as Nubia.

(*Phthah*) an Egyptian deity. If the plural possessive particle **ΠΔ** (*na* = *ol* τοῦ, *Uhlemann*, sec. 14.

1) be prefixed, we get the word **ΠΔ-ΠΤΔΘ**, the people of *Phthah*, *ol* τοῦ *Φθάρ*, just as the Moabites are designated the people of *Chemosh* (Num. xxi. 29; Jer. xlviii. 46), and the Hebrews the people of *Jehovah* (Ezek. xxxvi. 20).

5. **PATHRUSIM** (Φεθρῳσίμος) are undoubtedly the people of *Upper Egypt*, or the Thebaid, of which the capital Thebes is mentioned, under the name of *No* and *No-Amon*, in Nahum iii. 8; Ezek. xxx. 14-16; and Jer. xvi. 25. *Pathros* is an Egyptian name, signifying the *South country* [**ΠΕΤ-ΡΗC**], which may possibly include Nubia also; in Is. xi. 11, and probably Jer. xiv. 15, *Pathros* is mentioned as distinct from, though in close connection with, Egypt. By Greek and Roman writers the Thebaid is called *Nomus Phaturites* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 9; Ptol. iv. 5, 69), B., Boh., D., Kal., Kl., Kn. Brugsch's suggestion, that our word comes from *Pa-Nathor*, that is, the Nome of *Nathor*, an Egyptian deity of the nether world, is an improbable one.

6. **CASLUHIM** (Χεσλοῖμος). In addition to what is said under the article **CASLUHIM**, it may be observed that the Coptic [Basmuric] name of the district called Casiotis, which Ros. writes

Chadsaieloihe, is compounded of **ΘHC**, *mons*, and **ΛΩΚΞ**, *ardere, arere*, and well indicates a rugged and arid country, out of which a colony may be supposed to have emigrated to a land called so nearly after their own home. [Comp. **ἡλῶρ** and **ΘHCΛΩΚΞ** (*Cheslokhe*) and **Κολχίς**, with the metathesis which Gesenius suggests.] This proximity to south-west Palestine of their original abode also exactly corresponds to the relation between these Casluhim and the next mentioned people, expressed in the parenthetical clause: 'Out of whom came Philistim' (Gen. x. 14); i. e., the Philistines were a colony of the Casluhim, probably drafted off into the neighbouring province in consequence of the poverty of their parental home, the very cause which we may suppose impelled some of the Casluhim themselves to seek a more favourable settlement on the south-east shore of the Black Sea, in Colchis.

PHILISTIM (Φιλιστινός), who, according to Joseph., suggested to the Greeks the name of *Palestine*. Of this well known Hamite people we do not propose to treat; a proper opportunity will occur in a future page [**PHILISTINES**]. We must, however, advert to the various readings of the Hebrew text suggested by M. (*Spicleg.* p. 278), who, after Raschi and Masius, would transpose the sentence thus: **וְעַל כָּל אֲרָצוֹת כְּנָעַן וְעַל כָּל אֲרָצוֹת חֵט**, that is, 'And Casluhim, and Caphthorim (out of whom came Philistim)'. This transposition makes *Caphthorim* the origin of the Philistines, according to Amos ix. 7, and perhaps Deut. ii. 23; Jer. xlvii. 4. Ros., G., and Boh., assent to this change, but there is no authority for it either in MSS., Targums, or Versions: and another rendering of the passage, 'Out of whom came Philistim and Caphthorim,' is equally without foundation. In the Hebrew text, as well as the Targums and the

LXX., *Philistim* alone appears as a subject, all the other proper names (including the last, *Caphthorim*) have the objective sign **לְ**, **לָ**, and **טֹוֹס**. This is decisive.

7. **CAPHTHORIM** (Χεφθόρμιος) by Onkelos is rendered **קַפְּתוֹרִי**, 'Cappadocians'; in the Peshito **ܠܗܝܬܐܝܢ**, also 'Cappadocians.' So the other Targums, and (according to C.) 'veteres omnes ac recentiores stant pro Cappadocibus.' [**CAPTHOR.**] In support of the opinion advanced concerning the Caphthorim in this article, it may be observed that in the Mishna (*Cethuboth* [Surenh.], iii. 103), the very word of the Targum, **קַפְּתוֹרִי**, *Cappadocia*, repeatedly occurs; and (wha' escaped the notice of B.) Maimonides, an excellent authority in Egyptian topography, and Bartenora, both in their notes explain this *Caphthorkaja* to be *Caphthor*, and identify it with *Damiatta* in the north of Egypt, in the immediate vicinity of that *Casiotis* where we placed the primitive Casluhim.* It may be added, as some support to our own opinion, that Benjamin of Tudela says (Asher, p. 158; Bohm, pp. 121, 123), 'Damiatta is Caphthor in Scripture.' When the learned editors correct their honest old author on the strength of Ros. and G.'s criticism, we demur, resting on the still greater authority of Maimonides and Bartenora, to say nothing of Onkelos and the Arabic translator.

III. **PHUT** (Φούτης), the third son of Ham, is thus noticed by Joseph. (*Antiq.* i. 6. 2); 'Phut was the founder of *Libya*; he called the inhabitants Phutites, after himself; there is a river in the country of the Moors which bears that name: whence it is that we may see the greatest part of the Grecian historiographers mention that river and the adjoining country by the appellation of Phut; but its present name has been given it from one of the sons of Mizraim, who was called Libys [the progenitor of the *Lehabim*].' Jer. of course adopts this view, which has also been endorsed by B., M., Ros., G., Boh., D., Kl., and Kal. The versions corroborate it also, for in Jer. xlv. 9 [Sept. xxvi. 9] **לִיבִי** (*Phut*) is rendered 'Libyans' in A. V.; *Libyes* in Vulgate; and *Albues* in the Septuagint. Similarly the **לִיבִי** of Ezek. xxx. 5 is *Libya* in A. V.; *Libyes* in Vulg.; and *Albues* in Sept. (so xxxviii. 5).

* It is agreeable to the Egyptian locality which we have assigned to the Caphthorim, that Joseph. says, in general terms, of Mizraim's sons, amongst whom he includes 'Philistim,' making them eight in number:—*Τῶν δὲ Μεστράιμου παίδων ὀκτὼ γενομένων, οἱ πάντες τὴν ἀπὸ Γάζης ἑστὴν Ἀιγύπτου γῆν κατέσχον· μόνον δὲ Φυλιστινὸν τὴν ἑταιρικήν ἢ χώραν διεφύλαξε*. It will be observed that we have, in fact, on independent grounds, well nigh included all these cognate races within the bounds here set them by the historian. The *Ludim* and the *Lehabim* are the only exceptions; and with respect to the latter of these, Josephus must be regarded as intimating his belief that, if they were primevally settled somewhere, with their brethren, between *Gaza* and Egypt, they must at least have subsequently migrated further west, for when speaking of *Phut* he uses language which implies that the descendants of *Libys* (i. e., the *Lehabim*) were connected with Africa to the west of Egypt. In Nahum iii. 9, *Phut* and *Lubim* are associated; probably they were inhabitants together of the same district.

Like some of their kindred races, the children of Phut are celebrated in the Scriptures 'as a warlike, well-armed tribe, sought as allies, and dreaded as enemies'—(Kal.) PHUT means a *bow*; and the nation seems to have been skilled in archery, according to the statements of the Bible. We may add, in confirmation of the preceding view of the locality of Phut, that the Coptic name of Libya, nearest to Egypt, was *Phaiat*. The supposition of Hitzig that Phut was Πούτεια, west of Libya on the north coast of Africa, and of Kal. that it might have been *Buto*, the capital of the Delta, on the south shore of the Butic lake, are unlikely to find much acceptance by the side of the universal choice of all the chief writers, which we have indicated above. (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. i., has mentioned the river, referred to by Joseph., as the *Fut* [or *Phuth*], and Ptolemy, in like manner, as the Φούδς, iv. 1. 3; comp. M. *Spicileg.* i. 160, and Winer, *Bibl. R. W. B.* ii. 291). It must be admitted that Joseph. and those who have followed him are vague in their identification. Libya was of vast extent; as, however, it extended to the Egyptian frontier,* it will, perhaps, best fulfil all the conditions of the case, keeping in view the military connection which seems to have existed between Phut and Egypt, if we deposit the posterity of Phut in eastern Libya contiguous to Egypt, not pressing too exactly the statement of Joseph., who probably meant no more, by his reference to the country of the Moors, and the river *Phut*, than the readily allowed fact that in the vast and unexplored regions of Africa might be found traces, in certain local names, of this ancient son of Ham.

IV. CANAAN (*Χανανος*), the youngest of the sons of Ham, will not require so full a treatment from us here (either in respect of his own name or those of his sons) as Ham's other posterity has demanded; because less obscurity besets the subject, and less doubt and discrepancy of opinion affect the commentators. 'Canaan, the fourth son of Ham,' says Joseph. (*Antiq.* i. 6. 2), 'inhabited the country now called Judæa' [*τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Ἰουδαίαν*]. In the time of Joseph., it must be recollected, this included the entire country which we loosely call *the Holy Land*], 'and called it after his own name, Canaan.' This country is more distinctly described than any other in Holy Scripture, and in the record of Ham's family in Gen. x., its boundary is sketched (see verse 19), excluding the district east of the Jordan. The name *Canaan*, however, is used

* The only objection to this is that this part of the country has been already assigned to the *Lehabim* (see above). To us, however, it seems sufficient to obviate this difficulty to hold that while the *Lehabim* impinged on the border of Upper Egypt, the children of Phut were contiguous to Lower Egypt, and extended westward along the north coast of Africa, and into the very interior of the continent. *Phut* was no doubt of much greater extent than the *Lehabim*, who were only a branch of Mizraim; for it will be observed that in the case of Phut, unlike his brothers, he is mentioned *alone* without children. Their settlements are included in the general name of their father Phut, without the subdivisions into which the districts colonised by his brothers' children were arranged. The designation, therefore, of *Phut* is generic; of *Ludim*, *Lehabim*, etc., specific, and in territory limited.

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sometimes in a more *limited* sense than is indicated here and elsewhere. Thus, in Num. xiii. 29, 'the *Canaanites*' are said to 'dwell by the sea and by the coast of the Jordan' [i.e., obviously in the lowlands, both maritime and inland], in opposition to the Hittites and others who occupy the highlands. This limitation probably indicates the settlements of *Canaan only*—as a separate tribe, apart from those of his sons—afterwards to be enumerated (comp. for a similar limitation of a more extensive name, Cæsar, *de Bel. Gall.* i. 1, where *Gallia* has both a specific and a generic sense; comp. also the specific as well as generic meaning of *Angle* or *Engle* in the Saxon Chronicle (Gibson, p. 13; Thorpe, i. 21) 'of *Angle comon* . . . *East Engla, Middeld Engla*'). On the much-veiled questions of the curse of Noah (who was the object of it, and what was its extent?) we cannot treat; they hardly come within the range of such a work as this. What we have already discovered, however, of the power, energy, and widely-spread dominion of the sons of Ham, whom we have hitherto mentioned, offers some guidance to the solution of at least the latter question. The remarkable enterprise of the Cushite hero, Nimrod; his establishment of imperial power, as an advance on patriarchal government; the strength of the Egypt of Mizraim, and its long domination over the house of Israel; and the evidence which now and then appears that even Phut (who is the obscurest in his fortunes of all the Hamite race) maintained a relation to the descendants of Shem, which was far from servile or subject: do all clearly tend to *limit* the application of Noah's maledictory prophecy to the precise terms in which it was indited; 'Cursed be *Canaan*; a servant of servants shall *he* [not Cush, not Mizraim, not Phut; but *he*] be to his brethren' (Gen. ix. 25); 'that is,' says Aben Ezra, 'to Cush, Mizraim, and Phut, his father's sons'—with remarkable inattention to the context: 'Blessed be the Lord God of *Shem*, and Canaan shall be *his* servant. God shall enlarge *Japhet* . . . and Canaan shall be *his* servant' (vv. 26, 27). If we, then, confine the imprecation to *Canaan*, we can without difficulty trace its accomplishment in the subjugation of the tribes, which issued from *him*, to the children of Israel from the time of Joshua to that of David. Here would be verified Canaan's servile relation to *Shem*; and when imperial Rome finally wrested 'the sceptre from Judah' and ('dwelling in the tents of Shem') occupied the east and whatever remnants of Canaan were left in it: would not this accomplish that further prediction that Japhet too should be lord of Canaan, and *that* (as it would seem to be tacitly implied), mediately, through his occupancy of 'the tents of Shem'? We proceed to enumerate the sons of Canaan, and their localities.

1. SIDON (Σιδὼν δ' ὕψ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ νῦν καλεῖται, Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 6. 2), founded the ancient metropolis of Phœnicia, the renowned city called after his own name, and the mother-city of the still more celebrated Tyre: on the commercial enterprise of these cities, which reached even to the south of Britain, see SIDON, TYRE.

2. HETH (Χετταῖος) was the father of the well-known Hittites, who lived in the south of Palestine around Hebron and Beersheba; in the former of which places the family sepulchre of Abraham was purchased of them (Gen. xxiii. 3). Esau married 'two daughters of Heth,' who gave great sorrow to their husband's mother (Gen. xxvii. 46).

3. The JEBUSITE (Ἰεβουσαῖος) had his chief residence in and around Jerusalem, which bore the name of the patriarch of the tribe, the son of Canaan, *Jebus*. The Jebusites lost their stronghold only in the time of David.

4. The AMORITE (Ἀμορρᾱῖος) seems to have been the largest and most powerful of the tribes of Canaan. [The name 'Amorites' frequently denotes the inhabitants of the entire country.] This tribe occupied portions of territory on both sides of the Jordan, but its strongest hold was in 'the hill country' of Judah, as it was afterwards called.

5. The GIRGASITE (Γιργασαῖος) cannot be for certain identified. [Origen conjectured that the Girgasites might be the *Gergesenes* of Matt. viii. 18.]

6. The HIVITE (Εβᾱῖος?) lived partly in the neighbourhood of Shechem, and partly at the foot of Hermon and Lebanon.

7. The ARKITE (Ἀρουκαῖος)* lived in the Phœnician city of *Arke*, north of Tripolis. Under the emperors of Rome it bore the name of *Cæsarea* [Libani]. It was long celebrated in the time of the Crusades. Its ruins are still extant at *Tel. Arka* (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 162).

8. The SINITE (Σιναιος) probably dwelt near his brother, the Arkite, on the mountain fortress of *Sinās*, mentioned by Strabo (xv. 755), and by St. Jerome.

9. The ARVADITE (Ἀρवादῖος) is mentioned by Joseph. as occupying an island which was very celebrated in Phœnician history. (Strabo describes it in xvi. 753; see vol. i. p. 237 of this Cyclopædia.) 'The men of *Arvad*' are celebrated by Ezekiel xxvii. 8, 11.

10. The ZEMARITE (Σαμαραῖος) inhabited the town of *Simyra* (Σίμυρα, mentioned by Strabo), near the river Eleutherus, at the western extremity of the mountains of Lebanon; extensive ruins of this city are found at the present day bearing the name of *Sumrah*.

11. The HAMATHITE (Ἀμαθῖος). 'The entering in of *Hamath*' indicates the extreme northern frontier of the Holy Land, as 'the river of Egypt' does its southernmost limit (1 Kings viii. 65 *et passim*).

In the verse following the enumeration of these names, the sacred writer says—'Afterward were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad.' This seems to indicate subsequent conquests made by them previous to their own subjugation by the Israelites. 'To show the great goodness of God towards Israel,' says the Jewish commentator Mendelssohn, 'Moses records in Gen. x. the original narrow limits of the land possessed by the Canaanites, which they were permitted to extend by conquest from the neighbouring nations, and *that* (as in the case of the Amorite *Sihon*, Num. xxi. 26) up to the very time when Israel was ready to take possession of the whole. To prepare his readers for the great increase of the Canaanite dominions, the sacred historian (in this early chapter where he mentions their original boundaries) takes care to state that subsequently to their primitive occupation of the land, 'the families of the Canaanites spread abroad,' until their boundaries became such as are described in Num. xxiv.'

General Remarks. Such were Ham and his family; notwithstanding the stigma which claved

that section of them, which came into the nearest relation to the Israelites afterwards, they were the most energetic of the descendants of Noah in the early ages of the postdiluvian world—at least we have a fuller description of their enterprise than of their brethren's as displayed in the primitive ages. The development of empire among the Euphratean Cushites was a step much in advance of the rest of mankind in political organization; nor was the grandson of Ham less conspicuous as a *conqueror*. The only coherent interpretation of the important passage which is contained in Gen. x. 10-12, is that which is adopted in the margin of A. V. After Nimrod had laid the foundation of his empire ('the beginning of his kingdom,' רֵאשִׁית מַמְלָכְתּוֹ, the territory of which it was at first composed—cf. Hos. ix. 10, 'as the first ripe in the fig-tree בְּרִאשִׁיתָהּ at her first time,' that is, when the tree first begins to bear—Ges.) in his native Shinar, not satisfied with the splendid acquisitions which he took at first, no doubt, from his own kinsmen, he invaded the north-eastern countries, where the children of Shem were for the first time disturbed in their patriarchal simplicity: 'Out of that land [even Shinar, Nimrod] went forth to† Asshur [or Assyria], and builded Nineveh and the city Rehoboth and Calah and Resen, between Nineveh and Calah; the same is a great city; i. e., the combination of the forementioned four formed, with their interjacent spaces, the 'great city.' This is the opinion of Knobel, answering to the theory which has connected the ruins of *Khorsabad*, *Kōyunjik*, *Nimrud*, and *Keremlis* together, as the remains of a vast quadrilateral city, popularly called Nineveh. For a different view of the whole subject the reader is referred to Mr Rawlinson's recent volume on *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i. pp. 311-315). But the genius, which moulded imperial power at first, did not avail to retain it long; the sceptre, before many ages, passed to the race of Shem,†

* The objection to this rendering is based by Rosenmüller (*Schol. in loc.*), after other commentators, on the absence of the ה local appended to אֲשׁוּר (which they say ought to be אֲשׁוּרָה to produce the meaning *to Assyria*. The ה local is, however, far from indispensable for the sense we require, which has been advocated by authorities of great value well versed in Hebrew construction; Knobel (who himself holds our view) mentions Onkelos, Targ. Jonath, Bochart, Clericus, De Wette, Tuch, Baumgarten, Delitzsch, as supporting it. He might have added Josephus, who makes Nimrod the builder of Babylon (*Antiq.* i. 4), and Kalisch, and Keil. To make the passage, Gen. x. 10-12, descriptive of the Shemite Asshur, is to do violence to the passage itself and its context. Asshur, moreover, is mentioned in his proper place in ver. 22, without, however, the least indication of an intention of describing him as the founder of a rival empire to that of Nimrod. Gesenius admits the probability of our view, without any objection of grammatical structure. (See, for instances of the accus. noun (without the suffix of local ה) after verbs of motion. Numb. xxxiv. 4; Gen. xxxiii. 18; 2 Chron. xx. 36. Cf. Gesenius, *Gram.* 130, 172, and Nordheimer's *Gram.*, sec. 841.)

† For the *Shemitic* character of the Arabian

* Josephus adds for once a locality—Ἀρουκαῖος δὲ [ἐσχεν] Ἀρκην τὴν ἐν τῷ Διβάνῳ (*Antiq.* i. 6. 2).

except in Africa, where Mizraim's descendants had a longer tenure of the Egyptian monarchy. It is well to bear in mind (and the more so, inasmuch as a different theory has here greatly obscured plain historic truth) that in the primeval Cushite empire of Babylon considerable progress was made in the arts of civilised society (an early allusion to which is made in Josh. vii. 21; and a later in Dan. i. 4: see Rawlinson, *First Monarchy*, chap. v.) In the genealogical record of the race of Ham (Gen. x.), reference is made to the 'tongues' [or dialects] which they spoke (ver. 20). Comparative philology, which is so rich in illustrations of the unity of the Indo-Germanic languages, has done next to nothing to elucidate the linguistic relations of the families of Ham. Nor is this the proper place to do more than merely point to the vast unexplored field which is now opening to inquirers. It is obvious to remark that, as the classification, which the sacred writer makes in chap. x. includes the element of various 'tongues' or dialectic variations amongst this section of the human race, the time to which we must refer it must be subsequent to the events spoken of in the beginning of the next chapter (xi.) as having happened when 'the whole earth was of one language and of one speech.' With regard to these Hamitic 'tongues,' without detaining the reader with speculations which must needs be crude, we will direct him to the few works which are the most accessible and best qualified to furnish him with some hints for the formation of an opinion. Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, First Mon. ch. iv.; Lenormant, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie occidentale*, 1^{re} Appendice; Meier, *Hebr. Wurzel. zw. b.*, 3^{te} Anhang; Gesenius, *Sketch of the Hebr. Lang.* (prefixed to his *Grammar*); Bunsen, *Egypt's Place, etc.*, vol. i. App. 1; Wiseman, *Lectures on Science and Revealed Religion*, p. 445, 2d ed.; Max Müller, *Science of Language*, p. 269 [SHEMITIC LANGUAGES].

Theories more or less specious have been formed to account for these affinities to the Hebrew from so many points of the Hamite nations. None of these theories rise above the degree of precarious hypothesis, nor could it be expected that they should in the imperfection of our present knowledge. It is, indeed, satisfactory to observe that the tendency of linguistic inquiries is to establish the fact avouched in the Pentateuch of the original unity of human speech. The most conspicuous achievement of comparative philology, hitherto, has been to prove the affinity of the members of that large class of languages which extend from the Eastern Sanscrit to our Western Welsh; parallel to this is the comparison among themselves of the various members of the Shemitic class of languages, which has demonstrated their essential identity; but greater still will be the work of establishing, on certain principles, the natural relationship of tongues of different classes. Among these, divergences must needs be wider; but when occasional affinities crop out they will be proportionately valuable as evidences of a more ancient and profound agreement.

tribes who crushed the primitive Cushite power of Babylon, see Rawlinson, *Great Empires*, vol. i. pp. 222, 223. The Arabian Hamites of Yemen seem also to have merged, probably by conquest, into a Joktanite population of Shemitic descent (see for these Gen. x. 25-29, and Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* iii. (2) 553, 544).

It seems to us that the facts, which have thus far transpired, indicative of affinity between the languages of the Hamite and Shemitic races, go some way to shew the probability of the historical and genealogical record of which we have been treating, that the tribes to whom the said languages were vernacular were really of near kindred and often associated in abode, either by conquest or amicable settlement, with one another.

Among other points of general interest connected with our article, the reader will not fail to observe the relations in which the different sections of the Hamite race stand to each other; e.g., it is important to bear in mind that *the Philistines were not Canaanites*, as is often assumed through an oversight of the fact, that the former were descended from the second, and the latter from the fourth son of Ham. The *Toldoth Beni Noah* of Genesis is a precious document in many respects (as has been often acknowledged, see R. [Bampton Lectures], p. 68); but in no respect does it bear a higher value than as an introduction, provided by the sacred writer himself, to the subsequent history of the Hebrew nation in its relations to the rest of mankind. The intelligent reader of Scripture will experience much help in his study of that history, and indeed of prophecy also, by a constant recurrence to the particulars of this authoritative ethnological record.

We conclude this article with an extract from Mr. Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, which describes, in a favourable though hardly exaggerated light, some of the obligations under which the primitive race of Ham has laid the world: 'Not possessed of many natural advantages, the Chaldaean people yet exhibited a fertility of invention, a genius, and an energy, which place them high in the scale of nations, and more especially in the list of those descended from the Hamitic stock. For the last 3000 years the world has been mainly indebted for its advancement to the Semitic and Indo-European races; but it was otherwise in the first ages. Egypt and Babylon, Mizraim and Nimrod—both descendants of Ham—led the way and acted as the pioneers of mankind in the various untrodden fields of art, literature, and science. Alphabetic writing, astronomy, history, chronology, architecture, plastic art, sculpture, navigation, agriculture, textile industry—seem, all of them, to have had their origin in one or other of these two countries. The beginnings may have been often humble enough. We may laugh at the rude picture-writing, the uncouth brick pyramid, the coarse fabric, the homely and ill-shapen instruments, as they present themselves to our notice in the remains of these ancient nations; but they are really worthier of our admiration than of our ridicule. The first inventors of any art are among the greatest benefactors of their race . . . and mankind at the present day lies under infinite obligations to the genius and industry of these early ages' (pp. 75, 76).—P. H.

HAM, THEY OF (חָמִי; Sept. 'Εκ τῶν υἱῶν Χάμ; Vulg., De stirpe Cham), are mentioned in 1 Chron. iv. 40—in one of those historical fragments for which the early chapters of these Chronicles are so valuable, as illustrating the private enterprise and valour of certain sections of the Hebrew nation. On the present occasion a considerable portion of the tribe of Simeon, consisting

of thirteen princes and their clansmen, in the reign of Hezekiah, sought to extend their territories (which from the beginning seemed to be too narrow for their numbers) by migrating 'to the entrance of Gedor, even unto the east side of the valley, to seek pasture for their flocks.' Finding here a quiet, and, as it would seem, a secure and defenceless population of Hamites (the meaning of 1 Chron. iv. 40 receives illustration from Judg. xviii. 7, 28) the Simeonites attacked them with a vigour that reminds us of the times of Joshua, and took permanent possession of the district, which was well adapted for pastoral purposes. The Gedor here mentioned cannot be the Gedor of Josh. xv. 58 [GEDOR]. There is strong ground, however, for supposing that it may be the Gederah of ver. 36 [GEDERAH]; or, if we follow the LXX. rendering, Γεπάρα, and read גרר for גר, it would be the well-known Gerar. This last would, of course, if the name could be relied on, fit extremely well; in its vicinity the patriarchs of old had sojourned and fed their flocks and herds (see Gen. xx. 1, 14, 15; xxvi. 1, 6, 14, and especially vers. 17-20). Bertheau (*die B. der Chronik*) on this passage, and Ewald (*Gesch. des Volkes Israel* [ed. 2], i. 322) accept the reading of the LXX., and place the Simeonite conquest in the valley of Gerar (in Williams, *Holy City* [ed. 2] vol. i. pp. 463-468, there is an interesting note, contributed by the Rev. J. Rowlands, on *the Southern Border of Palestine*, and containing an account of his discovery of the ancient Gerar [called *Khirbet-d Gerar*, the ruins of Gerar]; see also, for 'a confirmation of the account,' Van de Velde, *Memoir*, etc., p. 314). In the determination of the ultimate question, with which this article is concerned, it matters but little which of these two localities we accept as the residence of those children of Ham whom the Simeonites dispossessed. Both are within the precincts of the land of the Philistines: the latter perhaps may be regarded as on the border of the district which we assigned in the preceding article to the *Cuslukim*; in either case '*they of Ham*,' of whom we are writing, in 1 Chron. iv. 40, must be regarded as descended from Ham through his second son Mizraim.—P. H.

HAM [הם, with He], in Gen. xiv. 5, if a proper name at all, was probably the principal town of a people whose name occurs but once in O. T., '*the Zuzims*' (as rendered in A. V.) If these were '*the Zamzummins*' of Deut. ii. 20, as has been conjectured by Raschi, Calmet, Patrick, etc., among the older writers; and Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Ewald (*Volkes Israel*, i. 308), Delitzsch, Knobel, and Keil, among the moderns, we have some clue to the site; for it appears from the entire passage in Deut., that the Zamzummins were the original occupants of the country of the Ammonites. Tuch and others have accordingly supposed that our Ham, where the Zuzims were defeated by Chedorlaomer on his second invasion, was the primitive name of *Rabbath Ammon*, afterwards *Philadelpia* (Jerome and Euseb., *Onomast. s. v. AMMAN*), the capital of the Ammonite territory. It is still called [the ruins of] '*Ammán*,

عمان, according to Robinson, *Researches* [ed. 1], vol. iii. 168. There is some doubt, however, whether the word in Gen. xiv. 5 be anything more than a pronoun. The Masoretic reading of the

clause, indeed, is וְהָיוּ בָהֶם, the last word of which is pointed, בָּהֶם (A. V., '*In Ham*'), as if there were three battles, and one of them had been fought at a place so called; and it perhaps makes for this reading that, according to Kennicott, seven Samaritan MSS. read בָּהֶם (with *Heth*), which can produce no other meaning than *in Ham*, or *Cham* with the aspirate. Yet the other (that is, the *pronominal*) reading must have been recognised in ancient Hebrew MSS. even as early as the time of the LXX. translators, who render the phrase by ἀμα αὐτοῖς, '*together with them*;' as if there were but two conflicts, in the former of which the great eastern invader 'smote the Rephaims in Ashteroth-Karnaim, and the Zuzims [which the LXX. make an appellative—*ἰσχυρά*, '*strong nations*'] along with them,' as their allies. The following note, which we extract from St. Jerome's *Quaest. Hebr. Opera* [ed. Bened., Ven. 1767], iii. (2) 327, proves that the Hebrew MSS. extant in his day varied in their readings of this passage: 'Porro *Baem*, pro quo LXX. dixerunt ἀμα αὐτοῖς, hoc est *cum eis*, putaverunt scribi per HE, ducti elementi similitudine, quum per HETH scriptum sit. *Baem* enim quum per tres literas scribitur—si mediam HE habet, interpretatur, *in eis*: si autem HETH, ut in praesenti, *locum* significat, id est, *in Hom*' (A. V., '*In Ham*'). St. Jerome here refers to the reading, which punctuates the three letters as if they merely constituted the pronoun בָּהֶם, '*together with them*.' This reading he seems to have preferred, for in his own version [Vulg.] he renders the word, like the LXX., '*cum eis*.' Onkelos, however, regarded the reading evidently as a proper name, for he has translated it by בְּהֶמְתָּא, '*in Hemta*,' and so has the 'Pseudo Jonathan' Targum; while the Jerusalem has בָּהֶם '*with them*.' Saadias, again has the proper name

هَام (in *Hama*). Hillerus, whom Rosenmüller quotes, identifies this *Ham* with the famous Ammonite capital *Rabbah* (2 Sam. xi. 1; 1 Chron. xx. 1); 'the two names,' he says, 'are synonymous—*Rabbah* meaning *populous*, as in Lament. i. 1, where Jerusalem is רַב־יְהוּדָה, '*the city* [that was] full of people;' while the more ancient name of the same city, הָם, has the same signification as the collective word הַמֶּון, that is, *a multitude*.'—P. H.

HAMAKER, H. A., one of the first Orientalists of his time, was born at Amsterdam, 25th February 1789. Destined by his parents for the profession of a merchant, his tastes led him early to learning; and the counsels of Willmet strengthened him in his ardent attachment to erudite studies, especially to the Arabic language, in which he made great progress. In 1815 he was appointed professor of the Oriental languages in the Athenæum at Franeker. In 1817 he was called to Leyden as professor extraordinary of Oriental languages; and in 1822 he became ordinary professor. Here he died on the 10th October 1837, at the early age of 47, having undermined his health by excessive study. His literary ambition was too active, hurrying him from one language to another, and injuring his reputation. Instead of

being contented with the knowledge of five Semitic tongues besides the Arabic, he devoted himself without relaxation to the study of all the ancient and modern languages of Asia and Africa—a task to which human strength is unequal. The range of his Oriental erudition was great; it would have been of a profounder character if he had confined himself to fewer subjects. His works are numerous, but none bears directly on Biblical science. All are of the Oriental-literary or historical type. Those most related to the O. T. are *Diatriba philologico-critica monumentorum aliquot Punicorum nuper in Africa reperorum, interpretationem exhibens; accedunt novae in nummos aliquot phanicios lapideumque Carpentoractensem conjectura, necnon tabulae inscriptiones et alphabeta Punica continentes*, Leyden 1822, 4to; and *Miscellanea Phénicia, sive Commentarii de rebus Phanicum quibus inscriptiones multa lapidum ac nummorum nominaque propria hominum et locorum explicantur; item Punica gentis lingua et religiones passim illustrantur*, Leyden 1828, 4to. See Juynboll's *Oratio de Henrici Arentii Hamaker studii litterarum Orientalium in patria nostra vindice praeclaro*, Gröningen 1837.—S. D.

HAMAN (חָמָן, a name of the planet Mercury;

Sept. 'Amdr), a favourite of the king of Persia, whose history is involved in that of Esther and Mordecai. He is called an Agagite; and as Agag was a kind of title of the kings of the Amalekites [AGAG], it is supposed that Haman was descended from the royal family of that nation. [This name, however, may have been merely a name of reproach derived from the ancient Jewish hatred of Amalek (Stanley, *Jewish Church*, p. 141)]. He or his parents probably found their way to Persia as captives or hostages; and that the foreign origin of Haman was no bar to his advancement at court, is a circumstance quite in unison with the most ancient and still subsisting usages of the East. Joseph, Daniel, and Mordecai, afford other examples of the same kind.

It is unnecessary to repeat the particulars of a story so well known as that of Haman. The circumstantial details of the height which he attained and of his sudden downfall, afford, like all the rest of the book of Esther, a most faithful picture of the customs of an Oriental court and government, and furnish invaluable materials for a comparison between the regal usages of ancient and modern times. The result of such a comparison will excite surprise by the closeness of the resemblance; for there is not a single fact in the history of Haman which might not occur at the present day, even in its merely formal characteristics, and which, indeed, is not of frequent occurrence in different combinations. The boundless credit which Haman enjoyed with Ahasuerus; the homage which all the court in consequence paid to him; the royal signet-ring, the impression from which gave such authority to all written orders, and placed the doom of nations in the hands of its possessor; the price of blood which Haman offered to the king; the inquietude of that inordinate power which could endure no rival, and which the shadow of opposition offended and alarmed; and the form of poetical justice given to the final retribution in the hanging of Haman upon a gallows which he had prepared for another;—all these are traits which would at the present

day be received in Asia as the unexaggerated record of current events.

Even the decree for the extermination of the Jews which was granted at the request of Haman, however startling it may appear to those whose notions are grounded upon European institutions, would appear in no wise strange under an Oriental government. Even in Europe the fanaticism and tyranny of ancient governments often produced similar proscriptions (sometimes with reference to the very same people), which, under the mildness and tranquillity of modern institutions, we are as little able to comprehend. But in the East we have still no difficulty in discovering the traces of the same excesses of despotism, the same blind submission of the people, the same respect for the seal of the sovereign, and the same passive resignation to the sword which he uplifts or to the bow-string which he sends. Even in our own day we have seen imperial firmans consign to utter destruction in the mass the Greeks, the Druses, and the Maronites; and such things must and will occur wherever the extermination of a people is unhappily so easy a matter that it costs a despot no further trouble than the drawing of a ring from his finger. Other times and other names make all the difference—the manners are the same. It may be well to observe that Haman never mentions Mordecai himself to the king; and that in speaking of the Jews he does not name them directly, but describes them as 'a certain people' dispersed through the kingdom, and living separate under laws of their own (Esth. iii. 8). That this people, or any other subject to his sceptre, should require to be thus descriptively indicated, seems to shew how little the king knew of the actual state of his dominions, or of persons beyond the immediate circle of the court. The death of Haman appears to have taken place about the year B.C. 510. [ESTHER.]—J. K.

HAMATH (חֲמַת; Sept. Ἀμαθ and Ἡμυθ). A very ancient city of Syria, and the capital of a small kingdom of the same name. Gesenius is probably right in deriving the word from the Arabic root حَمَى, to defend; with this agrees the modern name of the city Hamah (حماه). Hamath is one of the oldest cities in the world. We read in Gen. x. 18, that the youngest or last son of Canaan was the 'Hamathite'—apparently so called because he and his family founded and colonised Hamath. It was a place of note, and the capital of a principality, when the Israelites conquered Palestine; and its name is mentioned in almost every passage in which the northern border of Canaan is defined (Num. xiii. 22; xxxiv. 8; Josh. xiii. 5; etc.). Toi king of Hamath gave tribute to David after the successful campaign of the latter in northern Syria and Damascus (2 Sam. viii.). Hamath was conquered by Solomon (2 Chron. viii. 3); and its whole territory appears to have remained subject to the Israelites during his prosperous reign (verses 4-6). After it had regained its independence, probably during the reign of the first Jeroboam, it was again subdued by Jeroboam the second (circa B.C. 784; 2 Kings xiv. 28). At this period the kingdom of Hamath included the valley of the Orontes, from the source of that river to near Antioch (2 Kings xxiii. 33; xxv. 21). It bordered Damascus on the south, Zobah on the

east and north, and Phœnicia on the west (1 Chron. xviii. 3; Ezek. xlvii. 17; xlviii. 1; Zech. ix. 2). In the 8th century B.C. the powerful monarchs of Assyria extended their conquests westward, and captured Hamath. It must have been then a large and influential kingdom; for Amos speaks emphatically of 'Hamath the Great' (vi. 2); and when Rabshakeh, the Assyrian general, endeavoured to terrify king Hezekiah into unconditional surrender, he said: 'Have the gods of the nations delivered them which my fathers have destroyed, as Gozan, and Haran, and Rezeph? Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arphad, and the king of the city of Sephervaim, Hena, and Ivah?' (Is. xxxvii. 12-14; 2 Kings xviii. 34, sq.) The frequent use of the phrase, 'the entering in of Hamath,' also shews that this kingdom was the most important in northern Syria (Judg. iii. 3). Hamath remained under the Assyrian rule till the time of Alexander the Great, when it fell into the hands of the Greeks. The Greeks introduced their noble language as well as their government into Syria, and they even gave Greek names to some of the old cities; among these was Hamath, which was called *Epiphania* (*Ἐπιφάνεια*), in honour of Antiochus Epiphanes (Cyril, *Comment. ad Amos*).

This change of name gave rise to considerable doubts and difficulties among geographers regarding the identity of Hamath. Jerome affirms that there were two cities of that name—*Great Hamath*, identical with Antioch, and another Hamath called *Epiphania* (*Comment. ad Amos*, vi.) The Targums in Num. xiii. 22, render Hamath *Antukia* (Reland, *Pal.* p. 120). Eusebius calls it 'a city of Damascus,' and affirms that it is not the same as Epiphania; but Jerome states, after a careful investigation, 'reperi Aemath urbem Coelesyriæ appellari, quæ nunc Græco sermone Epiphania dicitur' (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Aemath* and *Emath*). Theodoret says that *Great Hamath* was *Emesa*, and the other Hamath *Epiphania* (*Comment. ad Jerem.* iv.) Josephus is more accurate when he tells us that Hamath 'was still called in his day by the inhabitants' Ἀμᾶθ, although the Macedonians called it Epiphania (*Antiq.* i. 6. 2). There is reason to believe that the ancient name Hamath was always retained and used by the Aramaic speaking population; and, therefore, when Greek power declined, and the Greek language was forgotten, the ancient name in its Arabic form *Hamāh* became universal. There is no ground whatever for Reland's theory that the Hamath spoken of in connection with the northern border of Palestine was not Epiphania, but some other city much farther south. The identification of Riblah and Zedad places the true site of Hamath beyond the possibility of doubt (Reland, *Pal.* p. 121; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. pp. 335, 354, sq.).

Epiphania remained a flourishing city during the Roman rule in Syria (Ptolemy, v. 15; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 19). It early became, and still continues, the seat of a bishop of the Eastern Church (*Caroli a san. Paulo, Geogr. Sac.*, p. 288). It was taken by the Mohammedans soon after Damascus. On the death of the great Saladin, Hamath was ruled for a long period by his descendants, the Eiyubites. *Abulfeda*, the celebrated Arab historian and geographer, was a member of this family and ruler of Hamah (Bohadin, *Vita Saladini*; Schulten's *Index Geographicus*, s. v. Hamata).

Hamah is still a town of 30,000 inhabitants. It is beautifully situated in the narrow and rich valley of the Orontes, thirty-two miles north of Emesa, and thirty-six south of the ruins of Assamea (*Antonini Itinerarium*, ed. Wesseling, p. 188). Four bridges span the rapid river; and a number of huge wheels turned by the current, like those at Verona, raise the water into rude aqueducts, which convey it to the houses and mosques. There are no remains of antiquity now visible. The mound on which the castle stood is in the centre of the city; but every trace of the castle itself has disappeared. The houses are built of sun-dried bricks and timber. Though plain and poor externally, some of them have splendid interiors. The inhabitants carry on a considerable trade in silks and woollen and cotton stuffs with the Bedawin. A number of noble but decayed Muslem families reside in Hamah, attracted thither by its beauty, salubrity, and cheapness (Pococke, *Travels*, ii. pt. i. pp. 143, sq.; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, pp. 146, sq.; *Hanabook for S. and P.*, ii. p. 620).

'The entrance of Hamath,' or 'entering into Hamath' (בוא חמת; εἰσπορευομένων εἰς Ἀμᾶθ; *introitum Emath*) is a phrase often used in the O. T. as a geographical name. It is of considerable importance to identify it, as it is one of the chief landmarks on the northern border of the land of Israel. There can be no doubt that the sacred writers apply the phrase to some well-known 'pass' or 'opening' into the kingdom of Hamath (Num. xxxiv. 8; Josh. xiii. 5). The kingdom of Hamath embraced the great plain lying along both banks of the Orontes, from the fountain near Riblah on the south to Apamea on the north, and from Lebanon on the west to the desert on the east. To this plain there are two remarkable 'entrances'—one from the south, through the valley of Coelesyria, between the parallel ranges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon; the other from the west, between the northern end of Lebanon and the Nusairiyeh mountains. The former is the natural 'entrance' from central Palestine; the latter from the sea-coast. The former is on the extreme south of the kingdom of Hamath; the latter on its western border.

Until within the last few years sacred geographers have almost universally maintained that the southern opening is the 'entrance of Hamath.' Reland supposed that the land described in Num. xxxiv. 8, 10 did not extend farther north than the parallel of Sidon. Consequently he holds that the southern extremity of the valley of Coelesyria, at the base of Hermon, is the 'entrance' of Hamath (*Palestina*, pp. 118, sq.). Kitto set forth this view in greater detail; and he would identify the 'entrance of Hamath' with the expression used in Num. xiii. 21, 'as men come to Hamath.' The two, however, are distinct. The latter is only intended to define the position of Beth-rehob, which was situated on the road leading from central Palestine to Hamath—'as men come to Hamath;' that is, in the great valley of Coelesyria (*Pictorial Bible; Cycloped. of Bibl. Lit.* s. v. *Hamath and Palestine*, 1st ed.) Van de Velde appears to locate the 'entrance of Hamath' at the northern end of the valley of Coelesyria (*Travels*, ii. 470); and Stanley adopts the same view (*Sin. and Pal.* 399). Dr. Keith would place the 'entrance of Hamath' at that sublime gorge through which the Orontes

flows from Antioch to the sea (*Land of Israel*, pp. 112, sq.)

The writer of this article, after a careful survey of the whole region, and a study of the passages of Scripture on the spot, was led to the conclusion that the 'entrance of Hamath' must be the opening towards the west, between Lebanon and the Nusairiyeh mountains. His reasons are as follow:—1. That opening forms a distinct and natural northern boundary for the land of Israel, such as is evidently required by the following passages: 1 Kings viii. 65; 2 Kings xiv. 25; 2 Chron. xiii. 5; Am. vi. 14. 2. The 'entrance of Hamath' is spoken of as being from the western border or seaboard; for Moses says, after describing the western border,—'This shall be your north border, from the great sea ye shall point out for you Mount Hor; from Mount Hor ye shall point out into the entrance of Hamath' (Num. xxxv. 7, 8). Compare this with Ezek. xlvii. 20, 'the west side shall be the great sea from the (southern) border, till a man come over against Hamath'; and ver. 16, where the 'way of Hethlon as men go to Zedad' is mentioned, and is manifestly identical with the 'entrance of Hamath,' and can be none other than the opening here alluded to. 3. The 'entrance of Hamath' must have been to the north of the entire ridges of Lebanon and Antilebanon (Josh. xiii. 5; Judg. iii. 3); but the opening from Coelesyria into the plain of Hamath is not so. 4. The territory of Hamath was included in the 'Promised Land,' as described both by Moses and Ezekiel (Num. xxxiv. 8-11; Ezek. xlvii. 15-20; xlviii. 1). The 'entrance of Hamath' is one of the marks of its northern border; but the opening from Coelesyria is on the extreme south of the territory of Hamath, and could not therefore be identical with the 'entrance of Hamath.'

From the above statements it is abundantly evident that the 'entrance of Hamath' must be the opening from that kingdom to the western coast between Lebanon and the Nusairiyeh mountains. The phrase was used by the sacred writers with all the definiteness of a proper name (see Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 354, sq.; also Robinson, *B. A.* iii. 568).—J. L. P.

HAMATH-ZOBAB (הַמַּת־צוֹבָב; Sept. Βαμαθ-ζωβα). In 2 Chron. viii. 3 it is recorded that 'Solomon went to Hamath-Zobah, and prevailed against it.' Zobah was a place in the same district as Hamath [ZOBAB]. The conjunction of the two names here probably indicates nothing more than that the whole country round Hamath was brought by Solomon under the power of Judah. The possession of David extended to Hamath, and included Zobah (1 Chron. xviii. 3), and Solomon probably added Hamath also to his empire; certain it is that he had possessions in that district, and that part of it at least was included in his dominion (מְחֻשְׁלוֹ, 1 Kings ix. 19). There is not the least ground for the supposition that Hamath-Zobah is the name of a different Hamath from that above noted.—W. L. A.

HAMILTON, GEORGE, an Episcopalian clergyman, rector of Killermogh in Ireland. He was a good Hebraist, and a laborious scholar. His first work was entitled—*A General Introduction to the Study of the Hebrew Scriptures, with a Critical His-*

tory of the Greek and Latin Versions of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and of the Chaldee Paraphrases. Dublin 1814, 8vo. On each of the subjects indicated in the title, this work will be found to offer much important information, conveyed in a condensed, and yet clear and pleasing style. His other work is entitled—*Codex Criticus of the Hebrew Bible, wherein Vander Hooght's text is corrected from the Hebrew MSS. collated by Kennicott and De Rossi, and from the Ancient Versions, being an attempt to form a standard text of the O. T.*, Lond. 1821, 8vo; a work of much learning, and a praiseworthy effort towards a corrected text of the Hebrew Scriptures. His criticisms, though not such as to give satisfaction in every case, are yet in most instances so well considered and reasonable as to invest his work with a permanent value to every student of the Hebrew Bible. The following is also deserving of being noted here—*A Letter to the Rev. Solomon Herschell, D.D., chief Rabbi of the German and Polish Jews in London, shewing that the resurrection of Jesus from the dead is as credible a fact as the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt; and that the account of the resurrection in the Tract entitled Toldoth Jesu, is no more worthy of credit than that which Tacitus has given of the Exodus*, pp. 38, 8vo, Lond. 1822.—W. J. C.

HAMMATH (הַמַּת; Sept. Διμαθ, Ἡμαθ). One of the fenced cities of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 35). Von Raumer has confounded it with the great city of Hamath (*Pal.* p. 126); but the latter is far beyond the boundary of Naphtali. It is probably the same as *Hammath-dor*, which was assigned to the Levites out of the territory of Naphtali (Josh. xxi. 32), and which is called *Hammon* in 1 Chron. vi. 76. The word *Hammath* signifies 'warm baths' (from the Arabic root حَمَى, 'to be

hot'), and this, along with the fact that it is grouped with Chinnereth, enables us to identify its site. Josephus says that there were warm baths in a village called *Ammaus* (Ἀμμαούς), at a little distance from Tiberias (*Antiq.* xvii. 2. 3); and adds, in another place, 'the name Ammaus in our language signifies 'warm water';' the name being derived from a warm spring which rises there, possessing sanative properties' (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 1. 3). Reference is frequently made to Hammath in the Talmud. It is there said to have been a mile distant from Tiberias (See in Lightfoot, *Opp.* ii. 224, sq.) We can have no difficulty in identifying the site of Hammath. On the shore of the Sea of Galilee, about a mile south of Tiberias, is a warm spring, still celebrated for its medicinal properties. Spacious baths were built over it by Ibrahim Pasha; but, like everything else in Palestine, they are falling to ruin. Ancient ruins are strewn around it, and can be traced along the shore for a considerable distance. This is doubtless the Hammath of the Bible, and the Ammaus of Josephus. Some writers have confounded this Ammaus with another place of the same name east of the Jordan; and have thus been led into strange topographical blunders. The Hammath of Gadara, east of the Jordan, on the banks of the river Hieromax, and the Hammath of Tiberias, are both mentioned in the Talmud, and are quite distinct. Pliny, speaking of the Sea of Galilee, says, 'ab occidente Tiberiade, aquis cali-

dis salubri' (*Hist. Nat.* v. 15). There are four warm springs at this place. The water has a temperature of 144° Fahr.; the taste is extremely salt and bitter, and a strong smell of sulphur is emitted. The whole surrounding district has a volcanic aspect. The warm fountains, the rocks of trap and lava, and the frequent earthquakes, prove that the elements of destruction are still at work beneath the surface. It is said that at the time of the great earthquake of 1837 the quantity of water issuing from the springs was greatly increased, and the temperature much higher than ordinarily (*Hanbhook for S. and P.*, ii. 423; Robinson, *Bib. Res.* ii. 385; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 397; Reland, *Pal.* pp. 302, 703).—J. L. P.

HAMMATH-DOR. [HAMMATH.]

HAMMEDATHA (הַמַּדְתָּה; Sept. Ἀμαδδθας), father of Haman (Esth. iii. 1, 10; viii. 5; ix. 10, 24). Gesenius regards the word as Medatha with the article prefixed; but Fürst, with more probability, identifies it with the Zendic *hambdatha*, i. e., 'given by Hom,' one of the Izeds.—W. L. A.

HAMMELECH (הַמֶּלֶךְ). This name occurs in the A. V. twice (Jer. xxxvi. 26; xxxviii. 6). In both instances the LXX. renders by τοῦ βασιλέως, and there is no reason for doubting that this is the correct rendering. 'The king' in the former instance is Jehoiakim, and in the latter Zedekiah.—†

HAMMER. In the A. V. this is used as an equivalent for several Hebrew words:—(1.) The first that occurs is מַכְבֵּה, Judg. iv. 21, derived from a verb signifying to hollow-or perforate; found also in 1 Kings vi. 7; Jer. x. 4; and Is. xlv. 12. In the last-mentioned passage the LXX. use τέπετρον, a borer or gimlet, in all the rest σφύρα, *mal-leus*, Vulg. (2.) הַלְמָת, with the addition עֲמָלִים, 'workmen's'; σφύρα κοπιωστων, LXX.; *fabrorum malleos*, Vulg., only in Judg. v. 26. (3.) מַטִּישׁ; Is. xli. 7, σφύρα; Jer. xxiii. 29, πᾶν; Jer. l. 23, σφύρα. (4.) מַסְפִּיחַ; Nahum ii. 1, ἐμψύων, LXX., probably reading מַסְפִּיחַ, *qui dispergat*, Vulg., Prov. xxv. 18, *maul*, A. V. (5.) כִּלְפֹּת; λαευντήριον, LXX.; *ascia*, Vulg., Ps. lxxiv. 6.—J. E. R.

HAMMOLEKETH (הַמֹּלֶכֶת; Sept. ἡ Μαλεχέθ), the sister of Gilead and mother of Abiezer (1 Chron. vii. 18). The Targum takes this, not as a proper name, but as appellative, and renders 'who reigned,' thus making her the ruler of a district; and with this Jewish tradition accords (Kimchi *in loc.*) Through the influence of this the Vulg. gives 'soror ejus Regina.' The tradition is probably without foundation, and has been suggested merely by the meaning of the word = 'the Queen.'—†

HAMMON. [HAMMATH.]

HAMMOND, HENRY, D.D., was born at Chertsey, 18th August 1605, and educated at Eton and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford, of which latter society he became a fellow. He was named after Henry Prince of Wales, his godfather, to whom Dr. John Hammond, his father, was physician. It is

said that Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, was so much impressed with a sermon he heard him preach, that he gave him the rectory of Penshurst, 1633. In 1643 he was made Archdeacon of Chichester. Hammond was a confirmed royalist, and took part in the fruitless attempt in favour of the king at Tunbridge, when a reward of £100 was offered to the person who should apprehend him. He retired to Oxford in consequence, and resided there while the city was held by the king. He became canon of Christ Church, and public orator in 1645, and accompanied Charles I., as chaplain, to Woburn, Hampton Court, and Carisbrook, till the dismissal of his attendants in 1647. He once more retired to Oxford and became sub-dean of Christ Church. The latter part of his life was passed at Westwood, Worcestershire, the seat of Sir John Parkwood, where he died 25th April 1660. He wrote a *Paraphrase and Annotations on the N. T.*, 1653, which was translated into Latin by Leclerc, 2 vols. 4to, 1698, Amsterdam; *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon the Book of Psalms*, fol. Lond. 1659; *Practical Catechism*, 1644; *Humble Address to the Right Hon. the Lord Fairfax and his Council of War*, 1649, concerning the impending trial of Charles I. Hammond's miscellaneous theological works have been well edited in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology.—S. L.

HAMOR, CHAMOR (חָמֹר; Sept. Ἑμμώρ), a Hivite chief, prince of the district lying around Shechem, and father of Shechem, whose assault upon Dinah led to the destruction of himself, his father, and their city, by the sons of Jacob. From Hamor Jacob bought a piece of land in the vicinity of Shechem, a transaction of a perfectly peaceable kind, but which seems to have been interposed amid passages of a more hostile nature between the patriarch and his neighbours (comp. Gen. xlviii. 22). This he left as a special inheritance to the family of Joseph, and here Joseph's bones were interred (Josh. xxiv. 32). Hamor gave his name to the tribe of which he was chief; they are called Benei-Hamor (Gen. xxxiii. 19), and he himself is called Hamor Abi-Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 32; Judg. ix. 28; Acts vii. 16), with reference to his having the seat of his rule at Shechem (comp. Machir Abi-Gilead, Ashchur Abi Teqoa, Shubal Abi Qir-jath-Jearim, 1 Chron. ii. 21, 24, 50, etc.) On the confusion of Jacob with Abraham by St. Stephen, see Alford's note on Acts vii. 16.—W. L. A.

HAMUEL, prop. CHAMMUEL (חַמּוּאֵל; Sept. Ἀμουήλ), a descendant of Simeon through Shaul and Mishma, and from whom all the families of Simeon located in Palestine seem to have descended (1 Chron. iv. 26, ff.)—†

HAMUL, prop. CHAMUL (חָמֹל; Sept. Ἰεμουήλ, Ἰαμουήν), the younger son of Pharez, the son of Judah by Tamar (Gen. xlv. 12; 1 Chron. ii. 5). Whether he was born in Canaan or after the descent into Egypt, is a point not settled among chronologists. From him descended the clan of the HAMULITES (חַמּוּלִיתִּים, Num. xxvi. 21).—†

HAMUTAL, prop. CHAMUTAL (חַמּוּטָל; Sept. Ἀμιτάλ, Ἀμειράλ), the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah, the wife of Josiah, king of Judah, and the

mother of Jehoahaz and Mattaniah or Zedekiah (2 Kings xxiii. 31; xxiv. 18; Jer. lii. 1). In the last of these passages her name is given as Chamital (חַמִּיטָל), and this is probably the correct reading, as it has been followed throughout by the LXX. and Vulg. The Syr. reads ܡܡܬܐܢܝܗ, Hamtûl.—W. L. A.

HA-NAGID. [SAMUEL]

HANAMEEL (חַנַּמְיֵאל; Sept. Ἀναμεῖλ), a kinsman of Jeremiah, to whom, before the siege of Jerusalem, he sold a field which he possessed in Anathoth, a town of the Levites (Jer. xxxii. 6-12). If this field belonged to Hanameel as a Levite, the sale of it would imply that an ancient law had fallen into disuse (Lev. xxv. 34); but it is possible that it may have been the property of Hanameel in right of his mother. The transaction was conducted with all the forms of legal transfer, and was intended to evince the certainty of restoration from the approaching exile, by shewing that possessions which could be established by documents would yet be of future value to the possessor (B.C. 587).—J. K.

HANAN, prop. CHANAN (חָנָן; Sept. Ἀνδρ. Ἀνδρ.). The name of several persons mentioned in Scripture (1 Chron. viii. 23, 38; ix. 44; xi. 43; Neh. vii. 7; x. 10, 22, 26; xiii. 13; Jer. xxxv. 4). The Beni-Chanan are mentioned as amongst the Nethinim, or Temple officers, who came up from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 46; Neh. vii. 49); and at an earlier period mention is made of them as having apartments in the temple (Jer. xxxv. 4). The Chanan from whom they took their name was a prophet (חֲנַנְיָהּ הַנָּבִיא, *ibid.*)

The word חָנָן is probably an abbreviation of חַנַּנְיָהּ, *Chananiah*, or חַנַּנִּי, *Jochanan* (comp. חָנָן), and this may account for the reading of the LXX. in this passage Ἰωάννης Ἀναρίου (*Hitzig, Exeget. Hdbuch.* in loc.).—W. L. A.

HANANEEL, THE TOWER OF, מִגְדַּל חַנַּנְיָהּ; *πύργος Ἀναμεῖλ*), one of the towers forming part of the wall of Jerusalem; first mentioned in Nehemiah (iii. 1), where its position with respect to the sheep-gate in particular, situate on the east side of the city, is indicated. The other passages in which the name occurs (Neh. xii. 39; Jer. xxx. 38; Zech. xiv. 10), with no special reference worthy of note, pretty clearly determine the situation mentioned as correct. It was obviously near the sheep-gate, and from the direction in which the boundary-line of the city is now described, on the north side of that gate, and consequently was near the north-east corner of the city, and probably faced the east (*Pict. Bible*, vol. iii. 399). The tower, it is not unlikely, derived its name from the builder.—W. J. C.

HANANI, CHANANI (חַנַּנִּי, *graciously*; Sept. Ἀνανίας). 1. A prophet under the reign of Asa, king of Judah, by whom he was seized and imprisoned for announcing that he had lost, from want of due trust in God, an advantage which he might have gained over the king of Syria (2 Chron. xvi. 7). The precise occasion of this declaration is not known.

This Hanani is supposed to be the same who was father of another prophet, named Jehu (1 Kings xvi. 7); but circumstances of time and place seem adverse to this conclusion.

2. A brother of Nehemiah (Neh. i. 2), who went from Jerusalem to Shushan, being sent most probably by Ezra, and brought that information respecting the miserable condition of the returned Jews which led to the mission of Nehemiah. Hanani came back to Judæa, probably along with his brother, and, together with one Hananiah, was appointed to take charge of the gates of Jerusalem, and see that they were opened in the morning and closed in the evening at the appointed time. The circumstances of the time and place rendered this an important and responsible duty, not unattended with some danger (Neh. vii. 2, 3). B.C. 455.

[Three other persons of this name are mentioned, 1 Chron. xxv. 4, 25; Ez. x. 10; Neh. xii. 36.]

HANANIAH, CHANANIAH (חַנַּנְיָהּ, or with the 1 parag. חַנַּנְיָהּ; LXX. Ἀνανίας, *Ananias*; Vulg. *Hanania*, *Hananias*, *Ananias*: both in etymology and signification identical with חַנַּנִּי, *Jehohanan*, whence the Greek Ἰωάννης).

1. One of the sons of Shashak, of the tribe of Benjamin, 1 Chron. viii. 24.

2. A Levite, of the branch of Kohath, and one of the fourteen sons of Heman the singer, all of whom were distinguished for their skill in instrumental music, and were chosen to preside severally over fourteen of the twenty-four courses of musicians appointed by the order of David for the service of the house of God, 1 Chron. xxv. 4, 6, 23.

3. An officer of state in the service of Uzziah, 2 Chron. xxvi. 11.

4. The grandfather of Irijah, the captain of the guard, who falsely charged Jeremiah with treason, Jer. xxxvii. 13.

5. The father of Zedekiah, one of the princes of Judah in the reign of Jehoiakim, Jer. xxxvi. 12.

6. A pretended prophet, the son of Azur of Gibeon, who, in the fourth year of the reign of Zedekiah, presumed to predict the return of Jehoniah from Babylon, and the restoration of the sacred vessels. By the command of God, Jeremiah solemnly denounced the falsehood of Hananiah, and foretells his approaching death as a punishment for his presumption. Within the short space of two months Hananiah died, Jer. xxviii. 1-17.

7. One of the four Hebrew princes who were educated in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar. His Chaldean name was Shadrach, Dan. i. 6, 7, 11, 19.

8. The son of Zerubbabel, the great-grandson of Jehoiakim, 1 Chron. iii. 19, 21.

9. One of the chief priests in the days of Joiachim, son and successor of Jeshua, high-priest in the time of Zerubbabel, Neh. xii. 12.

10. One of the family of Bebai, who, at the instigation of Ezra, consented to put away his strange wife, Ezra x. 28.

11. One of the builders of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah, Neh. iii. 8. He is called 'the son of one of the apothecaries' (בְּרֵיהּ רֶקֶתִּים), by which is perhaps meant that he was a skilful compounder of the spiced unguents used for the sacred and royal anointings, Exod. xxx. 22-38, 1 Chron. ix. 30, 2 Chron. xvi. 14. It may be hence inferred that he was a priest, or at least a Levite.

12. Another builder of the wall of Jerusalem, described as the son of Shelemiah, Neh. iii. 30. By some identified with 11.

13. Governor of the citadel of the temple (שַׁר הַבְּיָרָה) under Nehemiah, Neh. vii. 2.

14. One of the chiefs of the people (רָאשֵׁי הָעָם), Neh. x. 23, Heb. 24, who joined in sealing the solemn confession and covenant which Nehemiah made on behalf of the people.—S. N.

HAND (יָד, χείρ). The ordinary usages of Scripture in regard to 'hand,' 'right hand,' etc., must be familiar to the student, and the passages on which the representations above made are founded are too easy of access, by means of a Concordance, to need being enumerated here; it may therefore be more useful to confine the rest of our remarks to one or two specific and more important points.

The phrase 'sitting at the right hand of God,' as applied to the Saviour of the world, is derived from the fact that with earthly princes a position on the right hand of the throne was accounted the chief place of honour, dignity, and power:—'upon thy right hand did stand the queen' (Ps. xlv. 9; comp. 1 Kings ii. 19; Ps. lxxx. 17). The immediate passage out of which sprang the phraseology employed by Jesus may be found in Ps. cx. 1: 'Jehovah said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool.' Accordingly the Saviour declares before Caiaphas (Matt. xxvi. 64; Mark xiv. 62), 'Ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven;' where the meaning obviously is that the Jews of that day should have manifest proofs that Jesus held the most eminent place in the divine favour, and that his present humiliation would be succeeded by glory, majesty, and power (Luke xxiv. 26; 1 Tim. iii. 16). So when it is said (Mark xvi. 19; Rom. viii. 34; Col. iii. 1; 1 Pet. iii. 22; Heb. i. 3; viii. 1) that Jesus 'sits at the right hand of God,' 'at the right hand of the Majesty on high,' we are obviously to understand the assertion to be that, as his Father, so he worketh always (John v. 17) for the advancement of the kingdom of heaven, and the salvation of the world. [Knapp, *Script. Var. Arg.* p. 39.]

As the hand is the great instrument of action, so is it eminently fitted for affording aid to the mind, by the signs and indications which it makes. Thus to lay the hand on any one was a means of pointing him out, and consequently an emblem of setting any one apart for a particular office or dignity. *Imposition of hands* accordingly formed, at an early period, a part of the ceremonial observed on the appointment and consecration of persons to high and holy undertakings. In Num. xxvii. 19 Jehovah is represented as thus speaking to Moses. 'Take thee Joshua, the son of Nun, a man in whom is the spirit, and lay thine hand upon him, and set him before Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation, and give him a charge in their sight,' etc.; where it is obvious that the laying on of hands did neither originate nor communicate divine gifts; for Joshua had 'the spirit' before he received imposition of hands; but was merely an instrumental sign for marking him put individually, and setting him apart, in sight of the congregation, to his arduous work. Similar appears to

be the import of the observance in the primitive church of Christ (Acts viii. 15-17; 1 Tim. iv. 14; 2 Tim. i. 6). A corruption of this doctrine was, that the laying on of hands gave of itself divine powers, and on this account Simon, the magician (Acts viii. 18), offered money, saying 'Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands he may receive the Holy Ghost,' intending, probably, to carry on a gainful trade by communicating the gift to others.

In Col. ii. 13, 14, 'the law of commandments contained in ordinances' (Eph. ii. 15), is designated 'the handwriting of ordinances that was against us,' which Jesus blotted out, and took away, nailing it to his cross; phraseology which indicates the abolition, on the part of the Saviour, of the Mosaic law (Wolffius, *Curæ Philolog. in N. T.* iii. 16).—J. R. B. [In the O. T. *hand* is sometimes used in the sense of *monument*, or *trophy* (1 Sam. xv. 12; 2 Sam. xviii. 18; Is. lvi. 5). It is supposed that this usage is traceable to the custom of sculpturing on sepulchral columns an up-lifted hand].

HANDICRAFT. In the early periods to which the Scriptural history refers, the entire circle of achievement which man had effected in the natural world, was too immediately and too obviously connected with the labour of the hands, which is, in truth, the great primary source of wealth, for any feeling regarding it to prevail but one of high estimation. When hand-labourers were seen on every side, and found in every grade of life, and when the products of their skill and industry were the chief, if not the sole, advantages which civilization gave, handicraftsmen, as they were among the great benefactors, so were they among the chief favourites of human kind. Accordingly, even the creation of the world is spoken of as the work of God's hands, and the firmament is said to shew his handy-work (Ps. viii. 3; xix. 1; Gen. ii. 2; Job xxxiv. 19). The primitive history, too, which the Bible presents is the history of hand-labourers. Adam dressed the garden in which God had placed him (Gen. ii. 15), Abel was a keeper of sheep, Cain a tiller of the ground (Gen. iv. 3), Tubal-Caina a smith (Gen. iv. 22). These references prove how soon men gave themselves to the labours of the hand, and these and similar passages serve to shew what were the earliest employments, did not the nature of the case suffice to assure us that the most necessary arts would be first cultivated. The general nature of this article does not require any extensive or detailed inquiry into the hand-labours which the Israelites practised before their descent into Egypt; but the high and varied culture which they found there declares that any history of hand-labour must be very defective the sources of which are found exclusively in the Bible. The shepherd-life which the patriarchs previously led in their own pasture-grounds, was not favourable to the cultivation of the practical arts of life, much less of those arts by which it is embellished. Egypt, in consequence, must have presented to Joseph and his father not only a land of wonders, but a source of rich and attractive knowledge. And though the herdsman-sort of life which the Hebrews continued to lead would not be conducive to their advancement in either science or art; yet it cannot be doubted that they derived in no slight degree those advantages which have always

been reaped by a less cultured people, when brought into proximity or contact with a high state of civilization.

Another source of knowledge to the Hebrews of handicrafts were the maritime and commercial Phœnicians. Commerce and navigation imply great skill in art and science; and the pursuits to which they lead largely increase the skill whence they emanate. It is not, therefore, surprising that the origin of so many arts has been referred to the north-eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea; nor is there any difficulty in understanding how arts and letters should be propagated from the coast to the interior, conferring high advantages on the inhabitants of Syria in general, as well before as after the settlement of the Hebrew tribes in the land of promise. At first the division of labour was only very partial. The master of the family himself exercised such arts as were found of absolute necessity. Among these may be reckoned not only those which pasturage and tillage required, but most of those which were of that rough and severe nature which demand strength as well as skill; such, for instance, as the preparation of wood-work for the dwelling, the slaying of animals for food, which every householder understood, together with the art of extracting the blood from the entire carcass. The lighter labours of the hand fell to the share of the housewife; such as baking bread (2 Sam. xiii. 8)—for it was only in large towns that baking was carried on as a trade—such, also, as cooking in general, supplying the house with water, no very easy office, as the fountains often lay at a considerable distance from the dwelling; moreover, weaving, making of clothes for males as well as females, working in wool, flax, hemp, cotton, tapestry, richly-coloured hangings, and that not only for domestic use, but for 'merchandise,' were carried on within the precincts of the house by the mistress and her maidens (Exod. xxxv. 25; 1 Sam. ii. 19; 2 Kings xxiii. 7; Prov. xxxi.)

The skill of the Hebrews during their wanderings in the desert does not appear to have been inconsiderable. In Exodus (xxxv. 30-35) a passage occurs which may serve to specify many arts that were practised among the Israelites, though it seems also to intimate that at the time to which it refers artificers of the description referred to were not numerous—"See, the Lord hath called by name Bezaleel, and hath filled him with the spirit of God, in knowledge and all manner of workmanship, and to devise curious works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in the cutting of stones, to set them, and in carving of wood, to make any manner of cunning work; and he hath put in his heart that he may teach; both he and Aholiab; them hath he filled with wisdom of heart to work all manner of work of the engraver; and of the cunning workman, and of the embroiderer in blue and in purple, in scarlet and in fine linen, and of the weaver." From the ensuing chapter (ver. 34) it appears that gilding was known before the settlement in Canaan. The ark (Exod. xxxvii. 2) was overlaid with pure gold within and without. The cherubim were wrought ('beaten,' Exod. xxxvii. 7) in gold. The candlestick was of beaten gold (ver. 17, 22). Wire-drawing was probably understood (Exod. xxxviii. 4; xxxix. 3). Covering with brass (Exod. xxxvii. 2) and with silver (Prov. xxvi. 23) was practised; but the pursuits of war

and the entire absorption of the energies of the nation in the one great work of gaining the land which had been given to them, may have led to their falling off in the arts of peace; and from a passage in 1 Sam. (xiii. 20) it would appear that not long after they had taken possession of the country they were in a low condition as to the instruments of handicraft. A comparatively settled state of society, however, soon led to the revival of skill by the encouragement of industry. A more minute division of labour ensued. Trades, strictly so called, arose, carried on by persons exclusively devoted to one pursuit. Thus in Judg. xvii. 4 and Jer. x. 14, 'the founder' is mentioned, a trade which implies a practical knowledge of metallurgy; the smelting and working of metals were well known to the Hebrews (Job xxxvii. 18); brass was in use before iron; arms and instruments of husbandry were made of iron. Architecture and the kindred arts do not appear to have made much progress till the days of Solomon, who employed an immense number of persons to procure timber (1 Kings v. 13, sq.); but the men of skill for building his temple he obtained from Hiram, king of Tyre (1 Kings v. 6, sq.; 1 Chron. xiv. 1; 2 Chron. ii. 7). Without pursuing the subject into all its details (see Scholz, *Handb. der Bib. Archæol.* p. 390, sq.; De Wette, *Lehrb. der Archæol.* p. 115, sq.; Winer, *Realwört. art. 'Handwerke'*), we remark that the intercourse which the Babylonish captivity gave the Jews seems to have greatly improved their knowledge and skill in both the practical and the fine arts, and to have led them to hold them in very high estimation. The arts were even carried on by persons of learning, who took a title of honour from their trade (Rosenmüller, *Morgenl.* vi. 42). It was held a sign of a bad education if a father did not teach his son some handicraft—"quicunque filium suum non docet aliquid opificium est ac si doceret eum latrocinium" (Lightfoot, p. 616; Mish. Tr. *Pirke Aboth*, ii. 2; Wagenseil's *Sota*, p. 597; Othon. *Lex. Rabb.* 491).

In the Apocrypha and N. T. there are mentioned tanners (Acts ix. 43), tent-makers (Acts xviii. 3); in Joseph. (*De Bell. Jud.* v. 4. 1) cheese-makers, *τυροκόμοι*; barbers (*κουρείς*, *Antiq.* xvi. 11. 6); in the Talmud, with others we find tailors, shoemakers, blood-letters, glaziers, goldsmiths, plasterers. Certain handicraftsmen could never rise to the rank of high-priest (Mish. Tr. *Kiddush*, 82. 1), such as weavers, barbers, fullers, perfumers, cuppers, tanners; which pursuits, especially the last, were held in disesteem (Mishna, Tr. *Megillah*, iii. 2; Othon. *Lex. Rabb.* 155; Wetstein, *N. T.* ii. 516). In large cities particular localities were set apart for particular trades, as is the case in the East to the present day. Thus in Jeremiah (xxxvii. 21) we read of 'the bakers' street.' So in the Talmud (*Mishna*, v. 169, 225) mention is made of a flesh-market; in Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* v. 4. 1) of a cheese-market; and in the N. T., probably (John v. 2) we read of a sheep-market. See Iken, *Antiq. Hebr.* iii. ix. p. 578, sq.; Bellermann, *Handb. i.* 22, sq.—J. K. B.

Addendum.—To the above general statements it may be well to add a few more minute particulars respecting the different trades practised among the Jews.

1. *Masons*, מְבָרִים, literally *wallers*, from בָּרָא *a*

wall (2 Kings xii. 18 [12, A.V.]; **חֹרֵשׁ אֶבֶן קִיר**, *workers of wall-stone* (2 Sam. v. 11; 1 Chron. xxii. 15); **חֹרֵשׁ הַחֲבִים**, *stone-cutters or hewers* (1 Chron. xxii. 2, 15 [workers of stone, A.V.]; Ezra iii. 7, etc.) The **בְּנִים** (2 Kings xii. 12), were probably *master-masons* ('builders,' A.V. ver. 11). In the time of Solomon the most skilled of these handicraftsmen came from the territories of Hiram, king of Tyre; hence the **נְבָלִים** of 1 Kings v. 18, erroneously rendered by 'stone-squarers' in the A. V. [GEBAL.] For the squaring of the stones a saw (**מִנְהָרָה**) was used (1 Kings vii. 9). [SAW.] As they also prepared the stones by *hewing* (1 Chron. xxii. 2) they must have used the chisel and the mallet (**מַכְבֵּה**, 1 Kings vi. 7), though no mention of the former occurs in Scripture (see the representation of the Egyptian mallet and chisel in Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 313, 314). They used also the plumb-line (**אֶמְנָה**, Am. vii. 7), the measuring-reed (**קֶנֶה**, Ezek. xl. 5), the measuring-line (**קוֹ**, Job xxxviii. 5; Zech. i. 16), and the axe (**גִּרְוֹן**, 1 Kings vi. 7).

2. *Carpenters* (**חֹרֵשׁ הָעֵץ**, 2 Sam. v. 11; 2 Kings xii. 12, etc., or simply **חֹרֵשׁ**, Is. li. 7); *τέκτων*, Mark vi. 3; Matt. xiii. 55). The work of the carpenter belongs to the earliest efforts of men to provide themselves with the ordinary conveniences and comforts of life. Though, therefore, the workmen employed by David and Solomon in their great buildings were chiefly Phœnicians, we must believe that the carpenter's art, at least in its ordinary applications, was familiar to the Hebrews. It would even appear that there were persons among them at both an early and a later period who could execute the finer parts of wood carving (Exod. xxxv. 33; Is. xli. 7; xlv. 13). The implements used by the carpenter were the axe (**קֶרֶם**) [AXE], Ps. lxxiv. 5; Jer. xli. 22; or **גִּרְוֹן**, Deut. xix. 5; Is. x. 15); the measuring-line (**קוֹ**, Is. xlv. 13); the chisel or carving tool (**מַכְבֵּה**, Is. xlv. 13); the compass (**מִחוּנָה**), the stylus or graver (**שֶׁרֶד**, *Ibid.*). They used also the **קו**, the same as the masons.

3. *Workers in Metal*.—These were *copper-smiths* (**חֹרֵשׁ בַּחֲשֵׁי**, 1 Kings vii. 14; *χαλκεύς*, 2 Tim. iv. 14); *iron-smiths* (**חֹרֵשׁ בַּחֲלָה**, Is. xlv. 12, or simply **חֹרֵשׁ**, 1 Sam. xiii. 19); and *silver-smiths* or *gold-smiths* (**צֹרֶפִים**, **מְצֹרֶפִים**, Judg. xvii. 4; Prov. xxv. 4; Is. xl. 19; Mal. iii. 2, 3; *ἀργυροκόπος*, Acts xix. 24), the last of whom seem to have formed a guild (Neh. iii. 8). Weapons and cooking utensils were made of copper, which was simply beat out (Num. xvii. 4) or cast into a mould (1 Kings vii. 46; Job. xxxvii. 18) and polished (1 Kings vii. 45). Workers in the precious metals also used the same methods of preparing their articles; they seem also to have understood the art of gilding and of fillagree work (Is. xl. 19; xli. 7; xlv. 12; comp. Hartmann, *Die Hebräerin*, etc., i. 261).

The implements they used were of the simplest kind—the anvil (**בַּעַם**, Is. xli. 7), the hammer (**מַלְקָחִים**) [HAMMER]; the tongs (**מִלְקָחִים**, Is. vi. 6); the bellows (**מַפְחָה**, Jer. vi. 29).

4. *Workers in earth and clay*. [See BRICKS; POTTER; GLASS; BOTTLE.]

5. The preparation of skins and works in *leather* of various sorts must have engaged the attention of the Hebrews; but we possess no precise information on this subject. [LEATHER; BOTTLE; SANDALS.]

6. The art of setting and engraving precious stones was known to the Israelites from a very early period (Exod. xxviii. 9, ff.) [STONES, PRECIOUS.] Works in alabaster were also common among them (**בִּתֵּי הַנֶּפֶשׁ**, smelling boxes, or boxes of perfume; comp. Matt. xxvi. 7, etc. [ALABASTER.]) They also adorned their houses and vessels with ivory (1 Kings xxii. 39; Amos. iii. 15; vi. 4; Song of Sol. v. 14. [IVORY.])

7. *Textile arts*. Among the Egyptians these flourished, and from them probably the Hebrews acquired the knowledge and skill which they from an early period displayed in these arts (Gen. xli. 42; Exod. ix. 31; Is. xix. 9). Weaving was usually the work of women (Exod. xxxv. 25; 1 Sam. ii. 19; 2 Kings xxiii. 7; Prov. xxxi. 10, ff.; Acts ix. 39; comp. *Il.* iii. 125, ff.; vi. 775, ff.; xxii. 439, ff.; *Odys.* iv. 130, ff., etc.) That it was not confined to females, however, is evident from 1 Chron. iv. 21; comp. Is. xix. 9. [WEAVING.] Besides the ordinary stuffs prepared by weaving, they had stuffs prepared by interweaving gold and silver threads with the body of the material and by needlework. [NEEDLEWORK.] After being woven, the cloth passed through the hands of the fuller and the dyer. [FULLER; COLOURS.]

8. The use of perfumes and perfumed unguents led to persons devoting themselves to the preparation of such among the Hebrews. Such an one was called **רֶקֶח**; fem. **רֶקֶחָה** (Exod. xxx. 25, 35; Neh. iii. 8, 'apothecary,' A. V.; 1 Sam. viii. 13, 'confectionary,' A. V., etc.) [ANointing; PERFUMES.] From Nehemiah's calling Hananiah 'the son of the perfumers' (**בֶּן־הַרֶקֶחִים**), it is supposed they formed a guild or corporation, the members of which built a portion of the wall under his superintendence, as did the goldsmiths under that of Uzziel.

9. Among more domestic arts may be ranked that of the *baker*, **אֶפֶס** (Gen. xl. 1; Jer. xxxvii. 21; Hos. vii. 4 [BREAD]); and of the *barber*, **נִלְב** (Ez. v. 1).

10. In the art of shipbuilding the Hebrews were the pupils of the Phœnicians (1 Kings ix. 27; comp. xxii. 49), though it is hardly supposable that they had not some vessels for navigating the internal lakes and seas of their country long before the time of Solomon (Judg. v. 17). The shipmen were **חֹבֵל**, a *sailor* (Jonah i. 6; Ezek. xxvii. 8, 27-29; *Ναύτης*, Acts xxvii. 30; Rev. xviii. 17); **רֵב הַחֹבֵל**, *shipmaster* (Jonah i. 6; *Ναυκληρος*, Acts xxvii. 11); **מַלְיָה**, *mariner* (Ezek. xxvii. 9, etc.; Jonah i. 5).

Labour was held in honour among the Hebrews,

and therefore handicrafts were exclusively pursued by freemen. Often the same person followed more than one occupation (Exod. xxxi. 1, ff.; 2 Chron. ii. 14, etc.). An artist of a higher order, whose efforts were devoted to inventing designs for others, in whatever department, was called חֲשֵׁנִי, part. of חָשַׁן, to *think, invent* (2 Chron. xxvi. 15; Exod. xxvi. 1; xxxv. 30, ff.)—W. L. A.

HANDKERCHIEF, NAPKIN (σουδάριον; Vulg. *sudarium*), occurs in Luke xix. 20; John xi. 44; xx. 7; Acts xix. 12. The Greek word is adopted from the Latin (like κήνος, μεμβράνα, and many others), and probably, at first, had the *same* meaning with it, and which, being derived from *sudo*, to perspire, corresponds to our word (pocket) *handkerchief*. The Greek rhetorician Pollux (A. D. 180) remarks that the word σουδάριον had supplanted not only the *ancient* Greek word for handkerchief, ἡμιτύσιον or ἡμιτύμβιον, which he considers an Egyptian word, but even the more recent term καψιδρώτιον: Τὸ δὲ ἡμιτύμβιον ἐστὶ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο Αἰγύπτιον, εἴη δ' ἂν κατὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μέσῃ κωμῳδίᾳ, καψιδρώτιον καλούμενον, ὃ νῦν σουδάριον ὀνομάζεται (Onomast. vii. 16). The influence of the Romans caused the introduction of this word even among the Orientals. The rabbins have סוּדָרִים. In the Syriac version סִידְרָא answers to the Hebrew סִמְפָּרָה, a *veil* (margin, *sheet* or *apron*); and in Chaldee סוּדָר or סוּדְרָא is used for a *veil* or *any* linen cloth (Buxtorf, *Lex. Chal.* p. 1442). It is indeed but natural to expect that a foreign word, introduced into any language, should be applied by those who borrow it in a looser sense than they do from whom it is obtained. Hence, although the Latin word *sudarium* is generally restricted to the forementioned meaning, yet in the Greek and Syriac languages it signifies, *chiefly*, napkin, wrapper, etc. These observations prepare us for the different uses of the word in Scripture. In the first instance (Luke xix. 20) it means a wrapper, in which the 'wicked servant' had laid up the pound entrusted to him by his master. For references to the custom of laying up money, etc., in σουδάρια, both in classical and rabbinical writers, see Weistein's *N. T.* on Luke xix. 20. In the second instance (John xi. 44) it appears as a kerchief, or cloth attached to the head of a corpse. It was perhaps brought round the forehead and under the chin. In many Egyptian mummies it does not *cover the face*. In ancient times among the Greeks it *did*. Nicolaus (*De Græcor. Luctu*, c. iii. sec. 6, Thiel. 1697). Maimonides, in his comparatively recent times, describes the *whole face* as being covered, and gives a reason for the custom (Tract *Efel*, c. 4). The next instance is that of the σουδάριον which had been 'about the head' of our Lord, but which, after his resurrection, was found rolled up, as if deliberately, and put in a place separately from the linen clothes, χωρὶς ἐντεταλμένον εἰς ἓνα τόπον. The last instance of the Biblical use of the word occurs in the account of 'the special miracles' wrought by the hands of Paul (Acts xix. 11); 'so that σουδάρια (handkerchiefs, napkins, wrappers, shawls, etc.) were brought from his body to the sick; and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them.' The Ephesians had not un-naturally inferred that the apostle's miraculous power could be communicated by such a mode

of contact; and certainly cures thus received by parties at a distance, among a people famed for their addictedness to 'curious arts,' *i. e.*, magical skill, etc., would serve to convince them of the truth of the gospel, by a mode well suited to interest their minds. The Apostle is not *recorded* to have expressed any *opinion* respecting the *reality* of this *intermediate means* of those miracles. He had doubtless sufficiently explained that these and all the other miracles 'wrought by his hands,' *i. e.*, by his means, were really wrought by God (ver. 11) in attestation of the mission of Jesus. If he himself did *not* entertain exactly the same ideas upon the subject as they did, he may be considered as conceding to, or rather not disturbing unnecessarily, popular notions, rendered harmless by his previous explanation, and affording a very convenient medium for achieving much higher purposes. If the connection between the *secondary* cause and the effect was *real*, it reminds us of our Saviour's expression, 'I perceive that virtue is gone out of me' (Luke viii. 46); which is, however, regarded by many critics as a popular mode of saying that he knew that a miracle had been wrought by his power and efficacy—a mode of speaking in *unison* at least with the belief of the woman that she should be healed if she could but touch the hem of his garment unperceived by him, and perhaps even conceded to, in accordance with the miracles wrought through the medium of contact related in the O. T. (1 Kings xvii. 21; 2 Kings iv. 29, etc.), and in order, by a superior display, in regard both to speed and extensiveness, to demonstrate his supremacy by a mode through which the Jews were best prepared to perceive it (Luke vi. 19; Schwarz, *ad Olear. de Stylo N. T.* p. 129; Soler, *de Pileo*, p. 17; Pierson, *ad Marr.* p. 348; Lydii *Flor. Spars. ad Pass. J. C.* p. 5; Drusus, *Quæst. Heb.* c. 2; Rosenmüller and Kuinoel on the passages).—J. F. D.

HANES (חֲנַס). The meaning of the only passage in which this word occurs (Is. xxx. 4), is obscure, and the true reading of the original text has been questioned. The A. V. renders the whole verse thus: 'For the princes were at Zoan, and his ambassadors came to Hanes.' The Septuagint renders the latter clause καὶ ἀγγελοὶ αὐτοῦ πονηροί, 'And his ambassadors worthless.' The copy from which this translation was made may have read חֲנַס יִנְיֹו, instead of יִנְיֹו חֲנַס; and it is worthy of note that the reading חֲנַס is still found in a number of ancient MSS. (De Rossi, *Varia Lectiones Vet. Test.* iii. 29), and is approved by Lowth and J. D. Michaelis. The old Latin version follows the Sept., 'nuncii pessimi;' but Jerome translates from a text similar to our own, rendering the clause as follows:—'et nuncii tui usque ad Hanes pervenerunt' (Sabbatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Lat. Verss.*, ad loc.) Jerome adds, in his commentary on the verse, 'intelligimus ultimam juxta Ethiopas et Blemmyas esse Aegypti civitatem.' Vitringa would identify Hanes with the Ἀνωσις of Herodotus, which he, with Gesenius and others, supposes to be the same as Herculopolis ('City of Hercules'), the ruins of which are now called *Anásieh*. The Coptic name was *Hnes* or *Ehnes* (Ⲭⲛⲉⲥ or Ⲭⲛⲉⲥⲏⲥ); and it was one of the ancient royal cities of Egypt. *Anásieh* stands on a high mound some distance

west of the Nile, near the parallel of Benisuef. The great objection to this theory is the distance of Anäsieli from Zoan, which stood in the eastern part of the Delta, near the sea.

The Targum reads *Tahpanhes* instead of *Hanes*; and Grotius considers the latter to be a contraction of the former (*Commentar.* ad loc.) With this may be connected the remark of De Rossi—'Codex meus 380 notat ad Marg. esse תחפנהס, Jer. ii. 16' (*Var. Lect.*, l. c.) On the whole, this seems to be the most probable theory, as Tahpanhes was situated in the eastern part of the Delta; and was one of the royal cities about the time of Isaiah [TAHPANHES].—J. L. P.

HANGING. [PUNISHMENTS].

HANGING (חָנָק; Sept. Ἐπιστάσθων), a term applied to a series of curtains suspended before the successive openings of entrance into the Tabernacle and its parts. Of these, the first hung before the entrance to the court of the Tabernacle (Exod. xxvii. 16; xxxviii. 18; Num. iv. 26); the second before the door of the Tabernacle (Exod. xxvi. 36, 37; xxxix. 38); and the third before the entrance to the Most Holy Place, called more fully פֶּרֶכֶת הַמִּסְכָּה ('vail of the covering,' A. V., Exod. xxxv. 12; xxxix. 34; xl. 21) [TABERNACLE].—W. L. A.

HANGINGS. 1. (חֲנֻכִּים; Sept. *lortla*), coverings of byssus for the walls of the fore-court of the Tabernacle (Exod. xxvii. 9; Num. iii. 26, etc.) These hangings were to be five cubits in height (Ex. xxxviii. 18), and consequently half the height of the Tabernacle court (xxvi. 16). They were fastened to pillars which ran along the sides of the court, and were also of five cubits in height (xxvii. 18) [TABERNACLE].

2. (בֵּיתִים, 2 Kings xxiii. 7, margin 'houses,' which is the literal rendering). What these 'houses' were is doubtful. Ewald conjectures that the reading should be בְּגָדִים, *clothes*, and supposes the reference to be to dresses for the images of Astarte; but this is both gratuitous and superfluous. The 'Bottim' which these women wore were probably portable sanctuaries consecrated to idols (Gesenius) or tents for the goddess Ashera (לְאִשְׁרָה), i.e., Astarte or Mylitta (Fürst).—W. L. A.

HÄNLEIN, HEINRICH KARL ALEXANDER, a German theologian, was born at Ansbach in 1762. He was professor of theology at Erlangen, and afterwards consistorialrath in Ansbach. In 1805 he was appointed at Oberkirchenrath in Munich, and subsequently became Oberconsistorial-direktor. He died in 1829. Hänlein is best known by an *Introduction to the New Testament*, in 2 vols. 8vo, 1794-1800. A second edition of the second part appeared in 1802. Here the results which had been already reached were given in a brief, lucid, and compact form. Hänlein added little of his own; but his judgment was good, and he did not follow either Michaelis or Eichhorn slavishly. His own mind appears throughout the work, which never obtained much repute in Germany.—S. D.

HANNAH, properly CHANNAH (חַנָּה, *graciousness*; Sept. 'Avva), wife of a Levite named

Elkanah, and mother of Samuel. The family lived at Ramathaim-zophim, and, as the law required, there was a yearly journey to offer sacrifices at the sole altar of Jehovah, which was then at Shiloh. Women were not bound to attend; but pious females often did so, especially when the husband was a Levite. On one of these visits to Shiloh, while Hannah prayed before returning home, she vowed to devote to the Almighty the son which she so earnestly desired (Num. xxx. 1, *seq.*) Before the end of that year Hannah became the rejoicing mother of a son, to whom the name of Samuel was given, and who was from his birth placed under the obligations of that condition of Nazariteship to which his mother had vowed him. B.C. 1171.

Hannah went no more to Shiloh till her child was old enough to dispense with her maternal services, when she took him up with her to leave him there, as, it appears, was the custom when one already a Levite was placed under the additional obligations of Nazariteship. When he was presented in due form to the high-priest, the mother took occasion to remind him of the former transaction: 'For this child,' she said, 'I prayed, and the Lord hath given me my petition which I asked of him' (1 Sam. i. 27). Hannah's gladness afterwards found vent in an exulting chant, which furnishes a remarkable specimen of the early lyric poetry of the Hebrews, and of which many of the ideas and images were in after times repeated by the Virgin Mary on a somewhat similar occasion (Luke l. 46, *seq.*)

After this Hannah failed not to visit Shiloh every year, bringing a new dress for her son, who remained under the eye and near the person of the high-priest [SAMUEL].—J. K.

HANUN, CHANUN (חֲנָנִי, *bestower*; Sept. Ἀνανώ), son and successor of Nahash, king of the Ammonites. David, who had in his troubles been befriended by Nahash, sent, with the kindest intentions, an embassy to condole with him on the death of his father, and to congratulate him on his own accession. The rash young king, however, was led to misapprehend the motives of this embassy, and to treat with gross and inexpiable indignity the honourable personages whom David had charged with this mission. David vowed vengeance upon Hanun for the insult; and Hanun himself, looking for nothing less than war as the consequence of his conduct, subsidized Hadarezer and other Syrian princes to assist him with their armies. The power of the Syrians was broken in two campaigns, and the Ammonites were left to their fate, which was severe even beyond the usual severities of war in that remote age [AMMONITES; DAVID] (2 Sam. x; 1 Chron. xix.)—J. K. [The name occurs twice besides, Neh. iii. 13, 30].

HAPHIRAIM, properly CHAPHARAIM, (חַפְרַיִם; Sept. Ἀγίον; Alex. Ἀφφαίμ). A town in Issachar (Josh. xix. 19). Eusebius knew it as Ἀφφαία, and Jerome as *Affarea*, and place it six miles north from Legio (*Onom.*, s.v. Ἀφφαίμ).

HAPHTARA, pl. HAPHTAROTH (הַפְּטָרוֹת, *theפטרות*). This expression, which is found in foot notes and at the end of many editions of the Hebrew Bible, denotes the different lessons from the prophets read in the synagogue every Sabbath

and festival of the year. As these lessons have been read from time immemorial in conjunction with sections from the law, and as it is to both 'the reading of the law and the prophets,' that reference is made in the N. T. (Acts xiii. 15, *al.*), we propose to discuss both together in the present article.

1. *Classification of the lessons, their titles, signification, &c.*—There are two classes of lessons indicated in the Hebrew Bible, the one consists of fifty-four sections into which the entire law or Pentateuch (תורה) is divided, and is called *Parshioth* (פרשיות, plur. פרשה, from פָּרַשׁ, *to separate*), and the other consists of a corresponding number of sections selected from different parts of the prophets, to be read in conjunction with the former, and are denominated *Haphtaroth* or *Haf-toroth* (הפטרות, plur. of הפטרה). As the signification of this term is much disputed, and is intimately connected with the view about the origin of these prophetic lessons, we must defer the discussion of it to section 4. The division of the Pentateuch into fifty-four sections is to provide a lesson for each Sabbath of those years which, according to Jewish chronology, have fifty-four Sabbaths (see sec. 2), and to read through the whole Pentateuch, with large portions of the different prophets, in the course of every year. It must be observed, however, that this annual cycle was not universally adopted by the ancient Jews. There were some who had a triennial cycle (comp. *Megilla*, 29, b). These divided the Pentateuch into one hundred and fifty-three or fifty-five sections, so as to read through

the law in Sabbatic lessons, once in three years. This was still done by some Jews in the days of Maimonides (comp. *Iod Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth Tefilla*, xiii. 1), and Benjamin of Tudela tells us that he found the Syrian Jews followed this practice in Memphis (*ed. Asher*, vol. i., p. 148). The sections of the triennial division are called by the Massorites *Sedarim* or *Sedaroth* (סדרים, סדרות, as may be seen in the Massoretic note at the end of Exodus: 'Here endeth the book of Exodus . . . it hath eleven *Parshioth* (פרשיות, *i. e.*, according to the annual division), twenty-nine *Sedaroth* (סדרות, *i. e.*, according to the triennial division), and forty chapters (פרקים). Besides the Sabbatic lessons, special portions of the law and prophets are also read on every festival and fast of the year. It must be noticed, moreover, that the Jews, who have for some centuries almost universally followed the annual division of the law, denominate the Sabbatic section *Sidra* (סידרא), the name which the Massorites give to each portion of the triennial division, and that every one of the fifty-four sections has a special title, which it derives from the first or second word with which it commences, and by which it is quoted in the Jewish writings. To render the following description more intelligible, as well as to enable the student of Hebrew exegesis to identify the quotations from the Pentateuch, we subjoin chronological tables of the Sabbatic Festival and Fast Lessons from the law and prophets, and their titles.

2. 'The reading of the Law and Prophets' as indicated in the Hebrew Bible, and practised by the Jews to the present day:—

1. TABLE OF SABBATIC LESSONS.

NO.	MASSORETIC TITLE OF THE LESSON.	PORTION OF THE LAW.	THE PROPHETS.
1	בראשית	Gen. i. 1—vi. 8.	Is. xlii. 5—xliii. 10, or* to Is. xlii. 21.
2	נח	vi. 9—xi. 32.	Is. liv. 1—lv. 5, or to liv. 10.
3	לך לך	xii. 1—xvii. 27.	Is. xl. 27—xli. 16.
4	וירא	xviii. 1—xxii. 24.	2 Kings iv. 1-37, or to ver. 23.
5	חיי שרה	xxiii. 1—xxv. 18.	1 Kings i. 1-31.
6	תולדות	xxv. 19—xxviii. 9.	Malachi i. 1—ii. 7.
7	יצא	xxviii. 10—xxxii. 3.	Hos. xi. 7—xii. 12, or to ver. 13.
8	וישלח	xxxii. 4—xxxvi. 43.	Hos. xii. 13—xiv. 10, or Obad. 1-21.
9	וישב	xxxvii. 1—xl. 23.	Amos ii. 6—iii. 8.
10	מקץ	xli. 1—xliv. 17.	1 Kings iii. 15—iv. 1.
11	וינש	xliv. 18—xlvii. 27.	Ezek. xxxvii. 15-28.
12	ויחי	xlvii. 28—l. 26.	1 Kings ii. 1-12.
13	שמות	Exod. i. 1—vi. 1.	Is. xxvii. 6—xxviii. 13; xxix. 22, 23, or Jer. i. 1—ii. 3.
14	וארא	vi. 2—ix. 35.	Ezek. xxviii. 25—xxix. 21.
15	בא	x. 1—xiii. 16.	Jer. xvi. 13-28.
16	בשלח	xiii. 17—xvii. 16.	Judg. iv. 4—v. 31, or v. 1-31.
17	יחרו	xviii. 1—xx. 23.	Is. vi. 1—vii. 6; ix. 5, 6, or vi. 1-13.
18	משפטים	xxi. 1—xxiv. 18.	Jer. xxxiv. 8-22; xxxiii. 25, 26.
19	תרומה	xxv. 1—xxvii. 19.	1 Kings v. 26—vi. 13.
20	תצוה	xxvii. 20—xxx. 10.	Ezek. xliii. 10-27.
21	כי תשא	xxx. 11—xxxiv. 35.	1 Kings xviii. 1-39, or xviii. 20-39.
22	ויקהל	xxxv. 1—xxxviii. 20.	1 Kings vii. 40-50, or vii. 13-26.
23	פקודי	xxxviii. 21—xl. 38.	1 Kings vii. 51—viii. 21, or vii. 40-50.

* The first reference always shows the *Haphtara* according to the German and Polish Jews (אשכנזים); the second, introduced by the disjunctive particle OR, is according to the Portuguese Jews (ספרדים).

I. TABLE OF SABBATIC LESSONS—*Continued.*

NO.	MASSORETIC TITLE OF THE LESSON.	PORTION OF THE LAW.	THE PROPHETS.
24	ויקרא	Levit. i. 1—v. 26.	Is. xliii. 21—xliv. 23.
25	צו	vi. 1—viii. 36.	Jer. vii. 21—viii. 3; ix. 22, 23.
26	שמיני	ix. 1—xi. 47.	2 Sam. vi. 1—vii. 17, or vi. 1-19.
27	תזריה	xii. 1—xiii. 59.	2 Kings iv. 42—v. 19.
28	מצורה	xiv. 1—xv. 33.	2 Kings vii. 3-20.
29	אחרי מות	xvi. 1—xviii. 30.	Ezek. xxii. 1-19.
30	קדרשים	xix. 1—xx. 27.	Amos ix. 7-15, or Ezek. xx. 2-20.
31	אמור	xxi. 1—xxiv. 23.	Ezek. xlv. 15-31.
32	בהר	xxv. 1—xxvi. 2.	Jer. xxxii. 6-27.
33	בחקותי	xxvi. 2—xxvii. 34.	Jer. xvi. 19—xvii. 14.
34	במדבר	Num. i. 1—iv. 20.	Hos. ii. 1-22.
35	נשא	iv. 21—vii. 89.	Judg. xiii. 2-25.
36	בהעלותך	viii. 1—xii. 16.	Zech. ii. 14—iv. 7.
37	שלך לך	xiii. 1—xv. 41.	Josh. ii. 1-24. 1
38	קח	xvi. 1—xviii. 32.	2 Sam. xi. 14—xii. 22.
39	חקת	xix. 1—xxii. 1.	Judg. xi. 1-33.
40	בלק	xxii. 2—xxv. 9.	Micah v. 6—vi. 8.
41	פנחס	Num. xxv. 10—xxx. 1.	1 Kings xviii. 46—xix. 21 if it is before Tamus 17, after this date Jer. i. 1—ii. 3.
42	מטות	xxx. 2—xxxii. 42.	Jer. i. 1—ii. 3.
43	מסעי	xxxiii. 1—xxxvi. 13.	Jer. ii. 4-25.
44	דברים	Deut. i. 1—iii. 22.	Is. i. 1-27.
45	ואתחנן	iii. 23—vii. 11.	Is. xl. 1-26.
46	עקב	vii. 12—xi. 25.	Is. xlix. 14—li. 3.
47	ראה	xi. 26—xvi. 17.	Is. liv. 11—lv. 5.
48	שופטים	xvi. 18—xxi. 9.	Is. li. 12—lii. 12.
49	כי תצא	xxi. 10—xxv. 19.	Is. liv. 1-10.
50	כי תבוא	xxvi. 1—xxix. 8.	Is. lx. 1-22.
51	נצבים	xxix. 9—xxx. 20.	Is. lxi. 10—lxiii. 9.
52	וילך	xxxi. 1-30.	Is. lv. 6—lvi. 8.
53	האזינו	xxxii. 1-52.	2 Sam. xxii. 1-51 in some places. Ezek. xvii. 22—xviii. 32.
54	חאת הברכה	xxxiii. 1—xxxiv. 12.	

As has already been remarked, this division into *fifty-four* sections is to provide a special lesson for every Sabbath of those years which have fifty-four Sabbaths. For the intercalary year (*שנה מעברת*), in which New Year (*ראש השנה*) falls on a Thursday, and the months *Cheshvan* (*חשון*) and *Kislev* (*כסלו*) have twenty-nine days, has fifty-four Sabbaths which require special lessons. But as ordinary years (*שנות פשוטות*) have not so many Sabbaths, and those years in which New Year falls on a Monday, and the months *Cheshvan* and *Kislev* have thirty days, or New Year falls on a Saturday, and the said months are regular, *i.e.*, *Cheshvan* having twenty-nine days and *Kislev* thirty, have only forty-seven Sabbaths—*fourteen* of the fifty-four sections, *viz.*, 22 and 23 (*פקודי*), 27 and 28 (*ויקהל*), 29 and 30 (*אחרי מות, קדרשים*), 32 and 33 (*בהר, בחקותי*), 39 and 40 (*בלק, חקת*), 42 and 43 (*מטות, מסעי*), 50 and 51 (*נצבים, וילך*), have been appointed to be read in pairs either

wholly or in part, according to the varying number of Sabbaths in the current year. Thus the whole Pentateuch is read through every year. The first of these weekly sections is read on the first Sabbath after the Feast of Tabernacles, which is in the month of *Tishri*, and begins the civil year, and the last is read on the concluding day of this festival, *Tishri* 23, which is called *The Rejoicing of the Law* (*שמחת תורה*), a day of rejoicing, because on it the law is read through [TABERNACLES, FEAST OF]. According to the triennial division, the reading of the law seems to have been as follows:—Gen. i. 1—Exod. xiii. 16, comprising *history* from the creation of the world to the Exodus, was read in the first year; Exod. xiii. 17—Num. vi. 27, embracing *the laws* of both Sinai and the Tabernacle, formed the lessons for the Sabbaths of the second year; and Num. vii. 1—Deut. xxxiv. 12, containing both *history* (*i.e.*, the history of thirty-nine years' wanderings in the wilderness) and *law* (*i.e.*, the repetition of the Mosaic law), constituted the Sabbatic lessons for the third year (comp. Megilla, 29, b, and Volkslehrer, ii. p. 209).

II. TABLE OF FESTIVAL AND FAST LESSONS.

FEASTS AND FASTS.	THE LAW.	THE PROPHETS.
NEW MOON. If it falls on a Sabbath is read On a Sunday	Num. xxviii. 9-15 (<i>Maphtir</i>). Num. xxviii. 3-15.	Is. lxvi. 1-24. 1 Sam. xx. 18-42.
FEAST OF DEDICATION. Day i. Day ii. Day iii. Day iv. Day v. Day vi. Day vii. Day viii. Sabbath i. Sabbath ii.	Num. vii. 1-17. Num. vii. 18-23. Num. vii. 24-29. Num. vii. 30-35. Num. vii. 36-41. Num. vii. 42-47. Num. vii. 48-53. Num. vii. 54—viii. 4.	Zech. ii. 14—iv. 7. 1 Kings. vii. 40-50. The Book of Esther. 1 Sam. xv. 2—34, or xv. 1-34. Ezek. xxxvi. 16-38, or to ver. 36. Ezek. xlv. 16—xlvi. 18, or xlv. 18—xlvi. 15. Mal. iii. 4-24.
FEAST OF PURIM. SABBATH PARSHETH SACHOR. SABBATH PARSHETH PARA. SABBATH PARSHETH HA-CHO- DESH. SABBATH HA-GADOL.	Exod. xvii. 8-16. Deut. xxv. 17-19 (<i>Maphtir</i>). Num. xix. 1-22 (<i>Maphtir</i>). Exod. xii. 1-20. ...	Mal. iii. 4-24. Josh. iii. 5-7; v. 2-15; vi. 27, or v. 2-15. 2 Kings xxiii. 1-9; 21-25.
FEAST OF PASSOVER. Day i. Day ii. Chol Moed, Day i. Day ii. (If it falls on a Sunday the preceding lesson is read.) Day iii. (If on a Monday, the preced- ing lesson.) On a Wednesday or Thursday Day iv. Sabbath Chol Moed Day vii. If Sabbath, Day viii. Week day, "	Exod. xii. 21-51; Num. xxviii. 16-25 (<i>Maphtir</i>). Levit. xxii. 26—xxiii. 44; Num. xxviii. 16-25 (<i>Maphtir</i>). Exod. xiii. 1-16; Num. xxviii. 19-25. Exod. xxii. xxiii. 19; Num. xxviii. 19-25. Exod. xxxiv. 1-26; Num. xxviii. 19-25. Num. ix. 1-14; xxviii. 19-25. Exod. xxxiii. 12—xxxiv. 26; Num. xxviii. 19-25. Exod. xiii. 17—xv. 26; Num. xxviii. 19-25 (<i>Maphtir</i>). Deut. xiv. 22—xvi. 17; Num. xxviii. 19-25 (<i>Maphtir</i>). Deut. xv. 19—xvi. 17; Num. xxviii. 19-25 (<i>Maphtir</i>). Exod. xix. 1—xx. 26; Num. xxviii. 26-31 (<i>Maphtir</i>). Deut. xiv. 22—xvi. 17. Deut. xv. 19—xvi. 17; Num. xxviii. 26-31 (<i>Maphtir</i>). Deut. iv. 25-40.	{ Ezek. xxxvi. 37—xxxvii. 17, or xxxvii. 1-14. The Song of Songs. 2 Sam. xxii. 1-51. Is. x. 32—xii. 6. Is. x. 32—xii. 6. Ezek. i. 1-28; iii. 12. Habak. ii. 20—iii. 19, or iii. 1- 19; Esther. Habak. ii. 20—iii. 19, or iii. 1- 19. Jer. viii. 13—ix. 23; Lamenta- tions. Is. lv. 6—lvi. 8. 1 Sam. i. 1—ii. 10. Jer. xxxi. 2-20. Is. lvii. 14—lviii. 14. Jonah. Zech. xiv. 1-21.
FAST OF THE NINTH OF AB. Morning Noon NEW YEAR. Day i. Day ii. DAY OF ATONEMENT. Morning Noon FEAST OF TABERNACLES. Day i.	Gen. xxi. 1-34; Num. xxix. 1-6 (<i>Maphtir</i>). Gen. xxii. 1-24; Num. xxix. 1-6 (<i>Maphtir</i>). Levit. xvi. 1-34; Num. xxix. 7-11 (<i>Maphtir</i>). Levit. xviii. 1-30. Levit. xxii. 26—xxiii. 44; Num. xxix. 12-16 (<i>Maphtir</i>).	

II. TABLE OF FESTIVAL AND FAST LESSONS—*Continued.*

FEASTS AND FASTS.	THE LAW.	THE PROPHETS.
FEAST OF TABERNACLES.		
Day ii.	Lev. xxii. 26—xxiii. 44; Num. xxix. 12-16 (<i>Maphtir</i>).	1 Kings viii. 2-21.
Chol Moed, Day i.	Num. xxix. 17-25; 17-22 is repeated.	
Day ii.	Num. xxix. 20-28; 20-25 is repeated.	
Day iii.	Num. xxix. 23-31; 23-28 is repeated.	
Day iv.	Num. xxix. 26-34; 26-31 is repeated.	
Sabbath Chol Moed	Exod. xxxiii. 12—xxxiv. 26; Num. xxix. 17-22, if it is the first day of Chol Moed; Num. xxix. 23-28, if the third; Num. xxix. 26-31, if the fourth day (<i>Maphtir</i>).	Ezek. xxxviii. 18—xxxix. 16; Ecclesiastes.
Shemini Azereth, If Sabbath	Deut. xiv. 22—xvi. 17.	
Week day	Deut. xv. 19—xvi. 17; Num. xxix. 35—xxx. 1 (<i>Maphtir</i>).	1 Kings viii. 54-66; Ecclesiastes.
Simchath Tora	Deut. xxxiii. 1—xxxiv. 12; Gen. i. 1—ii. 3; Num. xxix. 35—xxx. 1 (<i>Maphtir</i>).	
SABBATH SHUBA.	..	Josh. i. 1-18.
FAST DAYS generally.	Exod. xxxii. 11-14; xxxiv. 1-10.	Hos. xiv. 2-9; Joel ii. 15-27.
MONDAYS and THURSDAYS all the year round.	The first section of the Sabbatic lesson from the law.	Is. lv. 6—lvii. 8.

3. *The manner of reading the Law and the Prophets.*—Every Sabbatic lesson from the Law (קריאת התורה) is divided into seven sections (evidently designed to correspond to the seven days of the week) which, in the days of our Saviour and afterwards, were read by seven different persons (שבעה קרואים), who were called upon for this purpose by the congregation or its chief (*Mishna*, *Megilla*, iv. 2; Maimonides, *Iod Ha-Hezekia Hilchoth Tefilla*, xii. 7). Great care is taken that the whole nation should be represented at this reading of the Law and Prophets. Hence a *Cohen* (כהן) or priest is called to the reading of the first portion, a *Levi* (לוי) to the second, and an *Israel* (ישראל) to the third; and after the three great divisions of the nation have thus been duly represented, the remaining four portions are assigned to four others with less care. 'Every one thus called to the reading of the Law must unroll the scroll, and having found the place where he is to begin to read, pronounces the following benediction—'Bless ye the Lord, who is ever blessed;' to which the congregation respond, 'Blessed be the Lord, who is blessed for evermore.' Whereupon he again pronounces the following benediction—'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast chosen us from among all nations, and hast given us thy Law. Blessed art thou, O Lord, giver of the Law;' to which all the congregation respond 'Amen.' He then reads the seventh portion of the lesson, and when he has finished, rolls up the scroll, and pronounces again the following benediction—'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast

given us thy Law, the Law of truth, and hast planted among us everlasting life. Blessed art thou, O Lord, giver of the Law'' (Maimonides, *ibid.* xii. 5). The other six, who are called in rotation to the reading of the other six portions, have to go through the same formularies. Then the *Maphtir* (מפטיר), or the one who finishes up by the reading of the *Haphtara* (הפטרה), or the lesson from the Prophets, is called. Having read the few concluding verses of the lesson from the Law, and passed through the same formularies as the other seven, he reads the appointed section from the Prophets. Before reading it, he pronounces the following benediction—'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast chosen good prophets, and delighted in their words, which were spoken in truth. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast chosen the Law, thy servant Moses, thy people Israel, and thy true and righteous prophets;' and after reading, 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, Rock of all ages, Righteous in all generations, the faithful God who promises and performs, who decrees and accomplishes, for all thy words are faithful and just. Faithful art thou, Lord our God, and faithful are thy words, and not one of thy words shall return in vain, for thou art a faithful King. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the God who art faithful in all thy words.' 'Have mercy upon Zion, for it is the dwelling of our life, and save speedily in our days the afflicted souls. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who wilt make Zion rejoice in her children. Cause us to rejoice, O Lord our God, in Elijah thy servant, and in the kingdom of the house of David thine anointed. May he speedily come and gladden our hearts.

Let no stranger sit on his throne, and let others no longer inherit his glory, for thou hast sworn unto him by thy holy name that his light shall not be extinguished for ever and ever. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the shield of David.' 'For the Law, the divine service, the prophets, and for 'this day of rest' [or of memorial], this goodly day of holy convocation which thou hast given to us, O Lord, for sanctification and rest [on the Sabbath], for honour and glory; for all this, O Lord our King, we thank and praise thee. Let thy name be praised in the mouth of every living creature for ever and ever. Thy word, O our King, is true, and will abide for ever. Blessed art thou, King of the whole earth, who hast sanctified the Sabbath, and Israel, and the day of memorial' (Maimonides, *ibid.*) After the Babylonish captivity, when the Hebrew language became an unknown tongue to the common people, an interpreter (תורגמן, מוֹתְרָגְמָן) stood at the desk by the side of those who read the lessons, and paraphrased the section from the Law into Chaldee, verse by verse, the reader pausing at every verse, whilst the lesson from the Prophets he paraphrased three verses at a time (*Mishna, Megilla*, iv. 4); and Lightfoot is of opinion that St. Paul, in 1 Cor. xiv. 22, refers to this circumstance (*Hore Hebrae* in loco). The lesson from the Law was on these occasions rendered into Chaldee pretty literally, owing to the fear which both the interpreters and the congregation had, lest a free explanation of it might misrepresent its sense, whilst greater freedom was exercised with the lesson from the Prophets. Hence loose paraphrases and lengthy expositions were tolerated and looked for both from the professional interpreter and those of the congregation who were called up to read, and who felt that they could do with edification to the audience. Hence we find that Christ, according to this custom, was asked in the synagogue, which he attended on the Sabbath, to read and explain the Sabbatic lesson, and that He, in compliance with it, read and expounded Is. lxi., which was the *Haphtara* for that Sabbath. The Sabbatic lesson from the Law was, as we have seen, divided into seven sections or chapters, each of which had at least three verses, according to the verses of those days, so that the whole consisted of at least twenty-one such verses. The lesson from the Prophets was not portioned out to seven different individuals, but has also at least twenty-one verses (*Mishna, Megilla*, iv. 4; Maimonides, *Iod Ha-chezaka Hilchoth Tefilla*, xii. 13). The lesson from the Law for the Day of Atonement is divided into six chapters, for Festivals into five, for New Moon into four, and for Mondays and Thursdays into three chapters or sections. The number of persons called up to the reading of the Law always corresponds to the number of sections. For Mondays and Thursdays, New Moon, and the week days of the Festivals (חול מועד), there are no corresponding lessons from the Prophets (*Mishna, Megilla*, iv. 1-3).

4. *The Origin of this Institution.*—The origin of this custom may easily be traced. The Bible emphatically and repeatedly enjoins upon every Israelite to study its contents (Deut. iv. 9; xxxii. 46); Moses himself ordered that the whole law should be read publicly at the end of every Sabbatic year (*ibid.* xxxi. 10-12), whilst Joshua urges that it should be studied day and night (i. 8; comp.

also Ps. i. 2, al.) Now the desire to carry out this injunction literally, and yet the utter impossibility to do it on the part of those who had to work for daily bread all the week, and who could not afford to buy the necessarily expensive scrolls, gave rise to this institution. On the Sabbath and festivals all were relieved from their labour, and could attend places of worship where the inspired writings were deposited, and where care could be taken that no private interpretation should be palmed upon the Word of God. Hence both James (Acts xv. 21) and Josephus (*Contra Apion.* ii. 17) speak of it as a very ancient custom, and the Talmud tells us that the division of each Sabbatic lesson into seven sections was introduced in honour of the Persian king (*Megilla*, 23), which shews that this custom obtained anterior to the Persian rule. Indeed Maimonides positively asserts that Moses himself ordained the hebdomadal reading of the law (*Hilchoth Tefilla*, xii. 1). Equally natural is the division of the law into Sabbatic sections as the whole of it could not be read at once. The only difficulty is to ascertain positively whether the annual or the triennial division was the more ancient one. A triennial division is mentioned in *Megilla* 29, b, as current in Palestine; with this agree the reference to 155 sections of the law in the *Midrash, Esther* 116, b, and the Massoretic division of the Pentateuch into 154 *Sedarim*. But on the other hand R. Simeon b. Eleazar, a *Palestinian*, declared that Moses instituted the reading of Lev. xxvi. before the Feast of Pentecost, and Deut. xxviii. before New Year, which most unquestionably presuppose the annual division of the Pentateuch into 54 *Parshioth*. This is moreover confirmed by the statement (*ibid.* 31, a) that the section תַּאֲתָהּ הַכִּבְרָה (Deut. xxxiii. 1-xxiv. 12) was read on the ninth day of the Feast of Tabernacles, thus terminating the annual cycle, as well as by the fact that the annual festival of the rejoicing of the law (שְׂמֹחֵת תּוֹרָה) which commemorates the annual finishing of the perusal of the Pentateuch [TABERNACLES, FEAST OF] was an ancient institution. We must, therefore, conclude that the annual cycle which is now prevalent among the Jews, was the generally adopted one, at least since the Maccabæan times, whilst the triennial, though the older, was the exception. It is far more difficult to trace the origin of the *Haphtara*, or the lessons from the prophets, and its signification. A very ancient tradition tells us that the Syrians had interdicted the reading of the law, and carried away the scrolls containing it, and that appropriate sections from the prophets were therefore chosen to replace the Pentateuch (Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vor.* p. 5), whilst Elias Levita traces the origin of the *Haphtara* to persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes. In his *Lex.* (s. v. פֶּסֶח) he says, 'the wicked Antiochus, king of Greece, prohibited the Jews to read the law publicly. They, therefore, selected sections from the prophets of the same import as the Sabbatic lessons . . . and though this prohibition has now ceased, this custom has not been left off, and to this day we read a section from the prophets after the reading of the law;' and we see no reason to reject this account. The objection of Vitringa, Frankel, Herzfeld, etc., that Antiochus, who wanted to exterminate Judaism, would not wage war against the Pentateuch *exclusively*, but would equally destroy the prophetic books, and that this implies a knowledge on the part of the soldiers of the distinc-

tion between the Pentateuch and the other inspired writings, is obviated by the fact that there was an external difference between the scrolls of the Pentateuch and the other sacred books,* that the Jews claimed the *Pentateuch* as their law and rule of faith, and that this was the reason why it especially was destroyed. This is corroborated by 1 Maccab. i. 56, where *the law only* is said to have been burned. Accordingly *הַפְּטֵרָה*, *פֶּטֶר*, to liberate, to free, signifies the *liberating lesson*, the portion from the prophets which is read instead of the portion from the law that could not be read, and which liberates from the injunction of reading the Pentateuch. For the other opinions about the signification of *Haphṭara*, we refer to the Literature quoted below.

Literature.—Maimonides, *Iod Ha-Ḥezaka Hilchoth Tefilla*; Bartolucci, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, vol. ii. p. 593, seq.; Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, cap. i.; Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, Leipzig 1841, p. 48, ff.; Rapaport, *Erech Milin*, p. 66, ff.; *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, i. p. 352, ff.; xi. p. 222, ff.; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. p. 209, ff.; *Der Israelitische Volkslehrer*, ii. p. 205, ff.; p. 36, ff.; *Ben Chananja*, vol. v. p. 125, ff.—C. D. G.

HARA (הָרָא), a province of Assyria. We read that Tiglath-pileser 'brought the Reubenites, Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, unto Halah, and Habor, and *Hara*, and to the river Gozan' (1 Chron. v. 26). The parallel passage in 2 Kings xviii. 11 omits Hara, and adds 'in the cities of the Medes.' Bochart consequently supposes that Hara was either a part of Media, or another name for that country. He shews that Herodotus (vii. 62) and other ancient writers call the Medes *Arians*, and their country *Aria*. He farther supposes that the name Hara, which signifies 'mountainous,' may have been given to that northern section of Media subsequently called by the Arabs *Elgebal* ('the mountains'; see Bochart, *Opp.* i. 194). All this, however, appears to be mere conjecture. The words *Aria* and *Hara* are totally different, both in meaning and origin. The Medes were a branch of the great Arian family who came originally from India, and who took their name, according to Müller (*Science of Language*, pp. 237, sq., 2d ed.), from the Sanscrit word *Arya*, which means 'noble,' 'of a good

* The law has two rollers, i. e., has a roller attached to each of the two ends of the vellum on which it is written, and every weekly portion when read on the Sabbath is unrolled from the right roller and rolled on the left; so that when the law is opened on the next Sabbath the portion appointed for that day is at once found. Whereas the prophetic books have only one roller, and the lesson from the prophets has to be sought out on every occasion (comp. Baba Bathra, 14 a). Dean Alford (*The Greek Testament*, vol. i. p. 449, 4th ed.), overlooking this fact, has therefore wrongly assigned to the word 'FOUND' in Matt. iv. 17, the sense of 'fortuitous (i. e., *providential*) finding.' It is this fact that the law is on two rollers, and the other sacred books on one, as mentioned in the above-quoted passage from the Talmud, which gave a different external appearance to the scrolls of the law, and those of the other sacred books.

family.' Its etymological signification seems to be 'one who tills the ground;' and it is thus allied to the Latin *Arare* (see also Rawlinson's *Herodotus* i. p. 401).

Hara is joined with Hala, Habor, and the river Gozan. These were all situated in western Assyria, between the Tigris and Euphrates, and along the banks of the Khabûr. We may safely conclude, therefore, that Hara could not have been far distant from that region. It is somewhat remarkable that the name is not given in either the Septuagint or Peshito version. Some have hence imagined that the word was interpolated after these versions were made. This, however, is a rash criticism, as it exists in all Hebrew MSS., and also in Jerome's version (see Robinson's *Calmet*, s.v., *Gozan*; Grant's *Nestorian Christians*, p. 120). The conjecture that Hara and Haran are identical cannot be sustained, though the situation of the latter might suit the requirements of the Biblical narrative, and its Greek classical name resembles Hara. The Hebrew words הָרָא and חָרָן are radically different. Hara may perhaps have been a local name applied to the mountainous region north of Gozan, called by Strabo and Ptolemy Mons Masius, and now Karja Baghlar (Strabo xvi. 23; Ptolemy v. 18, 2).—J. L. P.

HARADAH (הֶרְדָּה; Sept. *Χαραδάθ*), a camp or station of the Israelites (Num. xxxiii. 24) [WANDERING].

HARAM. [HOUSE.]

HARAN (חָרָן; Sept. *'Appá*), son of Terah, brother of Abraham and Nahor, and father of Lot, Milcah, and Iscah. That he was Terah's youngest son is presumable from his being last mentioned; but this does not necessarily follow, because the younger son is often, *honoris causa*, placed before the elder. He died before his father Terah; an event which, from the manner in which it is mentioned, appears to have been a much rarer case in those days than at present (Gen. xi. 27, sq.).

2. (Sept. *Áδν*; Alex. *'Apáv*). A Gershonite Levite of the family of Shimei, in the time of David (1 Chron. xxiii. 9).

3. (חָרָן; Sept. *'Appá*; Alex. *'Appá*). A son of Caleb by his concubine Ephah (1 Chron. ii. 46).

HARAN (חָרָן; Sept. and N. T., *Χαράν*).

In Gen. xi. 31 we read that Terah and his family left Ur of the Chaldees to go to Canaan, 'and they came to *Haran* and dwelt there.' Terah died there, and a portion of his family settled permanently in that city. Abraham, however, received a divine command to go to Canaan, and then he finally left Haran. The next direct reference to Haran is in connection with the flight and subsequent history of Jacob. His mother Rebekah was a native of Haran; and when by a stratagem she secured for Jacob his father's blessing, she sent him to Laban her brother (Gen. xxvii. 43). The country in which Haran was situated is called *Padan-aram*, or 'the plain of Aram' (xxviii. 2); and also *Aram-Naharaim*, 'Aram of the two rivers' (A. V. Mesopotamia, xxiv. 10). In 2 Kings xix. 12, Haran is mentioned in connection with

Gozan, a province of Mesopotamia, as having been taken by the Assyrians; and Ezekiel groups it with Canneh, Eden, and other places in Assyria (xxvii. 23). These are the only indications in Scripture of the site of Haran. The translators of the Septuagint identify the Aram-Naharaim of Genesis with the well-known Greek province of Mesopotamia. Josephus also says: 'Terah hating Chaldaea on account of his mourning for Haran, they all removed to Haran of Mesopotamia (ἐς Χαββὰν τῆς Μεσοποταμίας) where Terah died' (*Antiq.* i. 6. 5). Jerome thus describes Haran:—'Charran, a city of Mesopotamia beyond Edessa, which to this day is called *Charra*, where the Roman army was cut off, and Crassus its leader taken' (*Onomast.*, s.v. *Charran*). Guided by these descriptions and statements, which certainly appear sufficiently clear and full, sacred geographers have almost universally identified Haran with the *Carrae* (Κάρραι) of the Greeks and Romans (Strabo, xvi.; Pliny, v.

21), and the *Harrân* of the Arabs (Arab. حَرَّانَ ;

Schultens, *Index Geogr. in Vitam Saladini*, s.v.)

Harrân stands on the banks of a small river called Belik, which flows into the Euphrates about fifty miles south of the town. From it a number of leading roads radiate to the great fords of the Tigris and Euphrates; and it thus formed an important station on the line of commerce between central and western Asia. This may explain why Terah came to it, and why it was mentioned among the places which supplied the marts of Tyre (*Ezek.* xxvii. 23). Crassus was probably marching along this great route when he was attacked by the Parthians. The people of Haran long retained both the language and worship of the Chaldeans; and a chapel is said to have existed there dedicated to Abraham (see Asseman, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, i. 327).

Dr. Beke in his *Origines Biblicæ* (p. 122, sq.), made the somewhat startling statement that Haran must have been near Damascus, and that Aram-Naharaim is the country between the Abana and Pharpar. After lying dormant for a quarter of a century this theory was again revived in 1860. The writer of this article visited and described a small village in the plain, four hours east of Damascus, called Harrân el-Awamid ('Harrân of the columns'). The description having met the eye of Dr. Beke (in *Five Years in Damascus*, i. 376), he at once concluded that this village was the site of the real 'city of Nahor.' He has since visited Harrân el-Awamid, and travelled from it to Gilead, and is more confirmed in his view, though he appears to stand alone. His arguments have not been sufficient to set aside the powerful evidence in favour of Haran in Mesopotamia. The student may see the whole subject discussed in the *Athenæum* for Nov. 23, 30; Dec. 7, 1861; Feb. 1, 15; March 1, 22, 29; April 6, 19; and May 24, 1862; also in Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, p. 447, sq.—J. L. P.

HARARITE, THE (הַרְרִי), once without the article, 2 Sam. xxiii. 11, the appellation of three of David's guard. Gesenius translates the word by *mountaineer*; but Fürst thinks it is a Gentile from some place called הַר. It is applied to—1. SHAM-MAH, the son of Agee (2 Sam. xxiii. 11, 33). In 1

Chron. xi. 27 he is called 'Shammoth the Harorite,' and in 2 Sam. xxiii. 25 we have הַרְרִי *Harodite*, in place of הַרְרִי, *Harovite*. 2. JONATHAN, the son of Shage (1 Chron. xi. 34). In 2 Sam. xxiii. 32 he is mentioned without any appellation or designation. 3. AHIAH, the son of Sacar (1 Chron. xi. 35). In 2 Sam. xxiii. 33 we have Sharar for Sacar, and הַרְרִי for אַרְרִי.—W. L. A.

HARDT, HERMANN VON DER, a learned theologian and Orientalist, was born at Melle, in Westphalia, in the duchy of Osnabrück, 15th November 1660. After receiving his early education at Herfort and Osnabrück, he repaired to Koburg in his 17th year, and thence to the University of Jena, where he devoted himself to the study of theology and the Oriental languages. He then spent a year at Hamburg under the learned Edzard, and returned to Jena 1681, where, after a time, he began to give private lectures. In 1686 he repaired to Leipzig and commenced as a *privat-docent*. In 1690 he became ordinary professor of Oriental languages at Helmstädt. Here he led a life of unwearied literary activity, lecturing on the Oriental tongues, the exegesis of the O. and N. T., Hebrew and ecclesiastical antiquities, Biblical science, etc. He died at the age of 86, in 1746, 28th February. He was a very learned man, but full of paradoxes, eager after new views, rash, and peculiar. His writings are numerous, exceeding 300, and of a miscellaneous nature, grammatical, exegetical, and historical. The last are the most valuable to us. Those relating to Biblical literature are, *Ephemerides Philologæ quibus difficiiora quedam loca Pentateuchi ad Hebraicorum fontium tenorem explicata, cum notis et epistolis pro uberiore commentatione*, 1693, 1696, 1703; *Brevia atque solida Hebrææ lingue fundamenta*, 1694 and 1739; *Elementa Chaldaica*, 1693, etc.; *Brevia atque solida Syriacæ lingue fundamenta*, 1694, etc.; *Hoseas illustratus Chaldaica Jonathanis versione et philologicis celeberrimi rabbinorum Raschi, Aben Esræ et Kimchi commentariis*, 1702, 1775; *Commentarii linguae Hebrææ ex Græcia apologia*, 1727; *Evangelicæ rei integritas in negotio Jonæ quatuor libris declarata*, 1719; *Enigmata prisca orbis*, 1723 fol; *Tomus primus in Jobum, etc.*, 1728 fol.—S. D.

HARE, FRANCIS, D.D., successively Dean of Worcester, Dean of St. Paul's, Bishop of St. Asaph, and Bishop of Chichester. The deanery of St. Paul's he held with each of his episcopal appointments to his death in 1740. He was at one time a friend of Dr. Bentley, who dedicated to him, in 1713, his celebrated *Remarks on the Essay on Freethinking*, in acknowledgment of which Hare published his *Letter* entitled 'A Clergyman's thanks to Phileleutherus Lipsiensis for his Remarks, etc.' Before his elevation to the see of St. Asaph, Dr. Hare took part against Hoadley in the Bangorian controversy; amongst his published works was a sermon on this subject—'Concio ad Synodum,' on Titus ii. 8. Bishop Hare was the author of several political tracts, an edition of Terence, and a volume of sermons; but the only work which entitles him to a place in this 'Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature' was his *Book of Psalms in the Hebrew, put into the original poetical metre*, published in 1736. 'We learn (says Bishop Jebb, *Sacred Literature*, p. 12) from George Psalmanazar's memoirs.

that his lordship printed but 500 copies of his Hebrew Psalter, one-half of which he presented to his learned friends at home and abroad—the remaining copies sold but slackly, and the work was never separately republished.* Although this ingenious treatise was so soon superseded by Bishop Lowth's metrical system, it was unquestionably the first publication of any note that had appeared in England on the subject of Hebrew metre. The learned author's negative merits were not inconsiderable; he saw with clearness and exposed with convincing arguments the faults of his predecessors. Yet he fell into the self-same error which he had censured in Gomarus, of attributing to Hebrew poetry a closer affinity to Greek metre than it really possesses; nor was he exempt from the more serious fault which he justly imputed to Meibomius of wantonly altering and interpolating, without any adequate authority, the Hebrew text of the Psalmist. In his metrical theory he considered the accents of the syllables as one of the characteristics of Hebrew poetry; and although he did not discover alcaics and sapphics in the Psalms of David, he did suppose that they were replete with iambs and trochaics. Whatever progress may yet be made in discovering the laws of Hebrew poetry, it may safely be assumed that all attempts like Bishop Hare's to recover the Hebrew system of metre by means of Greek and Latin examples must be utterly futile. Our Bishop's name will be kept in remembrance in connection with this subject by the confutations of Dr. Lowth. The longer of these was written in English in a letter to Dr. Thomas Edwards, whose defence of Hare was hardly more than a virulent attack on Lowth; while the shorter one is appended to the *Praelectiones* under the title of 'Metricæ Harianæ brevis confutatio.' In the best Oxford edition of Lowth's great work there is reprinted a valuable review of Bishop Hare's theory by the learned German, Christian Weise, which was originally published in 1740 under the title of 'Systema Psalmorum Metricum a celeberrimo Anglo Francisco Hare nuper adornatum delineat Christianus Weisius.' There are briefer notices of Hare's system in Bishop Jebb's *Sacred Literature*, pp. 12-16, and Canon Roger's *Book of Psalms in Hebrew*, vol. i. pp. 16-19. Bishop Hare was grandfather of the late Archdeacon Hare and his brother, the well-known authors of *Guesses at Truth*.—P. H.

HARE (אַרְנֶבֶת *arnebeth*; Arab. *arneb*) occurs in Lev. xi. 6, and Deut. xiv. 7, and, in both instances, the animal is prohibited from being used as food, because, although it chews the cud, it has not the hoof divided. But the hare belongs to an order of mammals totally distinct from the ruminantia, which are all, without exception, bisulca, the camel's hoof alone offering a partial modification. They have all four stomachs; incisor teeth, with again some slight modification in the camel, solely in the lower jaw; molars made for grinding, and the lower jawbone articulated, so as to admit of

the circular action required for that purpose, when the food, already swallowed, is forced up to be thoroughly triturated. All these characters and faculties are wanting in the hare, which belongs to the order rodentia; for, in common with porcupines, squirrels, beavers, and rats, it has incisor teeth above and below, set like chisels, and calculated for gnawing, cutting, and nibbling. The stomach of rodents is single, and the motion of the mouth, excepting when they masticate some small portion of food reserved in the hollow of the cheek, is more that of the lips; when in a state of repose the animals are engaged in working the incisor teeth upon each other. This practice is a necessary condition of existence, for the friction keeps them fit for the purpose of nibbling, and prevents their growing beyond a proper length. It is a provision of nature in the whole order of rodents; and, if by any accident the four cutting teeth be rendered inefficient by not closing upon each other at the exact line of contact, they grow rapidly beyond serviceable use, exceed the opening of the mouth, and impede feeding till the animal perishes from want. As hares do not subsist on hard substances, like most of the genera of the order, but on tender shoots and grasses, they have more cause, and therefore a more constant craving, to abrade their teeth; and this they do in a manner which, combined with the slight trituration of the occasional contents of the cheeks, even modern writers, not zoologists, have mistaken for real rumination. In the German versions, the expression *wiederkauen*, 'to chew again,' is much more correct than the English phrase, 'to chew the cud,' because this last implies a faculty which re-chewing does not, and which the hare does not possess.



560. Syrian Hare.

Physiological investigation having fully determined these questions, it follows that both with regard to the Shaphan and the Hare we should understand the original in the above passages, rendered 'chewing the cud,' as merely implying a second mastication, more or less complete, and not necessarily that faculty of true ruminants, which derives its name from a power to draw up aliment, after deglutition, when worked into a ball, from the first stomach into the mouth, and there to submit it to a second grinding process. The act of 'chewing the cud' and 're-chewing' being considered identical by the Hebrews, the sacred lawgiver, not being occupied with the doctrines of science, no doubt used the expression in the sense in which it was then understood. It may be added, that a similar opinion, and consequent rejection of the hare as food, pervaded many nations of antiquity, who derived their origin, or their doctrines, from a Semitic source; and that among others it existed among the British Celtæ, probably even before they had any intercourse with Phœnician merchants.

* It is, however, reprinted, with several works of like nature in Ugolini *Thes.* vol. xxxi.—the original title was 'Psalmorum Liber, in versiculos metricæ divisus et cum aliis criticis subsidiis tum præcipue metricæ opæ multis in locis integritati suæ restitutus, cum Dissertatione de antiqua Hebræorum poesi . . . edidit Franciscus Hare S. T. P. Episcopus Cicestrensis.'

There are two distinct species of hare in Syria, one, *Lepus Syriacus*, or Syrian hare, nearly equal in size to the common European, having the fur ochry buff, and *Lepus Sinaiticus*, or hare of the desert, smaller and brownish. They reside in the localities indicated by their trivial names, and are distinguished from the common hare, by a greater length of ears, and a black tail with white fringe. There is found in Egypt, and higher up the Nile, a third species, represented in the outline paintings on ancient monuments, but not coloured with that delicacy of tint required for distinguishing it from the others, excepting that it appears to be marked with the black speckles which characterise the existing species.—C. H. S.

HARENBERG, JOHN CHRISTOPHER, a Lutheran theologian and historian, was born in 1696 at Langenholzen, in the duchy of Hildesheim. In 1715 he went to Helmstädt and studied theology, history, and the belles lettres. In 1720 he became rector of the school belonging to the chapter at Gandersheim. In 1733 he was appointed inspector-general of the schools in the duchy of Wolfenbüttel. In 1738 he was admitted into the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin; and from 1745 he taught ecclesiastical history and political geography at the Carolinum of Brunswick. He was soon after nominated overseer of the monastery of St. Laurence, near Schoeningen, where he died 12th November 1774. Harenberg's works are numerous, and little read in the present day. However useful at the time when they appeared, they are almost forgotten now. Those relating to the literature or explanation of the Bible are *Jura Israelitarum in Palestina*, Hildesheim 1724; *Palestina, seu terra a Mose et Josua occupata et inter Judæos distributa per xii. tribus vulgo sancta appellata, ex observationibus astronomicis, itinerum intervallis, ac scriptis fide dignis concinnata*, Augsburg 1737; *Otia Gandersheimensia sacra, expone[n]dis sacris literis et historia ecclesiastica dicata*, Utrecht 1739; *Erklärung der Offenbarung S. Johannis*, Brunswick 1759; *Amos propheta expositus interpretatione nova latina*, Leyden 1764; *Aufklärung des Buchs Daniels*, Quedlinburg, 2 vols., 1770-1772. Besides separate works, he wrote many dissertations and essays in *Bibliothèques* and *Museums*. Some are printed in *Ugolini's Thesaurus*.—S. D.

HARETH, a forest in Judah, to which David fled from Saul (1 Sam. xxii. 5) [FOREST].

HAREUS, FRANCISCUS. A learned Dutch divine of the Roman Catholic Church. His native name was Van der Haer; he was born at Utrecht in 1550, and died in 1632. Among his publications suitable for mention here are two 4to volumes on Chronology, 1602, 1614; *Catena Aurea in iv. Evangelia*, 1625; *Biblia Sacra expositionibus priscorum patrum literalibus et mysticis illustrata*, Antwerp 1630, folio.—P. H.

HARIM (חָרִים; Sept. Χαρίβ; Alex. Χαρήμ), a priest third in the four and twenty orders of the divisions of the sons of Aaron, chosen to 'the service of the house of the Lord' (1 Chron. xxiv. 8). The name repeatedly occurs in Ezra in connection with what we believe to be the descendants of the above, who came up out of the captivity of Babylon with Zerubbabel. Two families of B'ney Harim

(Sept. ὡς Ἰλδμ, and ὡς Ἰρδμ) are mentioned, the first numbering 320, the other 1017 (Ezra ii. 32, 39). The names of two distinct families of B'ney-Harim also occur among those who had 'taken strange wives of the people of the land' (Ezra x. 21, 31). We find a further mention of the name, probably as representing the family in one or other of its divisions, or both, among those who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 5).—W. J. C.

HARLOT, WHORE, STRANGE WOMAN, etc. (חָלָה, more fully חָלָה רָעָה; Sept. πόρνη; Vulg. meretrix; נְכָרִיָּה, זֶה, קָרְשָׁה, etc. The first of these English words, to which various etymologies have been assigned, signifies a prostitute for lust or gain, אֶחָד רָע, The mercenary motive is more

evident in the second, from the German *huren*, Dutch *hueren*, 'to hire.' It is equally apparent in the Greek πόρνη, from πωρῶ, 'to sell'; and in the Latin meretrix, from merco, 'to earn' (comp. Ovid, *Amor.* i. 10, 21). The first Hebrew word (חָלָה) occurs frequently, and is often rendered in our version by the first of these English words, as in Gen. xxxiv. 31, etc., and sometimes, without apparent reason for the change, by the second, as in Prov. xxiii. 27, and elsewhere. The first English word is also applied to different Hebrew words, whereby important distinctions are lost. Thus in Gen. xxxviii. 15, the word is חָלָה, 'harlot,' which, however, becomes changed to קָרְשָׁה, 'harlot,' in vers. 21, 22, which means, literally, a consecrated woman, a female (perhaps priestess) devoted to prostitution in honour of some heathen idol. The distinction shews that Judah supposed Tamar to be a heathen; the facts, therefore, do not prove that prostitution was then practised between Hebrews. The following elucidation is offered of the most important instances in which the several words occur:—

First, חָלָה. From the foregoing account of Judah it would appear that the 'veil' was at that time peculiar to harlots. Judah thought Tamar to be such, 'because she had covered her face.' Mr. Buckingham remarks, in reference to this passage, that 'the Turcomann women go unveiled to this day' (*Travels in Mesopotamia*, i. 77). It is contended by Jahn and others that in ancient times all females wore the veil (*Bibl. Archæol.* p. 127). Possibly some peculiarity in the size of the veil, or the mode of wearing it, may have been (חָלָה, Lev. xxi. 7) a harlot. Josephus extends the law to all the Hebrews, and seems to ground it on the prohibition against oblations arising from prostitution. Deut. xxiii. 18 (*Antiq.* iv. 8. 23). The celebrated case of Rahab has been much debated [RAHAB]. The next instance introduces the epithet of 'strange woman.' It is the case of Jephthah's mother (Judg. xi. 2), who is also called a harlot (מְרִירָה; meretrix); but the epithet אִשָּׁה אֲחֵרָה, 'strange woman,' merely denotes foreign extraction. Josephus says ξένος καὶ τῇ μητρὶ, 'a stranger by the mother's side.' The masterly description in Prov. vii. 6, etc., may possibly be that of an abandoned married woman (vers. 19, 20), or of the solicitations of a courtesan, 'fair speech,' under such a pretension. The mixture of religious observances (ver. 14) seems illustrated

by the fact that 'the gods are actually worshipped in many Oriental brothels, and fragments of the offerings distributed among the frequenters' (Dr. A. Clarke's *Comment.* in loc.) The representation given by Solomon is no doubt founded upon facts, and therefore shews that in his time prostitutes plied their trade in the 'streets' (Prov. vii. 12; ix. 14, etc.; Jer. iii. 2; Ezek. xvi. 24, 25, 31). Since the Hebrews regarded Jehovah as the husband of his people, by virtue of the covenant he had made with them (Jer. iii. 1); therefore, to *commit fornication* is a very common metaphor in the Scriptures to denote defections on their part from that covenant, and especially by the practice of idolatry [FORNICATION]. Hence the degeneracy of Jerusalem is illustrated by the symbol of a harlot (Is. i. 21), and even that of heathen cities, as of Nineveh (Nah. iii. 4). Under this figure the prophet Ezekiel delivers the tremendous invectives contained in ch. xvi. xxiii. In the prophecy of Hosea the illustration is carried to a startling extent. The prophet seems commanded by the Lord to take 'a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms' (ch. i. 2), and to 'love an adulteress' (ch. iii. 1). It has, indeed, been much disputed whether these transactions were real, or passed in vision only; but the idea itself, and the diversified applications of it throughout the prophecy, render it one of the most effective portions of Scripture [HOSEA].

Secondly, קדשה (occurs Gen. xxxviii. 15, 21, 22; Deut. xxiii. 17; Hos. iv. 14). It has been already observed that the proper meaning of the word is *consecrated prostitute*. The very early allusion to such persons, in the first of these passages, agrees with the accounts of them in ancient heathen writers. Herodotus refers to the 'abominable custom of the Babylonians, who compelled every native female to attend the temple of Venus once in her life, and to prostitute herself in honour of the goddess' (i. 199; Baruch, vi. 43). Strabo calls prostitutes, who, it is well known, was at Athens dedicated to Venus, *λεπόδουλοι γυναῖκες*, 'consecrated servants,' 'votaries' (Geog. viii. p. 378; Grotius, *Annotat. on Baruch*; Beloe's *Herodotus*, Notes, vol. i. p. 272, Lond. 1806). The transaction related in Num. xv. 1-15 (comp. Ps. cvi. 28) seems connected with idolatry. The prohibition in Deut. xxiii. 17, 'there shall be no קדשה, 'whore,' of the daughters of Israel,' is intended to exclude such devotees from the worship of Jehovah (see other allusions, Job xxxvi. 14; 1 Kings xiv. 24; xv. 12).

Thirdly, נכריה, 'the strange woman' (1 Kings xi. 1; Prov. v. 20; vi. 24; vii. 5; xxiii. 27; Sept. *ἀλλοτρία*; Vulg. *aliena, extranea*). It seems probable that some of the Hebrews in later times interpreted the prohibition against fornication (Deut. xxii. 21) as limited to females of their own nation, and that the 'strange women' in question were Canaanites and other Gentiles (Josh. xxiii. 13). In the case of Solomon they are specified as Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, and Hittites. The passages referred to discover the character of these females. To the same class belongs זונה, 'the strange woman' (Prov. v. 3, 20; xxii. 14; xxiii. 33; *γυνή πόρνη, ἀλλοτρία, meretrix, aliena, extranea*): it is sometimes found זונה (Prov. ii. 16; vii. 5). To the same class of

females belongs כסילית, 'the foolish woman,' i.e., by a common association of ideas in the

Shemith dialects, *sinful* (Ps. xiv. 1). The description in Prov. ix. 14, etc., illustrates the character of the female so designated. To which may be added זונה, 'the evil woman' (Prov. vi. 24).

In the N. T. πόρνη occurs in Matt. xxi. 31, 32; Luke xv. 30; 1 Cor. vi. 15, 16; Heb. xi. 31; James ii. 25. In none of these passages does it necessarily imply prostitution for gain. The likeliest is Luke xv. 30. It is used symbolically for a city in Rev. xvii. 1, 5, 15, 16; xix. 2, where the term and all the attendant imagery are derived from the O. T. It may be observed in regard to Tyre, which (Is. xxiii. 15, 17) is represented as 'committing fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth,' that these words, as indeed seems likely from those which follow, may relate to the various arts which she had employed to induce *merchants* to trade with her' (Patrick, in loc.). So the Sept. understood it, *ἐστὶ ἐμπόριον πᾶσαις ταῖς βασιλείαις τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπὶ πρόσποντον τῇ πόλει*. Schleusner observes that the same words in Rev. xviii. 3 may also relate to *commercial dealings*. (Winer's *Realwörterb.*, s. v. HURE; RAHAB; Fesseli *Adversar. Sacr.* ii. 27. 1, 2, Witteb. 1650; Frisch, *De muliere peregrina ap. Hebr.*, Lips. 1744).—J. F. D.

HARMER, REV. THOMAS, a learned congregational minister, was born at Norwich 1715, educated under Mr. Eames, F.R.S., tutor of a dissenting academy in London, and ordained, in his twentieth year, as pastor of the congregational church at Watesfield, in Suffolk, where he continued beloved and useful till his death in 1788, aged 73. His works entitling him to a notice here are: 1. *Observations on divers passages of Scripture, placing many of them in a light altogether new by means of circumstances mentioned in books of voyages and travels into the East*. A new edition of this work, the best, was edited by Dr. Adam Clark in 1816, 4 vols. 8vo. Here Harmer broke new ground, and led the way in the application of Oriental travel to the elucidation of Scripture, in which he has been since successfully followed by many others. 2. *Outlines of a new Commentary on Solomon's Song, drawn by the Help of Instructions from the East*, etc., Lond. 1768, 2d edition, 1775. This work has been much esteemed by some, but pronounced 'singularly confused' by others. According to the author the essence of the Song is the marriage of Solomon with an Egyptian princess, which greatly displeases Shulamith, his Hebrew queen; the whole transaction being typical of the marriage of the Messiah with the Gentile Church, and the displeasure of the Jewish Church thereat. 3. *An account of the Jewish Doctrine of the Resurrection from the Dead*. (See *Memoir by Dr. A. Clark, prefixed to 'Observations'*).—I. J.

HARMONIES. The object of Harmonies is to arrange the Scriptures in chronological order, so that the mutual agreement of the several parts may be rendered apparent, and the true succession of events clearly understood. With this view various scholars have compiled harmonies of the Old Testament, of the New, and of particular portions of both. Harmonies of the O. T. exhibit the books disposed in chronological order; as is done by Lightfoot in his 'Chronicle of the Times, and the order of the Texts of the Old Testament'; and by Townsend in his 'Old Testament arranged in His-

torical and Chronological order.' Harmonies of the N. T. present the gospels and epistles distributed in like order; the latter being interspersed among the Acts of the Apostles. In this way Townsend has proceeded in his valuable work entitled, 'The New Testament arranged in Chronological and Historical order.' Books, however, of this kind are so few in number, that usage has almost appropriated the term *harmony* to the *gospels*. It is this part of the N. T. which has chiefly occupied the attention of those inquirers whose object is to arrange the Scriptures in their true order. The memoirs of our Lord written by the four Evangelists, have chiefly engaged the thoughts of those who wish to shew that all agree, and mutually authenticate one another. Accordingly, such compositions are exceedingly numerous. The four gospels narrate some of the events connected with our Lord's abode on earth, from his birth to his ascension. There must therefore be a general resemblance between them; though that of John contains little in common with the others, being apparently supplementary to them. Yet there are considerable diversities, both in the order in which facts are narrated, and in the facts themselves. Hence the difficulty of weaving the accounts of the four into a continuous and chronological history. Those portions of the Gospels that relate to the *resurrection* of the Saviour have always presented the greatest obstacles to the compilers of harmonies; and it must be candidly admitted that they are not easily reconciled. Here the labours of West and Townson, especially the latter, have served to remove some contradictions. In addition to them may be mentioned Greswell, Robinson, and Stroud, who have tried the same problem with greater success.

In connection with harmonies, the term *diatessaron* frequently occurs. It denotes a continued narrative selected out of the four Gospels, in which all repetitions of the same or similar words are avoided. It is thus the *result* of a harmony; since the latter, properly speaking, exhibits the entire texts of the four Evangelists, arranged in corresponding columns. In popular language the two are often used synonymously (see, however, Davidson's *State of the Old Testament Text considered*, etc. etc., p. 541, 2d ed.)

The following questions relative to harmonies demand attention:—

1. Have *all* or *any* of the Evangelists observed chronological arrangement in their narratives?

2. What was the duration of our Lord's ministry?

1. It was the opinion of Osiander and his followers, that *all* the Evangelists record the facts of the Saviour's history in their true order. When therefore the same transactions are placed in a different order by the writers, they were supposed to have happened more than once. It was assumed that they took place as often as they were differently arranged. This principle is too improbable to require refutation. Instead of endeavouring to solve difficulties, it boldly meets them with a clumsy expedient. Improbable however as it is, it has been adopted by Macknight. It is our decided conviction that the Evangelists have not followed chronological arrangement.

The question then arises, have *all* neglected the order of time. Newcome and many others espouse this view. 'Chronological order,' says this writer,

'is not precisely observed by any of the Evangelists; St. John and St. Mark observe it most; and St. Matthew neglects it most.' Bishop Marsh supposes that Matthew probably adhered to the order of time, because he was for the most part an eye-witness of the facts. The others, he thinks, neglected the succession of events. The reason assigned by the learned prelate in favour of Matthew's order proves too much; because John was also an eye-witness; yet his order differs from Matthew's. The fact of one being an *eye-witness* has no conclusive relation, by itself, to the arrangement of written materials.

A close inspection of Matthew's Gospel will shew that he did not intend to mark the true succession of events. He gives us no definite expressions to assist in arranging his materials in their proper order. Very frequently he passes from one occurrence to another without note of time; sometimes he employs a *τότε*, sometimes *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις*, *ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ*, or *ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ*, *ἐκεῖθεν*. Rarely is he so minute as to use *μεθ' ἡμέρας* *ἔξ* (xvii. 1). In short, time and place seem to have been subordinated to the grand object which he had in view, viz., the lively exhibition of Jesus as the Messiah promised in the O. T. With this design, he has often brought together similar facts and discourses. Although, therefore, Kaiser founds upon the phrases we have adduced a conclusion the very reverse of ours, we believe that Matthew did not propose to follow chronological order. The contrary is obviously implied.

Mark again is still more indefinite than Matthew. Even the *general* expressions found in the first Gospel are wanting in his. He uses *καὶ . . . πάλιν*, *καὶ πάλιν*, *ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις πάλιν*. Facts themselves, not their true succession, were the object of his attention. Chronological order is not observed in his Gospel, as is now generally admitted. Yet Cartwright, in his *Harmony*, published about 1627, makes Mark's arrangement the rule of his method.

With regard to Luke, some infer from the use of *καθεξῆς* at the beginning of his Gospel, that he intended to arrange everything in its true chronological place. Such was the opinion of Beza, adopted by Olshausen. But an examination of the work itself, which is unconnected and unchronological, shews another object. He uses *καὶ ἐγένετο*, *καὶ*, and *δέ*. His expressions of time are indeterminate. Indeed he frequently passes from one transaction to another without any note of time; or gives *μετὰ ταῦτα*, *ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν*. All that can be fairly deduced from the word *καθεξῆς* is, that Luke designed to pursue a systematic plan, connecting events together according to the predominating idea with which he set out, which was *not* the chronological principle.

John's Gospel has so little in common with the rest that it cannot be conveniently drawn into a harmony with them. It is obvious that his arrangement is not chronological. In general he carefully notes whether one, two, or three days elapsed between certain events.

The Gospels are *fragmentary*. They do not profess to record all the sayings and doings of Jesus, but give a selection from the materials of his life. The basis of each was oral tradition, combined in some cases with the use of documents. A spiritual idea, not the principle of accurate sequence, guided and controlled both their selec-

tion of materials and the form it assumed in their hands. Each evangelist had his own plan and object. Matthew had Jews and Jewish Christians in view; and therefore he places the facts of the Gospel in connection with the revelation of the Old Testament. Mark designed to give prominent facts in the life of Jesus, accompanied by minute and vivid details. Luke, who had become acquainted with the Pauline circle and type of ideas, meant to present such particulars as should show most convincingly that the man Jesus came to give light to mankind, and not merely to Israel after the flesh. Thus each evangelist had his peculiar purpose and method. The outward sequence of events was always subordinate to a higher idea. Of John this may be said *pre-eminently*.

Existing data are insufficient to enable the inquirer to compose a harmony in chronological order. As times and places have been left indeterminate, it is hopeless to conceive of a diatessaron accurate in all particulars. The problem may continue to exercise the ingenuity of critics, without furnishing an adequate reward for the time and labour bestowed on it. Diversity in unity pervades the Gospels, and all that can be properly done is to illustrate both. If it can be demonstrated that the evangelical memoirs do not contradict one another in any important particular; but that they present the same facts and discourses in a different light, according to the object the writers had in view, and perhaps their own idiosyncracies, we may be satisfied with the conclusion. The attempts of ill-judging advocates to force them into agreement in every minute point cannot be reprobated too much; for a degree of discrepancy, while violating no rational theory of inspiration, shows independence and veracity. We do not believe that all variations between them can be fairly reconciled; but that circumstance does not weaken our faith in the general credibility of the narratives. In our view, a *complete* harmony belongs to the range of the impossible.

2. What was the duration of our Lord's ministry?

This is a question upon which the opinions of the learned have been much divided; and which cannot be settled with conclusive certainty. In order to resolve it, it is necessary to mark the different Passovers which Christ attended. Looking to the Gospels by Matthew, Mark, and Luke, we should infer that he was present at no more than two; the first at the time of his baptism, the second immediately before his crucifixion. But in John's Gospel *three* Passovers at least are named during the period of our Lord's ministry (ii. 13; vi. 4; xi. 55). It is true that some writers have endeavoured to adapt the Gospel of John to the other three, by reducing the Passovers mentioned in the former to *two*. So Priestley, Vossius, and Mann. In order to accomplish this, it was conjectured that *πασχα*, in ch. vi. 4, is an interpolation; and then that *ἐορτή* denotes some other Jewish festival. Bishop Pearce went so far as to conjecture that the *entire verse* has been interpolated. For these rash speculations there is no authority. The received reading must here be followed (Lücke's *Commentar über Johannes*, dritte Aufl., zweiter Theil, s. 104). In addition to these passages, it has been thought by many that another Passover is referred to in John v. 1, where although *πασχα* does not occur, *ἡ ἐορτή* is supposed to

denote the same feast. But this is a subject of dispute. Irenæus is the oldest authority for explaining it of the Passover. Many have adopted the same opinion; as Luther, Calovius, Grotius, Jansen, Scaliger, Cornelius a Lapide, Lightfoot, Lampe, Paulus, Kinnoel, Süßkind, Klee, Ammon, Greswell, Hengstenberg, Robinson.

Cyril and Chrysostom refer it to the feast of Pentecost; as do also Erasmus, Calvin, Beza, Maldonatus, and Bengel.

Keppeler seems to have been the first who thought that it means the feast of Purim. He was followed by Petau, Lamy, D'Outrein, Hug, Olshausen, Wieseler, Neander, Clausen, Krabbe, Lange, Maier, Meyer.

Cocceius, followed by Kaiser, Krafft, and Ebner, referred it to the feast of Tabernacles; while Keppeler and Petau intimated that it may possibly have been *the feast of Dedication*; but Lucke, De Wette, and Luthardt leave the matter indeterminate.

The choice lies between *the Passover* and the *feast of Purim*. But the arguments advanced on behalf of either are scarcely conclusive. The true meaning of *ἐορτή* is still uncertain. Those who wished it to be understood of the Passover inserted the article before *ἐορτή*; which Lachmann and Tischendorf have rightly expunged. It appears to us most probable that *Purim* is meant. From John iv. 35, it follows that it was then in the end of November or December; and from vi. 4 that the Passover was approaching. Hence v. 1 agrees well with the feast of Purim, which was in March. Robinson's three reasons from Hengstenberg against this interpretation of *ἐορτή* are neither powerful nor conclusive. That the Jews were not required by their law to go up to Jerusalem at Purim argues nothing against Jesus's going up at that time that he might exercise his ministry in the city. When it is alleged that Purim was never celebrated on a Sabbath, the assertion is hazardous as Wieseler has shewn; and were it even well-founded, the narrative does not prove that the Sabbath on which the infirm man was healed belonged to the festival. The Sabbath may have been *before* or *after* the festival of Purim, as far as the account shews. It is no argument against Purim that the Passover occurred a month later; at which Jesus would necessarily go up to Jerusalem.

We are thus inclined to believe that only three Passovers are named during our Lord's ministry, at which he attended. The fourth, in the passage we have been considering, is more than doubtful. If we are correct, his ministry lasted about two years and a half. A fourth would add another year; and that is a very common, perhaps the most prevailing, opinion on the subject.

Sir Isaac Newton and Macknight suppose that *five* Passovers intervened between our Lord's baptism and crucifixion. This assumption rests on no foundation. Perhaps the term *ἐορτή* in John vii. 2 may have given rise to it; although *ἐορτή* is explained in that passage by *σκηνοπηγία*.

It has been well remarked by Bishop Marsh, that the Gospel of John presents almost insuperable obstacles to the opinion of those who confine Christ's ministry to one year. Yet it was commonly believed during the first three centuries that Christ's ministry lasted but a year, or a year and some months. Such was the opinion of

Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen. Eusebius thought that it continued for above three years; an opinion which became general. The ancient hypothesis, which confined the time to one year, was revived by Mann and Priestley; but Newcome, with more judgment, defended the common view, refuting Priestley's arguments. In interweaving the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, with that of John, the intervals between the Passovers are filled up by various transactions. Were the number of these feasts determinate and precise, there would be a general agreement in the filling up of the times between them; but in consequence of the uncertainty attaching to the subject, harmonies are found materially to differ in their modes of arrangement. One thing is evident, that the moderns in their endeavours after a chronological disposition of the Gospels, adopt a far more rational course than the ancients. The latter strangely supposed that the first six chapters of John's Gospel relate to a period of Christ's ministry prior to that with which the other three evangelists begin their accounts of the miracles. Thus John *alone* was supposed to narrate the events belonging to the earlier part of his ministry; while Matthew, Mark, and Luke related the transactions of the last year.

The most ancient Harmony of the Gospels of which we have any account was composed by Tatian of Syria in the 2d century; but it is lost (see H. A. Daniel's *Tatianus der Apologet.*, Halle, 1837, 8vo). In the 3d century Ammonius* was the author of a Harmony supposed to be still extant. Eusebius of Cæsarea also composed a Harmony of the Gospels about A.D. 315. In it he divided the Gospel history into ten canons or tables, according as different facts are related by one or more of the evangelists. These ancient Harmonies, however, differ in character from such as belong to modern times. They are *summaries* of the life of Christ, or *indexes* to the four Gospels, rather than a chronological arrangement of different facts, accompanied by a reconciliation of apparent contradictions. In modern times, Andreas Osiander published his *Harmony of the Gospels* in 1537. He adopted the principle that the evangelists constantly wrote in chronological order. Cornelius Jansen's *Concordia Evangelica* was published in 1549; R. Stephanus, *Harmonia Evang.* (1553); J. Calvin, *Harmonia* (1553); Cluver (1628), Calov (1680), Sandhagen (1684), Bunting (1689). Martin Chemnitz's *Harmony* was first published in 1593, and afterwards with the continuations of Leyser and Gerhard, in 1704. Chemnitz stands at the head of that class of harmonists who maintain that in one or more of the four Gospels chronological order has been neglected; while Osiander is at the head of those who maintain that all the Gospels are arranged in chronological order. Other harmonies were published by Calixt (1624),

Cartwright (1627), Lightfoot (1654), Cradock (1668), Lamy (1689), Le Clerc (1699), Toinard (1707), Burmann (1712), Whiston (1702), Rus (1727-8-30), Bengel (1736), Hauber (1737), Büsching (1766), Doddridge (1739 and 40), Filkington (1747), Macknight (1756), Bertling (1767), Griesbach (1776, 97, 1809, 22), Newcome (1778), Priestley (1777 in Greek, and 1780 in English), Michaelis (1788, in his Introduction), White (1799), Planck (1809), Keller (1802), Mutschelle (1806), De Wette and Lücke (1818), Hess (1822), Sebastiani (1806), Matthæi (1826), Kaiser (1828), Roediger (1829), Clausen (1829), Greswell (1830), Chapman (1836), Carpenter (1838), Reichel (1840), Gehringer (1842), Robinson (1845 in Greek, English in 1846), Stroud (1853), Anger (1851), Tischendorf (1851).

In connection with Greswell's *Harmonia Evangelica*, the same author's *Dissertations upon the Principles and Arrangement of a Harmony of the Gospels*, of which a second edition has been published, deserve notice. These dissertations are exceedingly elaborate, and demand a patient perusal. The learned writer has greatly distinguished himself as the most laborious of modern harmonists. His work is the most copious that has appeared, at least since the days of Chemnitz's folios. Some of his fundamental principles, however, are questionable. Rather than admit considerable diversity in the writers' narrations of the same events or discourses, he has recourse to the expedient of making two out of one, and placing them at different times. On the whole, were we confined to *one* Harmony of the Gospels, we should prefer that of Robinson to any other. Yet this scholar has strained words and distorted narratives for the purpose of forcing a literal agreement, the result of a narrow theory of inspiration. To adopt any harmony implicitly is more than the enlightened inquirer can do. We should therefore recommend a minute examination of the works published by Robinson, Greswell, Stroud, Tischendorf, and Anger.

The above list contains the *best* Harmonies and Diatessarons of the Gospels. Some are written in Greek, or Greek and Latin, others in Latin, others in German and Greek, others in English. The *entire number* of Harmonies is very great. Those who wish to see lists tolerably complete may consult Fabricii *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. iv., ed. Harles; Walchii *Bibliotheca Theologica*, tom. iv.; Michaelis's *Introd.*, by Marsh, vol. iii., with the translator's very valuable notes; and Robinson's *Harmony* in Greek.—S. D.

HAROD (חָרוֹד; Sept. ἡ Ἀπέδ. 'The fountain (A. V., "well") of Harod'), a fountain which became the scene of one of the most remarkable victories, and one of the most memorable defeats, in the annals of Israel. Its site is fixed by one or two incidental notices in the Bible. When the Midianites and Amalekites invaded western Palestine, 'they pitched in the valley of Jezreel' (Judg. vi. 33). Gideon hastily summoned around him the warriors of the northern tribes, and marched against them. He 'pitched beside the well of Harod, so that the host of the Midianites were on the north side of them by the hill of Moreh, in the valley' (vii. 1). 'The valley' of Jezreel here referred to is an eastern arm of the great plain of Esdraelon, bounded on the south by Gil-

* This Ammonius is not to be confounded with Ammonius Saccas the philosopher, although Eusebius and Jerome in ancient, as also Bayle and Basnage in modern times, have fallen into this mistake. The same blunder is committed by the writer of the article 'Ammonius Saccas' in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*. See Neander's *Allgem. Geschichte*, i. 3. S. 1183; Murdock's *Mosheim*, vol. i. p. 174, note 18 (3d edit., New York).

boa, and on the north by a parallel ridge called the 'hill of Moreh.' It is about three miles wide. The Midianites were encamped along the base of Moreh, and probably near the town of Shunem. On the south side of the valley at the base of Gilboa, and nearly opposite Shunem, is the large fountain of *Ain-Jâlûd*. There can scarcely be a doubt that this is Harod. It is about a mile east of Jezreel; and hence it was also called the 'fountain of Jezreel.' It is a singular coincidence that before the fatal battle of Gilboa the Philistines encamped on the ground formerly occupied by the Midianites, while Saul and his host gathered round the fountain (1 Sam. xxviii. 4; xxix. 1). It has been suggested that the name *Harod* ('trembling') may have arisen from the testing command given to the followers of Gideon (Judg. vii. 3): 'Whosoever is fearful and trembling, let him return.'

Ain Jâlûd is a large fountain. The water bursts out from a rude grotto in a wall of conglomerate rock, which here forms the base of Gilboa. It first flows into a large but shallow pond, and then winds away through the rich green vale past the ruins of Bethshean to the Jordan. The side of Gilboa rises over the fountain steep and rugged. Some have thought it strange that the Midianites should not have seized on this fountain; but as many of the Israelites probably lurked in the mountain, the Midianites may have deemed it more prudent to encamp in the open plain to the north, where there are also fountains. The Jerusalem Itinerary seems to indicate that the name *Ain-Jâlûd*, 'Fountain of Goliath,' arose from an ancient tradition that the adjoining valley was the site of David's victory over the giant (ed. Wesseling, p. 586). The fountain was a noted camping-ground for both Christians and Saracens during the crusades. William of Tyre calls it *Tubania* (*Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 1037; Bohadin, *Vita Saladin*, p. 53). The valley of Jezreel still forms a favourite haunt of the wild Bedawin, who periodically cross from the east side of the Jordan. The writer visited their camp beside this fountain in the spring of 1858; and when he saw their numerous tents and vast flocks, was forcibly reminded of the words of Judg. vi. 5, 'They came up with their cattle, and their tents, and they came as grasshoppers for multitude; both they and their camels were without number' (*Handbook for S. and P.* ii. 355; Stanley, *S. and P.* 334; Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 324).—J. L. P.

HARODITE. [HARARITE.]

HARORITE. [HARARITE.]

HAROSHETH OF THE GENTILES (חֲרוֹשֶׁת הַגִּיטִּים)

הַגִּיטִּים; Sept. Ἀραιῶν; Alex. Ἀραιῶν τῶν Ἑθνῶν), a town of northern Palestine, the home of Sisera (Judg. iv. 2). At Harosheth the army and chariots of Jabin were marshalled under the great captain before they invaded Israel, and defiled from the northern mountains into the broad battle-field of Esdraelon (ver. 13). And after the terrible defeat and slaughter on the banks of the Kishon, to this place the fugitives of the army returned, a shattered and panic-stricken remnant. Barak and his victorious troops followed them into the fastnesses of their own mountains, unto the gates of Harosheth (ver. 16). The city is not again mentioned in the Bible; nor is it referred to by Josephus, Jerome, or any ancient

writer. Its position is not stated; but from the fact of its having been the gathering-place of Jabin's army, it could not have been far from Hazor; and from the appellative הַגִּיטִּים it would seem to have been one of the towns of the region anciently called 'Galilee of the Gentiles' (cf. Is. ix. 1; גליל חנוני). The etymology of the name *Harosheth*, 'wood-cuttings,' joined with the above facts, may justify us in locating the city on the upland plains of Naphtali, probably on one of those ruin-crowned eminences still existing, from which the mother of Sisera, looking out at her latticed window, could see far along that road by which she expected her son to return in triumph (Judg. v. 28). Deborah in her beautiful ode doubtless depicted the whole features of the scene. Remnants of the old forests of oak and terebinth still wave here over the ruins of the ancient cities; and the writer has seen the black tents of the Arabs—fit representatives of the Kenites (iv. 17)—pitched beneath their shade (*Handbook for S. and P.*, ii. 442, sq.; Stanley, *Lectures on Jewish Church*, 318, sq.)—J. L. P.

HARP. [MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.]

HARRIS, SAMUEL, D.D., was born in the county of Middlesex about the year 1683. He was educated in Merchant Taylor's school, of which he was head boy in 1697, and was admitted a pensioner of Peter House, Cambridge, May 15, 1700. Upon the foundation of the chair of Modern History in the university of Cambridge by George I. in 1724, Harris was appointed the first professor. He died Dec. 21, 1733. He was the author of,—1. *Scripture knowledge promoted by catechizing*, Lond. 1712, 8vo. 2. *A Commentary on the Fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, with an appendix of Queries concerning Divers Antient Religious Traditions and Practices, and the sense of many texts of Scripture which seem to allude to or express them*, Lond. 1735 (not 1739 as frequently stated), 4to. In some copies this work has a different title-page, namely, *Observations, Critical and Miscellaneous, on several remarkable Texts of the Old Testament, to which is added a Commentary, &c.* Prefixed are three dissertations,—1. On a Gnozer or Advocate; 2. On a Dour or Generation; and 3. On the ancient method of propounding important points by way of question. This work was published shortly after the death of the author by his widow. It exhibits much curious learning, and is several times referred to by Doddridge in his lectures.—S. N.

HARRIS, THADDEUS MASON, D.D., chiefly noted for his ardent devotion to the principles of Freemasonry, for the illustration and vindication of which he published various discourses and addresses. He claims to be noticed here for the following work—*A Dictionary of the Natural History of the Bible, or a description of all the quadrupeds, birds, fishes, reptiles, and insects, trees, plants, flowers, gums, and precious stones mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures; Collected from the best authorities, and alphabetically arranged; a new edition, with corrections and considerable additions*, 12mo, Lond. 1833.—W. J. C.

HARRIS, WILLIAM, D.D., an eminent minister of the English Presbyterian Church, born in London in the year 1675, died 1740. He wrote and published various works of note, but claims notice here chiefly as one of the continuators of

Matthew Henry's Commentary. The notes on the Epistles to the Philippians and Colossians are from his pen. They are strictly practical, and in keeping with the general character of the Commentary. He also published a volume of discourses *On the Principal Representations of the Messiah throughout the Old Testament*. These are controversial, and were written chiefly in refutation of Collins' *Discourses on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*.—J. W. C.

HARROW. The Hebrew word thus translated in the A. V., 2 Sam. xii. 31; 1 Chron. xx. 3, חֲרֹשׁ (ῥιβολος, σκέραρον, LXX.; *carpenta*, Vulg.), means, according to the best lexicons (Gesenius, Furst, etc.), *a threshing instrument*. A very different word, חֲרָד, is translated to *harrow*, or to *break the clods*, in Job xxxix. 10; Is. xxviii. 24; Hos. x. 11 [AGRICULTURE, p. 35, Kitto, *D.B.I.*, iii. 39; vi. 397.].—J. E. R.

HART. [AJAL]

HARTMANN, ANTHONY THEODORE, a German Orientalist and theologian, was born at Dusseldorf on the 25th June 1774. Having studied the classics at the Gymnasium of Osnabrück and Dortmund, he devoted himself to theology at Göttingen. In 1797 he was appointed co-rector of the Gymnasium at Soest; in 1799 pro-rector of that at Herfort; and in 1804 a professor in the Gymnasium of Oldenburg. In 1811 he became professor of theology in the University of Rostock, where also in 1818 he received the charge of the cabinet of medals. He died there 21st April 1838. Hartmann was a good Orientalist; but his knowledge of theology was not profound. As a writer he was heavy and uninteresting. His acquaintance with the literature and antiquities of the Hebrews was extensive. He was a voluminous author. Among his works the chief are—*Aufklaerungen ueber Asien für Bibelforscher*, 1806, 1807, 2 vols.; *Die Hebræerinn am Putzische und als Braut*, 1809, 1810, 3 vols.; *Supplementa ad J. Buxtorfii et W. Gesenii Lexica*, 1813; *Thesauri linguae Hebraicae e Mishna augendi*, 1825, 1826, 3 parts; *Linguistische Einleitung in das Studium der Bücher des A. T.*, 1818; *Historisch-Kritische Forschungen ueber die Bildung, das Zeitalter, und den Plan der fünf Bücher Moses*, u. s. w., 1831; *Die enge Verbindung des alten Testaments mit dem neuen*, 1831; *Blicke in den Geist der Urchristenthums*, 1802.—S. D.

HARWOOD, EDWARD, Dr., an Arian minister of considerable attainments, but whose moral reputation was far from unblemished. He was born in 1729. After residing in Bristol and other places as a classical teacher and a preacher, he removed to London, where he died 1794, in very reduced circumstances. Besides a small volume on the various editions of the Greek and Roman classics, which passed through four editions in his lifetime, he published two works in connection with Biblical literature:—(1.) *A Liberal Translation of the New Testament; being an attempt to translate the Sacred Writings with the same freedom, spirit, and elegance, with which other English translations from the Greek classics have lately been executed: the design and scope of each author being strictly and impartially explored, the free signification and force of the Original critically observed, and, as much as*

possible, transferred into our language, and the whole elucidated and explained upon a new and rational plan: with select notes, critical and explanatory, London, 1768, 2 vols. 8vo. As a verbose and absurd travesty of the Sacred Volume (though not so intended by the translator, who appears to have been the dupe of his own bad taste, and incapacity for appreciating the divine simplicity of the inspired writers), it stands, and will ever stand, unsurpassed. How far the work sustains the pretensions of the title-page may be inferred from the following specimens. John the Baptist's annunciation of the Messiah is given thus:—'Behold yonder is the amiable object of the divine love who is appointed to reform mankind!' John i. 29. The injunction, 'He that hath ears to hear, let him hear,' is liberally translated, 'Let every one who is endowed with the powers of reason and understanding, employ them in the diligent study of truth and virtue,' Mark iv. 9; and the parable of the Prodigal Son begins with, 'A gentleman of a splendid family and opulent fortune had two sons,' Luke xv. 11. (2.) *A new Introduction to the Study and knowledge of the New Testament*, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1773.—J. E. R.

HASHABIAH (חֲשַׁבְיָה, or with the 1 parag.

חֲשַׁבְיָהוּ; LXX. Ἀρεβί, Ἀραβίας, Ἀραβία, Заβля; Vulg. *Hasabia*, *Hasebia*).

1. One of the descendants of Merari the son of Levi, 1 Chron. vi. 45 (Heb. 30.) It is probably the same who is referred to in 1 Chron. ix. 14 and Neh. xi. 15. The close agreement of these two passages constrains the conclusion that the persons spoken of are the same in both; and that the Hashabiah mentioned in them is identical with the Hashabiah of 1 Chron. vi. 45 is shewn to be highly probable by a comparison of ver. 46 with Neh. xi. 15. In the former verse the descent from Merari is traced through Bani (בְּנֵי), in the latter Hashabiah is said to be the son of Bunni (בְּנֵי), forms so closely related that in the connection in which they occur they may with good reason be taken to be the names of the same person.

2. One of the sons of Jeduthan the harper, and leader of the twelfth course of musicians appointed by David to conduct the service of song in the house of the Lord, 1 Chron. xxv. 3, 19.

3. A Levite, a descendant of Hebron, the son of Kohath, and one of David's men of valour, 1 Chron. xxvi. 30. It is probably the same who (1 Chron. xxvii. 17) is called the son of Kemuel, and said to have been appointed ruler of the Levites.

4. A chief of the Levites in the reign of Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxv. 9; 1 Esdras i. 9.

5. A descendant of Merari, and one of the priests whom Ezra took up with him to Jerusalem to minister in the temple, and to whom he entrusted the care of the vessels of silver and gold during the journey from Ahava, Ezra viii. 19, 24. It is to the same, probably, that reference is made in Neh. xii. 24.

6. A Levite, one of the builders of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah, Neh. iii. 17; and one of those who sealed the covenant, Neh. x. 11 (Heb. 12).

7. One of the descendants of Asaph, Neh. xi. 22, c. 17.—S. N.

HASHMANNIM (חֲשִׁמָּנִים; Sept. *πρόβεις*), a word which only occurs in Ps. lxxviii. 31. In the A. V. it is rendered 'princes.' Hebraists are divided as to the origin and meaning of the word; some, deriving it from Arabic sources, give it the meaning of *fat ones, rich and powerful personages*; others, regarding it as a proper name, derive it from the old civil name of Hermopolis Magna, the famed city of the Egyptian Hermes, the God of Wisdom, and take it to mean the inhabitants of that city, the Hermopolites. The Psalmist would thus appear to mean that the *wisest*, rather than the opulent and wealthy, would come and do homage in the temple, as well as the Cushites or Ethiopians who lived at a distance. We may add that the name *Hashmonean* which was given to the Maccabees or Jewish princes in the interval between the O. and N. T. was, it is supposed, derived from Hashmannim (Hengstenberg, *Psalms*, vol. ii. 369).—W. J. C.

HASHMONAH (חֲשִׁמוֹנָה; Sept. *Σελμωνά*; Alex. *Ἀσέλμωνά*), a station of the Israelites, the next before Moseroth (Num. xxxiii. 29), which was in the vicinity of Mount Hor (comp. Deut. x. 6 with Num. xx. 28).

HASHUB, or more correctly **HASSHUB**, according to the Hebrew חֲשִׁיב, which always reduplicates the second letter. The A. V. has followed the Vulgate in its rendering of the form of this proper name; in the first passage where it occurs, the A. V. has *Hashhub*, and the Vulg. *Hasub*, each with double *s*, like the original; in the other four passages, where the Latin version has only one *s* (*Hasub*), our version resembles it in its deviation from the Hebrew, and writes *Hashub*. The passages in which the name occurs are these: I Chron. ix. 14; Neh. iii. 11; iii. 23; x. 23; xi. 15. In Chronicles the LXX. rendered the word Ἀσώβ, in all the passages in Nehemiah Ἀσούβ.*

(1) In the first and the last of these verses the same person (though his name is differently spelled in the A. V.) is undoubtedly meant. He was a descendant of Merari, the third son of Levi and father of Shemaiah, a leading man of the Levites, chosen by lot for the somewhat perilous duty of residence in Jerusalem, which was at that time the object of malignant hatred to the enemies of the Jews. Raschi accounts for the greater fulness of the list in I Chron. than that of Nehemiah, by supposing that the latter gives only the names of such as were selected by lot, while the former included also such as volunteered to live in the metropolis (see Neh. xi. 1, 2).

(2) The next person who bears this name (Neh. iii. 11) was one of the energetic band of men who helped to build the wall of Jerusalem under the difficult circumstances narrated in the preceding chapter. The name of his father, Pahath-Moab, occurs in Ezra ii. 6 and Neh. vii. 11, as the head

* Except Neh. xi. 15, where in the ordinary text the name is omitted, as are the names of Hashabiah and Bunni; the verse standing briefly—'And of the Levites, Shemaiah the son of Asrikam.' The Cod. Frid-August, however, adds after Σααφα, υἱος ασουβ υιος, κ.τ.λ., and (in the insertion of a third hand) still more to accommodate the version to the Hebrew, there is the further addition after Ἐξ-ρεϊκαμ of the words υἱος ασαβιου υἱου βορναλ.

of a large clan which accompanied Zerubbabel on his return from Babylon.

(3) The same name was borne by another man engaged in the same good work of rebuilding the city wall. The statement (verse 23) that he built such portion as was 'over against his house' proves him to have been one of the residents of Jerusalem, instead of a stranger from the country, as many were who were occupied in this labour. We should not be extravagant if we supposed that this was the Levite already mentioned (1); we know that among the builders some of the Jewish clergy assisted (see ver. 1).

(4) The last person who is mentioned as bearing this name (which was an honourable and not infrequent one among the Jews, of the same signification as *Tuaios* or *Timaios* among the Greeks, see Simonis *Onomast.* p. 265, who refers to the fact that the same name was borne by a Jew of Jericho in Mark x. 46) is described in Neh. x. 23 as one of the forty-four 'chiefs of the people,' who joined the Tirshatha in the pious office of subscribing and sealing the covenant of reformation and dedication to God. The epithet, 'one of the heads of the people,' very well suits our second

Hashub, the son of Pahath-Moab, who was evidently a man of distinction and influence (Beithau, *Die Bücher Esra*, u. s. w. p. 231). The Levite is certainly excluded by this epithet as well as by the fact that all the subscribing Levites are expressly mentioned (vers. 9-13). From verses 28 and 29, however, it follows that the Levite Hashub was a consenting party to the covenant which his namesake, the honourable layman, had the privilege of signing. It thus seems that in all our passages only two Hashubs are really designated.—P. H.

HATTUSH (חֲטָוֶשׁ; Χαττούς, Χεττούς, Ἀττούς).

The first of the sons of Shechaniah (I Chron. iii. 22), and the same probably as the Hattush mentioned in the roll of 'the priests and Levites that went up with Zerubbabel' from Babylon (Neh. xii. 2). Another Hattush (whether a nephew of the above, as Lord A. Hervey supposes, *Genealogies*, 307, 322, sq., or the representative of another family, it is impossible to say) is also recorded to have accompanied Ezra when 'he went up from Babylon in the reign of Artaxerxes the king (Ezra viii. 2, 3). The name is also mentioned among those who took part in the sealing of the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 4).

(Ἀττούς υἱός Ἀσβανία) the son of Hashbaniah, was one of Jeremiah's co-workers in the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 10).—W. J. C.

HAURAN (חֲרָן; Sept. *Ἀραρίτις*, and *Ἀραρίτις*; Vulg. *Auran*), a province of Palestine, east of the Jordan, embracing a portion of the ancient kingdom of Bashan. Ezekiel is the only one of the sacred writers who mentions it. In describing the northern border of the 'promised land,' he gives as one of its landmarks 'Hazor-hatticon, which is by the coast of Hauran' (ch. xlvii. 16); and in defining the east border he says, 'Ye shall measure from between (חֲרָן; Sept. *ἀναμέσσω*; Vulg. *de medio*) Hauran, and from between Damascus,' etc. (ver. 18). These statements would seem to indicate that Hauran lay on the north of Damascus, or at least extended as far north as that city; and this, as we shall see below, was quite correct.

The Greek province of *Auranitis* was one of the four into which the kingdom of Bashan was divided. The names of these provinces were all Semitic, though the Greeks remodelled them. Thus *Ba-*

tanea is בָּשָׁן; *Gaulanites*, גּוּלָן; *Trachonites*, טְרַכּוֹנִיטָא (called in the Bible אֲרָנִי); and *Auranitis*, אֲוָרָנִי (see Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 5, 3; *Bibl. Jud.* iii. 3, 5; iv. 7, 3; Lightfoot, *Opp.* i. 316; ii. 474; Reland, *Pal.* pp. 199, sq.; *Journal of Sacred Literature* for July 1854). These were doubtless the most ancient divisions of the country, inhabited by distinct tribes; but when brought under one rule, perhaps by Og, the name *Bashan* was given to the whole (Deut. iii.) Yet the names of the older provinces were still occasionally used (Deut. iv. 43; 1 Kings iv. 13; Ezek. xlvii. 18). On the conquest of the country by the Assyrians, that political unity which the Jews maintained was destroyed, and the old sectional names came again into common use (Josephus, *l.c.*) Of the four provinces *Gaulanitis* lay on the west, along the banks of the Jordan; *Batanea* on the extreme east, bordering on Arabia; *Trachonitis* on the north, between the former two, and adjoining the territory of Damascus; and *Auranitis*, south of *Trachonitis*, including the whole of that fertile plain which extends from Mezareib to Sukhud, and from the Lejah to Um el-Jemal. In the midst of it lie the ruins of its once great and splendid capital Busrah (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 250, sq.) On a careful examination of the references in ancient authors to this whole region, we find that very often the name of one province is applied to the whole. Thus the evangelist Luke says Philip was tetrarch of 'Iturea and the region of Trachonitis;' and we know that under the latter name were comprised both *Auranitis* and *Batanea* (Luke iii. 1; cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 4). So again Josephus uses the name *Batanea* to designate the whole of Bashan (*Antiq.* iv. 7. 4). Eusebius employs it in the same way (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Basan*; Reland, *Pal.* p. 197, sq.)

By Arabic authors the name *Hauran* (حوران) :

Heb. חֲוָרָן; Greek, Ἀυρανίτις) is used in the same general way. Bohadin, in his *Life of Saladin*, makes it include the whole country north of Peræa (ed. Schultens, p. 70); and Abulfeda describes it as 'a wide region under the rule of Damascus, toward the south, in which are large towns and villages; Busrah is its capital, and in it are Edhra, Zera, and other towns' (*Index Geog. in vitam Saladinii*, s. v.) In the present day the name *Hauran* is usually applied to the whole country reaching from the plain of Damascus to Bozrah—that is, to all *Bashan*. But the natives, when speaking more accurately, confine it to the plain south of the Lejah—that is, to the small province called by the Greeks *Auranitis* (Porter's *Damascus*, *l.c.*) In the more extended signification it appears to have been used by Ezekiel; and hence he rightly represents it as running as far to the north as Damascus. *Hauran* in this case was not equivalent to the Greek province *Auranitis*, which lay much farther southward, but to the kingdom of Bashan.

Lightfoot (*Opp.*, *l.c.*), Reland (*l.c.*), and other more recent geographers (Wells, *Geography of the O. T.*, i. 298; and even Winer, *Realwoerterbuch*, s. v. *Hauran*), have overlooked the above facts,

and have thus been led into serious errors. The *Hauran* of Ezekiel included the wild and rugged province of Lejah (*TRACHONITIS*); the mountainous district of *Batanea*, where the oaks of Bashan still flourish around the ruins of its old cities; and the district of *Hauran* proper. The latter is one uniform plain of surpassing fertility. Not a rock or stone can be seen except on the little conical hills that appear here and there on its surface. It is thickly studded with ruined towns and villages, numbering above a hundred in all—most of them now *deserted*, though not ruined! The houses in them are most remarkable. The flat roofs, massive doors, and even window-shutters are of stone, and in many cases perfect. The dates on some of them shew that they are older than our era; and their simple and massive style of architecture seems to indicate that these are the very cities referred to so emphatically by Moses (Deut. iii. 5; see *Handbook for S. and P.*, ii. 507, sq.; Graham in *Cambridge Essays*, 160; Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, 213, sq.)—J. L. P.

HÄVERNICK, HEIN. ANDR. CHRIST., was born in 1805, at Kröplin, in Mecklenburg, and died at Königsberg in 1845. He studied theology first at Halle, but having been involved in the troubles which disturbed that university in consequence of the prosecution for anti-Christianism brought against Wegscheider and Gesenius, the evidence in support of which was chiefly supplied from the notes of Hävernicks and Rehrkorn, he left Halle and completed his course at Berlin, where he attached himself closely to Hengstenberg. In 1833 he became a teacher in the theological school at Geneva; in 1834 he went to Rostock, where he taught theology first as a *privatim docens*, afterwards as one of the extraordinary professors; and in 1840 he was appointed ordinary professor at Königsberg. His works are—*Commentar über das B. Daniel*, Hamb. 1833; *Mélanges de Théologie réformée*, 2 parts, Gen. 1833-9 (in conjunction with Steiger); *Handbuch der Histor.-Krit. Einleit. in d. A. T.*, Erlang. 1836-1844, 2 vols. in 4 parts (unfinished); *Neue Krit. Untersuchungen über d. B. Daniel*, Hamb. 1838; *Commentar über d. Proph. Esaias*, Erlang. 1843; *Vorlesungen über die Theologie des A. T.* (published after his death by Dr. H. A. Hahn), Erlang. 1848. Of his *Einleitung*, two portions—the General Introduction to the O. T., and the Introduction to the Pentateuch—have been translated into English, and form part of Clark's Foreign Theol. Library. Hävernicks also contributed several articles to this Cyclopædia. He was a great scholar, who never tired in the pursuit of knowledge, and wore himself out prematurely by his excessive labour as a student, a teacher, and a writer. He was withal one of the honestest of men—a little too open and outspoken, perhaps, for his own personal ease; but impressing all who came near him with a sense of his sincerity, earnestness, and zeal for truth. His services to the cause of evangelical truth in Germany were great; and his works will long remain a storehouse of sound learning and candid reasoning, to attest his eminent abilities and attainments, and to suggest what might have been expected from his diligence, learning, and scientific precision had his life been prolonged.—W. L. A.

HAVILAH (חַבִּילָה, Gen. ii. 11; LXX. Εὐλάδ, Gen. x. 7, Εὐλά; Gen. x. 29, Εὐελά). In the

genealogy of nations (Gen. x.) Havilah is set down —1. as a son of *Cash* (v. 7.); as a son of *Joktan* (v. 29). Since in the other places where the word occurs it is always used to designate a country, we may doubt whether *persons* of this name ever existed; the more so as other names of countries (Ophir, Mizraim, Canaan, Sidon), and the collective names of tribes (Kittim, Dodanim), are freely introduced into the genealogy, which is undoubtedly arranged with *partial* reference to geographical distribution, as well as direct descent (see *Sheba*, *Deban*, etc., and Kalisch, *Genesis*, p. 287). On this supposition it is not difficult to account for the fact that the people of Havilah appear as descendants *both* of the Hamites and of the Shemites. If they were originally of Semitic extraction (and on this point we have no data which could enable us to decide), we must suppose that by peaceful emigration or hostile invasion they overflowed into the territory occupied by Hamites, or adopted the name and habits of their neighbours in consequence of commerce or intermarriage, and are therefore mentioned twice over in consequence of their local position in two distinct regions. It would depend on circumstances whether an invading or encroaching tribe *gave* its name to, or *derived* its name from, the tribe it dispossessed, so that whether Havilah was originally Cushite or Joktanite must be a matter of mere conjecture; but by admitting some such principle as the one mentioned, we remove from the book of Genesis a number of apparent perplexities (Ur; and Kalisch, *Gen.* p. 459). To regard the repetition of the name as due to carelessness or error is a method of explanation which does not deserve the name of criticism. [HAM.]

Assuming then, that the districts indicated in Gen. x. 7, 29, were continuous, if not in reality identical, we have to fix on their geographical position. Various derivations of the word have been suggested, but the most probable one, from חול, 'sand' (Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii. 29), is too vague to give us any assistance. Looking for preciser indications, we find in Gen. xxv. 18, that the descendants of Ishmael 'dwelt from *Havilah unto Shur* that is before Egypt as thou goest towards Assyria; and in 1 Sam. xv. 7 we read that Saul 'smote the Amalekites from *Havilah until thou comest to Shur* that is over against Egypt.' Without entering into the question why the Amalekites are represented as possessing the country which formerly belonged to the Ishmaelites, it is clear that these verses fix the general position of Havilah as a country lying somewhere to the southwards and eastwards of Palestine. Further than this, the Cushite Havilah in Gen. x. 7 is mentioned in connection with Seba, Sabtah, and Raamah; and the Joktanite Havilah (Gen. x. 29), in connection with Ophir, Jobab, etc. Now, as all these places lay on or between the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, we may infer, with tolerable certainty, that Havilah 'in both instances designates the same country, extending at least from the Persian to the Arabian Gulf, and on account of its vast extent

easily divided into two distinct parts' (Kalisch, *Gen.*, p. 93).

The only method of fixing more nearly the centres of these two divisions of Havilah, is to look for some trace of the name yet existing. But although Oriental names linger with great vitality in the regions whence they have arisen, yet the frequent transference of names, caused by trade or by political revolutions, renders such indication *very uncertain* (Von Bohlen, on *Gen.* x. 7). We shall therefore content ourselves with mentioning that Strabo, quoting Eratosthenes, places the *Ἰαλωραίων* near the Nabathœi, north of the Arabian gulf (Strabo xvi. 4), and that Ptolemy (iv. 7) mentions the *Αὔλαϊται* on the African coast near Bab-el-Mandeb, the modern Zeylah (cf. Plin. vi. 28; Gesen., *Thes.* i. 452). Niebuhr also finds two Khâwlians in Yemen, one a town between Sanaa and Mecca, the other a district some miles to the south-east of Sanaa (*Beschr. Arab.* 270, 280; see further, Buschung, *Erdbeschr.* v. i. 601; Michaelis, *Spicil.* i. 189; ii. 202; Forster, *Geogr. of Arab.* i. 40, 41, etc.) These names may very possibly be traces of the great Biblical country of Havilah.

The further question still remains, is the Havilah (LXX. *Εὐλάτ*) of Gen. ii. 11 the same country as the Havilah we have already identified? All we are told of it is that Pison, one of the rivers of Eden, 'compassed' it, and that it produced fine gold, bdellium (*b'dolach*), and onyx (*shoham*). It is natural to assume that in the same book the same name would not be used for two entirely different countries, and the region mentioned meets the new conditions required, especially if we understand 'b'dolach' to mean 'pearls' or 'gum,' and 'shoham' to mean 'crystal' or some transparent stone. Havilah is mentioned in connection with Ophir and Sheba, both of which countries were formerly celebrated for their gold. In this case we must, however, understand the Pison (Gen. ii. 11) to mean either an arm of the sea, or 'all the rivers that fall into the Persian gulf'; or, allowing for the notorious *ἀγνοῦμεν* of the ancients we must suppose that the course of the Indus was most erroneously imagined to make an enormous bend towards the west. The latter is the more natural, and for other reasons the more probable supposition.

Without entangling ourselves in any discussion of the geography of Eden, we may mention that on grounds of very slight and untenable conjecture, the Havilah of Gen. ii. has been identified with Colchis, with the *Τχάλα* of Herodotus iv. 9, with the Chvalisci on the Caspian Sea, with Kampila in the north-west of India, with Ava, and numerous other countries. These conjectures have persuaded very few except those who originated them. Discussions about the site of Havilah will be found in all the chief Biblical commentators ancient and modern, as well as in Hottinger (*Enneas Dissult.*); Huet (*De Lit. Parad.*); Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 28); Michaelis (*Spicil.* 202; *Suppl.* 685); Schultness (*Parad.* p. 105); Niebuhr (*l. c.*), and many other writers. The clearest and best account may be derived from Kalisch (*Genesis*, pp. 93, 249, 287, etc.), who also gives a long list of those who have examined the subject (pp. 109-102).—F. W. F.

* We do not know on what certain grounds Mr. G. Williams decides that Havilah was originally Cushite (*Dict. of Geogr.*, s. v.); other writers are equally positive of the contrary (Mr. Stanley Poole in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*).

HAVOTH-JAIR (חֹת הַיַּר) Sept. *Ἐπαύλει* 'Taip; Alex. *Ἰαίρ*, and *κώμας*, and *Αὐλώ*; Vulg.

Havoth-Jair, id est, *villas Jair*; and *oppida Jair*, the name given to a group of 'villages' or 'towns' in Gilead, from the fact of their having been taken by *Jair* a descendant of Manasseh. The word *Havoth*, חֹמֶת, is the plural of חֹמָה, and is probably derived from the Arabic root حָجَى, 'to collect.'

It signifies a collection of dwellings of any kind, whether *tents* or *houses*. The very same places which are called *Havoth* in Num. xxxii. 41, are termed עָרִים, 'cities,' in 1 Kings iv. 13; consequently we cannot receive the interpretation of some recent writers, who say they were not 'cities,' but Bedouin 'villages of tents' (Stanley, *S. and P.*, 321 and 514). The origin of the appellation is thus explained in Num. xxxii. 40, 41: 'Moses gave Gilead unto Machir, the son of Manasseh; and he dwelt therein. And *Jair*, the son of Manasseh, went and took the *small towns* (חֹמֶת) thereof, and called them *Havoth-jair*.' Another *Jair*, apparently a descendant of the former, was one of Israel's famous judges; and it is said of him, 'He had thirty sons that rode on thirty asscolts, and they had *thirty cities*, which are called *Havoth-jair* unto this day, which are in the land of Gilead' (Judg. x. 3, 4). This appears to be only a new application of an old name. The original number of the towns conquered by *Jair* was twenty-three, as we read in 1 Chron. ii. 22: 'Segub begat *Jair*, who had three and twenty cities in the land of Gilead.' The number was subsequently increased like the Decapolis.

The ancient province of Gilead was bounded on the north by the river Hieromax, which separated it from Bashan (GILEAD); and that portion of it which fell to the lot of the half tribe of Manasseh lay north of the Jabbok (Num. xxxii. 33; Deut. iii. 12, 13). Consequently those towns of Gilead which were called *Havoth-jair* must have been situated in the mountainous district between Mahanaim and the Hieromax (Josh. xxi. 38; xiii. 24-30).

Considerable confusion has been caused in the geography of this region by confounding the *Havoth-jair* of Gilead with Bashan-havoth-jair. The following passages prove that they were entirely distinct, and even far apart—Josh. xiii. 30; 1 Kings iv. 13; 1 Chron. ii. 22, 23. Eusebius recognises the distinction; but Jerome either mistakes his meaning, or, more probably, had another idea of his own (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Avoth-jair*; Reland, p. 483; Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 270). The towns of *Havoth-jair* were situated in Gilead south of the river Hieromax; while those of Bashan-havoth-jair were in Bashan, and identical with the sixty great cities of Argob (Deut. iii. 14; 1 Kings iv. 13; see TRACHONITIS).—J. L. P.

HAWK. [NETS.]

HAY. [CHATZIR.]

HAYES, CHARLES, an English gentleman of extensive scientific and literary attainments, was born in the year 1678. In his early life he devoted himself principally to scientific studies, and was the author of the first treatise on Fluxions published in the English language. Subsequently, he gave himself to the study of ancient history, with especial reference to the history contained in the Scriptures, and his various works bear testimony to a vast amount of learned research. He had a know-

ledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and also of several modern languages. He died at the advanced age of eighty-two, Dec. 18, 1760. The following Biblical works were all published anonymously; but their authorship is attested by a writer in the Gentleman's Magazine, Dec. 1761, in whose hands Hayes's papers had been placed.

1. *A vindication of the History of the Septuagint*, Lond. 1736, 8vo.

2. *A Critical Examination of the Holy Gospels according to St. Matthew and St. Luke, with regard to the History of the Birth and Infancy of our Lord Jesus Christ*, Lond. 1738, 8vo. 3. *A dissertation on the Chronology of the Septuagint, with an Appendix shewing that the Chaldean and Egyptian Antiquities, hitherto esteemed fabulous, are perfectly consistent with the computations of that most ancient Version of the Holy Scriptures*, Lond. 1741, 8vo. In this work he enters at length into an examination of the variations in the ages of the patriarchs as given in the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and Josephus; and offers some suggestions in defence of the integrity of the Hebrew and Greek texts. 4. *Chronographia Asiatica et Aegyptiaca specimen in quo i. Origo Chronologiae LXX. Interpretum investigatur ii. Conspectus totius operis exhibetur*, 1759, 8vo. This was issued partly as a prospectus of a large work on Asiatic and Egyptian chronology, from the creation of the world unto the birth of Christ, which although completed has never been published.—S. N.

HAZAEŁ (חֲזַקְיָה, *vision of God*; 'Aṣṭāh), an officer of Benhadad, king of Syria, whose eventual accession to the throne of that kingdom was made known to Elijah (1 Kings xix. 15); and who, when Elisha was at Damascus, was sent by his master, who was then ill, to consult the prophet respecting his recovery. He was followed by forty camels bearing presents from the king. When Hazael appeared before the prophet, he said, 'Thy son Benhadad, king of Syria, hath sent me to thee, saying, Shall I recover of this disease?' The answer was, that he *might* certainly recover. 'Howbeit,' added the prophet, 'the Lord hath shewed me that he shall surely die.' He then looked steadfastly at Hazael till he became confused: on which the man of God then wept; and when Hazael respectfully inquired the cause of this outburst, Elisha replied by describing the vivid picture then present to his mind of all the evils which the man now before him would inflict upon Israel. Hazael exclaimed, 'But what? Is thy servant a dog that he should do this great thing?' The prophet explained that it was as king of Syria he should do it. Hazael then returned, and delivered to his master that portion of the prophetic response which was intended for him. But the very next day this man, cool and calculating in his cruel ambition, took a thick cloth, and, having dipped it in water, spread it over the face of the king, who, in his feebleness, and probably in his sleep, was smothered by its weight, and died what seemed to his people a natural death (2 Kings viii. 8, etc.) B.C. 885. We are not to imagine that such a project as this was conceived and executed in a day, or that it was suggested by the words of Elisha. His discomposure at the earnest gaze of the prophet, and other circumstances, shew that Hazael at that moment regarded Elisha as one to whom his secret purposes were known. In that case, his cry, 'Is thy ser-

vant a dog,' etc., was not, as some suppose, a cry of joy at the first view of a throne, but of horror at the idea of the public atrocities which the prophet described. This was likely to shock him more than it would do after he had committed his first crime, and obtained possession of a throne acquired at such a cost.

The further information respecting Hazael which the Scriptures afford is limited to brief notices of his wars with Ahaziah and Joash, kings of Judah, and with Jehoram, Jehu, and Jehoahaz, kings of Israel (2 Kings viii. 28; ix. 14; x. 32; xii. 17; xiii. 3; 2 Chron. xxii. 5). It is difficult to distinguish the several campaigns and victories involved in these allusions, and spread over a reign of forty years; but it is certain that Hazael always had the advantage over the Hebrew princes. He devastated their frontiers, rent from them all their territories beyond the Jordan, traversed the breadth of Palestine, and carried his arms into the states of the Philistines; he laid siege to Jerusalem, and only retired on receiving the treasures of the temple and the palace. The details of these conquests redeemed to the very letter the appalling predictions of Elisha. This able and successful, but unprincipled usurper, left the throne at his death to his son Benhadad.

HAZAR-ADDAR (הַצֵּר אֲדָר; Sept. Ἐραυλὶς Ἀράδ; Vulg. *villa nomine Adar*), a town on the southern border of Palestine, near Kadesh-barnea (Num. xxxiv. 4). The site of the latter has been fixed by Dr. Robinson at Ain el-Weibeh, in the Arabah, about thirty-five miles south of the Dead Sea (*B. R.* ii. 175). If this be the true site of Kadesh, then Hazar-addar stood on the desert plateau westward, a region as yet unexplored. In Josh. xv. 3 it is called *Adar* (Sept. Σάραδα; Vulg. *Addar*).

The word *Hazar*, when joined to places situated in the desert or on the outskirts of the inhabited country, as it frequently is, probably denoted a piece of ground surrounded by a rude but strong fence, where tents could be pitched, and cattle kept in safety from marauders. Such places are very common at the present day in the outlying districts of Palestine. In other cases *Hazar* may denote a 'castle,' or 'fortified town.'—J. L. P.

HAZAR-ENAN (הַצֵּר עֵינָן and חַ עֵינָן; Sept. Ἀρραναῖν, and Ἀρραναῖν; *villa Enan*), a town on the north-eastern boundary of the promised land (Ezek. xlvii. 17; xlviii. 1). It could not have been far distant from Riblah (Num. xxxiv. 9, 10). It lay on the border of the kingdoms of Damascus and Hamath. Eusebius mentions it as *δριον Δαμσκού* (Reland, p. 706). *Hazar-enan* signifies 'the village of fountains.' These facts, together with a careful survey of the region between Damascus and Hamath, led the writer to identify it with the modern village of *Kuryetin*, which lies at nearly an equal distance from these two cities, and about forty miles east of Riblah. *Kuryetin* signifies 'the two villages,' and the Arabic قرية may in this

place be regarded as equivalent to the Hebrew הַצֵּר. It is a large village, with noble fountains, the only ones in a wide region. The writer found some fragments of columns and other ruins in its lanes, and in the gardens adjoining it. Under the Greek name *Kopadala*, *Coradæa*, we find it men-

tioned as an episcopal city of the province of *Phœnicia Libani* (S. Paulo, *Geographia Sacra*, p. 295). It still contains a small community of Christians belonging to the Jacobite Church (Wood's *Palmyra*, p. 34; Porter's *Damascus*, i. 252).—J. L. P.

HAZAR-GADDAH (הַצֵּר גַּדָּה; Sept. and Ἀσεργὰδδᾶ; *Aser-gadda*), a town on the extreme southern boundary of Judah towards Edom (Josh. xv. 27). It is mentioned in connection with Moladah, which is situated about ten miles east of Beersheba. *Hazar-gaddah* probably lay between these two towns. The Alexandrine MS. of the Septuagint makes Ἀσέρ and Γαδδᾶ distinct names; and so also does Eusebius. The former he locates between Ascalon and Ashdod, where there is still a village called *Yazâr*; but this can have no connection with *Hazar* of Josh. xv. 27. *Gadda* he places in the utmost boundary of Darom; and Jerome adds that it lay 'on the east over the Dead Sea' (*Onomast.*, s.v. *Aser* and *Gadda*). Von Raumer would identify this *Gadda* with the great fortress of Sebbeh or *Masada*, one of the most remarkable ruins of Palestine (Winer, *Real-Wörterbuch*, s.v. *Hazar*; Robinson, *B. R.* i. 525; Reland, 707). Such a theory is altogether at variance with the Biblical topography.—J. L. P.

HAZAR-HATTICON (הַצֵּר חַתִּיכֹן; αὐλή τοῦ Σαῦδᾶν; Alex. Εὐνὴν; *Domus Tichon*), a place mentioned by Ezekiel only, who gives it as one of the landmarks of the north-eastern border of the 'Land of Promise'—*Hazar-hatticon*, which is by the coast of Hauran (xlvi. 16). The site is unknown; but it could not have been far distant from Damascus, probably to the east of that city.—J. L. P.

HAZARMAVETH (הַצֵּר מַאֲוֶת; Sept. Σαρμῶθ), the third son of Joktan (Gen. x. 26), whose name is preserved in the Arabian province of *Hadramaut* [ARABIA].

HAZAR-SHUAL (הַצֵּר שְׁעָל; Ἀσαρσουλά, Vat. Ἐσερσουλά, Ἀρσουλᾶ, and Χολασουλᾶ; *Hazersual*), a city in the extreme south of Judah, grouped with Beersheba (Josh. xv. 28). Though within the territory of Judah, it was given to the tribe of Simeon (xix. 3), and was occupied by the family of Shimei, whose sixteen sons dwelt at Beersheba, Moladah, and *Hazar-shual* (1 Chron. iv. 28). It was occupied by the Israelites after the captivity, but we hear no more of it in history. Van de Velde conjectures that its site may be marked by the ruins of *Sauweh*, between Beersheba and Moladah (see his *Map of Palestine*).—J. L. P.

HAZAR-SUSAH (הַצֵּר סוּסָה; Ἀσαρσουσίμ, Vat. Σαρσουσίμ; *Hazersusa*), a town of Simeon near the southern border of Palestine, and apparently not far from Ziklag (Josh. xix. 5). Like *Hazar-shual* it was occupied by the family of Shimei, as we learn from 1 Chron. iv. 31, where it is called *Hazar-susim* (סוּסִים; Ἡμισουσισίμ; *Hazersusim*). The name signifies 'village of horses'; and Stanley says, 'In *Bethmarkaboth*, 'the house of chariots,' and *Hazar-susim*, 'the village of horses,' we recognize the depôts and stations for the horses and chariots, such as those which in Solomon's time went to and fro between Egypt and Palestine' (*Sin. and Pal.*, p. 160). It

is doubtful whether there were any such communication between those countries as early as the time of Joshua; but may not the rich grassy plains around Beersheba (Robinson, *B. R.* i. 203) have been used at certain seasons by the ancient tribes of southern Palestine for pasturing their war and chariot horses, just as the grassy plains of Jaulán are used at the present day by the Druze chiefs of Lebanon, and the Turkish cavalry and artillery at Damascus?—J. L. P.

HAZEL. [Luz.]

HAZEROTH (חֲזֵרוֹת; 'Ἀσρωθ; *Haseroth*),

one of the stations of the Israelites in the wilderness. It was situated apparently four days' march from Sinai (Num. x. 33; xi. 35), towards the north-west. It was also the first place after Sinai where the camp remained for a number of days. Here Aaron and Miriam attempted to excite a rebellion against Moses; and here the guilty Miriam was smitten with leprosy (Num. xii.). The accurate determination of the site of Hazeroth is of considerable importance, as it enables us to define with a near approach to accuracy the line of march of the Israelites from Sinai to Kadesh.

In a wild and dreary waste, among naked hills, eighteen hours from Sinai, is a little fountain called *d-Hudherah*, الحضره, a word radically identical with Hazeroth. Its distance from Sinai accords with the Scripture narrative, and would seem to warrant us in identifying it with Hazeroth. This was first suggested by Burckhardt (*Travels in Syria*, p. 495); and is advocated by Robinson (*B. R.* i. 151). There is some difficulty, however, in the position. The country around the fountain is exceedingly rugged, and the approaches to it difficult. It does not seem a suitable place for a large camp. Dr. Wilson mentions an undulating plain about fifteen miles north of Sinai, and running 'a long way to the eastward,' called *d-Hadherah*; and here he would locate Hazeroth (*Lands of the Bible*, i. 256). Professor Stanley thinks that the fountain called *d'Ain*, some distance north of the fountain of *Hudherah*, ought rather to be regarded as the site of Hazeroth, because 'Ain is the most important spring in this region, 'and must, therefore, have attracted around it any nomadic settlements, such as are implied in the name Hazeroth, and such as that of Israel might have been' (*Sinai and Pal.* 82). The approach to 'Ain is easy; the glens around it possess some good pastures; and the road from it to the Aelanitic gulf, along whose shore the Israelites appear to have marched, is open through the sublime ravine of Wefir. Still those familiar with the East know with what tenacity old names cling to old sites; and it seems in the highest degree probable that the old name Hazeroth is retained in Hudherah. But probably the name may have been given to a wide district (*Handbook for S. and P.* i. 37, sq.)—J. L. P.

HAZEON-TAMAR. [EN-GEDI.]

HAZO (חֲזוֹ, *Chazo*; Sept. 'Aḡaū), a son of Nahor (Gen. xxii. 22), whose posterity settled somewhere on the east of the Euphrates. Probably in *חֲזוֹנִי*, the name of a region of Assyria mentioned by Strabo (xvi. p. 736), and also a region in Mesopotamia (Steph. Byzant.), we have

traces of their occupancy. The Syrian writers name a *חֲזוֹ* which they identify with Strabo's *Chazene*.—W. L. A.

HAZOR (חֲזוֹר; 'Ἀσώρ; *Asor*), an ancient and celebrated royal city of Canaan, situated near the waters of Merom. Jabin, king of Hazor, was the recognised chief of a number of small principalities (Josh. xi. 10). When the Israelites invaded Palestine, Jabin assembled his forces and allies on the shores of the Lake Merom. Joshua attacked and utterly defeated them, and burned Hazor with fire (Josh. xi. 1-12). The city was allotted to Naphtali (xix. 36). After the death of Joshua Hazor was rebuilt by the Canaanites, and under another king, with the hereditary name or title Jabin, attained to great power, and even held the Israelites in subjection for twenty years. At length the forces of Jabin, including 600 chariots of iron, were led by Sisera into the plain of Esdraelon, probably to complete the conquest of all Palestine; but they were met and routed by Barak and Deborah, and the power of Hazor was broken for ever (Judg. iv.) The city was afterwards fortified by Solomon (1 Kings ix. 15); and it was among those captured by the Assyrians on their first invasion of Palestine (2 Kings xv. 29). It is probably the same place which Josephus refers to in the time of the wars of the Maccabees. Demetrius was encamped at Cadesh, and Jonathan marched from the Sea of Galilee to 'the plain called *Asor*' to meet him (*Antiq.* xiii. 5. 6, 7; 1 Maccab. xi. 67).

The site of Hazor has not yet been satisfactorily identified. The incidental notices in Josh. xix. 36, and 2 Kings xv. 29, would seem to locate it to the south of Kedesh in Naphtali; and Josephus says it was situated over the Lake Semechonitis, and apparently so close to it that the plain round the lake was called by its name (*i.e.* and *Antiq.* v. 5. 1). Neither Eusebius nor Jerome appears to have known the site (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Asor*).

The name Hazor still lingers in several places around the upper valley of the Jordan (Robinson, *B. R.* iii. 63, 81, 401). There is one *Hasûry* on a commanding site above Caesarea Philippi, and close to the great castle of Subeibeh. Here Keith (*Land of Israel*, 374) and Stanley (*Sin. and Pal.* 389) would place the ancient capital of Canaan. But the territory of Naphtali did not extend so far eastward. The writer discovered another *Hasûr* in the plain a few miles west of the site of Dan; but neither does this site quite accord with the Scripture notices (Porter's *Damascus*, i. 304; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 318). Dr. Robinson would place Hazor at Tell Khureibeh, a rocky peak a few miles south of Kedesh. There are, as the name *Khureibeh*, 'ruins,' implies, some ancient ruins on the Tell; but they are those of a village. In the year 1850 the writer visited the ruins of an ancient town which occupy a commanding site on the south bank of Wady Hëndäj, overlooking the valley and lake of Merom, and about six miles south of Kedesh. This seems to be a more probable site for the ancient Hazor than Tell Khureibeh (Robinson, *B. R.* iii. 363, 365); and the plain beneath it, stretching to the shore of the lake, might take the name of the city *Asur*, as Josephus seems to indicate (*i.e.*)

2. A town on the southern border of Judah, near Kadesh (Josh. xv. 23; Sept. 'Ασσιωραίν; Vulg. *Asor*). The site has not been identified.

3. A town of Benjamin occupied after the captivity, and grouped with Nob and Ramah (Neh. xi. 33); it must thus have been situated a few miles north of Jerusalem. The verse in which the name occurs is omitted in the Septuagint; but Jerome renders it *Asor* in his version. Robinson suggests the identity of Hazor and the modern *Tell*

Asur (تل عصور), a ruin on a little hill about six miles north of Bethel. This, however, appears to be too far from Ramah (*Bib. Res.* ii. 264, note). Tobler mentions a ruin called *Khurbet Arsor*, near Ramah, a little to the west, the situation of which would answer better to Hazor (*Topogr.* ii. 400; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 319).

4. Jeremiah mentions a Hazor in connection with Kedar; 'concerning Kedar, and concerning the kingdoms of Hazor,' etc. (Jer. xlix. 28). The Septuagint renders this τῇ Κηδάρ τῇ Βασιλείᾳ τῆς αὐλῆς, 'To Kedar, the queen (or kingdom, see Schleusner, s. v.) of the fold.' Jerome translates it, 'ad Cedar, et ad regna Asor.' The name Hazor is probably applied by the prophet to some noted town or camping-ground of the Arab tribes of Arabia. May it not be that the country colonised by the descendants of *Hazarmaveth* is meant (Gen. x. 26)? This province, called by Arab historians *Hadramaut*, is situated in Yemen on the south coast of Arabia (HAZARMAVETH). The tribes of Arabia are divided into two classes—Nomads, who live exclusively in tents and wander from place to place; and those settled in towns or villages. The latter are called أَهْلُ أَحْضَر, or simply حَوَاضِر. The Arabic word حَضْر signifies *locus habitatus fixus*; and may thus be regarded as equivalent to the Hebrew מְנַחֵם (see Pococke, *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, p. 2; Winer, *R. W.*, s. v. *Hazor*).—J. L. P.

HEAD (שֵׁרָא; Greek, κεφαλή). As the head is the topmost part of the human body, it came derivatively to signify that which is highest, chief, the highest in position locally being regarded as highest in office, rank, or dignity; whence, as the head is the centre of the nervous system, holds the brain, and stands above all the other parts, it has generally been considered as the abode of the intellect or intelligence by which man is enlightened and his walk in life directed; while the heart, or the parts placed near it, have been accounted the place where the affections lie (Gen. iii. 15; Ps. iii. 3; Eccles. ii. 14). The head and the heart are sometimes taken for the entire person (Is. i. 5). Even the head alone, as being the chief member, frequently stands for the man (Prov. x. 6). The head also denotes sovereignty (1 Cor. xi. 3). Covering the head, and cutting off the hair, were signs of mourning and tokens of distress, which were enhanced by throwing ashes on the head, together with sackcloth (Amos viii. 10; Job i. 20; Lev. xxi. 5; Deut. xiv. 1; 2 Sam. xiii. 19; Esther iv. 1); while anointing the head was practised on festive occasions, and considered an emblem of felicity (Eccles. ix. 8; Ps. xxiii. 5; Luke vii. 46). It was usual to swear by the head (Matt. v. 36).—J. R. B.

HEAD-DRESS. [TURBAN; VEIL]

HEART. All the phrases, more or less metaphorical, in which this word occurs, are rendered intelligible, without detailed examples, when we are told that the heart was, among the Hebrews, regarded poetically not only as the seat of the passions and emotions, as of love, pleasure, and grief, but also of the intellectual faculties—the mind, the understanding. [PHILOSOPHY, BIBLICAL.] In the original Scriptures, as well as in the English and other translations, the word 'heart,' therefore, constantly occurs where 'mind' is to be understood, and would be used by a modern English writer. We say modern, because the ancient usage of the English word 'heart' was more conformable than the present to that of the Hebrews.

HEARTH. None of the Hebrew terms translated *hearth* in the A. V. can be regarded as perfectly synonymous with it. In Gen. xviii. 6, a single word, עֹנֶה (ἐγκρηφίς, LXX.), stands for the 'cakes upon the hearth' of the A. V., or the 'subcinericijs panes' of the Vulgate. מִקְרָה, in Ps. cii. 3, means *fuel* or *firewood* (*lignum ardens, sarmenta*, Gesenius; φῶρυγος, LXX.; *cremum*, Vulg.); the plural מִקְרָהִים, Is. xxxiii. 14, is rendered in the A. V. *burnings*; *ardoribus*, Vulg.; *incendium*, Gesenius; כִּיּוֹר, Zech. xii. 6, with the addition of אֵשׁ, means a vessel for holding burning coals; elsewhere a *laver*, Exod. xxx. 18; Lev. viii. 11; and once for the *pulpit* (*scaffold*, A. V.), used by Solomon at the dedication of the Temple, 2 Chron. vi. 13. Another word translated *hearth*, מִנְיָה, Jer. xxxvi. 22, 23 (ἐσχάρα, LXX.; *arula*, Vulg.), appears to mean a *fire-basket* or *chafing-dish*, such as is still common in the East.—J. E. R.

HEATH, THOMAS, a learned layman of the Church of England, sometime resident at Exeter, the author of a work entitled—*An Essay towards a new English version of the Book of Job from the original Hebrew, with a commentary and some account of his life*, Lond. 1756, 4to. This version of Job is in prose, and on the whole is a correct and forcible rendering of the original. The notes are learned and discover considerable acquaintance with the literature of the subject. The author believes Job to have been a real person; but the poem he thinks was written long subsequent to Job's decease, and by a person wholly unacquainted with the doctrines of a future state and the resurrection of the body. These and cognate matters are discussed with special reference to the great controversy of the time, originating in the views promulgated by Bishop Warburton in his work on the Divine Legation of Moses.—W. J. C.

HEATH. [AR'AR.]

HEATHEN. [GENTILES.]

HEAVEN, HEAVENS. *Definitions and Distinctions*.—The ancient Hebrews, for want of a single term like the *Kόσμος* and the *Mundus* of the Greeks and the Latins, used the phrase *heaven and earth* (as in Gen. i. 1; Jer. xxiii. 24; and Acts xvii. 24, where '*H. and E.*' = 'the world and all things therein') to indicate the *universe*, or (as Barrow, *Sermons on the Creed*, works [Oxford Ed.], vol. iv. p. 556, expresses it) 'those two regions.

superior and inferior, into which the whole system of things is divided, together with all the beings that do reside in them, or do belong unto them, or are comprehended by them' (comp. Pearson on the *Creed*, who, on art. i. ('Maker of H. and E.') adduces the Rabbinical names of a triple division of the universe, making the sea, ד' , distinct from the שמים , *h' okoumém*. Compare also the Nicene Creed, where another division occurs of the universe into 'things visible and invisible.') Deducting from this aggregate the idea expressed by 'earth' [EARTH; GEOGRAPHY], we get a residue of signification which exactly embraces 'heaven.' Barrow (*l. c.*) well defines it as 'all the superior region encompassing the globe of the earth, and from it on all sides extended to a distance inconceivably vast and spacious, with all its parts and furniture and inhabitants—not only such things in it as are visible and material, but also those which are immaterial and invisible (Col. i. 16).' The same writer (p. 558, with whom comp. Grotius and Drusus on 2 Cor. xii. 2) ascribes to the Jews the notion that there are three heavens; * *Calum nubiferum*, or the

firmament; *Calum astriferum*, the starry heavens; *Calum angeliferum*, or 'the heaven of heavens,' where the angels reside, 'the third heaven' of St. Paul. This same notion prevails in the Fathers. Thus St. Gregory of Nyssa (*Hexaem.* tom. i. p. 42) describes the first of these heavens as the *limited space of the denser air* ($\text{τὸν ὅρον τοῦ παχυμερεστέρου ἀέρος}$), within which range the clouds, the winds, and the birds; the second is the region in which wander the planets and the stars ($\text{ἐν ᾗ δὲ πλανῆται τῶν ἀστέρων διαπορεύονται}$), hence aptly called by Hesychius $\text{καθῆστριαμένον τόπον}$, *locum stelliferum*; while the third is the *very summit of the visible creation* ($\text{τὸ οὐν ἀκρότατον τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ κόσμου}$), St. Paul's *third heaven*, higher than the aerial and stellar world, cognisable [not by the eye but] by the mind alone ($\text{ἐν στασίμῳ καὶ νοητῇ φύσει γεωόμενος}$), which Damascene calls the *heaven of heavens*, the *prime heaven beyond all others* ($\text{οὐρανὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὁ πρῶτος οὐρανός, Orthod. Fid. lib. ii. c. vi. p. 83}$); or, according to St. Basil (*In Jesaiam, visione* ii. tom. i. p. 813), the *throne of God* (θρόνος Θεοῦ), and to Justin Martyr (*Quaest. ad Resp. ad Græcos, ad ult. Quaest. p. 236*), the *house and throne of God* ($\text{οἶκος καὶ θρόνος τοῦ Θεοῦ}$).

Scripture Passages arranged according to these Distinctions.—This division of the celestial regions is very convenient and quite Biblical. I. Under the first head [*calum nubiferum*] the following phrases naturally fall—(a) 'Fowl,' or 'fowls of the heaven, of the air'; see Gen. ii. 19; vii. 3, 23; ix. 2; Deut. iv. 17; xxviii. 26; 1 Kings xxi. 24; Job xii. 7; xxviii. 21; xxxv. 11; Ps. viii. 8; lxxix. 2; civ. 12; Jer. vii. 33 *et passim*; Ezek. xxix. 5 *et passim*; Dan. ii. 38; Hos. ii. 18; iv. 3; vii. 12; Zeph. i. 3; Mark iv. 3 ($\text{τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ}$); Luke viii. 5; ix. 58; xiii. 19; Acts x. 12; xi. 6—in all which passages the same original words in the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek Scriptures [שמים , שָׁמַיִם , *oûpavoi*] are with equal propriety rendered indifferently 'air' and 'heaven'—similarly, we read of 'the path of the eagle in the air,' Prov. xxx. 19; of 'the eagles of heaven,' Lam. iv. 19; of 'the stork of the heaven,' Jer. viii. 7; and of 'birds of heaven' in general, Eccl. x. 20; Jer. iv. 25. In addition to these zoological terms, we have meteorological facts included under

* Wetstein (in a learned note on 2 Cor. xii. 2) and Eisenmenger (*Entdecktes Judenthum*, vol. i. p. 460) state the Rabbinical opinion as asserting seven heavens. For the substance of Wetstein's note, see Dr. Stanley, *Corinthians*, l. c. This number arises confessedly from the mystic value of the numeral seven; 'omnis septenarius dilectus est in seculum—in superis.' According to Rabbi Abia, there were six ante-chambers, as it were, or steps to the seventh heaven, which was the '*raueion* in quo Rex habitat'—the very presence-chamber of the Divine King himself. Comp. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, vi. p. 289, and Clemens Alex. *Strom.* iv. p. 636; v. p. 692. In the last of these passages the prophet Zephaniah is mentioned, after some apocryphal tradition, to have been caught up into 'the fifth heaven, the dwelling-place of the angels, in a glory sevenfold greater than the brightness of the sun.' In the Rabbinical point of view, the superb throne of King Solomon, with the six steps leading up to it, was a symbol of the highest heaven with the throne of the Eternal, above the six inferior heavens (1 Kings x. 18-20). These gradations of the celestial regions are probably meant in Amos ix. 6, where, however, the entire creation is beautifully described by 'the stories [or steps] of the heaven,' for the empyreal heaven; 'the troop [or globular aggregate, the *terra firma*, see A. Lapide, *in loc.*] of the earth,' and 'the waters of the sea' [including the atmosphere, whence the waters are 'poured out upon the face of the earth']. As for the *threefold* division of the celestial regions mentioned in the text, Meyer thinks it to be a fiction of the learned Grotius, on the ground of the Rabbinical seven heavens. But this censure is premature; for (1) it is very doubtful whether this *hebdomadal* division is as old as St. Paul's time; (2) it is certain that the Rabbinical doctors are not unanimous about the number seven. Rabbi Judah (*Chagiga*, fol. 12. 2, and *Aboth Nathan*, 37) says there are 'two heavens,' after Deut. x. 14. This agrees with Grotius' statement, if we combine his *nubiferum* [רקיע] and *astriferum* [שמים] into one region of physical heavens (as indeed Moses does himself in Gen. i. 14, 15, 17, 20), and reserve his *angeliferum* for the שמי השמים , 'the heaven of heavens,' the supernal region of spiritual beings, Milton's 'Empyrean' (*P. L.* vii.

sub fin.) See Bp. Pearson's note, *On the Creca* [ed. Chevallier], p. 91. The learned note of De Wette on 2 Corinthians xii. 2, is also worth consulting. (3) The Targum on 2 Chron. vi. 18 [as quoted by Dr. Gill, *Comment. 2 Corinth.* l. c.] expressly mentions the triple distinction of *supreme, middle, and lower* heavens. Indeed, there is an accumulation of the threefold classification. Thus, in *Tzeror Hammor*, fol. 1. 4, and 3. 2, 3, and 83. 2, three worlds are mentioned. The doctors of the Cabbala also hold the opinion of three worlds, *Zohar*, Numb. fol. 66. 3. And of the highest world there is further a *tripartite* division, of angels,

$\text{עֲלֵי הַמַּלְאָכִים}$; of souls, נַפְשֹׁת ; and of spirits,

עֲלֵי הָרוּחִי . See Buxtorf's *Lex. Rabbin.* p. 1620, who refers to D. Kimchi, on Psalm xix. 9. St. Paul, besides the well-known 2 Cor. xii. 2, refers again, only less pointedly, to a plurality of heavens, as in Ephes. iv. 10. See Olshausen [Ed. Clark] on the former passage.

the same original words; e. g. (b) 'The dew of heaven,' Gen. xxvii. 28, 39; Deut. xxxiii. 28; Dan. iv. 15 *et passim*; Hag. i. 10; Zech. viii. 12; (c) 'The clouds of heaven,' 1 Kings xviii. 45; Ps. cxlvii. 8; Dan. vii. 13; Matt. xxiv. 30; xxvi. 64; Mark xiv. 62; (d) 'The frost of heaven,' Job xxxviii. 29; (e) 'The winds of heaven,' 1 Kings xviii. 55; Ps. lxxviii. 26; Dan. viii. 8; xi. 4; Zech. ii. 6; vi. 5 [see margin]; Matt. xxiv. 31; Mark xiii. 27; (f) 'The rain of heaven,' Gen. viii. 2; Deut. xi. 11; xxviii. 12; Jer. xiv. 22; Acts xiv. 17 [*οὐρανὸν ὑετοῦς*]; James v. 18; Rev. xviii. 6; (g) 'Lightning, with thunder,' Job xxxvii. 3, 4; Luke xvii. 24. II. (Cælum astriferum). The vast spaces of which astronomy takes cognizance are frequently referred to: *ex. gr.* (a) in the phrase, 'host of heaven,' in Deut. xvii. 3; Jer. viii. 2; Matt. xxiv. 29 [*δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν*]; a sense which is obviously not to be confounded with another signification of the same phrase, as in Luke ii. 13 [ANGELS]: (b) 'Lights of heaven,' Gen. i. 14, 15, 16; Ezek. xxxii. 8; (c) 'Stars of heaven,' Gen. xxii. 17; xxvi. 4; Exod. xxxii. 13; Deut. i. 10; x. 22; xxviii. 62; Judg. v. 20; Neh. ix. 23; Is. xiii. 10; Nahum iii. 16; Heb. xi. 12.* III. (Cælum angeliferum). It would exceed our limits if we were to collect the descriptive phrases which Revelation has given us of Heaven in its sublimest sense; we content ourselves with indicating one or two of the most obvious: (a) 'The heaven of heavens,' Deut. x. 14; 1 Kings viii. 27; 2 Chron. ii. 6, 18; Neh. ix. 6; Ps. cxv. 16; cxlviii. 4; (b) 'The third heavens,' 2 Cor. xii. 2; (c) 'The high and lofty [place], Is. xlvii. 15; (d) 'The highest,' Matt. xxi. 9; Mark xi. 10; Luke ii. 14, compared with Ps. cxlviii. 1. This heavenly sublimity was graciously brought down to Jewish apprehensions in the sacred symbol of their Tabernacle and Temple, which they revered (especially in the *adytum* of 'the Holy of Holies') as 'the place where God's honour dwelt' (Ps. xxvi. 8), and amidst the sculptured types of His celestial retinue, in the cherubim of the mercy-seat (2 Kings xix. 15; Ps. lxxx. 1; Is. xxxvii. 16).†

Meaning of the terms used in the Original. 1. The by far most frequent designation of Heaven in the Hebrew Scriptures is שָׁמַיִם, which the older lexicographers [see Cocceius, *Lex. s. v.*] regarded

as the *dual*, but which Gesenius and Fürst have restored to the dignity, which St. Jerome gave it, of the *plural* of an obsolete noun, שָׁמַיִם as (נִימִין plur. of נִי and מִי from שָׁמַיִם). According to these recent scholars the idea expressed by the word is *height, elevation* (Gesenius, *Thes. p. 1453*; Fürst, *Hebr. Wört. ii. 467*). In this respect of its essential meaning it resembles the Greek *οὐρανός* [from the radical *ορ*, denoting *height*]; Pott, *Etymol. Forsch. i. 123*, ed. 1. Pott's rendering of this root *ορ*, by 'sich erheben,' reminds us of our own beautiful word *heaven*, which thus enters into brotherhood of signification with the grand idea of the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek. Professor Bosworth in his Anglo-Sax. Dict., under the verb *hebban*, to raise or elevate, gives the kindred words of the whole Teutonic family, and deduces therefrom the noun *heofon* or *heofen*, in the sense of *heaven*. And although the primary notion of the Latin *cælum* (akin to *καὸλος* and our *hollow*) is the less sublime one of a covered or vaulted space, yet the loftier sense of *elevation* has prevailed, both in the original (see White and Riddle, s. v. *Cælum*) and in the derived languages (comp. French *ciel*, and the English word *ceiling*).

2. Closely allied in meaning, though unconnected in origin, with שָׁמַיִם, is the oft-recurring קִרְוֹם. This word is never Englished *heaven*, but 'heights,' or 'high place,' or 'high places.' There can, however, be no doubt of its celestial signification (and that in the grandest degree) in such passages as Ps. lxxviii. 18 [*Hebr. 19*]; xciii. 4; cii. 19 [or in the *Hebr. Bib. 20*, where קִרְוֹם is equal to the שָׁמַיִם of the parallel clause]; simi-

larly, Job xxxi. 2; Is. lviii. 15; Jer. xxv. 30. Dr. Kalisch, *Genesis, Introd. p. 21*, says, 'It was a common belief among all ancient nations that at the summit of the shadow of the earth, or on the top of the highest mountain of the earth, which reaches with its crest into heaven . . . the gods have their palace or hall of assembly,' and he instances the Babylonian *Albordsch*, the chief abode of Ormuzd, among the heights of the Caucasus; and the Hindoo *Meru*; and the Chinese *Kulkun* (or Kaen-lun); and the Greek *Olympus* (and *Atlas*); and the Arabian *Caf*; and the Parsee *Tirih*. He, however, while strongly and indeed most properly censuring the identification of Mount *Meru* with Mount *Moriah* (which had hastily been conjectured from 'the accidental resemblance of the names'), deems it *improbable* that the Israelites should have entertained, like other ancient nations, the notion of *local height* for the abode of Him whose 'glory the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain;' and this he supposes on the ground that such a notion 'rests essentially on polytheistic ideas.' Surely the learned commentator is premature in both these statements. (1.) No such improbability, *in fact*, unhappily, can be predicated of the Israelites, who in ancient times (notwithstanding the divine prohibitions) exhibited a constant tendency to the ritual of their בְּמֹת, or 'high places.'

Gesenius makes a correcter statement, when he says [*Hebr. Lex.* by Robinson, p. 138], 'The Hebrews, like most other ancient nations, supposed that sacred rites performed on *high places* were particularly acceptable to the Deity. Hence they were accustomed to offer sacrifices upon mountains

* These two divisions are sometimes, as we have said in the previous note, regarded as one, the *physical or material heavens*, in opposition to the *spiritual* region. Poole, in *synopsis* on Gen. i., has with quaint succinctness and propriety indicated the characteristics of the physical heavens, in respect of their three classes of occupants, thus, '*tres regiones, ubi aves, ubi nubes, ubi sidera.*'

† Heaven, as the eternal rest and reversion of the saints (Matt. v. 12; 1 Pet. i. 4, and many other passages), and as used in the phrase *kingdom of heaven*—the ultimate development of the state of grace and salvation to the blessed company of all faithful people—we do not propose to treat of here; the beauty and glory of that subject is too much connected with practical and devotional theology to be admitted into this work; for the same reason we must refer to theological treatises for a commentary on Christ's glorious 'Ascension into Heaven' [the *Cælum Angeliferum* of our art.], and 'Session' there on His mediatorial throne at God's right hand.

and hills, both to idols and to God Himself, 1 Sam. ix. 12, *sq.*; 1 Chron. xiii. 29, *sq.*; 1 Kings iii. 4; 2 Kings xii. 2, 3; Is. lxxv. 7; and also to build there *chapels, fane, tabernacles*, בְּתֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ, 1 Kings xiii. 32; 2 Kings xvii. 29; with their priests

and other ministers of the sacred rites, כְּהֵנֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ, 1 Kings xii. 32; 2 Kings xvii. 32. And so tenacious of this ancient custom were not only the ten tribes, but also all the Jews, that, even after the building of Solomon's temple, in spite of the express law of Deut. xii., they continued to erect such chapels on the mountains around Jerusalem.' (2.) Neither from the character of Jehovah, as the God of Israel, can the improbability be maintained, as if it were of the essence of polytheism only to localise Deity on mountain heights. 'The High and Lofty One that inhabiteth eternity whose name is Holy,' in the proclamation which He is pleased to make of His own style, does not limit His abode to celestial sublimities; in one of the finest passages of even Isaiah's poetry, God claims as one of the stations of His glory the shrine of 'a contrite and humble spirit' (Is. lvii. 15). His loftiest attributes, therefore, are not compromised, nor is the amplitude of His omnipresence compressed, by an earthly residence. Accordingly, the same Jehovah who 'walketh on the high places, בְּמִצְוֹת, of the earth' (Amos iv. 13); who 'treadeth on the fastnesses, בְּמִצְוֹת, of the sea' (Job ix. 8); and 'who ascendeth above the heights, בְּמִצְוֹת, of the clouds,' was pleased to consecrate Zion as His dwelling-place (Ps. lxxxvii. 2), and His rest (Ps. cxxxii. 13, 14). Hence we find the same word, מְרוֹם, which is often descriptive of the sublimest heaven, used of Zion, which Ezekiel calls 'the mountain of the height of Israel,' הַר מְרוֹם יִשְׂרָאֵל (xvii. 23; xx. 40; xxxiv. 14).

3. בְּלִילַיָּה. This word, which literally meaning a *wheel*, admirably expresses *rotatory movement*, is actually rendered 'heaven' in A. V. of Ps. lxxvii. 18. 'The voice of thy thunder was in the heaven,' בְּלִילַיָּה [LXX. εἰς τὴν τροχίαν; Vulg. In rotā.] Luther's version agrees with A. V. *In Himmel*; and Dathe renders *per orbem*, which is ambiguous, being as expressive, to say the least, of the globe of the earth as of the circle of heaven. The Targum (in Walton, vol. iii.) on the passage, gives בְּנִלְלָה (in rota), which is as indeterminate as the original, as the Syriac seems also to be. De Wette (and after him Justus Olshausen, *Die Ps. erklärt*, l. c.) renders the phrase, *im Wirbelwinde*, 'in the whirlwind.' Maurer, who disapproves of this rendering, explains the phrase *rotans se*, or *rotatur*, 'rotated.' But amidst the uncertainty of the versions, we are disposed to think that it was not without good reason that our translators, in departing from the previous version (see Psalter, *in loc.*, which has, 'the voice of thy thunder was heard round about'), deliberately rendered the passage *in the heaven*, as if the בְּנִלְלָה were the correlative of תְּהִלָּה, both being poetic words, and both together equalled *the heaven and the earth*. In James iii. 6, the remarkable phrase, *ὁδὸς τροχῶν τῆς γῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ*, *the course, circuit, or wheel of nature*, is akin to our

בְּנִלְלָה. The Syriac renders the τροχῶν by the same word, which occurs in the Psalm as the equivalent

of בְּלִילַיָּה, namely בְּלִילַיָּה (from the Hebrew, 'ejecta

secunda radicali,' Schaaß's *Lex. Syr.*; and of the same indefiniteness of signification). That the general sense 'heaven' best expresses the force of Ps. lxxvii. 18, is rendered probable, moreover, by the description which Josephus gives (*Antiq.* ii. 16. 3) of the destruction of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea, the subject of that part of the Psalm, 'Showers of rain descended from heaven, ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, with dreadful thunders and lightning, and flashes of fire; thunderbolts were darted upon them, nor were there any indications of God's wrath upon men wanting on that dark and dismal night.'

4. As the words we have reviewed indicate *the height and rotation* of the heavens, so the two we have yet to examine exhibit another characteristic of equal prominence, *the breadth and expanse* of the celestial regions. These are שָׁחַק (generally used in the plural) and רָקִיעַ. They occur together in Job xxxvii. 18; 'Hast thou with Him spread out (רָקִיעַ) the sky or expanse of heaven?'—(לְשָׁחִיקִים, where ל is the sign of the objective). We must examine them separately. The root שָׁחַק is explained by Gesenius to *grind to powder*, and then to *expand by rubbing or beating*. Meier (*Hebr. Wurzel w. b.*, p. 446) compares it with the Arabic سَحَقَ, *to*

make fine, to attenuate (whence the noun سَحَقٌ, *a thin cloud*). With him agrees Fürst (*Hebr. w. b.*, ii. 433). The Hebrew subst. is therefore well adapted to designate the skyey region of heaven with its cloud-dust, whether fine or dense. Accordingly, the meaning of the word in its various passages curiously oscillates between *sky* and *cloud*. When Moses, in Deut. xxxiii. 26, lauds Jehovah's 'riding in His excellence on the sky'; and when in 2 Sam. xxii. 12, and repeated in Ps. xviii. 11 (12), David speaks of 'the thick clouds of the skies,' when Job, xxxvii. 18, asks, 'Hast thou with Him spread out the sky?' when the Psalmist, Ps. lxxvii. 17 (18), speaks of 'the skies sending out a sound,' and the prophet, Is. xlv. 8, figuratively, of their 'pouring down righteousness,' when finally Jeremiah, li. 9, by a frequently occurring simile [comp. Apoc. xviii. 5, ἡκολούθησαν αὐτῆς αἱ ἀμαρτίαι ὅμοιοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ], describes the judgment of Babylon as 'lifted up even to the skies,' in every instance our word שָׁחִיקִים in the plural* is employed. The same word in the same form is translated 'clouds' in Job xxxv. 5; xxxvi. 28; xxxvii. 21; xxxviii. 37; in Ps. xxxvii. 5 (6); lvii. 10 (11); lxxviii. 34 (35) [margin, 'heavens']; lxxviii. 23; in Prov. iii. 20; viii. 28. The prevalent sense of this word, we thus see, is a *meteorological* one, and falls under our first head of *cælum nubiferum*: its connection with the other two heads is much slighter. It bears probably an *astronomical* sense in Ps. lxxxix. 37 (38), where 'the faithful witness in heaven'

* We believe the only occurrence of the word in the singular form is in Ps. lxxxix. 6 (7), and 37 (38).

seems to be in apposition to the sun and the moon (Bellarmine, *in loc.*); although some suppose the expression to mean *the witness*, 'the witness' of God's covenant with Noah; Gen. ix. 13, *seq.*, (see J. Olhausen, *in loc.*) This is perhaps the only instance of its falling under the class *cælum astriferum*; nor have we a much more frequent reference to the higher sense of the *cælum angeliferum*, Ps. lxxxix. 6 containing the only explicit allusion to this sense; unless, with Gesenius, *Thess. s. v.*, we refer Ps. lxxviii. 35 also to it. More probably in Deut. xxxiii. 26 (where it is parallel with שָׁמַיִם), and in the highly poetical passages of Is. xlv. 8 and Jer. li. 9, our word שָׁמַיִם may be best regarded as designating the empyreal heavens.

5. We have already noticed the connection between שָׁמַיִם and our only remaining word רָקִיעַ, from their being associated by the sacred writer in the same sentence, Job xxxvii. 18; it tends to corroborate this connection, that on comparing Gen. i. 6 (and seven other passages in the same chapter) with Deut. xxxiii. 26, we find רָקִיעַ of the former sentence, and שָׁמַיִם of the latter, both rendered by the LXX. στερέωμα and *firmamentum* in the Vulgate, whence the word '*firmament*' passed into our A. V. This word is now a well-understood term in astronomy, synonymous with sky or else the general heavens, undivested by the discoveries of science of the special signification, which it bore in the ancient astronomy [FIRMAMENT]. For a clear exposition of all the Scripture passages which bear on the subject, we may refer the reader to Professor Dawson's *Archæia* (or 'Studies of the Cosmogony and Natural History of the Hebrew Scriptures'), especially chap. viii.; and to Dr. M'Caul on the *Mosaic Record of Creation*, in 'Aids to Faith'; (or, what is substantially the same treatise in a more accessible form, his *Notes on the First Chapter of Genesis*, sec. ix., pp. 32-44). We must be content here, in reference to our term רָקִיעַ, to observe, that, when we regard its origin (from the root רָקַע, to spread out or expand by beating; Ges. s. v.; Fuller, *Misc. Sacr.* i. 6; Fürst, *Hebr. W. B. s. v.*), and its connection with, and illustration by, such words as שָׁמַיִם *clouds*, and the verbs טָפַח (Is. xlviii. 13, 'My right hand hath spread out the heavens') and נָטָה (Is. xl. 22, 'Who stretcheth out the heavens like a curtain' [literally, like fineness]), 'and spreadeth them out as a tent', we are astonished at the attempt to control*

* We extract the following from a scientific writer of the present time, whose work is an able protest against the hasty assumptions of the modern critical school:—'In Is. xl. 22, it is said of God, that 'it is He that stretcheth out the heavens like a curtain'; and on this passage an accomplished Hebrew scholar remarks: 'The Hebrew word here used for *curtain* means something tremulous, and as Gesenius gives it, a *curtain hanging*, so called from its tremulous motion.' This is a most apt illustration of what modern physical inquirers conceive to be the *undulatory motion of the ether*. It is not a movement of translation, but simply a wave-like agitation, without any bodily transportation of material. It is fre-

the meaning of an intelligible term, which fits in easily and consistently with the nature of things, by a few poetical metaphors, which are themselves capable of a consistent sense when held subordinate to the plainer passages of prose.

The Physics of the Bible.—A few general remarks on this subject in reference to recent speculations will suitably conclude this article. Notwithstanding the tendency of critics to interpret the statements of Scripture on physical facts by the wrong theories, and the national and temporary prejudices of antiquity, we are persuaded that on a deeper examination of the sacred text, these statements will be found to comport, with admirable precision, with the profoundest scientific conceptions of modern times. A thoughtful writer has very lately said with much force and propriety: 'These utterances [on physical facts contained in the Bible] are in the mode of a personal consciousness that is older than the material framework of the creation; they sound like the Creator's recollections of an eternity past! If they contain no definite anticipations of the results of modern science, they are marvellously exempt from any approximate error akin to the misapprehensions of later times. It is as if He who framed the world out of nothing would speak of His own work to a certain limit, and not beyond it; the truth is uttered, but not the whole truth' (Isaac Taylor on the *Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry*, p. 146). When the word רָקִיעַ, in addition to the sense of *expansion*, which is so applicable to the aerial and etherial spaces which surround the earth, and stretch away to the abysses beyond, has the idea of *firmness* assigned to it (in the LXX. στερέωμα, and Vulg. *firmament*), nothing in fact could better suit the requirement of the case than this combination of *stability and expansion*. (1) If we regard only the *atmospheric* firmament, and contemplate the enormous quantity of water which is suspended over the earth—how enormous we may gather from the fact that the waters of all the rivers which flow into the sea, are but a part of the overflows of the vast atmospheric reservoir—we, instead of wasting ingenuity in trying to construct a solid vault out of the Hebrew phrases, would be more congenially furthering the interests of true criticism, if we patiently looked out for opportunities of adapting these phrases to the meteorological facts which reveal the need of a *firmament*, unsolid, indeed, but yet stable, in which the Almighty may 'separate the waters which are above the firmament from the waters below the firmament,' and so defend us from an outburst of the aqueous element, which would reduce our earth to its primeval chaos. 'When we see a cloud resolve itself into rain, and pour out thousands of gallons of water, we cannot comprehend how it can float in the atmosphere' (Kæmtz, *Course of Meteorology*), but we can appreciate the beautiful provision of that רָקִיעַ, in which 'God bindeth up the waters in

His thick clouds, and the cloud is not rent under them' (Job. xxvi. 8). Is. Vossius long ago rightly caught this idea by explaining the LXX. στε-

quently likened to the waving or tremulous motion of a shaken table-cloth or sheet—but the foregoing comparison [of the prophet] is far better' (Professor Young, *Science elucidative of Scripture and not antagonistic to it*, pp. 76, 77).

πέλωμα, by 'fulcimentum, aut firmamentum;' the cloud system being, as he says, the *prop* for maintaining and upholding the moisture of the firmament—'nubes per hoc fulcimentum [פֶּלֶאָמָה] intelligendæ sunt tanquam fulcra, vehicula et στερεώματα * humorum' (*Auctar. Castig. ad Scriptt. de Ætat. Mundi*, p. 15). (2) If we extend our view beyond the atmospheric to the *sideral* firmament, we again require the same combination of *expansion and stability* as before. 'The close of cent. xviii,' says Humboldt, 'through the new paths opened to the investigation of astronomical truths by the improvement of the infinitesimal calculus, has the merit of having demonstrated 'the stability of the planetary system' (*Cosmos* iii. 451, 452). A thoughtful reader, who peruses Humboldt's statement of 'the principal elements of this stability,' will not be at a moment's loss to detect in these profound discoveries of modern science a much more congruous idea of the 'firmament,' or strength of the פֶּלֶאָמָה, than in the cosmological dreams of solid heavens and crystalline vaults. (3) A third illustration of the suitability of the word *firmament* is well supplied by Professor Young:—'The term is not so inappropriate as objectors have imagined. If there be any one thing in the whole of material creation which is *permanent* in situation, *firmly and immovably continuing ever in the same place*, that thing is the ethereal fluid to which the term is applied. What we call its *motion* is mere vibratory agitation, without any bodily translation of material. There is not the slightest reason to suppose, from any thing that science makes known respecting it, that the great body of the ether in which all the heavenly luminaries are placed—the firmament—has *ever stirred* from the position in which the Creator at first placed it. Look, too, at the most ordinary phenomena of *light*. It is never blown about by the winds, or in the least agitated by atmospheric commotions; for in the most violent storm we see the shadow of an unmoving object remaining *still unmoved*. Light pursues its course unaffected by these surrounding disturbances, and what would prostrate even the firmest oak *cannot so much as bend aside the slenderest sunbeam* (*Science elucidative of Scripture*, pp. 100, 101). Surely no word could more happily express such subtle fixity as פֶּלֶאָמָה; while the versions στερεώματα and firmamentum are only defective in the idea of *expansion*, not erroneous in their idea of *firmness and stability*.'†

mentum are only defective in the idea of *expansion*, not erroneous in their idea of *firmness and stability*.'†

* Dr M'Caul (*Aids to Faith*, p. 225; *Notes on Genesis* i, p. 38), to the same purport remarks: 'Stereoma was chosen not to express something itself solid, but something *which strengthened*, or *made firm*, the heavenly bodies. They took the word in the *transitive* sense, like βεβαίωμα, δόλωμα, πλήρωμα, etc.; and this is proved by the Vulgate having *firmamentum*, which form of word signifies something that makes firm, like *ornamentum*, *alimmentum*, *monumentum*, etc. In this sense stereoma is elsewhere used by the LXX. as in Ezek. xiii. 5; Esther ix. 29; Ps. xvii. 3.'

† For another instance of the applicability of a large Scripture phrase to a very high scientific theory of modern times, see Dr. Whewell's *Theory of the Solar System*. His opinion, that the remoter planets are 'spheres of water and of aque-

Poetical Descriptions of Physical Facts.—We have already censured that quality in the new criticism which sets a literal construction on a passage of poetry, and on that ground condemns its statement as erroneous. We will take a prominent instance for the purpose of illustrating the absurdity of the practice. In Job. xxxvii. 18, Elihu asks: 'Hast thou with Him spread out *the sky which is strong and as a molten looking-glass*?' This, it is contended, supports the theory of a solid firmament.* But this is to destroy the difference between the simplicity of prose and the metaphor of poetry. How much truer to common sense, the basis of sound criticism, was Luther's view, when he interpreted the metallic firmness of the sky here 'to have respect not to the material but to the divine word, which can make the softest thing in nature into the strongest and the firmest' (*On Genesis* i. 6). Luther's comment is the more reasonable, because the word sky is שָׁמַיִם, which

we have seen signifies *clouds*. Now no one who has carefully watched the clouds, will wonder at Elihu's description—for the fantastic grandeur of these skye prodigies has inspired still more striking exaggerations of poetic fancy. It would be easy to illustrate this by quotations from the poets and descriptive writers even of recent times, whose works abound in gorgeous pictures of massive cloudland and solid heavens, which all feel must not critically be construed as representing literal but phenomenal facts. We see that such descriptions coexist side by side with rigorous science, without giving or receiving injury or discredit; that therefore the Hebrew poetry when indulging in highly-wrought but yet perfectly imaginable expressions, cannot, according to the rules of reasonable interpretation, be deemed incompatible with true and unexaggerated science, any more than the fancy flights of modern poetry, when depicting natural phenomena in their fantastic phases, can be legitimately held to be, in any critical sense, con-

ous vapour,' has been conjecturally applied by Dr. M'Caul to Moses' statement about the *waters above the firmament*. . . . In this he follows F. Von Meyer, Drs. Kurtz (*Bible and Astronomy*) and Delitsch. We have no difficulty in believing that the Holy Scripture is often in advance of science, never behind it (*Aids to Faith*, p. 229; *Notes on Gen.* i. p. 43).

* Gesenius, Knobel, and others, refer, in illustration, to Homer's epithets of the sky or heavens. His οὐρανὸς is iron (σίδηρος, *Odys.* xv. 329) and copper (χαλκός, *Iliad*, xvii. 425; πολύχαλκος, *Od.* iii. 2). These descriptions, like those of the Scriptures, must be taken as the fanciful license of poetry, and certainly not as philosophic guesses; astronomical theories of the solid heavens, etc., were long posterior to Homer. Dr. Kalisch strangely enough construes the Homeric epithets literally! and accordingly will not admit them as illustrative of the Hebrew phrases (*Genesis Introd.* p. 20). In this he is surely uncritical. The fact is, that both in the Homeric and Scripture passages you have the *phenomenal painting of poetical fancy*, which does not wait for the restraints and precision of philosophy and science. Carlyle does not hesitate to apply the epithet 'copper' to the clouds of heaven (comp. Gladstone's *Homer and the Homeric Age*, vol. iii. pp. 483, 495, 499).

tradictory to the declarations of the most advanced modern philosophy.

We have omitted, while treating of the original words for *heaven*, to adopt the usual practice of giving in every case the equivalents in the LXX. and the *Vulgate*. The extreme variations would have greatly increased our labour, without commensurate advantage, as one instance will at once shew; the noun $\pi\eta\psi$ (see above, 4) is rendered twice in the Sept. by $\delta\eta\rho$, eight times by $\nu\epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$, four times by $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\varsigma$, once by $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, once by $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\mu\alpha$, and once by $\delta\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\nu$ (besides twice by $\rho\omicron\pi\eta$, and once by $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\omega\mu\alpha$, in passages which hardly fall under the subject of our article); Aquila rendered this word by $\delta\eta\rho$, and Symmachus by $\alpha\delta\eta\rho$. The *Vulgate* is much more uniform; fifteen times it has translated the word *nubes*, twice *athera*, and as often *calos*, and once (Is. xl. 15) *pulvis*. The extremely frequent word שמים and the N. T. $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\iota$ are (as might be expected) rendered commonly, if not always, by *calum*, and pl. *cali-orum, -os*, in the *Vulg.* [and $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, (not often $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\iota$ plur.) in the O. T. by LXX.]—P. H.

HEBER, properly 'EBER (עֵבֶר, *one of the other side*; Sept. 'Eβep and 'Eβep), son of Salah, who became the father of Peleg at the age of 34 years, and died at the age of 464 (Gen. x. 24; xl. 14; 1 Chron. i. 25). His name occurs in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 35), where it is written 'Eβep. Though simply mentioned in the line of descent, there is a degree of interest connected with him from the notion, which the Jews themselves entertain, that the name of Hebrews, applied to them, was derived from this recorded ancestor of Abraham. [HEBREW.]

HEBER (חֵבֶר; Sept. Χαβερ), a descendant of Hobab, son of Jethro, and brother of the wife of Moses. His wife was the Jael who slew Sisera, and he is called Heber the Kenite (Judg. iv. 11, 17; v. 24), which seems to have been a name for the whole family (Judg. i. 16). Heber appears to have lived separate from the rest of the Kenites, leading a patriarchal life, amid his tents and flocks. He must have been a person of some consequence, from its being stated that there was peace between the house of Heber and the powerful king Jabin. At the time the history brings him under our notice his camp was in the plain of Zaanaïm, near Kesesh in Naphtali. [JAEI; KENITES.]

[Five other persons of this name are mentioned in the O. T., viz., A grandson of Asher (Gen. xli. 17; Num. xxvi. 45; 1 Chron. vii. 31, Σοθάρ and Σοθέρ); one of the tribe of Judah (1 Chron. iv. 18, 'Aβέρ); one of the children of Gad (v. 13, 'Ωβήδ); a Benjamite (viii. 17, 'Αβάρ); another Benjamite (viii. 22, 'Ωβήδ).]

HEBREW (עִבְרִי, 'Eβραϊος), a designation of the people of Israel, used first of their progenitor Abraham (Gen. xiv. 13; LXX. τῷ περάτῃ). This name is never in Scripture applied to the Israelites except when the speaker is a foreigner (Gen. xxxix. 14, 17; xli. 12; Exod. i. 16; ii. 6; 1 Sam. iv. 6, 9, etc.), or when Israelites speak of themselves to one of another nation (Gen. xl. 15; Exod. i. 19; Jonah i. 9, etc.), or when they are contrasted with other peoples (Gen. xliii. 32; Exod. i. 3, 7, 15,

Deut. xv. 12; 1 Sam. xiii. 3, 7).^{*} By the Greek and Latin writers this is the name by which the descendants of Jacob are designated when they are not called Jews (Pausan. v. 5, 2; vi. 24, 6; Plut. Sympos. iv. 6, 1; Tacit. Hist. v. 1); and Josephus, who affects classical peculiarities, constantly uses it. On these facts two opposing hypotheses have been raised; the one that Israelite or Jew was the name by which the nation designated itself (just as the Welsh call themselves *Cymry*, though in speaking of themselves to a Saxon they would probably use the name *Welsh*); the other is that 'Hebrew' is a national name, merely indicative of the people as a people, while Israelite is a sacred or religious name appropriate to them as the chosen people of God. This latter opinion Gesenius dismisses as 'without foundation' (*Lexicon* by Robinson, s.v.); but it has received the deliberate sanction of Ewald (*Ausführ. Lehrb. der Heb. Spr.*, p. 18, 5th ed.)

According to the sacred writer, עֵבֶר, *Hebrew*, is a derivative from עֵבֶר, 'Eber, the ancestor of Abraham; at least the same persons who are called Hebrews are called בְּנֵי עֵבֶר *E'ney 'Eber*, sons of 'Eber (Gen. x. 21); and עֵבֶר 'Eber (Num. xxiv. 24); and this is tantamount to a derivation of the name Hebrew from 'Eber. In support of this, it may be urged that עֵבֶר is the proper form which a patronymic from עֵבֶר would assume; according to the analogy of מוֹאבִּי, *a Moabite*, דָּנִי, *a Danite*,

כְּלָבִי *a Calebite*, etc. (Hiller, *Onomast. Sac.* c. xiv., p. 231 ff.) What adds much force to this argument is the evident antithesis in Gen. xiv. 13, between אֲבִירָם הָעֵבֶרִי and מֶמְרָא הָאֲמֹרִי; the former of these is as evidently a patronymic as the latter. The objections to this etymology are of little weight. Theodoret (*Quaest. in Gen.* 61) urges against it that the Hebrews were not the only descendants of 'Eber, and, therefore, could not appropriate his name; and the objection has been often repeated. To meet it recourse has been had to the suggestion, first adduced, we believe, by Ibn Ezra (*Comment. ad Jon.* i. 9) that the descendants of Abraham retained the name Hebrew from 'Eber, because they alone of his descendants retained the faith which he held. This may be; but we are hardly entitled to assume it in order to account for the fact before us. It is better to throw the *onus probandi* on the objector, and to demand of him, in our ignorance of what determined the use of such patronymics in one line of descent and not in others, that he should show cause why it is inconceivable that Abraham might have a good and sufficient reason for wishing to perpetuate the memory of his descent from 'Eber, which did not apply to the other descendants of that patriarch. Why might not one race of the descendants of 'Eber call themselves by pre-eminence sons of 'Eber, just as one race of the descendants of Abraham called themselves by pre-eminence sons of Abraham. But 'Eber, it is objected, is a name of no note in the history; we know nothing of him to entitle him to be selected as the person after whom a people should call themselves. But is our ignorance to be the measure of the knowledge of Abraham and his

^{*} The only apparent exception is Jer. xxxiv. 9; but here there is probably such an implied contrast between the Jews and other peoples as would bring the usage under the last case.

descendants on such a point? Because *we* know nothing to distinguish 'Eber, does it follow that *they* knew nothing? Certain it is that he was of sufficient importance to reflect a glory on his father Shem, whose highest designation is 'the father of all the children of 'Eber' (Gen. x. 21); and certain it is that his name lingered for many generations in the region where he resided, for it was as 'Eber' that the Mesopotamian prophet knew the descendants of Jacob, and spoke of them when they first made their appearance in warlike force on the borders of the promised land (Num. xxiv. 24). These considerations raise a strong presumption against the objection, to say the least.

Those who reject the derivation of Hebrew from 'Eber, prefer tracing עֵבֶר to the verb עָבַר, *to pass over*, or the noun עֵבֶר, *the region or country beyond*. By those who favour the former etymology, 'Hebrew' is regarded as equivalent to 'the man who passed over'; by those who favour the latter, it is taken to mean 'the man from the region beyond'; and under both suppositions it is held to be applied by the Canaanites to Abraham as having crossed the Euphrates or come from the region beyond the Euphrates to Canaan. Of these etymologies the former is now generally abandoned; it is felt that the supposition that the crossing of the Euphrates was such an unparalleled achievement as to fix on him who accomplished it a name that should descend to his posterity, and become a national appellation, is somewhat too violent to be maintained; and besides, as the verb עָבַר signifies, to pass from *this* side to *that*, not from *that* side to *this*, it would not be the term applied by the people of Canaan to designate the act of one who had come from the other side of the Euphrates to them. The other etymology has more in its favour. It is that sanctioned by the Greek translators (LXX. δ̄ περάτης, Aq. πεατήης); it is in accordance with the usage of the phrase עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר, which was employed to designate the region beyond the Euphrates (Josh. xxiv. 2, 3; 2 Sam. x. 16; 1 Chron. xix. 16); and it is not improbable that Abraham, coming among the Canaanites from beyond the Euphrates, might be designated by them 'the man from the region beyond,' just as we might call an American 'a transatlantic.' But though Bleek very confidently pronounces this view 'ohne zweifel das richtige' (*Einleit. ins A. T.*, p. 72), it is open to some serious, we think fatal objections.

1. There is no instance of עֵבֶר by itself denoting the region beyond the Euphrates, or any other river; the phrase invariably used is עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר.*
2. If עֵבֶר was the proper designation of those who lived on the other side of the Euphrates, we should find that name applied to such as continued

* Rosenmüller, following Hyde (*Histor. Relig. Vet. Pers.*, p. 51), seeks to supply this desiderate instance by taking עֵבֶר as epexegetical of אֲשׁוּר in Num. xxiv. 24 = 'affligent Assyriam et totam transfluvialiem regionem.' But the learned writer has in his zeal overlooked the second עֵנָּה, which quite precludes his exegesis. Knobel avoids this error by simply taking אֲשׁוּר = Assyria, and עֵבֶר = Mesopotamia; but in this case it is the proper name עֵבֶר, 'Eber, and not the preposition עָבַר, trans, which is in question.

to dwell there, not to a race descended from one who had left that region never to return. 3. Though Abraham, as having been originally a transfluvian, might be so called by the Canaanites, it is improbable that they should have extended this name to his posterity, to whom it in no sense applied. No one would think of continuing the term 'transatlantic' to persons born in Britain, on the ground that a remote ancestor had come from across the Atlantic to settle in this country? As to the sanction which this etymology derives from the LXX., no great weight can be attached to that when we remember how often these translators have erred in this way; and also that they have given ἑσπαίους as the rendering of עֵבֶר in Num. xxiv. 24; 'Plus vice simpliciter hallucinati sunt interpretes Græci eorum ut nobis standum cadendumve non sit autoritate' (Carpzov, *Crit. Sac. V. T.*, p. 171). We may add that the authority of the LXX. and Aquila on such a point is urged with a bad grace by those who treat with contempt the etymologies of the Hebrew text as resting on mere Jewish tradition; if a Jewish tradition of the time of Moses is subject to suspicion, *à fortiori* is one of the age of Ptolemy Lagi and of Alexandrian origin. Ewald pronounces this derivation 'quite uncertain' (ganz unsicher).

Parkhurst, whose works present occasionally suggestions worth consideration, has advanced the opinion that עֵבֶר is a derivation from the verb עָבַר in the sense of *passing through*, or *from place to place* (comp. Gen. xviii. 5; Exod. xxxii. 27; Ezek. xxxv. 7; 2 Chron. xxx. 10, etc.); so that its meaning would be a *sojourner*, or *passer through*, as distinct from a *settler* in the land. This undoubtedly exactly describes the condition of Abraham and his immediate descendants, and might very naturally be assumed by them as a designation; for, as the apostle says, 'they confessed they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth' (Heb. xi. 13). In this case the statement in Gen. x. 21, Num. xxiv. 24, must be understood as referring to the posterity of 'Eber generally, and not to the Hebrews specially or exclusively. The most serious objection to Parkhurst's suggestion arises from the form of the word עֵבֶר. A word from עָבַר, to convey the meaning of *transitor*, or *one passing through*, we should expect to find in the form עֹבֵר, or עָבַר.

On the whole the derivation of 'Ibri (Hebrew) from 'Eber seems to have most in its favour and least against it. (See on this side Augustin, *de Civit. Dei*, vi. 11; Buxtorf, *Diss. ii. p. 27*; Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii. 14; Hottinger, *Thes. Phil.*, p. 4; Leusden, *Phil. Heb. Diss.* xxi.; Morinus, *de Ling. Primæv.* p. 64; Pfeiffer, *Diff. Script. Locc.*, *Opp.* p. 49; Carpzov, *Crit. Sac.* p. 165; Hezel, *Gesch. der Hebr. Spr.*, sec. 4; Ewald, *Ansführ. Lehrbuch, d. Heb. Gram.*, p. 19, 5th edit.; *Geschichte des V. Israel*, i., p. 334; Hävernick, *Introd. to the O. T.*, p. 125; Baumgarten, *Theol. Comment. zum Pent.* in loc. On the other side see Theodoret, *Quæst. in Gen.* 16; Chrysost. *Hom. 35 in Gen.*; Selden, *de Diis Syris*, p. 13; Walton, *Proleg.*, p. 15, ff., in Dathe's edit. p. 68; Gussetius, *Comment. Ling. Heb. Diss.* Proæm. p. 7; Michaelis, *Spicileg. Geogr. Heb. Ext.*, P. ii. p. 66; Gesenius, *Gesch. der Heb. Spr.*, p. 11, *Grammar*, sec. 2; Winer, *Reallex.* s. v. Hebræer; Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v.)—W. L. A.

HEBREW BIBLE, ancient various readings. [KERI and KETHIV; MIDRASH; TARGUM.]

HEBREW LANGUAGE. 1. *Hebrew as a spoken Language.*—The Hebrew language is that which was the national idiom of those descendants of 'Eber which received the distinctive name of the People of Israel, and, as such, was that in which all the books of the O. T. (with the exception of the few Chaldee passages occurring in those written after the Babylonian captivity) were originally composed. It belongs to the Semitic, or, as it is more appropriately called, the Syro-Arabian family of languages; and it occupies a central point amidst all the branches of this family, as well with reference to the geographical position of the country in which it prevailed, as with reference to the degree of development to which it attained. In point of antiquity, however, it is the oldest form of human speech known to us, and, from the early civilization, as well as from the religious advantages of the Hebrews, has preserved to us the oldest and purest form of the Syro-Arabian language.*

If we except the terms 'lip of Canaan' (שפת כנען) in Is. xix. 18—where the diction is of an elevated character, and is so far no evidence that this designation was the one commonly employed—the only name by which the Hebrew language is mentioned in the O. T. is 'Jewish' (יהודית), used adverbially, *Judaic, in Jewish*, 2 Kings xviii. 26, 28; Is. xxxvi. 11, 13; 2 Chron. xxxii. 18†), where the feminine may be explained as an abstract of the last formation, according to Ewald's *Hebr. Gram.* secs. 344, 457, or as referring to the usual

gender of שפה understood. In a strict sense, however, 'Jewish' denotes the idiom of the kingdom of Judah, which became the predominant one after the deportation of the ten tribes. It is in the Greek writings of the later Jews that 'Hebrew' is first applied to the language, as in the ἐβραϊστί of the prologue to Ecclesiasticus and in the γλῶσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων of Josephus. (The ἐβραϊστί διαλέκτος of the N. T. is used in contradistinction to the idiom of the Hellenist Jews, and does not mean the *ancient* Hebrew language, but the then vernacular Aramaic dialect of Palestine.) Our title to use the designation *Hebrew* language is, therefore, founded on the fact that the nation which spoke this idiom was properly distinguished by the ethnographical name of *Hebrews*.

The best evidences which we possess as to the form of the Hebrew language, prior to its first historical period, tend to shew that Abraham, on his entrance into Canaan, found the language then prevailing among almost all the different tribes inhabiting that country to be in at least dialectual affinity with his own. This is gathered from the following facts: that nearly all the names of places and persons relating to those tribes admit of Hebrew etymologies; that, amidst all the accounts of the intercourse of the Hebrews with the nations of Canaan, we find no hint of a diversity of idiom; and that even the comparatively recent remains of

the Phœnician and Punic languages bear a manifest affinity to the Hebrew. But whether the Hebrew language as seen in the earliest books of the O. T., is the very dialect which Abraham brought with him into Canaan; or whether it is the common tongue of the Canaanite nations, which Abraham only adopted from them, and which was afterwards developed to greater fulness under the peculiar moral and political influences to which his posterity were exposed, are questions which, in the absence of conclusive arguments, are generally discussed with some dogmatical prepossessions. Almost all those who support the first view contend also that Hebrew was the primitive language of mankind. S. Morinus, in the work above cited, and Löschner, in his *De Causis Ling. Hebr.*, are among the best champions of this opinion; but Hävernick has recently advocated it, with such modifications as make it more acceptable (*Einleit. in das Alte Test.*, l. i. p. 148, sq.) The principal argument on which they depend is that, as the most important proper names in the first part of Genesis (as Cain, Seth, and others) are evidently founded on Hebrew etymologies, the essential connection of these names with their etymological origins involves the historical credibility of the records themselves, and leaves no room for any other conclusion than that the Hebrew language is coeval with the earliest history of man. The advocates of the other opinion attach some weight to the cogency with which they infer, from the phenomena of the Hebrew language itself, that its roots were at one period biliteral, and were afterwards developed to the compass of three consonants. They also rest on the evidence which Gen. xxxi. 47 affords, that the near relatives of Abraham, residing too in the country from which he had recently emigrated, spoke *Aramaic*; and they think this warrants the conclusion that Aramaic must have been the vernacular dialect of Abraham himself. Lastly, Gesenius lays some stress on the circumstance that the language not only denotes *west* by ד, *sea*, but that it does not possess any other word to express that sense.

The history of the Hebrew language, as far as we can trace its course by the changes in the diction of the documents in which it is preserved, may be here conveniently divided into that of the period preceding, and that of the period succeeding, the Exile. If it be a matter of surprise that the thousand years which intervened between Moses and the Captivity should not have produced sufficient change in the language to warrant its history during that time being distributed into subordinate divisions, the following considerations may excuse this arrangement. It is one of the signal characteristics of the Hebrew language, as seen in all the books prior to the Exile, that notwithstanding the existence of some isolated, but important, archaisms, such as in the form of the pronoun, etc. (the best collection of which may be seen in Hävernick, *l. c.* p. 183, sq.), it preserves an unparalleled general uniformity of structure. The extent to which this uniformity prevails may be estimated either by the fact that it has furnished many modern scholars, who reason from the analogies discovered in the changes in other languages in a given period, with an argument to shew that the Pentateuch could not have been written at so remote a date as is generally believed (Gesenius, *Gesch. der Hebr. Sprache*, sec. 8); or, by the con-

* It may suffice here to refer generally to Ewald's *Hebrew Grammar*, secs. 1-18, 135-160, where the whole subject of this article is treated of.

† The passage in Neh. xiii. 24 is not included here, because, as will be seen below, it is a disputed point at what time the Hebrew language ceased to be a living tongue; and it depends on the decision of that question whether the 'Jewish' of Nehemiah means *Hebrew* or *Aramaic*.

clusion, *à fortiori*, which Hävernick, whose express object it is to vindicate its received antiquity, candidly concedes, that 'the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah are the *earliest* in which the language differs sensibly from that in the historical portions of the Pentateuch' (*Einleit.* i. p. 180). We are here solely concerned with the fact that this uniformity of type exists. The general causes to which it is to be ascribed are to be sought in the genius of the language itself, as less susceptible of change; in the stationary civilization of the Hebrews during the period; and in their comparative isolation, as regarded nations of foreign language (see Ewald's *Hebr. Gram.* sec. 7). The particular causes depend on the age and author assigned to each book falling within this period, and involve questions utterly alien to the scope of this article.

In the canonical books belonging to the first period, the Hebrew language appears in a state of mature development. Although it still preserves the charms of freshness and simplicity, yet it has attained great regularity of formation, and such a precision of syntactical arrangement as ensures both energy and distinctness. Some common notions of its laxity and indefiniteness have no other foundation than the very inadequate scholarship of the persons who form them. A clearer insight into the organism of language absolutely, joined to such a study of the cognate Syro-Arabian idioms as would reveal the secret, but no less certain, laws of its syntactical coherence, would shew them to what degree the simplicity of Hebrew is compatible with grammatical precision.

One of the most remarkable features in the language of this period is the difference which distinguishes the diction of poetry from that of prose. This difference consists in the use of unusual words and flexions (many of which are considered to be Aramaisms or Archaisms, although in this case these terms are nearly identical), and in a harmonic arrangement of thoughts, as seen both in the parallelism of members in a single verse, and in the strophic order of longer portions; the delicate art of which Ewald has traced with pre-eminent success in his *Poetische Bücher des Alt. Bundes*, vol. i. [HEBREW POETRY, iii. 553.]

The Babylonian captivity is assigned as the commencement of that decline and corruption which mark the second period in the history of the Hebrew language; but the Assyrian deportation of the ten tribes, in the year B.C. 720, was probably the first means of bringing the Aramaic idiom into injurious proximity to it. The Exile, however, forms the epoch at which the language shews evident signs of that encroachment of the Aramaic on its integrity, which afterwards ended in its complete extinction. The diction of the different books of this period discovers various grades of this Aramaic influence, and in some cases approaches so nearly to the type of the first period, that it has been ascribed to mere imitation.

An interesting question has been raised as to the precise time at which the Hebrew ceased to be the living vernacular language of the Jews. Some learned men, among whom are Kimchi, Buxtorf, and Walton, maintain that the Jews entirely lost the living use of Hebrew during the Captivity. Others, as Pfeiffer and Löschner, argue that it is quite unreasonable, considering the duration and other circumstances of the Exile, to suppose that

the Jews did not retain the partial use of their native tongue for some time after their return to Palestine, and lose it by slow degrees at last. The points on which the question chiefly turns, are the sense in which the words מִשְׁכָּן and יְהוּדִית, in Neh. viii. 8; xiii. 24, are to be taken; and Hengstenberg, in his *Authentic des Daniel*, p. 299, sq., and Gesenius, in his *Gesch. d. Hebr. Sprache*, sec. 13, are the best modern advocates of either view. But, on whichever side the truth may be here, it is certain that the language continued to be understood and used in writing by the educated, for some time after the Exile, as is evident from the date of the latest Biblical books; and it is found in the inscriptions on the coins of the Maccabees. No decisive evidence, however, shews at what exact time it became a virtually dead language; although there is every reason to conclude that, more than a century before the Christian era, it gave place altogether in writing, as before in speech, to that corrupt Aramaic dialect, which some have called the Syro-Chaldaic, and that it was thenceforth solely studied, as the language of the sacred books, by the learned.

The palæographical history of the Hebrew language requires a brief notice, at least as far as regards the results of modern inquiries. The earliest monuments of Hebrew writing which we possess are the *genuine* coins of the Maccabees, which date from the year B.C. 143. The character in which their inscriptions are expressed bears a very near resemblance to the Samaritan alphabet, and both are evidently derived from the Phœnician alphabet. The Talmud also, and Origen and Jerome, both attest the fact that an ancient Hebrew character had fallen into disuse; and, by stating that the Samaritans employed it, and by giving some descriptions of its form, they distinctly prove that the ancient character spoken of was essentially the same as that on the Hasmonæan coins. It is, therefore, considered to be established beyond a doubt that, before the Exile, the Hebrews used this ancient character (the Talmud even calls it the 'Hebrew'). At what period, however, the square Hebrew character of our printed books was first adopted, is a matter of some dispute. The Talmud, and Origen and Jerome, ascribe the change to Ezra; and those who, like Gesenius, admit this tradition to be true in a limited sense, reconcile it with the late use of the ancient letters on the coins, by appealing to the parallel use of the Kufic character on the Mohammedan coins, for several centuries after the Nischi was employed for writing; or, by supposing that the Maccabees had a mercantile interest in imitating the coinage of the Phœnicians. The other opinion is that, as the square Hebrew character has not, to all appearance, been developed directly out of the ancient stiff Phœnician type, but out of an alphabet bearing near affinity to that found in the Palmyrene inscriptions, a combination of this palæographical fact with the intercourse which took place between the Jews and the Syrians under the Seleucids, renders it probable that the square character was first adopted at some inconsiderable but undefinable time before the Christian era. Either of these theories is compatible with the supposition that the square character underwent many successive modifications in the next centuries, before it attained its full caligraphical perfection. The passage in Matt. v. 18 is considered to prove that the copies

of the law were already written in the square character, as the *jod* of the ancient alphabet is as large a letter as the *aleph*; and the Talmud and Jerome speak as if the Hebrew MSS. of the O. T. were, in their time, already provided with the final letters, the *Taggin*, the point on the broken horizontal stroke of *ף*, and other calligraphical minutiae.*

The origin of the vowel-points is to be ascribed to the effort which the Jewish learned men made to preserve the pronunciation of their sacred language, at a time when its extinction as a living tongue endangered the loss of the traditional memory of its sound. Every kind of evidence renders it probable that these signs for the pronunciation were first introduced about the seventh century of the Christian era, that is, after the completion of the Talmud, and that the minute and complex system which we possess was gradually developed, from a few indispensable signs, to its present elaborateness. The existence of the present complete system can, however, be traced back to the eleventh century. The skilful investigation of Hupfeld (in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1830) has proved that the vowel-points were unknown to Jerome and the Talmud; but, as far as regards the former, we are able to make a high estimate of the degree to which the traditional pronunciation, prior to the use of the points, accorded with our Masoretic signs: for Jerome describes a pronunciation which agrees wonderfully well with our vocalisation. We are thus called on to avail ourselves thankfully of the Masoretic punctuation, on the double ground that it represents the Jewish traditional pronunciation, and that the Hebrew language, unless when read according to its laws, does not enter into its full dialectal harmony with its Syro-Arabian sisters.—J. N.

[In the N. T. the expression 'Hebrew tongue' (*Ἑβραϊστὴ, ἡ Ἑβραϊσὶς διὰλεκτος*, John v. 2; xix. 20; Acts xxi. 40; xx. 2, etc.) is used to designate the Syro-Chaldaic dialect of the people of Palestine at the commencement of the Christian era.]

2. *History of Hebrew Learning.*—It is not till the closing part of the 9th century that we find, even among the Jews themselves, any attempts at the formal study of their ancient tongue. In the Talmudic writings, indeed, grammatical remarks frequently occur, and of these some indicate an acute and accurate perception of the usages of the language; but they are introduced incidentally, and are to be traced rather to a sort of living sense of the language than to any scientific study of its structure or laws. What the Jews of the Talmudic period knew themselves of the Hebrew they com-

municated to Origen and Jerome, both of whom devoted themselves with much zeal to the study of that language, and the latter of whom especially became proficient in all that his masters could teach him concerning both its vocabulary and its grammar (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.*; Hieron. *Adv. Rufin.* i. p. 363; *Epist. ad Damas. Praef. ad Job. ad Paralipom.*, etc.; Carpzov, *Crit. Sac.* vi. sec. 2). As represented by Jerome the Church was quite on a par with the synagogue in acquaintance with the language of the ancient Scriptures; but how imperfect that was in many respects may be seen from the strange etymologies, which even Jerome adduces as explanatory of words, and from his statement that from the want of vowels in Hebrew 'the Jews pronounce the same words with different sounds and accents, *pro voluntate lectorum ac varietate regionum*' (*Ep. ad Evangelum*).

Stimulated by the example of the Arabians, the Jews began towards the end of the 9th century to bestow careful study on the grammar of their ancient tongue; and with this advantage over the Arabian grammarians, that they did not, like them, confine their attention to one language, but took into account the whole of the Semitic tongues. An African Jew, Jehuda ben Qarish, who lived about A.D. 880, led the way in this direction; but it was reserved for Saadia ben Joseph of Fayum, Gaon (or spiritual head) of the Jews at Sora in Babylonia, and who died A.D. 942, to compose the first formal treatise on points of Hebrew grammar and philology. To him we are indebted for the Arabic version of the O. T., of which portions are still extant [ARABIC VERSIONS]; and though his other works, his commentaries on the O. T., and his grammatical works, have not come down to us, we know of their existence from, and have still some of their contents in, the citations of later writers. He was followed by R. Jehuda b. David Chajug, a native of Fez, who flourished in the 11th century, whose services have procured for him the honourable designation of 'chief of grammarians' [CHAJUG]. From him the succession of Jewish grammarians embraces the following names [for details see separate articles]. R. Salomo Isaaki, (רש"י Rashi) a native of Troyes in France, d. ab. 1105; Abu'l Walid Mervan ibn Ganach, a physician at Cordova, d. 1120; Moses Gikatilla, ab. 1100; Ibn Esra, d. 1194; the Kimchis, especially Moses and David, who flourished in the 13th century; Isaak b. Mose (Ephodæus, so called from the title of his work מִצְחָה אִפְחָדָּא); Solomon Jarchi

wrote a grammar, in which he sets forth the seven conjugations of verbs as now usually given; Abraham de Balmes de Lecci; and Elias Levita (1472-1549). The earliest efforts in Hebrew lexicography with which we are acquainted is the little work of Saadia Gaon, in which he explains seventy Hebrew words; a codex containing this is in the Bodleian library at Oxford, from which it has been printed by Dukes in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. 5, Hft. 1, p. 115, ff. In the same codex is another small lexicographical work by Jehuda b. Qarish, in which Hebrew words are explained from the Talmud, the Arabic, and other languages; excerpts from this are given in Eichhorn's *Biblioth. der Bibl. Litt.* iii. 951-980. More copious works are those of Ben Ganach, where the Hebrew words are explained in Arabic,

* Some have attempted to find, in the discrepancies between the Septuagint and the Hebrew text, the basis for discovering in what character the MSS. from which they translated must have been written, by trying to reduce these discrepancies to mistakes of one letter for another. Eichhorn favours the notion that the Septuagint was made from MSS. in the Samaritan character; while Gesenius decides that the letters which are interchanged are only alike in the square character. The decision of this question would in some degree affect the view entertained of the antiquity of the square character. The latest author on this subject, however, Frankel, asserts that the evidence does not preponderate on either side (*Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, 1841, p. 213).

of R. Menahem ibn Saruk, whose work has been printed with an English translation by Herschell Philipowski, Lond. 1854; of R. Salomo Parchon (ab. 1160), specimens of whose work have been given by De-Rossi in his collection of Various Readings, and in a separate work entitled *Lexicon Heb. select. quo ex antiquo et inedito R. Parchonis Lexico novas et diversas rariorum et difficiliorum vocum significaciones sistit*, J. B. De-Rossi, Parm. 1805; of David Kimchi in the second part of his *Michlol*, entitled *ספר השו"ס* (often printed; best edition by Bienthal and Leberecht, 2 vols., Berl. 1838-47); and of Elias Levita (*Tishbi*, Bas. 1527, and with a Latin translation by Fagius, 4to, 1541). The Concordance of Isaac Nathan (1437) also belongs to this period.

The study of the Hebrew language among Christians, which had only casually and at intervals occupied the attention of ecclesiastics during the middle ages, received an impulse from the revived interest in Biblical exegesis produced by the Reformation. Something had been done to facilitate the study of Oriental literature, and to call attention to it by the MSS., Hebrew and Arabic, which the Emperor Frederic II. brought into Europe after the fourth crusade in 1228 (Cuspinian, *de Caesaribus*, p. 419; Boxhorn, *Hist. Univ.*, p. 779); and a few men such as Raymund Martini, a native of Catalonia (b. 1236), Paulus Bugensis, Libertas Cominetus, who is said to have known and used fourteen languages, etc., appeared as lights in the otherwise beclouded firmament of Biblical learning. But it was not until the beginning of the 16th century that any general interest was awakened in the Christian church for the study of Hebrew literature. In 1506 appeared the grammar and lexicon of Reuchlin, which may be regarded as the first successful attempt to open the gate of Hebrew learning to the Christian world; for though the work of Conrad Pellican, *De Modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraea*, Bas. 1503, had the precedence in point of time, it was too imperfect to exert much influence in favour of Hebrew studies. A few years later Santes Pagnini, a Dominican of Lucca issued his *Institutionum Hebraicarum Lib. ii.*, Lyon 1526; and his *Thesaurus Ling. Sanct.*, lb. 1529; but the former of these works is inferior to the Grammar of Reuchlin, and the latter is a mere collection of excerpts from David Kimchi's *Book of Roots*, often erroneously understood. No name of any importance occurs in the history of Hebrew philology after this till we come to those of Sebastian Munster, and the Buxtorfs. The former translated the grammatical works of Elias Levita, and from these chiefly he constructed his own *Dictionarium Hebr., adj. Chald. vocabulis*, Bas. 1523; and his *Opus Grammaticum ex variis Elian's libris concinnatum*, Bas. 1542. The latter rendered most important service to the cause of Hebrew learning. [BUXTORF.] The grammars and lexicons of the older Buxtorf were for many years the principal helps to the study of Hebrew in the Christian Church, and one of them, his *Lexicon Chald. Talmud. et Rabbinicum*, Bas. 1640, is still indispensable to the student who would thoroughly explore the Hebrew language and literature. The names also of Förster and Schindler may be mentioned as marking an epoch in the history of these studies. Previous to them scholars had followed almost slavishly in the track of rabbinical teaching.

By them, however, an attempt was made to gather materials from a wider field. Förster in his *Dict. Heb. Nov.*, Bas. 1557, sought to determine the meaning of the words from the comparison of the different passages of Scripture in which they occur, and of allied words, words having two consonants in common, or two consonants of the same organ. Schindler added to this the comparison of different Shemitic dialects for the illustration of the Hebrew, in his *Lex. Pentaglotton*, Han. 1612. The example thus set was carried forward by Sain. Bohle, a Rostock professor (*Dissert. pro formali Signif. S. S. eruenda*, 1637); though by his fondness for metaphysical methods and conceits, he was often betrayed into mere trifling; by Christian Nolde, professor at Copenhagen (*Concordant. particularum Hebrae. Chald. V. T.*, Ham. 1679); by Joh. Cocceius (Coch), professor at Leyden (*Lex. et Comment. serm. Hebr.*, Lond. 1669); by Castell (*Lex. Heptaglot.*, Lond. 1669); by De Dieu in his commentaries on the O. T.; and by Hottinger in his *Etymologicum Orient. sive Lex. harmonicum heptaglot.*, Frank. 1661. Sol. Glass also in his *Philologia Sacra*, 1636, rendered important service to Hebrew learning and O. T. exegesis. [See the articles under these names.]

Meanwhile a new school of Hebrew philology had arisen under the leading of Jakob Alting and Johann Andr. Danz. The former in his *Fundamenta punctationis linguae sanctae sive Grammat. Heb.*, Grön. 1654; and the latter in his *Nucifragibulum*, Jena 1686, and other works, endeavoured to shew that the phenomena which the Hebrew exhibited in a grammatical respect, the flexions, etc., had their basis in essential properties of the language, and could be rationally evolved from principles. Peculiar to them is the 'systema morarum,' a highly artificial method of determining the placing of long or short vowels, according to the number of *more* appertaining to each or to the consonant following, a method which led to endless niceties, and no small amount of learned trifling. The fundamental principle, however, which Alting and Danz asserted is a true one, and their assertion of it was not without fruits. Nearly contemporary with them was Jacques Gousset, professor at Gröningen, who devoted much time and labour to the preparation of a work entitled *Commentarii Ling. Heb.*, Amst. 1702, in which he follows strictly the method of deducing the meanings of the Hebrew words from the Hebrew itself, rejecting all aid from Rabbin, Versions, or Dialects. The chief merit of Gousset and his followers, of whom the principal is Chr. Stock (*Clavis Ling. Sanct. V. et N. T.* Lips. 1725), consists in the close attention they paid to the *usus loquendi* of Scripture, and Hävernick thinks that adequate justice has not been done to Gousset's services in this respect (*Introd. to O. T.*, p. 221, E. Tr.)

Hitherto not much attention had been paid to etymology as a source for determining the meaning of Hebrew words. This defect was in part remedied by Caspar Neumann and Valentin Loescher; the former of whom in different treatises, the latter in his treatise *De Causis Ling. Heb.*, Frank. and Leips. 1706, set forth the principle that the Hebrew roots are *bilitera*, that these are the 'characteres significationis' as Neumann called them, or the 'semina vocum,' as they were designated by Loescher, and that from them the triliterals, of which the Hebrew is chiefly composed, were

formed. They contended also that the fundamental meaning of the biliterals is to be ascertained from the meaning of the letters composing each; and for this purpose they assigned to each letter what the former called 'significatio hieroglyphica,' and the latter 'valor logicus.' This last is the most dubious part of their system; but as a whole their views are worthy of respect and consideration (see Hupfeld, *De emendanda lexicog. Semit. ratione*, p. 3).

A great advance was made in the beginning of the 18th century by the rise almost simultaneously of two rival schools of Hebrew philology; the Dutch school, headed by Albert Schultens, and the school of Halle, founded by the Michaelis family. In the former the predominating tendency was towards the almost exclusive use of the Arabic for the illustration of Hebrew grammar and lexicography. Schultens himself was a thorough Arabic scholar, and he carried his principle of appealing to that source for the elucidation of the Hebrew to an extent which betrayed him into many mistakes and extravagances; nevertheless, to his labours Hebrew philology owes an imperishable debt of obligation. Besides his commentaries on Job and Proverbs, which are full of grammatical and lexicographical disquisition, he wrote *Origines Hebrææ seu Heb. Ling. antiquissima natura et indoles ex Arabiæ penetrabilibus revocata*, Francf. 1723; and *Institutiones ad fundamenta Ling. Heb.*, Leyd. 1737. To this school belongs Schröder, professor at Groningen, who published in 1776 a Hebrew grammar of great excellence, and which has passed through many editions, under the same title as the second of the works of Schultens above noted; and Robertson, professor at Edinburgh (*Grammatica Hebr.*, Edin. 1783, sec. ed.) Both these works excel that of Schultens in clearness and simplicity; and in neither is the Arabic theory so exclusively adhered to. Venema, as a commentator, was also one of the luminaries of this school.

The school of Halle was founded by John Henry and Christian Benedict Michaelis; but its principal ornament in its earlier stage was the son of the latter, John David, professor at Göttingen [MICHAELIS]. The principle of this school was to combine the use of all the sources of elucidation for the Hebrew—the cognate dialects, especially the Aramaic, the versions, the rabbinical writings, etymology, and the Hebrew itself as exhibited in the sacred writings. The valuable edition of the Hebrew Bible, with exegetical notes, the conjoint work of John Henry and Christ. Benedict, some grammatical essays by the latter, and the *Hebräische Grammatik* (Halle 1744), the *Supplementa ad lexica Hebr.* (6 parts, Gött. 1785-92), and several smaller essays of John David, comprise the principal contributions of this illustrious family to Hebrew learning. To their school belong the majority of more recent German Hebraists—Moser (*Lex. Man. Heb. et Chald.*, Ulm 1795), Vater (*Heb. Sprachlehre*, Leipz. 1797), Hartmann (*Anfangsgründe der Heb. Sprache*, Marb. 1798), Jahn (*Grammatica Ling. Heb.*, 1809), and the facile princeps of the whole, Gesenius (*Hebr. Deutsches Hdwörterbuch*, 2 vols. Leipz. 1810-12; *Heb. Grammatik*, 1813; 18th ed. by Rödiger, 1857; *Geschichte der Heb. Spr. und Schrift*, 1815; *Ausführliches Gram.-Krit. Lehrgebäude der Heb. Spr.*, 1817; *Lexicon Manuale*, 1833, 1847; *Thesaurus Phil. Crit. Ling.*

Hebr. et Chald., 3 tom. 4to, 1835-1858). [GESENIUS.] Gesenius has been followed closely by Moses Stuart in his *Grammar of the Hebr. Language*, of which many editions have appeared. Under the Halle school may be also ranked Joh. Simonis (*Onomast. Vet. Test.*, Halle 1741; *Lexicon Man. Heb. et Chald.*, 1756; re-edited by Eichhorn in 1793, and with valuable improvements by Winer in 1828); but though a pupil of Michaelis, Simonis shews a strong leaning towards the school of Schultens.

Among recent Hebraists the names of Lee (*Grammar of the Heb. Lang. in a series of Lectures*, Lond. 3d edit. 1844; *Lexicon Heb. Chald. and Engl.*, 1840), Ewald (*Krit. Gramm. der Heb. Spr. Ausführlich bearbeitet*, Leipz. 1827; 6th ed. 1855, under the title of *Ausführliches Lehrb. der Heb. Spr. des A. B.*), and Hupfeld (*Exercitationes Adhæpica*, 1825; *De emend. Lexicogr. Sem. ratione Comment.*, 1827; *Ueber Theorie d. Heb. Gr. in the Theol. Studien und Kritiken* for 1828; *Ausf. Hebr. Gram.*, 1841), are the most prominent. Each of these pursues an independent course; but all of them incline more or less to the school of Altling and Danz. Lee avows that the aim of his grammatical investigations is to 'study the language as it is, that is, as its own analogy collected from itself and its cognate dialects exhibits it' (*Grammar*, Pref. p. iv., new edition, 1844). Ewald has combined with his philosophical analysis of the language, as it exists in its own documents, a more extended use of the cognate dialects; he contends that, to do justice to the Hebrew, one must first be at home in all the branches of Shemitic literature, and that it is by combining these with the old Hebrew that the latter is to be called from the dead, and piece by piece endowed with life (*Grammatik*, Vor. p. ix.) Hupfeld's method is eclectic, and does not differ from that of Gesenius, except that it assigns a larger influence to the philosophic element, and aims more at basing the grammar of the language on first principles analytically determined; by him also the Japhetic languages have been called in to cast light on the Shemitic, a course to which Gesenius too, after formally repudiating it, came in his later works to incline.

Among the Jews the study of Hebrew literature has been much fettered by rabbinical and traditional prejudices. Many able grammarians, however, of this school have appeared since the beginning of the 16th century, among whom the names of the brothers David and Moses Provençale, Lonzano Norzi, Ben Melech, Süsskind, and Lombroso, are especially to be mentioned. A more liberal impulse was communicated by Solomon Cohen (1709-62); but Mendelsohn was the first to introduce the results and methods of Christian research among his nation. Fürst (*Lehrgeb. d. Aram. Idiome mit bezug auf die Indo-Germ. Spr. I. Chald. Gram.*, 1835; *Charuz Peninim*, 1836; *Concordantie Libr. Vet. Test.*, 1840; *Hebr. und Chald. Hdwörterbuch üb. d. A. T.*, 2 vols. 1857) seeks to combine the historical with the analytical method, taking note of all the phenomena of the Hebrew itself, illustrating these from the cognate tongues, and those of the Indo-Germanic class, and at the same time endeavouring on philosophic grounds to separate the accidental from the necessary, the radical from the ramified, the germ from the stem, the stem from the branches, so as to arrive at the laws which actually rule the language. All his

works are of the highest value. Mr. Hurwitz, a Jew resident in London, has published an excellent Hebrew Grammar in two parts, Lond. 1835. Worthy of notice also is the Grammar of Isaac Nordheimer, a German Jew who spent his later years in the United States, where he died, in 1842, in his thirty-fourth year. His Grammar is in 2 vols. 8vo, New York, 1838-42 (Wolf, *Biblioth. Hebr.* 1715-53; Löscher, *de Causis Ling. Ebr.*, libb. iii. 1706; Hezel, *Gesch. der Heb. Spr. und Litter.*, 1776; Gesenius, *Gesch. der Heb. Spr.*, 1815; Delitzsch, *Jeshurun, Isagoge in Gramm. & Lexicogr. ling. Heb.*, 1838; Fürst, *Biblioth. Judaica*; Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, Per. ii. sec. 16; iii. sec. 27).—W. L. A.

HEBREW OF THE HEBREWS (Ἑβραῖος δὲ Ἑβραίων, Phil. iii. 5), emphatically a Hebrew, one who was so by both parents, and that by a long series of ancestors, without admixture of Gentile or even proselyte blood. Of this the Jews were as proud as were those Christians in Spain, who called themselves Old Christians, of having no mixture of Moorish blood.—J. K.

HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO THE. In the received text this composition appears as part of the Canonical Scriptures of the N. T., and also as the production of the apostle Paul. For neither of these assumptions is the evidence allowed on all hands to be conclusive; and hence the greatest diversity of opinion prevails among critics as to the claims of this epistle, some contending for its canonical authority and Pauline origin, some denying both of these, and some admitting the former, whilst they repudiate the latter. We shall consider—

1. *Its Canonicity.*—In the Western Church this book underwent a somewhat singular fate. Received and quoted by Clement of Rome, it seems after his time to have come under some doubt or suspicion in the West. It is not cited or referred to by any of the earlier Latin Fathers, except Tertullian, who ascribes it to Barnabas, and says it was 'receptor apud ecclesias illo apocrypho pastore moschorum,' that is, the Pastor of Hermas (*De Pudicit.* c. 20). Irenæus is said by Eusebius to have made quotations from it in a work now lost (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 26); but he did not receive it as of Pauline authorship (Phot. *Biblioth. Cod.*, 252, p. 904, cited by Lardner, ii. 165), and as Eusebius connects the Wisdom of Solomon with the Epistle to the Hebrews, as cited by Irenæus, it is probable the latter viewed the two as on the same footing. It is omitted by Caius, who only reckons thirteen Pauline epistles (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 26; Hieron. *De Vir. illust.* c. 59); Hippolytus expressly declared it not to be St. Paul's (Phot., p. 301); it is omitted in the Muratori fragment; and by the Roman Church generally it seems to have been suspected (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 3; vi. 20). Victorinus has one or two passages which look like quotations from it, but he does not mention it, and certainly did not receive it as the work of St. Paul (Lardner, iii. 300). In the 4th century it began to be more generally received. Lactantius, in the beginning of the century, apparently borrows from it; Hilary of Poitiers, Lucifer of Cagliari, Faustinus, and Marcellinus (who cites it as *divina Scriptura*); Victorinus of Rome, Ambrose, Philaster (though admitting that some rejected the epistle); Gaudentius, Jerome, and Augustine, in the latter

half and the end of the century, attest its canonicity and, generally, its Pauline origin.

In the Eastern churches it was much more generally, and from an earlier date, received. It is doubtful whether any citation from it is made by Justin Martyr, though in one or two passages of his writings he seems to have had it in his eye. Clement of Alexandria held it to be St. Paul's, originally written by him in Hebrew, and translated by St. Luke (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 14). Origen wrote Homilies on this epistle; he frequently refers to it as canonical, and as the work of St. Paul, and he tells us he had intended to write a treatise to prove this (Lardner, ii. 472, ff.) Origen further attests that the ancients handed it down as St. Paul's (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25), by which, though he cannot be understood as intending to say that it had never been questioned by any of those who had lived before him, we must understand him at least to affirm that in the church of Alexandria it had from the earliest period been received. Dionysius of Alexandria acknowledged it as part of sacred Scripture, and as written by St. Paul. By Basil, the Gregories, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom, and all the Greeks, as Jerome attests, it was received. Eusebius, though he ranks it in one place among the *ἀποκρυφόμενα*, in deference to the doubts entertained respecting it in the Roman Church, nevertheless asserts its apostolic authority, and includes it among the books generally received by the churches. In public documents of the Eastern Church also, such as the Epistle of the Synod at Antioch, the Apostolical Constitutions, the Catalogue of the Council, its claims are recognised. In the Syrian churches it was received; it is found in the Peshito version; it is quoted by Ephrem as St. Paul's; and it is included among the canonical Scriptures in the catalogue of Ebedjesu (Lardner, iv. 430, 440). To this uniform testimony there is nothing to oppose, unless we accept the somewhat dubious assertion of Jerome that it was rejected by the heretical teacher Basilides (*Proem. in Ep. ad Tit.*, but comp. Lardner, ix. 305).

2. *Authorship.*—From the above testimonies it will be perceived that the assertion of the canonicity of this book is mostly identified with the assertion of its Pauline authorship. The former of these positions does not, it is true, necessarily depend upon the latter, for a book may be canonical yet not be the production of any individual whose name we know; but as the case stands, the external evidence for the canonicity of the book is so nearly commensurate with that for the Pauline authorship of the book, that we cannot make use of the one unless we admit the other. This gives immense importance to the question on which we now enter; for if it could be shewn that this epistle is not Paul's, the entire historical evidence for its canonicity must be laid aside as incredible.

Before entering on the consideration of the evidence bearing directly on this point, we shall glance at the different hypotheses which have been advanced by those by whom the Pauline origin of the epistle have been derived. Of these some have advocated the claims of Barnabas, others those of Luke, others those of Clement of Rome, others those of Silas, others those of Apollos, others those of some unknown Christian of Alexandria, and others those of some 'apostolic man,' whose name is no less unknown.

(1.) *Silas*.—The claims of this companion of St. Paul to the authorship of one epistle find no support from the testimony of antiquity. The suggestion of them is entirely modern, having been first advanced by Böhme in the introduction to his commentary on this epistle (Lips. 1825), and by Mynster in the *Studien und Kritiken*, bd. ii., s. 344; but they have adduced nothing in support of these claims which might not with equal plausibility have been urged on behalf of any other of the apostle's companions.

(2.) *Clement of Rome*.—Origen tells us that the tradition which had reached him was, that some held this epistle to have been written by Clement, bishop of Rome, whilst others said it was written by Luke, the evangelist (ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25). Erasmus espoused the claims of Clement, and Calvin inclined to the same view. Some evidence in favour of this hypothesis has been thought to be supplied by the resemblance of some passages in Clement's first epistle to the Corinthians to passages in one epistle; but these have much more the appearance of quotations from the former or reminiscences of it on the part of the author of the latter than such similarities of thought and expression as would indicate a community of authorship for the two. A close comparison of the one with the other leaves the impression very strongly that they are the productions of different minds; neither in style nor in the general cast of thought is there any pervading affinity between them. Clement, also, was in all probability a convert from heathenism, whereas the author of the epistle to the Hebrews was undoubtedly by birth and education a Jew. Perhaps what Origen records means nothing more than that Clement or Luke acted as the party who reduced the epistle to writing, leaving the question of the authorship, properly so called, untouched. His whole statement is—'not heedlessly (*οὐκ εὐκρίν*) had the ancients handed it down as Paul's; but who wrote the epistle God truly knows. But the story which has come down to us from some, is, that Clement who was bishop of Rome wrote the epistle; from others that it was Luke who wrote the Gospel and the Acts.' Jerome, also, in referring to the tradition explains it thus—'quem [Clementem] aiunt ipsi adiunctum sententias Pauli proprio ordinasse et ornasse sermone' (*De Viris illust.* c. 5).

(3.) *Luke*.—The claims of Luke apparently rise a degree higher from the circumstance that, besides being named by Origen and Jerome, as dividing with Clement the honours which, as these writers testify, were in certain quarters assigned to the latter, there is a character of similarity in respect of language and style between this epistle and the acknowledged productions of the evangelist. This has led several eminent scholars to adopt the hypothesis that, whilst the thoughts may be Paul's, the composition is Luke's. But on this circumstance no stress, we think, can legitimately be laid towards such a conclusion. For, 1st, where there is no other evidence, or at least none of any weight, in favour of identity of authorship, mere general similarity of style cannot be allowed to possess much force. 2dly, Assuming the epistle to be the production of Paul, it is easy to account for the resemblance of its style to that of Luke, from the fact that Luke was for so many years the companion and disciple of Paul; for it is well known that when persons for a long

time associate closely with each other, and especially when one of the parties is an individual of powerful intellect whose forms of thought and modes of speech imperceptibly impress themselves on those with whom he associates, they fall insensibly into a similarity of tone and style both of speaking and writing. To this, indeed, Chrysostom, whose authority in all such matters must be allowed to stand very high, expressly ascribes the similarity of Luke's style to that of Paul, when, contrasting the language of the former with that of Mark, he says, *ἕκαστος δὲ ὁμοίως τὸν διδάσκαλον ἐμιμήσατο*. ὁ μὲν [ὁ Λουκᾶς] τὸν Παῦλον ὑπὲρ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ῥέοντα· ὁ δὲ [ὁ Μάρκος] τὸν Πέτρον βραχυλογίας ἐπιμελούμενον (*Hom. iv. in Matt.*, quoted by Forster, *Apostolical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 648). 3dly, It is not in the epistle to the Hebrews alone that a resemblance to the style of Luke may be detected: the same feature pervades all Paul's epistles, especially those of a later date, as has been frequently observed by critics. This argument, then, if used against the Pauline origin of the epistle to the Hebrews would prove too much, as it would go to invalidate the claims of almost all the acknowledged writings of the apostle. In fine, whilst there are such resemblances of style, etc., as have been referred to between this epistle and the writings of Luke, there are *differences* of a nature so weighty as completely to overbalance these resemblances, and authorise the conclusion that the author of the latter could not also be the author of the former. Both Stuart (*Comment.* vol. i. p. 333, Lond. 1828) and Eichhorn (*Einleit.* bd. iii. s. 465) justly lay stress on the greater predominance of Jewish feelings in the Epistle to the Hebrews than in any of Luke's writings, and still more on the marked familiarity with the peculiarities of the Jewish schools displayed by the writer of the epistle, but of which no traces are apparent in any of the writings of the evangelist. Both writings display the combined influence of the Palestinian and the Hellenistic character on the part of their author; but in the Epistle to the Hebrews the former so decidedly predominates over the latter, whilst the reverse is the case with the writings of Luke, that it seems to the last degree improbable that the same person could have written both. Luke, moreover, was a convert from heathenism; whereas the author of the epistle to the Hebrews was evidently a Jew. It appears, therefore, that for the theory which ascribes the composition of this epistle to Luke, there is no evidence of any kind which will bear examination, but, on the contrary, not a little against it.

(4.) *Barnabas*.—The hypothesis which claims the authorship of this epistle for Barnabas has in its support the testimony of Tertullian (*De Pudicitia*, c. 20), with whom, as we learn from Jerome (*Epist.* 129, *ad Dardanum*), several (*plerique*) among the Latins concurred.* For this opinion Tertullian,

* Ullmann (*Stud. und Krit.* i. 391) and Wieseler have laboured to show that the 'plerique' in this passage must be understood of persons belonging to the Eastern church, the 'Græci sermonis scriptores,' of whom Jerome speaks in the same sentence. But what Jerome says is, that though in his day 'plerique eam vel Barnabæ vel Clementis arbitrantur,' it was viewed as Paul's 'non solum ab ecclesiis Orientis, sed ab omnibus retro [i. e.]

in the passage referred to, assigns no reasons, and Jerome appears to have treated it as a mere conjecture resting upon Tertullian's authority alone; for, in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers (c. 5), he refers to this opinion as one 'juxta Tertullianum,' whilst he says that the opinion that Luke was the author was one 'juxta quosdam.' Hug is of opinion (*Introd.* p. 596, Fosdick's transl.), that in this passage we have not Tertullian's own view so much as a concession on his part to those whom he was opposing, and who, because of the very passage he is about to quote from the Epistle to the Hebrews (vi. 4-8), were inclined to reject the claims of that epistle to be esteemed the production of Paul. This conjecture is of use, as it tends to show that Tertullian might have another reason for ascribing this epistle to Barnabas than his total ignorance that it had ever been imputed to Paul, as has been confidently inferred by several writers from the fact that it was obviously to the interest of his argument to uphold the Pauline origin of this epistle had he been aware of it. In recent times the ablest defender of this hypothesis is Ullmann, who has devoted to it an article in the first volume of his journal, the *Studien und Kritiken*; but the evidence he adduces in favour of it is very feeble. After enlarging on the testimony of Tertullian, he proceeds to the internal evidence in favour of Barnabas; but of the *six* reasons he assigns for ascribing the epistle to him, none possesses any force. The *first*, viz., the traces in the epistle of an Alexandrian education on the part of the author, supposing it granted, would not apply particularly to Barnabas, who was a native of Cyprus, and who, though Ullmann says 'he had perhaps been in Alexandria,' for aught we know had never seen that seat of allegorical learning. The *second*, viz., that Barnabas being a Levite was the more likely, on that account, to understand the Jewish ritual, as we see the author of this epistle did, is of no weight, for there is nothing stated in the epistle on that head which any intelligent Jew might not have known, whether a Levite or not. The *third*, viz., that what the author of this epistle says concerning the law, divine revelation, faith, etc., is very Pauline, and such as we might expect from a companion of Paul, such as Barnabas was; the *fourth*, viz., that the tenor of the epistle is worthy such a man as Barnabas; the *fifth*, viz., that the writer of this epistle speaks of the Saviour very frequently by the appellation $\delta \text{ } \text{I}\eta\sigma\omega\upsilon\varsigma$, which Dr. Ullmann thinks indicates that the writer must have known our Lord during his personal ministry, which was *probably* the case with Barnabas; and the *sixth*, viz., that the names of persons mentioned in this epistle are names which Barnabas might have referred to had he written it—are reasons such as it would be idle to refute, and such as fill us with surprise that a man of Ullmann's learning and vigour should have gravely adduced them. With regard to the *fifth* also, Olshausen has justly observed (*Opusc. Theologica*, p. 115) that if it were certain that Barnabas had enjoyed the advantage of our Lord's personal ministry, it would clearly prove that he was not the author of this epistle, for the latter distinctly classes himself

antiquioribus] ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus.' If *all* the Greek writers judged it to be Paul's, how could *many* of them ascribe it to Barnabas?

with those by whom this advantage had not been enjoyed (ch. ii. 3). Stuart and some others have laid great stress on the contrast afforded by this epistle to the extant epistle which passes under the name of Barnabas, in respect of style, tone, and general character, as supplying indubitable evidence that the former is the production of a different and a far superior mind. Of this there can be no question, and, were we quite certain that the epistle ascribed to Barnabas was really his production, the argument would be conclusive. But though some very distinguished names may be cited in support of its authenticity, the greater weight, both of authority and evidence, is against it [BARNABAS, EPISTLE OF]. The total absence of any reason in favour of imputing the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews to Barnabas affords sufficient ground for rejecting this hypothesis without our attempting to adduce dubious and uncertain reasons against it.

(5.) *Some Alexandrian Christian.*—This hypothesis rests on certain features of the epistle which are said to betray Alexandrian culture, habits, and modes of thought on the part of the writer. These have been much insisted upon by Eichhorn, Schulz, Bleek, and others; but they are not such, we think, as carry with them the weight which these writers have allowed to them. The standard of comparison by which the supposed Alexandrian tone of this epistle is evinced, is supplied by the writings of Philo, between which and this epistle it is affirmed that there is so close a resemblance that it can be accounted for only on the supposition that the author of the latter was, like Philo, an Alexandrian Jew. Now before this reasoning can be so much as looked at, it behoves those who use it to point out clearly how much of Philo's peculiar style and sentiment was owing to his Jewish, and how much to his Alexandrian, education or habits of thought; because, unless this can be done, it will be impossible to show that any alleged peculiarity necessarily bespeaks an Alexandrian origin, and could not possibly have appeared in the writings of a pure Jew of Palestine. No attempt, however, of this sort has been made; on the contrary, it has been assumed that whatever is Philonian is therefore Alexandrian, and hence all resemblances between the writings of Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews have been urged as certain proofs that the latter must have been written by a converted Jew of Alexandria. Such an assumption, however, we would by no means concede; and we feel confirmed in this by an examination of the evidence adduced in support of the alleged Alexandrian character of this epistle. As Stuart has, we think, clearly shown (i. 321), and as even Tholuck, though obviously inclining the other way, has candidly admitted (*Comment. on the Hebrews*, i. p. 68, sec. 7), there is nothing in this evidence to shew that this epistle might not have been written by a Jew who had never left the bounds of Palestine. It is worthy of notice that several of the points on which Eichhorn chiefly insists as favouring his view, such as the prevalence of typical expositions of the Mosaic ritual in this epistle, and the greater elegance of its language and style (*Einleit.* iii. 443, ff.), are given up by Bleek, and that of the two chiefly insisted upon by the latter, viz., the close affinity between this epistle and the writings of Philo, and the alleged mistake in regard to the furniture of the tabernacle which Bleek charges upon the author of this epistle in ch. ix. 3, 4, and which he thinks no

Jew of Palestine could have committed, both are relinquished by Tholuck as untenable (comp. the valuable remarks of Hug, *Introd.* p. 584, note, Fosdick's transl.) With regard to the latter, it may be remarked that, even supposing it proved that the writer of this epistle had erred in asserting that the pot containing the manna and Aaron's rod were placed in the ark of the testimony, and that, supposing θυμιατόριον to denote the altar of incense, and not the censer, he had fallen into the mistake of placing this within instead of without the vail, nothing could be thence deduced in favour of the Alexandrian origin of the author. For, with regard to the former of these, it was a matter on which the Jews of Palestine had no better means of information than those of any other place, since, in the Temple as then standing, none of the furniture of the Holy of Holies had been preserved; and with regard to the latter, as it could not be the result of ignorance either in a Jew of Palestine or in a Jew of Alexandria, but must have been a piece of mere inadvertence on the part of either, it seems rather too much to conclude that it was such as the latter alone was capable of committing. That, however, there is no blunder in the case, has, we think, been very satisfactorily shewn by Deyling (*Obs. Sac.* tom. ii. No. 47) and others (comp. Stuart, Tholuck, and Delitzsch, *in loc.*)

(6.) *Apollos*.—The first to suggest Apollos as the probable author of this epistle was Luther (*Werke*, ed. Walch, xii. 204, 1996, etc.) He has been followed by the majority of recent German scholars, many of whom have supported his conjecture with much ingenuity. It has been undoubtedly shewn by them that Apollos may have been the writer; and they have, we think, proved that of all Paul's companions this is the one who was most fitted by education, life-circumstances, modes of thought, and religious stand-point, to have accomplished such a task had it fallen to his lot. Beyond this, however, their arguments seem to us signally to fail. What weight they have is derived almost entirely from the assumed Alexandrian tone of the epistle; so that in setting aside this we of necessity invalidate what has been built on it. But it may be permitted us to remark that, even supposing the former established, the latter would by no means follow, any more than because a work produced in Germany in the present day was deeply tinged with Hegelianism, it would follow from that alone that it must be the production of some certain individual rather than of any other disciple of Hegel's school. The adoption of this theory by Dr. Tholuck, after his exposure of the unsoundness of Bleek's reasonings, has filled us with surprise. 'Still,' says he (i. 69), 'could it be rendered probable that any distinguished person having intercourse with Paul, were an Alexandrian, and of Alexandrian culture, we might, with the greatest appearance of truth, regard him as the author of the epistle. Now such an one is found in the person of Apollos.' What is this but to say, 'The arguments for the Alexandrian origin of this epistle, I must confess, prove nothing; but shew me an end to be gained by it and I will admit them to be most conclusive!' Such a statement affords, we think, very clear evidence that the disposition to ascribe this epistle to Apollos is to be traced not to any constraining force of evidence, but exclusively to what Olshausen in his strictures on Bleek (*Opusc.* p. 92) justly denounces as the main

source of that able writer's errors on this question — 'Quod non ab omni partium studio alienum animum servare ipsi contigit.' It may be added that if this epistle was the product of Apollos or any other Alexandrian convert, it is very strange that no tradition to this effect should have been preserved in the church at Alexandria, but, on the contrary, that it should be there we find the tradition that Paul was the author most firmly and from the earliest period established.

We now pass on to the question of the Pauline origin of this epistle. Referring our readers for particulars to the able and copious discussion of this question furnished by the works of Stuart (*Commentary*, vol. i.), Forster (*The Apostol. Authority of the Ep. to the Hebrews*, etc.), and Hug, we shall attempt at present a condensed outline of the evidence, both for and against the Pauline authorship of this epistle. Following the example of Hug and Forster, we shall commence with the internal evidence, taking up first that in favour of the Pauline origin of the epistle.

1. A person familiar with the doctrines on which Paul is fond of insisting in his acknowledged epistles, will readily perceive that there is such a correspondence in this respect between these and the Epistle to the Hebrews, as supplies good ground for presuming that the latter proceeded also from his pen. That Christianity as a system is superior to Judaism in respect of clearness, simplicity, and moral efficiency; that the former is the substance and reality of what the latter had presented only the typical adumbration; and that the latter was to be abolished to make way for the former, are points which, if more fully handled in the Epistle to the Hebrews, are familiar to all readers of the Epistles of Paul (comp. 2 Cor. iii. 6-18; Gal. iii. 22; iv. 1-9, 21-31; Col. ii. 16, 17, etc.) The same view is given in this epistle as in those of Paul, of the divine glory of the Mediator, not simply as θεοῦ υἱός, but specifically as the ἐκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ, the reflection or manifestation of Deity to man (comp. Col. i. 15-20; Phil. ii. 6; Heb. i. 3, etc.) His condescension is described as having consisted in an impoverishing, and lessening, and lowering of himself for man's behalf (2 Cor. viii. 9; Phil. ii. 7, 8; Heb. ii. 9); and his exaltation is set forth as a condition of royal dignity, which shall be consummated by all his enemies being put under his footstool (1 Cor. xv. 25-27; Heb. ii. 8; x. 13; xii. 2). He is represented as discharging the office of a μεσίτης, a word which is never used except by Paul and the writer of this epistle (Gal. iii. 19, 20; Heb. viii. 6); his death is represented as a sacrifice for the sins of man; and the peculiar idea is announced in connection with this, that he was prefigured by the sacrifices of the Mosaic dispensation (Rom. iii. 22-26; 1 Cor. v. 7; Eph. i. 7; v. 2; Heb. vii.-x.) Peculiar to Paul and the author of this epistle is the phrase ὁ Θεὸς τῆς ἐλπίδος (Rom. xv. 33, etc.; Heb. xiii. 20); and both seem to have conceived of the χαρὰ under the aspect of διαπλοῆς and μεσολαβήματος (1 Cor. xii. 4; Heb. ii. 4). It is worthy of remark also that the momentous question of a man's personal acceptance with God is answered in this epistle in the same peculiar way as in the acknowledged Epistles of Paul. All is made to depend upon the individuals exercising what both Paul and the author of this epistle call πίστις, and which they both represent as a realizing apprehension of the facts, and truths, and promises of reve-

lation.* By both also the power of this *πίστις* is frequently referred to and illustrated by the example of those who had distinguished themselves in the annals of the Jewish race (comp. Rom. iii. 4; v. 2; Heb. iii. 6; Gal. iii. 5-14; Heb. x. 38; xi. 40). On all these points the sentiments of this epistle are so obviously Pauline, that not only did Origen remark that it contained τὰ νοήματα Παύλου, but even the most decided opponents of its Pauline authorship in recent times have laid it down as undeniable that it must have been written by some companion and disciple of Paul. 2. Some of the figures and allusions employed in this epistle are strictly Pauline. Thus the word of God is compared to a *word* (Eph. vi. 17; Heb. iv. 12); inexperienced Christians are *children* who need *milk*, and must be instructed in the elements, whilst those of *mature* attainments are *full-grown men* who require *strong meat* (1 Cor. iii. 1, 2; xiv. 20; Gal. iv. 9; Col. iii. 14; Heb. v. 12, 13; vi. 1); redemption through Christ is an *introduction* and an *entrance with confidence* unto God (Rom. v. 2; Eph. ii. 18; iii. 12; Heb. x. 19); afflictions are a *test* or *strife*, ἀγών (Phil. i. 30; Col. ii. 1; Heb. x. 32); the Christian life is a *race* (1 Cor. ix. 24; Phil. iii. 14; Heb. xii. 1); the Jewish ritual is a *law* (Rom. ix. 4; Heb. ix. 1, 6); a person under the constraint of some unworthy feeling or principle is *enslaved* (Gal. v. 1; Heb. ii. 15), etc. The fact that these and other such like figurative phrases occur only in this epistle and in the acknowledged Epistles of Paul, affords strong evidence that the former is his production, for in nothing does a writer more readily betray himself than by the use of peculiar and favourite figures. 3. Certain marked characteristics of Paul's style are found in this epistle. This department of the internal evidence has more perhaps than any other been canvassed by recent critics, and in some cases opposite conclusions have been drawn from the same phenomena. Thus the occurrence of ἀναξ λεγόμενα in this epistle has been adduced by the German scholars *against* the Pauline origin of it, whilst Stuart and Forster have both rested on this fact as *strongly in favour* of that conclusion; and as it appears to us with justice, for if it be made out from Paul's acknowledged writings that the use of unusual words is a characteristic of his style (and this has been placed by these writers beyond all question), it is obvious that the occurrence of the *same* characteristic in this epistle, so far from being an argument *against*, is, as far as it goes, an argu-

* Bleek and Tholuck have both endeavoured to shew that the *πίστις* of the Epistle to the Hebrews is not the same as the *πίστις* of Paul's acknowledged writings, but, in our view, with singular want of success. Tholuck's chief argument, and which he urges as of more weight than any Bleek has advanced is, that the writer has not here contrasted νόμος and *πίστις*, the ἔργα νόμου, and the ἔργα πίστεως, as Paul would have done. But how can this be said when the great lesson of the epistle is, that *always, even under the law itself, πίστις* was the medium of acceptance and the channel of divine blessing to men? When Paul says, 'We walk by faith not by sight' (2 Cor. v. 7), and the writer to the Hebrews says that faith, by which the just live, is the evidence of things not seen (x. 28; xi. 1), what essential difference in their notion of faith and its working can be discerned?

ment for our ascribing it to Paul. On arguments, however, based on such minute phenomena, we are not disposed to rest much weight on either side. Every person must be aware that an author's use of words is greatly modified by the circumstances under which he writes, or the design he has in writing; and the literature of every country presents us with numerous cases of authors, whose works, written at different periods, and with different designs, present far greater diversities of expression than any which have been pointed out between the Epistle to the Hebrews and the acknowledged Epistles of Paul. Hence cautious critics have declined to rest much in questions of literary parentage upon what Bentley calls (*Dissert. on Phalaris*, p. 19, Lond. 1699) 'censures that are made from stile and language alone,' and which, he adds, 'are commonly nice and uncertain, and depend upon slender notices.' Apart, however, from such minute niceties, there are certain marked peculiarities of style which attach to particular writers, and flow so directly from the character of their genius or education, that they can hardly express themselves in discourse without introducing them. Now such peculiarities the writings of Paul present, and the occurrence of them has always been felt to afford no small evidence of the authenticity of any production claiming to be his in which they are found. Paley, in enumerating these (*Horæ Paulinæ*, ch. vi., No. 2, 3), has laid stress chiefly on the following: A disposition to the frequent use of a word, which cleaves as it were to the memory of the writer, so as to become a sort of *cant word* in his writings; a propensity 'to go off at a word,' and enter upon a parenthetic series of remarks suggested by that word; and a fondness for the peronomasia, or play upon words. In the Epistle to the Hebrews these peculiarities of Paul's style are richly exemplified; an evidence in favour of its Pauline origin, which can never be enfeebled by adducing words, phrases, or features of style *peculiar* to this epistle, unless it can be first shewn that it was *impossible* for Paul to have used such. 4. There is a striking analogy between Paul's use of the O. T. and that made by the writer of this epistle. Both made frequent appeals to the O. T.; both are in the habit of accumulating passages from different parts of the O. T., and making them bear on the point under discussion (comp. Rom. iii. 10-18; ix. 7-33, etc.; Heb. i. 5-14; iii. 1; x. 5-17); both are fond of linking quotations together by means of the expression καὶ πάλιν (comp. Rom. xv. 9-12; 1 Cor. iii. 19, 20; Heb. i. 5; ii. 12, 13; iv. 4; x. 30); both make use of the same passages, and that occasionally in a sense not naturally suggested by the context whence they are quoted (1 Cor. xv. 27; Eph. i. 22; Heb. ii. 8; Rom. i. 17; Gal. iii. 11; Heb. x. 38); and both, in one instance, quote the same passage in the same way, but in a form in which it does not agree with the Sept., and with an addition of the words λέγει Κύριος, not found in the Hebrew; thereby indicating that the passage is given in both instances as it was present to the memory of one and the same writer (comp. Rom. xii. 19; Heb. x. 30). On the other hand, great stress has been laid by the opponents of the Pauline origin of this epistle on the fact, that whilst Paul in his acknowledged writings quotes from the Hebrew original in preference to the Sept. where the latter differs from the former, the author of this epistle quotes exclusively from the Sept. even when it departs very widely from the

Hebrew. To this it may be replied : 1st, That both Paul and the author of this epistle quote *generally* from the Sept. ; 2dly, That where the Sept. differs from the Hebrew, Paul does not *always* follow the Hebrew in preference to the Sept. (comp. Rom. ii. 24 ; x. 11-18 ; xi. 27 ; xv. 12 ; 1 Cor. i. 19, etc.) ; and, 3dly, That the writer of this epistle does not *always* follow the Sept. where it differs from the Hebrew, but occasionally deserts the former for the latter (*ex. gr.* x. 30 ; xiii. 5) ; (comp. Davidson, *Introd.* iii. 231). There is no ground, therefore, for this objection to the Pauline origin of this epistle. *In fine*: The Epistle to the Hebrews contains some personal allusions on the part of the writer which strongly favour the supposition that he was Paul. These are the mention of his intention to pay those to whom he was writing a visit speedily, in company with Timothy, whom he affectionately styles 'our brother,' and whom he describes as having been set at liberty, and expected soon to join the writer (Heb. xiii. 23) ; the allusion to his being in a state of imprisonment at the time of writing, as well as of his having partaken of their sympathy while formerly in a state of bondage among them (Heb. xiii. 19 ; x. 34) ; and the transmission to them of a salutation from the believers in Italy (Heb. xiii. 24) ; all of which agree well with the supposition that Paul wrote this epistle while a prisoner at Rome.

Such is an outline of the internal evidence furnished by this epistle of its Pauline origin. Let us now glance at the main objections which from various sources have been urged against it.

1. It is unaccountable that Paul, had he written this epistle, should have withheld his name. But is it less unaccountable that Clement, or Apollos, or Luke, had any of them been the author, should have withheld his name ? Might not Paul write anonymously as well as any other man ? *Why* he should have done so in this case we admit our inability to say satisfactorily ; the only apparent reason, as far as we have been able to see, being the more rhetorical character of the production, which *might* induce the author to waive the usual form of epistolary address. But our inability to assign the reason why this work should have been issued anonymously cannot surely be held to be an argument against its authenticity, else it would be impossible to establish the authenticity of any anonymous production unless we could satisfactorily shew what were the author's reasons for withholding his name—a thing which in five cases out of six it is impossible to do.

2. 'This epistle is more calmly and logically written than it was possible for the energetic Paul to have written ; all the analogies between Judaism and Christianity are calmly investigated and calmly adduced ; the materials are arranged in the strictest order, and carefully wrought out according to this disposition, and conclusion follows conclusion with the greatest regularity ; the language also is rotund and choice, and the representation unusually clear. All this is unlike Paul' (Eichhorn, *Einleit.* iii. 459). It will perhaps surprise our readers to find the author of the Epistle to the Romans pronounced so utterly incapable of calm, connected, and logical reasoning, that it is inconceivable he should have written the Epistle to the Hebrews. If there be one thing for which Paul's writings are more remarkable than another, it is their dialectic accuracy ; and as for calmness, whilst we admit that as a whole there is less of ardour and vehemence in this epistle

than in the majority of Paul's acknowledged epistles, we think this is to be ascribed to the fact that a large portion of it is occupied with remarks of an explanatory and illustrative kind—remarks which are usually made in a calmer tone than where the design of the writer is to expose error, or to exhort to duty ; and, on the other hand, we would assert that in those parts of the epistle where his subject calls the writer to the utterance of reproof, warning, or exhortation, the language is equally ardent with that used in any analogous passages in the writings of Paul. This brings us to the closing part of Eichhorn's objection, which relates to the use in this epistle of a more rotund, elegant, and perspicuous style than we find usually in the epistles of Paul. Now, it must be admitted here that this composition does partake much more of the character of a flowing, continuous discourse, than is found in the apostle's acknowledged productions. The question, however, is not, Whether Paul might not for some sufficient reason prefer attempting such a discourse in this particular case ? a question which it would surely be absurd to discuss ; but, Whether, *supposing* him to make the attempt, it is conceivable that he should succeed in it to the extent realized by the writer of this epistle ? Eichhorn concludes in the negative ; but on what grounds ? Apparently on the grounds that the apostle's acknowledged writings present no specimens of such success ; so that his argument is this : Supposing Paul to have attempted to write rhetorically, it is impossible he should have succeeded so well, because we find that, where he makes no such attempt, his style is far from being rhetorical ! Of such reasoning we are content to say, 'Valeat quantum valere potest.' We may also hint that, in our opinion, there is no passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews, imposing as it is, which might not have flowed from the same pen which composed the 8th chapter of Romans, and the 13th of 1st Corinthians. 3. 'Whilst we occasionally meet Pauline *termini*, we find precisely in the *leading ideas* of the epistle a terminology different from that of Paul' (Tholuck, i. 39, Eng. transl.) The instances specified by Dr. Tholuck are the use of *ἐρευνᾶν*, *ποιεῖν*, and *ἀποστόλος*, as designations of Christ ; of *ὁμολογία*, which he says is confined to this epistle ; of *ἐργάζεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ* ; and of *τελειοῦν*, with its derivatives in the sense in which it is used, Heb. vii. 19. Now, with regard to this objection, it may be observed, 1st, That supposing all the instances adduced by Tholuck to be unimpeachable, and supposing no reason could be assigned why Paul should use such in writing to Hebrews, when he did not use them in writing to others, still the objection cannot have much weight with any person accustomed to weigh evidence, because not only is the number of Pauline *termini* found in this epistle far greater than the number of *termini* which, according to Tholuck, are 'foreign to the apostle to the Gentiles ;' but it is always less likely that the peculiar phrases of a writer should be borrowed by another, than that a writer noted for the use of peculiar words and phrases should, in a composition of a character somewhat different from his other productions, use terms not found elsewhere in his writings. But, 2dly, let us examine the instances adduced by Tholuck, and see whether they bear out his reasoning. 'Paul nowhere calls Christ *priest*.' True ; but though Paul, in writing to churches composed more or less of Gentile con-

rites, whose previous ideas of priests and priestly rites were anything but favourable to their receiving under sacerdotal terms right notions of Christ and his work, never calls Christ a priest, is that any reason for our concluding that in writing to Jews, who had amongst them a priesthood of divine organization, and writing for the express purpose of shewing that that priesthood was typical of Christ, it is inconceivable that the apostle should have applied the term *priest* to Christ? To us the difficulty would rather seem to be to conceive how, in handling such a topic, he could *avoid* calling Christ a priest.—‘Paul nowhere calls Christ a *shepherd* and an *apostle*, as the writer of this epistle does. But the whole weight of this objection to the Pauline origin of this epistle must rest on the assumption that Paul never uses figurative appellations of Christ in his writings; for if he do, why not here as well as elsewhere? Now, it could only be the grossest unacquaintedness with the apostle’s writings which could lead any to affirm this. The very opposite tendency is characteristic of them. Thus we find Christ termed *τέλος νόμου* (Rom. x. 4), *διάκονος περιτομῆς* (xv. 8), *τὸ πᾶσχα ἡμῶν* (1 Cor. v. 7), *ἡ πέτρα* (x. 4), *ἀπαρχή* (xv. 23), *ἐν ἀνδρὶ* (2 Cor. xi. 2), *ἀκρογωνιαίου* (Eph. ii. 20), etc. With these instances before us, why should it be deemed so utterly incredible that Paul could have called Christ *ἀπόστολος* and *ποιμήν*, that the occurrence of such terms in the epistle before us is to be held as a reason for adjudging it not to have been written by him? With regard to the use of *ὁμολογία* in the sense of *religious profession*, the reader may compare the passages in which it occurs in this epistle with Rom. x. 9; 2 Cor. ix. 13; 1 Tim. vi. 12, and judge for himself how far such a usage is foreign to the apostle. The phrase *ἐργάσεν τῷ θεῷ* occurs once in this epistle (vii. 19), and once in James iv. 8; Paul also once uses the verb actively (Phil. ii. 30); and, on the other hand, the author of this epistle once uses it intransitively (x. 25). As there is thus a perfect analogy in the usage of the verb between the two, why it should be supposed improbable that Paul should use it in reference to God, or why a phrase used by James should be deemed too Alexandrian to be used by Paul, we feel ourselves utterly at a loss to conceive. With regard to the use of *τελειοῦν*, Dr. Tholuck himself contends (*Appendix*, ii. 297) that it everywhere in this epistle retains the idea of *completing*; but he cannot understand how Paul could have contemplated the work of redemption under this term in this epistle, since in no other of his epistles is it so used. This difficulty of the learned professor may, we think, be very easily removed, by remarking that it does not appear to have been Paul’s design elsewhere, so fully at least as here, to represent the superiority of Christianity over Judaism, as that arises from the former being sufficient, whilst the latter was not sufficient, to *complete* men in a religious point of view, *i. e.*, to supply to them all they need, and advance them to all of which they are capable. That this is the theme of the writer, the passages in which the word in question occurs show; and we see no reason why such an idea might not have occurred to Paul as well as to any other man.

Such are the objections on which the more recent impugnors of the Pauline authorship of this epistle seem inclined to lay most stress. A multitude of others have been urged by Bertholdt,

Schulz, Seyffarth, etc., which have been carefully noticed and replied to by Stuart, but which it is unnecessary to adduce here, as their futility seems very generally admitted even by those who take the anti-Pauline side.

It appears, therefore, that from the epistle itself nothing can be gathered materially unfavourable to the opinion that Paul was its author, whilst there is much in it strongly tending to support that opinion. It yet remains that we should look at the external evidence bearing on this question.

Passing by, as somewhat uncertain, the alleged testimony of Peter, who is supposed (2 Pet. iii. 15, 16) to refer to the Epistle to the Hebrews as the composition of Paul, and passing by, also, the testimonies of the apostolic fathers, which, though very decisive as to the antiquity and canonical authority of this epistle (see Forster’s *Inquiry*, sec. 13), yet say nothing to guide us to the author, we come to consider the testimony of the Eastern and Western Churches upon this subject. As respects the former there are two facts of much importance. The one is, that of the Greek fathers not one positively ascribes this epistle to any but Paul; the other is, that it does not appear that in any part of the Eastern Church the Pauline origin of this epistle was ever doubted or suspected (comp. Olshausen, *Opusc. Theolog.* p. 95).

In the Western Church this epistle did not, as we have seen, meet with the same early and universal reception. But of what value is the state of opinion in the early churches of the West in the question of evidence now before us? To judge of this, we must bear in mind that the sole amount of evidence arising from the testimony of the Latin churches is *negative*; all we can conclude from it, at the most, is that they had no sufficient evidence in favour of this epistle being Paul’s; they do not seem to have had a shadow of historical evidence against its being his. The claims of Barnabas, Clement, and Luke, rest upon mere individual conjecture, and have no historical support. Supposing, then, that the rejection of this epistle by the Latins cannot be accounted for by circumstances peculiar to them, still this fact cannot diminish the weight of evidence accruing from the unanimity of the Greeks and Asiatics. Had the Latins been as unanimous in favour of Apollon or Clement as the Eastern churches were in favour of Paul, the case would have been different. The value of Paul’s claims would in that case have been equal to the difference between the value of the Eastern tradition and the value of the Western. This would have furnished a somewhat puzzling problem; though even in that case the superiority of the Eastern witnesses to the Western would have materially advocated the claims of the apostle. As the case stands, *all* the positive external evidence extant is in favour of the Pauline authorship of this epistle; and the only thing against it is that in the Latin churches there appears to have been no commonly received tradition on the subject. Under such circumstances, the claims of the apostle are entitled to be regarded as fully substantiated by the external evidence.

The result of the previous inquiry may be thus stated. 1. There is no substantial evidence, external or internal, in favour of any claimant to the authorship of this epistle except Paul. 2. There is nothing incompatible with the supposition that Paul was the author of it. 3. The preponderance of the internal, and all the direct external

evidence, go to show that it was written by Paul.

3. *Time and Place of Writing.*—Assuming the Pauline authorship of the epistle, it is not difficult to determine *when* and *where* it was written. The allusions in ch. xiii. 19, 21, point to the closing period of the apostle's two years' imprisonment at Rome as the season during 'the serene hours' of which, as Hug describes them (*Introd.*, p. 603), he composed this noblest production of his pen. In this opinion almost all who receive the epistle as Paul's concur; and even by those who do not so receive it, nearly the same time is fixed upon, in consequence of the evidence furnished by the epistle itself of its having been written a good while after those to whom it is addressed had become Christians, but yet before the destruction of the Temple.

4. *To whom Addressed.*—That the parties to whom this epistle was addressed were converted Jews, the epistle itself plainly shows. Ancient tradition points out the church at Jerusalem, or the Christians in Palestine generally, as the recipients. Stuart contends for the church at Caesarea, not without some show of reason; but the preponderance of evidence is in favour of the ancient tradition. Two things make this clear, says Lange, the one is, that only the Christians in Jerusalem, or those in Palestine generally, formed a great Jewish-Christian church in the proper sense; the other is, that for the loosening of these from their religious sense of the Temple-worship there was an immediate and pressing necessity (*Apostol. Zeitalt.* i. 176). We know of no purely Jewish-Christian community, such as that addressed in this epistle, out of Palestine; whilst the whole tone of the epistle indicates that those for whom it was intended were in the vicinity of the Temple. The inscription of the epistle, *πρὸς Ἑβραίους*, which is of great antiquity, favours the same conclusion (Roberts, *Discussions on the Gospels*, p. 215, ff.)

An early opinion that the epistle was first written in Hebrew or Aramaic, and then translated into Greek, has found in Michaelis a strenuous defender (*Introd.* iv., p. 221). The arguments he adduces, however, are more specious than sound; and it has been abundantly shown by Lardner, Hug, Eichhorn, and others, that this opinion is untenable. Why Paul should have written in Greek to persons residing in Judæa is best answered by the reasons which Hug (*Introd.*, p. 326, *seq.*) and Diodati (*De Christo Grace loquente exercitatio*, etc., edited by O. T. Dobbin, L.L.B., Lond. 1843) have adduced, to shew that Greek was at that time well known to the mass of the Jews (comp. Tholuck, i. 78).

5. Some have doubted whether this composition be justly termed an epistle, and have proposed to regard it rather as a treatise. The salutations, however, at the close, seem rather to favour the common opinion; though it is of little moment which view we espouse.

6. The *design* of this epistle is to dissuade those to whom it is written from relapsing into Judaism, and to exhort them to hold fast the truths of Christianity which they had received. For this purpose the apostle shows the superiority of the latter dispensation over the former, in that it was introduced by one far greater than angels, or than Moses, from whom the Jews received their economy (i. iii.), and in that it affords a more secure and complete salvation to the sinner than the former (iv. x.) In de-

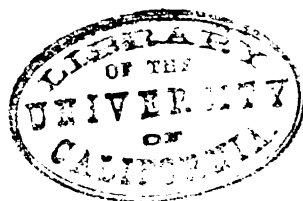
monstrating the latter position the apostle shows that in point of dignity, perpetuity, sufficiency, and suitableness, the Jewish priesthood and sacrifices were far inferior to those of Christ, who was the substance and reality, whilst these were but the type and shadow. He shows, also, that by the appearance of the anti-type the type is necessarily abolished; and adduces the important truth, that now, through Christ, the privilege of personal access to God is free to all. On all this he founds an exhortation to a life of faith and obedience, and shows that it has ever been only by a spiritual recognition and worship of God that good men have participated in his favour (xi.) The epistle concludes, as is usual with Paul, with a series of practical exhortations and pious wishes (xii.-xiii.)

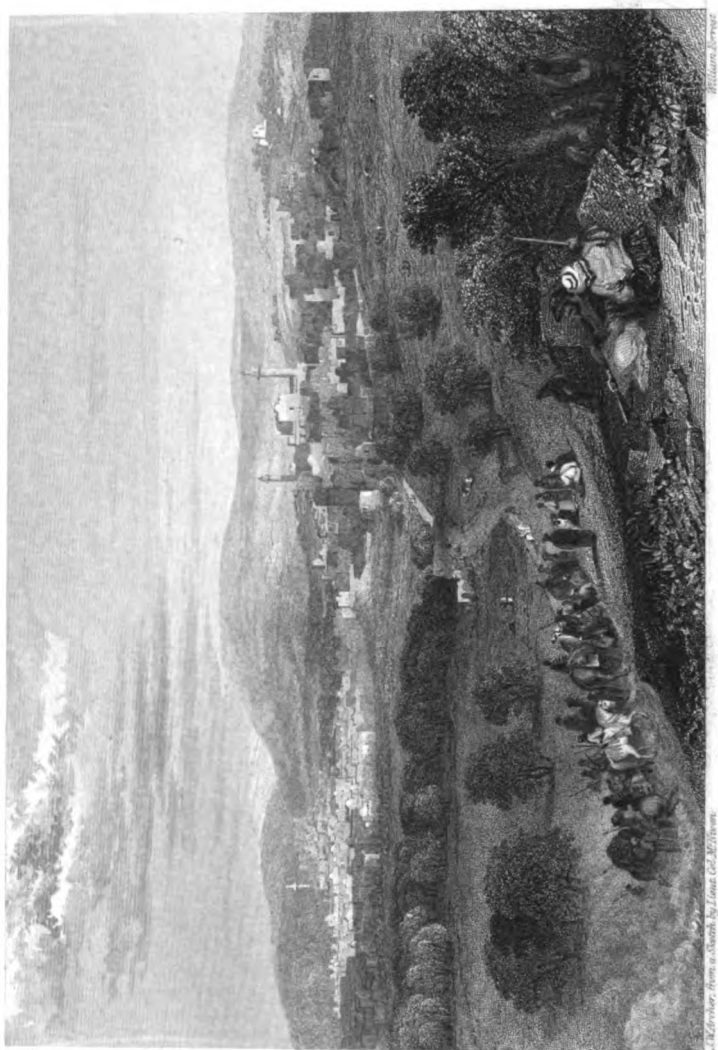
7. *Literature.*—For the critico-historical questions respecting this epistle, see, besides the introductions of Michaelis, Eichhorn, De Wette, Horne, Davidson, Bleek, Reuss, Alford, etc., the following special treatises:—Seyffarth, *De Ep. ad Heb. indole maxime peculiari*, Lips. 1821; Hofstede de Groot, *Ep. ad Heb. cum Paulinis Ep. comparatur*, Traj. 1826; Thiersch, *De Ep. ad Heb.*, Marb. 1848; Moll, *De Christologia Ep. ad Heb.*, Hal. 1854; Forster, *Apostolical Authority of the Ep. to the Hebrews*, Lond. 1838; Lechler, *Ap. Zeitalt.*, p. 159; Lange, *Ap. Zeitalt.*, i. p. 175, ff.; Wieseler, *Krit. Untersuchung über d. H. B.*, Kiel, 1861.

Commentaries.—Owen, 4 vols. fol., Lond. 1668-84, best edit. by Goolde, 7 vols. 8vo, Edin. 1854; Braun, 4to, Amst. 1705; Stark, 4to, Lips. 1740; Rambach, 1742; Pierce and Hallet, 4to, Lond. 1733, translated into Latin by Michaelis, Halle, 1747; Carpov, Helmst. 1750; Baumgarten, 4to, Halle, 1763; Storr, Tüb. 1789 and 1809; Ernesti, Lips. 1795; Schulz, Bresl. 1818; Maclean, 2 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1819; Böhme, Lips. 1825; Stuart, 2 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1828; Bleek, 2 vols. Berl. 1828-40; Kuinoel, Lips. 1831; Paulus, Heidelb. 1833; Tholuck, Hamb. 1836, translated by Hamilton and Ryland, 2 vols. Edin. 1842; Stein, Leipz. 1838; Stier, 2 vols. 1842; De Wette, Leipz. 1844; Ebrard, Königs. 1850, translated by Fulton, Edin. 1853; Lünemann, Gött. 1855; Delitzsch, Leipz. 1857; Moll (in Lange's *Bibeltwerk*), 1861.—W. L. A.

HEBREWS, THE (οἱ Ἑβραῖοι). [HELLENIST.]

HEBRON (חֶבְרֹן; Sept. Χεβρών), the third son of Kohath, the son of Levi, and younger brother of Amram, the father of Moses and Aaron (Ex. vi. 18; Num. iii. 19; 1 Chron. vi. 2, 18; xxiii. 12). From him descended the family or clan of the Hebronites (Num. iii. 27; xxvi. 58; 1 Chron. xxvi. 23, 30, 31), or B'ney-Hebron (1 Chron. xv. 9; xxiii. 19). In the reign of David we find them under the chieftainship of Jerijah settled at Jazer of Gilead, to the number of 2700 'mighty men of valour,' whom the king placed as overseers over the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, 'for any matter pertaining to God and affairs of the king' (1 Chron. xxvi. 31, 32; comp. xxiii. 19; xxiv. 23). Another section of them, numbering 1700, under the leadership of Hashabiah, discharged the same office at the same time on the western side of the Jordan (מַעְבֵּר לַיַּרְדֵּן מַעְבְּרָה, litt. from beyond Jordan westward, i.e., coming westward; comp.





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Josh. xxii. 7). The name Hebron appears also among the posterity of Caleb (1 Chron. ii. 43).—W. L. A.

HEBRON (חֶבְרוֹן; Sept. *Χεβρών*), a town in the south of Palestine and in the tribe of Judah, 18 miles south from Jerusalem, in 31° 32' 30" N. lat., 35° 8' 20" E. long., at the height of 2664 Paris feet above the level of the sea (Schubert). It is one of the most ancient cities existing, having, as the sacred writers inform us, been built 'seven years before Zoan in Egypt,' and being mentioned even prior to Damascus (Num. xiii. 22; Gen. xiii. 18; comp. xv. 2). Its most ancient name was Kirjath-arba, that is, 'the city of Arba,' from Arba, the father of Anak and of the Anakim who dwelt in and around Hebron (Gen. xxiii. 2; Josh. xiv. 15; xv. 13; xxi. 11; Judg. i. 10). It appears to have been also called Mamre, probably from the name of Abraham's Amoritical ally (Gen. xxiii. 19; xxxv. 27; comp. xiv. 13, 28). The ancient city lay in a valley; and the two remaining pools, one of which at least existed in the time of David, serve, with other circumstances, to identify the modern with the ancient site (Gen. xxxvii. 14; 2 Sam. iv. 12). Much of the lifetime of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob was spent in this neighbourhood, where they were all entombed; and it was from hence that the patriarchal family departed for Egypt by way of Beersheba (Gen. xxxvii. 14; xlv. 1). After the return of the Israelites, the city was taken by Joshua and given over to Caleb, who expelled the Anakim from its territories (Josh. x. 36, 37; xiv. 6-15; xv. 13-14; Judg. i. 20). It was afterwards made one of the cities of refuge, and assigned to the priests and Levites (Josh. xx. 7; xxi. 11, 13). David, on becoming king of Judah, made Hebron his royal residence. Here he reigned seven years and a half; here most of his sons were born; and here he was anointed king over all Israel (2 Sam. ii. 1-4, 11; 1 Kings ii. 11; 2 Sam. v. 1, 3-5). On this extension of his kingdom Hebron ceased to be sufficiently central, and Jerusalem then became the metropolis. It is possible that this step excited a degree of discontent in Hebron which afterwards encouraged Absalom to raise in that city the standard of rebellion against his father (2 Sam. xv. 9, 10). Hebron was one of the places fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 10); and after the exile the Jews who returned to Palestine occupied Hebron and the surrounding villages (Neh. xi. 25).

Hebron is not named by the prophets, nor in the N. T.; but we learn from the first book of Maccabees, and from Josephus, that it came into the power of the Edomites, who had taken possession of the south of Judah, and was recovered from them by Judas Maccabæus (1 Maccab. v. 65; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 8. 6). During the great war, Hebron was seized by the rebel Simon Giorides, but was recaptured and burnt by Cerealis, an officer of Vespasian (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* iv. 9. 7, 9). Josephus describes the tombs of the patriarchs as existing in his day; and both Eusebius and Jerome, and all subsequent writers who mention Hebron down to the time of the Crusades, speak of the place chiefly as containing these sepulchres. In the course of time the remarkable structure enclosing the tombs of Abraham and the other patriarchs was called the 'Castle of Abra-

ham;' and by an easy transition this name came to be applied to the city itself; till in the time of the Crusades the names of Hebron and Castle of Abraham were used interchangeably. Hence, as Abraham is also distinguished among the Moslems by the appellation of *el Khulil*, 'the Friend' (of God), this latter epithet became among them the name of the city; and they now know Hebron only as *el Khulil* (Robinson's *Researches*, ii. 456).

The modern town of Hebron lies low down on the sloping sides of a narrow valley (of Mamre), chiefly on the eastern side, but in the southern part stretches across also to the western side. The houses are all of stone, high, and well built, with windows and flat roofs, and on these roofs are small domes, sometimes two or three to each house. This mode of building seemed to Dr. Robinson peculiar to Judæa, as he had not observed it further north than Nablus. It is, however, common in the countries farther east, where wood is scarce. The streets are narrow, seldom more than two or three yards in width; the pavement, where one exists, is rough and difficult. The bazaars are to a considerable extent covered, either by some kind of awning, or by arches springing from the tops of the houses, and spanning the street. The goods in them are thus secured from the effects of the sun and rain, but the streets are rendered gloomy as well as damp. The shops are well furnished, better indeed than those of towns of the same class in Egypt, and the commodities are of a very similar description. The only display of local manufactures is the produce of the glass-works, for which the place has long been celebrated in these parts. The articles manufactured consist almost exclusively of glass lamps, many of which are exported to Egypt, and rings of coloured glass worn by females on the arms. Gates are placed not only at the entrance of the city, but in different parts of the interior, and are closed at night for the better preservation of order, as well as to prevent communication between the different quarters. This is a rude contrivance much resorted to in Eastern towns from the want of an efficient ambulatory night-watch.

There are nine mosques in Hebron, none of which possess any architectural or other interest, with the exception of the massive structure which is built over the tombs of the patriarchs. This is esteemed by the Moslems one of their holiest places, and Christians are rigorously excluded from it. Up to a recent date, the only Europeans who had found their way to the interior were Ali Bey and Giovanni Finati, the Italian servant of Mr. Banks. An account of it is furnished by the Rev. V. Monro (*Summer Ramble*, i. 245), and also by Ali Bey (*Travels*, ii. 232); but all these partial accounts are now superseded by the minute survey of the place made by Dr. Stanley in 1862, in the suite of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, and recorded by him in the Appendix to his Lectures on the Jewish Church, i. 448.

The court in which the mosque stands is surrounded by an extensive and lofty wall, formed of large stones, and strengthened by square buttresses. This wall is the greatest antiquity in Hebron, and even Dr. Robinson supposes that it may be substantially the same which is mentioned by Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 14; *De Bell. Jud.* iv. 9. 7), and by Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* s. v. *Arboch*) as the

sepulchre of Abraham. The enclosed structure is usually ascribed to the empress Helena; but Dr. Robinson thinks it more likely to have been erected by the Crusaders, and that till their time no building existed within the great wall. If, however, we rightly understand the Rabbi Benjamin, he says there was a synagogue here under the Moslems (before the Crusades); but he certainly ascribes to the Gentiles (Christians) the six sepulchres which appear above ground. If this were so, they have since been renewed by the Moslems, as those which now exist are, as described, quite similar to the Moslem shrines of Jewish saints which the present writer has seen in countries where Christians never had power. A common Moslem tomb in the neighbourhood of Hebron passes as the tomb of Abner. He was certainly interred in this city (2 Sam. iii. 32); and the head of Ishbosheth, after his assassination, was deposited in the same sepulchre (2 Sam. iv. 12); but there is slight evidence in favour of the tradition which professes to point out this locality to the modern traveller.

Besides this venerable wall, there is nothing at Hebron bearing the stamp of antiquity, save two reservoirs for rain water outside the town. One of these is just without the southern gate in the bottom of the valley. It is a large basin, 133 feet square, and 21 feet 8 inches deep. It is built with hewn limestone, of very solid workmanship, and obviously of ancient date. The depth of water of course varies at different times of the year: in May, it is 14 feet. The descent is by flights of steps at the four corners, by which the water is brought up in vessels and skins, and poured out into troughs for the flocks, or carried away for domestic uses. Just at the north end of the main part of the town is another and smaller pool, also occupying the bed of the valley, and measuring 85 feet by 55, with a depth of 18½ feet, containing (in May) 7 feet of water. These cisterns, which are connected with no perennial springs, and which are filled only by the rains, seem (at least in summer) to be the main dependence of the inhabitants for water, although that of the larger pool is neither clear nor clean. As these pools are doubtless of high antiquity, one of them is in all likelihood the 'pool of Hebron' over which David hanged up the assassins of Ishbosheth (2 Sam. iv. 12).

The environs of Hebron are very fertile. Vineyards and plantations of fruit-trees, chiefly olive-trees, cover the valleys and arable grounds; while the tops and sides of the hills, although stony, are covered with rich pastures, which support a great number of cattle, sheep, and goats, constituting an important branch of the industry and wealth of Hebron. The hill country of Judah, of which it is the capital, is indeed highly productive, and under a paternal government would be capable of sustaining a large population. That it did so once, is manifest from the great number and extent of ruined terraces and dilapidated towns. It is at present abandoned, and cultivation ceases at the distance of two miles north of the town. The hills then become covered with prickly and other stunted trees, which furnish Bethlehem and other villages with wood. See the works of travellers who have visited Hebron, and in particular, Dr. Robinson, Dr. Olin, Rev. V. Monro, Schubert, De Saulcy, Van de Velde, Wilson, and Thomson.—J. K.

HEDGE. This term is employed in the A.V.

to express four Hebrew words גֵּדֵר (and its cognates גֵּדָר and גֵּדָרָה) and מְסוּכָה (or מְסוּכָה); the former might with more propriety be rendered *fence* or *wall*, though, like the Greek *φραγμός* used by the LXX. for it, it does not in itself indicate the materials of which it is composed; the latter evidently means a quickset hedge. They are both used in Is. v. 5, 'I will take away the *hedge thereof* (מְסוּכָתָהּ) . . . and break down the *wall thereof* (גֵּדָרָהּ)'. See Trench, *Notes on the Parables*, p. 193.—J. E. R.

HEDUOSMON (Gr. ἡδύσμος, *i. e.*, having a sweet smell), translated *mint*, is mentioned in Matt. xxiii. 23: 'Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of *mint* and anise (properly *dill*) and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law;' and, again, in Luke xi. 42: 'But woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye tithe *mint* and rue, and all manner of herbs, and pass over judgment and the love of God: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.' All the plants mentioned in the above passages belong to the smaller ones cultivated in gardens in Europe, and which usually come under the denomination of sweet herbs. Lady Calcott inquires whether mint was one of the bitter herbs which the Israelites ate with the Paschal Lamb; and infers the probability of its being so from our own practice of eating lamb with mint sauce. Dr. Harris argues that mint, anise, and cummin were not tithed, and that the Pharisees only paid tithes of these plants from an overstrained interpretation of the law. But, in the article ANETHON (DILL), it may be seen that dill was tithed, and it is one of the herbs mentioned along with mint. The meaning, therefore, seems to be, that the Pharisees, while, in conformity with the law, they paid these minute tithes, neglected the most important moral duties,—truth, justice, and mercy; for it is added, 'these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.'

The plant ἡδύσμος or ἡδύσμος, so called 'ab odoris bonitate vel jucunditate,' was also called *μύρθη* and *μύρθος* by the Greeks, and *mentha*, or *menta*, by the Romans. The Arabs give *minthee* as the Greek synonym of their نَعْنَاع *nana*; and

in India, Persian works give *poderna* as the Hindue name of the latter. *Poderna* is the common name of a species of mint cultivated in the gardens of North-Western India. These names are interesting as occurring in works on *Materia Medica*; because both were employed by early translators as the equivalent of ἡδύσμος in the above passages of Matthew and Luke; and all European translators, according to Celsius, concur in considering *mint* as intended. The species most common in Syria is *mentha sylvestris*, found by Russell at Aleppo, and mentioned by him as one of the herbs cultivated in the gardens there. It also occurs in Greece, Taurus, Caucasus, the Altai Range, and as far as Cashmere, whence we have obtained specimens. *M. arvensis*, of which *M. sativa* (Linn.) is one of the varieties, is also a widely diffused species, being found in Greece, in parts of Caucasus, in the Altai Range, and in Cashmere. Mint is highly esteemed in Eastern countries, and apparently was so also by the Jews. Celsius says, 'Patet olus fuisse in

Judea quondam notum, et Judæis ob virtutes et præstantiam singularem acceptissimum.' It was much esteemed by the ancients, as Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* iii. 47) testifies: 'Mentæ nomen suavis odoris



261. *Mentha sylvestris*.

apud Græcos mutavit, cum ante mintha vocaretur: unde veteres nostri nomen declinaverunt. Grato menta mensas odore percurrit in rusticis dapibus;' and again (xx. 53), 'Mentæ ipsius odor animum excitat et sapor aviditatem in cibis, ideo embammatum mixturæ familiaris.' Dioscorides also (iii. 41) mentions it as useful to the stomach, and peculiarly grateful as a condiment. Mint was employed by the ancients in the preparation of many dishes. 'Hinc in Apicii libro coquinario, singulis fere paginis menthæ tam viridis, quam aridæ, mentio' (Cels. *Hierobot.* i. p. 546). 'Sic apud Ebræos in cibis receptam fuisse mentham manifeste tradunt Talmudici Tract. *Shem. Ve Jobel*, vii. 2; et Tract. *Okelein*, i. 2; *Shab.* vii. 1. Unde et olerum decimationi subjecta fuit' (Ib. p. 547).

It is difficult to determine the exact species or variety of mint employed by the ancients. There are numerous species very nearly allied to one another. They usually grow in moist situations, and are herbaceous, perennial, of powerful odour, especially when bruised, and have small reddish-coloured flowers, arranged in spikes or whorls. The taste of these plants is bitter, warm, and pungent, but leaving a sensation of coolness on the tongue: in their properties they are so similar to each other, that either in medicine, or as a condiment, one species may safely be substituted for another. But the species *M. sylvestris* and *M. arvensis*, which have been mentioned above, probably yielded the varieties cultivated in Palestine. J. F. R.

HEGAI (הֶגַי; Sept. *Taf*), an officer of the court of king Ahasuerus, to whom was entrusted the care of the young women who were in training to become concubines to the king (*Esth.* ii. 8, 15). After they had been presented to the king they passed under the charge of another officer,

who in this narrative bears the name of Sha'ashgaz, though the LXX. gives here the same name as before, *Taf*. In ver. 3 and 15 the name is omitted by the LXX. altogether. Origen supplies *Ρογαιο*. In ver. 3 the name appears under the form הֶגַי, *Hege*.—W. L. A.

HEIDEGGER, JOHANN HEINRICH, a Swiss theologian, was born July 1, 1633, near Zürich. The son of a Protestant pastor, he began his studies in his native land, and went to prosecute them at Marburg and Heidelberg, under men like Hottinger and Spanheim. In 1656 he was chosen professor extraordinary of the Hebrew language in the University of Heidelberg. In 1659 he was called to Steinfurt as professor of theology and ecclesiastical history. In 1666 he was compelled to leave the place by war, and returned to Zürich, where he received the chair of theology, which he held till his death, January 28, 1698. Heidegger was a man of great influence and activity. He took part in most of the ecclesiastical controversies of his time, and obtained a wide reputation. He was benevolent and patriotic, a defender of the refugees of France and Piedmont, who found an asylum in Switzerland from the persecutions of the Romanists on account of their religion. He was the principal author of the noted *Formula Consensus*, which was adopted by the Synod of Zurich, held in 1675. His chief Biblical works are—*De Historia sacra Patriarcharum exercitationes selectæ*, 1667-1671, 2 vols. 4to; *Enchiridion Biblicum succinctius*, 1681, 8vo; *Mysterium Babylonis, seu in divi Joannis theologi Apocalypseo prophetiam de Babylone magna diatriba*, 1687, 2 vols. 4to; *Exercitationes biblicæ*, 1700, 4to; *Labores exegetici in Josuam, Matthæum, epistolas S. Pauli ad Romanos, Corinthios, et Hebræos*, 1700, 4to; *Corpus theologiæ Christianæ*, etc., 1700, folio; *Medulla theologiæ Christianæ*, 1696, 1702, 4to. Many of his writings were directed against Romanists and the proceedings of the Council of Trent.—S. D.

HEIDENHEIM, WOLF B. SIMSON, a distinguished grammarian, Massorite, and typographer, who immortalized Rödelheim, near Frankfurt-on-Maine, in the annals of Hebrew literature, by the splendid Hebrew printing-office which he established in it, and from which he issued some of the most beautiful and correctly printed editions of the Pentateuch, as well as grammatical and philological works. The works for which Hebrew philology and Biblical exegesis are indebted to Heidenheim are as follows:—1. מִשְׁפָּטֵי הַמִּסְעִים, *on the laws of the accents*, Rödelheim, 1808. In this most valuable treatise, which is so highly prized by grammarians, Heidenheim has largely availed himself of the works of Ben Asher, Ibn Balaam, Chajug, and other ancient philologists. 2. הַנְּחָת הַסִּפְרָה, *the understanding of the Scriptures*, a Hebrew commentary on the Pentateuch, with the Hebrew text, and the commentary of Rashi, Rödelheim, 1818. 3. עֵין הַסּוֹפֵר, *the eye of the Scribe*, being annotations on the Pentateuch, with the Hebrew text and the Massoretic glosses of Jeh. Pisa, Rödelheim, 1818-1821. 4. A German translation of the Pentateuch, with the Hebrew text, Rödelheim, 1818-1821. Heidenheim died Feb. 26, 1832, and left behind him many valuable works on philology in MS. Comp. Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, i. p. 369, etc.; Steinschneider,

Catalogus Liber. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana, col. 1034; *Bibliographisches Handbuch*, p. 34.—C. D. G.

HEIFER. [EGHEL; PARAH.]

HEIFER, RED. [SACRIFICE.]

HEINRICHS, JOHANN HEINRICH, a German theologian, was born at Hanover, 10th April 1765, where he prosecuted his studies for some time, and afterwards at Göttingen. In 1789 he became repentin in theology at the University of Göttingen; and after remaining there three years, he went to Hanover, and gave public lectures in Mathematics. In 1794 he became pastor at Quickborn. In 1799 he became archdeacon in Dannenberg; in 1806 superintendent at Klötze; and in 1810 superintendent at Burgdorf. He died 17th March 1850. His chief works are portions of Koppe's Greek Testament, viz., *Acta Apostolorum*, part i. 1832, 2d ed., and part ii. 1827, 2d ed.; *Epistolae Pauli ad Tim., Tit., et Philem.*, 1828, 2d ed.; *Epistolae Pauli ad Philipp. et Coloss.*, 1826, 2d ed.; *Epistolae Pauli ad Hebraeos*, 1823, 2d ed.; *Apocalypsis*, part i. 1818, part ii. 1821; *Beiträge zur Beförderung der theologischen Wissenschaften, insonderheit der newtestamentl. Exegese*, Hanover, 1804. His other writings, which are not numerous, relate for the most part to pastoral duties and preaching. Heinrichs was an inferior critic, possessing little originality or learning.—S. D.

HEINSIUS, DANIEL, one of the most learned men of his time, was born at Ghent, 1580 or 1581. He was sent by his father, at the age of fourteen, to study law at Franeker; but, contrary to parental wishes, resolved to devote himself to ancient literature; and accordingly left Franeker, and prosecuted the study of the classics under Joseph Scaliger at Leyden, where, at the age of eighteen, he explained the Latin classics, and where also, seven years afterwards, he was appointed professor of history and politics. In 1607 he was appointed librarian and secretary of the University. He held also the office of historian to the States of Holland, with a handsome salary. He acted as secretary to the Synod of Dort in 1618. His fame was European. He died Feb. 3, 1665, at the age of 75. His works are very numerous and learned. Those of them which claim for him a notice here are: 1. *Aristarchus Sacer, sive ad Nonni in Johannem Metaphrasin Exercitationes*, Lugd. Bat. 1627; 2. *Exercitationes Sacrae ad Novum Testamentum*, 1639; Cantabrigiae, 1640.—I. J.

HEIR. [BIRTHRIGHT; INHERITANCE.]

HELAM (חֶלֶם, חֶלֶם; Sept. Ἀλάμ, Χαλαμάς, Χαλαμά), the place where David defeated the Syrians under Hadarezer; it is described in Samuel as 'beyond the river,' by which is meant the west side of the river Euphrates (2 Sam. x. 16, 17). The word it will be observed is variously written both in the Hebrew and the Sept. The exact locality of Helam is unknown. Ewald, however, with some probability, supposes it to have been identical with the Alamatha of Ptolemy (v. 15), a town near to Nicephoria, and situate on the west bank of Euphrates.—W. J. C.

HELBON (חֶלְבֹן; Χελβών). The prophet Ezekiel, in describing the riches and splendour of

Tyre, represents that city as the centre of the world's commerce. All other great cities and countries traded in her marts; each bringing its own staple produce or manufactures. Among these Damascus is enumerated. 'Damascus was thy merchant in the multitude of the wares of thy making, for the multitude of all riches; in the wine of Helbon, and white wool' (Ezek. xxvii. 18).

Jerome thought חֶלְבֹן was an adjective (from חֶלֶב, 'fatness') qualifying מֶיִן; and accordingly in the Vulgate he translates the clause *in vino pingui*. But all the best authorities are against him, and make Helbon the name of the place where the wine was produced. So it is rendered in the Septuagint οἶνος ἐκ Χελβών (the Alex. reads Χελβών), and in the old Latin *vinum ex Chelbon* (Sabatier, *in loc.*)

Hitherto sacred geographers have identified Helbon with the city of Aleppo, called by the

Arabs *Haleb*, حَلَب. The original name of this city, according to Greek orthography, was *Chalybon* (Χαλυβών, a corruption of the Arabic); and the province attached to it was termed Chalybonitis (Ptolemy, v. 15). Seleucus Nicator is said to have changed the name to *Beroea* (Niceph. Callist. xiv. 39; Winer, *R. W.*, s. v.) But the old name, as we see from Ptolemy, was not forgotten; and on the capture of the city by the Arabs in the 7th century, it was again resumed (Schultens, *Index Geogr. in vitam Saladini*, s. v. *Halebum*).

Chalybonian wine is several times mentioned by classic authors. Strabo tells us the Persian kings imported Chalybonian wine from Syria (xv. 3). Both Hesychius and Plutarch (*Vit. Alex.* ii.) speak of this famous wine. It has been generally thought that the name was derived from Chalybon, where it was supposed the wine was produced. But is it not strange that Damascus should be represented as supplying the wine of Aleppo to the marts of Tyre? Why would not the native merchants themselves carry it thither? A passage which Bochart quotes from Athenæus (i. 51) throws light on this point—ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς τὸν Χαλυβώνιον μόνον οἶνον ἐπινεν· ὃν φησι Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Δαμασκὸν τῇ Συρίᾳ εἶναι. 'The king of the Persians drank Chalybonian wine alone; which, says Poseidonius, was also produced in Damascus' (Bochart, *Opp.* ii. 486). We are thus led, both by the statement of Ezekiel, and by that of Poseidonius, who was himself a native of Syria, to look for a Helbon, or Chalybon, at or near Damascus.

On the eastern slope of Antilebanon, about ten miles north of Damascus, is the village of *Helbon*, situated in a wild and beautiful glen, the sides of which are still clothed with vineyards. The present inhabitants are all Muslems, and of course make no wine; but the vintners of Damascus regard the grapes of Helbon as the best in this part of Syria. In and around the village are many remains of ancient wealth and splendour, ruins of temples, fragments of Greek inscriptions, and

rock-hewn tombs. The Arabic name حَلْبُون is

identical with the Hebrew חֶלְבֹן; and there cannot be a doubt that this is the long-lost Helbon (Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 330, sq.; see also Robinson, *B. R.* iii. 472). How accurate were the descriptions of the Hebrew prophet: 'Damascus

was thy merchant . . . in the wine of Helbon, and white wool'—wine from the luxuriant vintage of that romantic glen on the neighbouring mountain side, and wool from the flocks that roam over the vast plains to the eastward!—J. L. P.

HELDAI (חֶלְדַּי; Sept. *Χολδία*; Alex. *Χολδαί*).

1. 'The Netophathite,' one of the captains, the twelfth, of the monthly courses in the temple service (1 Chron. xxvii. 15). 2. An Israelite from whom Zechariah was commanded to take materials for making memorial crowns (Zech. vi. 10) for Joshua the high-priest. Heldai and his companions seem to have been a deputation from Babylon sent with contributions to aid the work in which their people were engaged.—W. L. A.

HELEM (חֶלֶם; Sept. *Βαγγελῆμ*, joining the חֶלֶם with the proper noun; Alex. *ὕδρ' Ἐλᾶμ*). 1. A man named in the list of the descendants of Asher (1 Chron. vii. 35). It is supposed by some that he was the third son of Heber (ver. 32), and that of the names חֶלֶם and חֶלֶם one arose out of the other through the mistake of a transcriber; though what is the original name is uncertain. If so, the mistake must be very ancient, as it is followed by the LXX.

2. One of those to whom the memorial crowns were to be assigned (Zech. vi. 14); in all probability the same who is called *Heldai* in ver. 10.—W. L. A.

HELEPH (חֶלֶף; Sept. *Μοολᾶμ*; Alex. *Μελέφ*, the *μ* in both cases being the Heb. preposition *ו* incorporated with the word), a place on the northern boundary of Naphthali (Josh. xix. 33). Van de Velde would identify it with *Beit Lif* (*Mem.*, p. 320; comp. Robinson, *Rec. Rev.*, p. 61, 62). But *Beit Lif* lies towards what must have been the western boundary of Naphthali, between that tribe and Asher; whereas, as Keil observes, the expression 'the outgoings thereof were at Jordan,' and 'also the fact that in ver. 34 the southern boundary is drawn from the Jordan, prove that it is intended to shew the northern boundary-line of Naphthali, drawn from the west or from Asher' (*Comment.* in loc.)—W. L. A.

HELI does not occur in this form in the A. V. of the O. T. According, however, to the Sept. and the Vulg., the well-known name of the aged high-priest ELI is the same word. His name, *אֵלִי* (similar in meaning to the Greek proper name *Τρόφιμος*, 'a foster-child,' or still more like *Διοσφεύης*, a *Jove nutritus* ['malim certe alumnus *Ἰοῦα*,' *pro* *ἡλίου*, 'foster-child of Jehovah,' Gesen. *Thes.* 1029]), is rendered by the LXX. *Ἡλὶ* (Alex. *Ἡλῆ*); and by the Vulg. *Heli*, in no less than thirty passages (Dutripou, *Concordantie Bibl. Sacr. Vulg.* p. 600). This is, no doubt, a more correct rendering of the name than the A. V. *Eli*.

In the Apocryphal book 2 Esdras i. 2, HELI occurs as one of the ancestors of Esdras or Ezra. In the genealogy, however, of the canonical book, Ezra vii. 2, 3, the name is omitted, as well as two others, between Abihub and Amariah.

In Luke iii. 23, Heli occupies a prominent place in the ancestry of our Lord, owing to the discussion of the question, which the proximity of his name to that of Jesus has occasioned, *how was he the*

grandfather of Christ? According to the *letter* of the gospel in the A. V. version, Heli was *the father of Joseph*, the reputed father of the Saviour; and this relationship has been stoutly defended of late in the learned writings of Lord A. Hervey on the Genealogy of Christ. It is impossible, however, on a strict comparison of the *originals* of the two ancestral tables of Jesus Christ, as given in St. Matthew (ch. i.) and St. Luke (ch. iii.), to avoid the natural conclusion that Joseph the carpenter was the real son of Jacob, and the son-in-law of Heli, through his espoused wife, the Virgin Mary. The passages in the Greek Text are, (1) *Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας* [Matt. i. 16], and (2) *Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ἡλὶ* [Luke iii. 23]. The former passage, 'Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary,' plainly *predicates a literal and natural paternity of Jacob* to Mary's husband Joseph; while the second *only vaguely connects* Joseph with Heli—'Joseph of Heli;' so that on the simple assumption, which the entire nature of the case forces on us, that Heli was actually the virgin's father, we need only insert the phrase '*son-in-law*' between the two names [*q. d.* 'Joseph, who was the son-in-law of Heli,'] and the two passages will become compatible, and our Lord's natural descent from king David as the 'fruit of his loins' (Acts ii. 30) will be avouched to the satisfaction of so many prophecies and strong assertions of Holy Scripture. For a full discussion of the question the reader is referred to the article *GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST*, from which it will appear that while Joseph, the legal father of Christ, was only a link *in law* between the Saviour and His royal ancestor David, through Solomon, from whom Joseph was lineally descended through his father Jacob, Heli, the maternal grandfather of our Lord, connected Him by natural line with king David through his son Nathan, Solomon's elder brother.—P. H.

HELIODORUS (Ἡλιόδωρος). 1. The treasurer of Seleucus Philopator. This king, being impoverished by his annual tribute of 1000 talents to the Romans, and tempted by false accounts of the enormous wealth stored up in the Jewish temple, sent Heliodorus to plunder these treasures. The attempt threw the people of Jerusalem, and especially the high-priest Onias III., into great anguish of mind; and in consequence of their prayers, the sacrilege of Heliodorus was prevented by a 'great apparition' of a horse 'with a terrible rider upon him, who had complete harness of gold,' and was accompanied by two strong and lovely youths, who scourged Heliodorus 'with many sore stripes,' while the horse 'ran fiercely and smote at him with his fore feet' (2 Maccab. iii. 8-27). Heliodorus desisted from the attempt, and testified to Seleucus that the temple was defended by 'an especial power of God' (v. 38). This story of the vision of Heliodorus, familiar to all from Raphael's great picture in the Vatican, receives no support either from Josephus (*Antiq.* xii. 3. 3), or from the author of the 'fourth book of Maccabees.' This writer tells the story of Apollonius, but with different details. Jahn finds a supposed allusion to the story in a passage of Polybius, quoted by Josephus (*Hebr. Commonwealth* xci. E. T.) Heliodorus

* The writers in Herzog's *Encycl.* and the *Dict. of Biography* are mistaken in saying that the author of De Maccabees does not allude to the miracle.

afterwards poisoned Seleucus, and aimed at seizing the crown, but was suppressed by Antiochus Epiphanes, with the assistance of Eumenes and Attalus of Pergamos, B.C. 175 (Appian, *Syriaca* xlv. 60-70; Dan. xi. 20; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 3. 4; 2 Maccab. iii. 1; 4 Maccab.; Liv. xii. 24; Jahn, *l. c.*; Prideaux, *Connect.* ii. 162, sq.)

2. Heliodorus, son of Theodosius, and born at Emesa in Syria, about A.D. 365. He became Bishop of Tricca in Thessaly, and strictly enforced celibacy on his priests. He is the author of an admirable Greek romance called *Æthiopica*; and Nicephorus (*H. E.* xii. 34) says that, being required to suppress the book or lay down his bishopric, on the ground that the story injured the morals of the young, he chose the latter alternative (μᾶλλον ἐλεῖσθαι τὴν ἱεροσύνην λαπεῖν ἢ ἐκ μέσου τιθέναι τὸ σύγγραμμα). But the story is almost certainly false, for the *Æthiopica* (or Charideia, as it was sometimes called) was the most moral of Greek novels, and has no *πονημάτων ἐρωτικά* (Nicephor. *l. c.*) in it (Socrates, *H. E.*, v. 22; Phot. *Cod.* 72).—F. W. F.

HELKATH (הֶלְקָת; Sept. Ἑλεκεθ; Alex.

Χελκᾶθ), a border town of Asher assigned to the Levites (Josh. xix. 25; xxi. 31). In 1 Chron. vi. 75 Hukok is substituted for Helkath in the list of Levitical towns, probably through some error of the transcriber; that the Hukkok of Josh. xix. 34 cannot be intended is evident from the fact that this town was not on the boundary of Asher, but towards Issachar. Helkath has not been identified. In the Onomasticon it is simply mentioned, by Eusebius as Ἑθᾶν, by Jerome as *Elcath*; but neither seems to have known it. Van de Velde proposes to identify it with Ukkrih or Ikkrith, a town with ancient ruins on the high land between Wady el-'Ayûn and Wady el-Kurn (*Mém.* 320), but this seems a mere random conjecture, sustained neither by the locality nor the name.—W. L. A.

HELKATH-HAZZURIM (הֶלְקָת הַחֲזָרִים; Sept.

meris tawn epiboulwn, apparently from their reading הֶלְקָת), a place where twelve of the servants of David, and twelve Benjamites who adhered to Ishbosheth, engaged in single combat and were all slaughtered (2 Sam. ii. 16). It was near Gibeon [GIBEON]. Ewald approves the reading which the LXX. seem to have followed, as that which alone gives a suitable meaning to the name (*Gesch. Isr.*, ii. 575, note 1). Gesenius renders by 'the field of swords,' which can hardly be admitted, for though חֶרֶב is used in the sense of an 'edge,' it is never used simply for 'sword.' First gives *Felsenkahlheit*, 'rock-smoothness,' as the meaning; the place being smooth and level as a surface of rock. Aquila gives *κλήρος τῶν στερῶν*, and the Vulg. *Ager robustorum*, taking חֶרֶב in a figurative sense, of which, however, there is no other instance.—W. L. A.

HELL must be carefully freed from the well-known usage which restricts its meaning to 'the abode of the wicked after death,' if we would make it commensurate in signification with the original words represented by it in the O. and N. T. These terms, no less than the English equivalent, have occasioned much discussion as to their Biblical sense. Dr. Barrow (*Serm. on the Creed* [Art. 'He descended into Hell'], Works [Oxford 1830], vol.

v. pp. 416, 417) thus indicates the chief questions which have been raised on the subject: 'Is *Hell* a state of being, or a place? if a place, is it that where *bodies* are reposed, or that to which *souls* go? if a place of souls, is it the place of good and happy souls, or that of bad and miserable ones; or indifferently, and in common of both those; for such a manifold ambiguity these words have, or are made to have; and each of these senses are embraced and contended for.' A solution of these questions, if indeed practicable in every instance, would require too long an examination of many passages of the sacred writings for this article; we must be content with noticing the chief points; but it will be convenient first to explain the words which occur in the original for the English word '*Hell*.'

On the *Hebrew and Greek terms*.—The three words, which all but monopolise the subject, are הֵינֶם in the O. T.; and Ἀδης and Γέννα in the N. T. הֵינֶם occurs 65 times; in 61 of these it is rendered in the LXX. by Ἀδης; twice by Θνάτος (2 Sam. xxii. 6, and Prov. xxiii. 14); and twice omitted in the common text (Job xxiv. 9; Ezek.

xxxii. 21). In the Vulg. הֵינֶם is translated 48 times by *Infernus*, and 17 times by *Inferi* [mostly *Inferi* (plur)]. In our A. V. it is represented 31 times by *Grave*, 31 times by *Hell*, and 3 times by *Pit*. In the N. T. our word *Hell* occurs 23 times; 12 times it stands for Γέννα, and 11 times [perhaps the twelfth should be added, see Tischendorf and Bruder (*Concord.*) on Rev. iii. 7] for Ἀδης. The Vulg. closely follows the original in its N. T. renderings; in all the twelve passages Γέννα is simply copied into *Gehenna*, while *Infernus* stands for every occurrence of Ἀδης, except once (Matt. xvi. 18), where the phrase *πύλαι ᾧδου* ('*gates of hell*') becomes 'portae inferi.' Since, therefore, הֵינֶם, Ἀδης, and Γέννα, are employed in the sacred original to designate the mysteries of HELL, we proceed to give first their probable derivation, and then their meaning, so far as Holy Scripture assists in the discovery thereof.

Their Derivation.—I. הֵינֶם (or, as it is occasionally written, הֵינֶם) is by most of the old writers (see Cocceius, *Lex.*, pp. 840, 841; Schindler, *Lex. Pent.*, 1782; Robinson, *Key to Hebr. Bible*, ii. 217; and Leigh, *Crit. Sacra*, i. 238; ii. 6) referred for its origin to נָשָׂא, to demand, seek, or ask. They are not agreed as to the mode of connecting the derivative with this root; Cocceius suggests an absurd reason, 'הֵינֶם notat eum locum in quo qui est in questione est' (!) A more respectable solution is suggested by those who see in the *insatiableness* of הֵינֶם (Prov. xxx. 15, 16) a good ground for connecting it with the root in question. Thus Fagius on Gen. xxxvii.; Buxtorf, *Lexicon*, s. v., referring to Is. v. 14; Habak. ii. 5; Prov. xxvii. 20. (Ernst Meier, *Hebr. W.-w.-b.* p. 187, also adopts this root, but he is far-fetched and obscure in his view of its relation to the derived word).*

* A good defence (by a modern scholar) of this derivation of Sheol from the verb נָשָׂא is given by Güder, *Lehre v. d. Erschein. Jesu Christi unter den*

Boettcher (*De Inferis*, p. 76, sec. 159) finds in the root לש , *to be hollow*, a better origin for our word. Gesenius (*Theor.* 1347), who adopts the same derivation, supposes that לש means *to dig out*, and so contrives to unite לש and לש , by making the primary idea of *digging* lead to the derived one of *seeking* (see Job iii. 21). Boettcher goes on to connect the German words *Hohl* (hollow) and

Höhle (cavity) with the idea indicated by לש , and timidly suggests the possibility of *Hölle* (Hell) coming from *Höhle*. Whilst decidedly rejecting this derivation, we do not object to his derivation of the Hebrew noun; amidst the avowed uncertainty of the case, it seems to be the least objectionable of the suggestions which have been offered, and, to provide an intelligible sense for the word *Sheol*, most in harmony with many Biblical passages. Boettcher defines the term to mean '*vastus locus subterraneus*' (p. 72, sec. 153). This agrees very well with the rendering of our A. V. in so far as it has used the comprehensive word *Hell*, which properly signifies 'a covered or concealed place.' II. The universally allowed statement, that the N. T. has shed a light on the mysteries of life and immortality which is only in an inferior degree discovered in the O. T., is seldom more distinctly verified than in the uncertainty which attaches to *Sheol* (the difficulty of distinguishing its various degrees of meaning, which it is generally felt exist, and which our A. V. has endeavoured to express by an equal balance between *Hell* and *Grave*), in contrast with the distinction which is implied in the about equally frequent terms of *Hades* and *Gehenna*, now to be described. The Ἅδης of the N. T. was suggested, no doubt, by its frequent occurrence in the LXX. The word was originally unspirited, as in Homer's Ἅϊδαο πύλαι (*Il.* v. 646; ix. 312), and Hesiod's $\text{Ἄϊδω κύνα χαλκεόφρονον}$ (*Theog.* 311), and Pindar's Ἄϊδαο λαχεῖν (*Pyth.* v. 130). This form of the word gives greater credibility to the generally received derivation of it from a privat. and ἰδεῖν .* Plutarch, accordingly, explains it by $\text{δεῖδēs καὶ ἀόρατον}$ (*De Isid. et Osir.*,

Todten [Berne 1853], and more briefly in his art. *Hades* (Herzog, v. 441 [Clark's Trans. ii. 468]). His defence is based on the many passages which urge the insatiable demand of *Sheol* for all men, such as those we have mentioned in the text, and Gen. xxxvii. 35; 1 Sam. xxviii.; Ps. vi. 6, and lxxxix. 49. See also Venema (on Ps. xvi. 10); J. A. Quenstedt, *Tract. de Sepultura Veterum*, ix. 1.

* The learned authors of Liddle and Scott's *Greek Lex.* (s. v. Ἅδης) throw some doubt on this view of the origin of the word, because of its aspirated beginning, in Attic Greek. But surely this is precarious ground. Is it certain that even in Attic writers it was invariably aspirated? *Æschylus* (*Sept. c. Theb* [Paley] 310) has Ἄϊδα ποιάψαι (*with the lenis*), according to the best editing. It is true that this is in a chorus, but in the *Agam.* 1505, also a choral line, we read $\text{μηδὲν ἐν Ἀϊδου μεγαλαυχέτω}$ (*with the aspirate*); as if the usage were uncertain. Possibly in the elliptical phrase ἐν Ἀϊδου [scil. ὀκῶ] the aspirate occurs because the genitive is really the name of the God (not of the region, which might, for distinction, have been *then* unspirited).

p. 382), and in the *Etymol. Magn.* Ἅδης is defined as $\text{χωρὸς ἀφ' ἧγες, σκότους αἰωνίου καὶ ἰσοφου πεπληρωμένον . . . ἐν ᾧ οὐδὲν βλέπομεν}$. *Hades* is thus 'the invisible place or region;' '*Locus visibus nostris subtractus*,' as Grotius defines it. III. *Gehenna* (Γέεννα) is composed of the two Hebrew words, גֵּי הִנּוֹם (*valley*), and הִנּוֹם (*Hinnom*, the name of the proprietor of the valley). In the Sept. *Falerna* is used in Josh. xviii. 16, to designate 'the valley of the son of *Hinnom*,' the full expression of which is גֵּי בְּרֵהֶם .

The shorter appellation גֵּי הִנּוֹם occurs in the same verse. The Rabbinical writers derive הִנּוֹם from נָהַם , 'rugire' [*to groan or mourn*, in Ezek. xxiv. 23], as if indicative of the cries of the children in the horrid rites of the Moloch-worship (see Buxtorf, *Lex. Rab.*, p. 108; Glassius [ed. Dathii], *Philolog. Sacr.* i. 806). The etymological remarks have paved our way to the next section of our subject.

The Biblical meaning of these three terms.—I.

Meanings of Ἅϊδης . (1) The 'Grave.' Much controversy has arisen whether within the meaning of *SHEOL* should be included 'the grave,' indeed this is the only question of difficulty. The fact, which we have already stated, that our A. V. translates Ἅϊδης quite as often by 'grave' as by the general term 'hell,' supplies a *prima facie* reason for including it. Without, however, insisting on the probability that polemical theology, rather than Biblical science, influenced our translators, at least occasionally, in their rendering of the word, we may here adduce on the other side the telling fact, that of all the ancient versions not one translates in any passage the Hebrew *Sheol* by the equivalent of *grave*. The other Greek translators, like the venerable LXX., so far as their fragments shew (see Origen, *Hexapla, passim*), everywhere give Ἄϊδης for Ἅϊδης (sometimes they use for the locative case the older and better phrase ἐν Ἀϊδου , sometimes the more recent and vulgar ἐς τὸν Ἀϊδην , ἐν τῷ Ἀϊδῷ). The Samaritan text in the seven passages of the Pentateuch has either שְׁיֹל (*Siol*) or שְׁיֹאֵל . Onkelos and Jonathan everywhere, except in five passages, retain שְׁיֹאֵל . The Peschito everywhere in both Testaments renders the Hebrew *Sheol* and the Greek *Hades* by שְׁיֹאֵל [שְׁיֹאֵל , *Shiul*]; and, as we have already seen, the Vulgate translates the same words in both the O. T. and the N. T. by *inferus* (*plur.* *Inferi* mostly) and above all *Infernum* (see above for particulars). It is to the later Targumists (the Pseudo-Jonathan and the *Jerusalem Targum*), and afterwards to the Rabbinical doctors of the middle ages, that we trace the version of the 'sepulchre' and 'the grave' (thus in Gen. xxxvii. 35; xlii. 38; xlv. 29, 31, these Targumists rendered *Sheol* by בֵּית קְבוּרָתָא [*the house of burial*]; similarly did they render Ps. cxli. 7; Job vii. 9; xiv. 13; xvii. 13, 16; xxi. 13; Eccl. ix. 10, and other passages, in which it is observable how often they have been followed by our translators.* In the note below we have quoted reasons

* See for more information on this point Archbishop Ussher, *Works* [by Elrington], vol. iii., pp.

which have led learned men, who have especially examined the subject, to exclude the *grave* (specifically understood as a *made* or *artificial* one) from the proper meaning of *Sheol*. We cannot but accept their view in *critical exactness*. But there is an inexact and generic sense of *Sheol* in which the word *grave* well expresses the meaning of the Scripture passages just mentioned, and (in justice to A. V. it may be admitted) of most of the others, which our translators rendered by this word.* Of

319-321; and, more fully, Boettcher (pp. 68-70, sec. 146-149) who quotes Raschi and Aben Ezra [on Gen. xxxvii. 35]; D. Kimchi (*Lib. Radic.* s. v.

שְׁאוֹל); and other Rabbis who expressly admit the *grave* within the scope of the meaning of *Sheol*; Boettcher also quotes a very long array of commentators and lexicographers [R. Mardochai Nathan, with extravagant one-sidedness, in his *Hebr. Concord*, gives no other sense to *Sheol* but קֶבֶר, the *grave*], who follow the Rabbinical doctors herein; and he adds the names of such writers as deny the meaning of the '*grave*' to the Hebrew *Sheol*: among these occur the learned Dutch divines Vitringa and Venema. The latter of these expressly affirms

'שְׁאוֹל nullo modo ad sepulchrum pertinebit' (Comment ad Ps., vol. i., p. 504). To the authorities he mentions we would add, as maintaining the same view, our own learned Henry Ainsworth (on Gen. xxxvii. 35, *Works*, p. 135) who draws an important distinction; 'שְׁאוֹל, the *grave*, the word meaneth not the *grave* digged or made with hands, which is named in Hebrew קֶבֶר, but it meaneth the common place or state of death'—a similar distinction is drawn by Luther [*Enarr. in Genes.* xlii. 38]; קֶבֶר is only the *grave* in which an actual interment takes place; none that die *unburied* can have this word used of them; their receptacle is שְׁאוֹל, 'commune quoddam receptaculum non corporum tantum sed et animarum, ubi omnes mortui congregantur' (Ann. Seneca [*lib. viii. controvers.* 4] observes between *natural* burial and *artificial*—'Omnibus natura sepulchrum dedit,' etc. So Lucan, vii. 818, says—'Capit omnia tellus Quæ genuit; coelo tegitur, qui non habet urnam.' Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* vii. 54) distinguishes between *natural* burial, by applying to it the word *sepelire*; and burial by ceremony, by using of it the synonym *humare*); Nicolaus (*De Sepulchris Hebr.* i. 8-14) who shews that שְׁאוֹל is never used of funeral pomp, nor of the burial of the body in the ground; I. Eberhard Busmann, who [in 1682] wrote *Dissertatio philol. de Sheol Hebr.*, makes a statement to the effect that he had examined all the passages in the O. T., and pronounces of them thus—'Nullum eorum (excepto forsan uno vel altero, de quo tamen adhuc dubitari potest) de sepulchro necessario est intelligendum . . . multa tamen contra ita sunt comparata ut de sepulchro nullo modo intelligi possint, nec debeant.' Some modern writers, who have specially examined the subject, also deny that שְׁאוֹL ever means 'the *grave*.' Thus Breecher, on the *Immortality of the Soul as held by the Jews* (and Pareau, *Comment. de Immort. ac vite ful. notit.* 1807).

* The passages in which the A. V. renders שְׁאוֹL by *grave* are these—Gen. xxxvii. 35; xlii. 38;

this more vague sense Ussher (*Works*, iii. 324) says—'When *Sheol* is said to signify the *grave*, the term *grave* must be taken in as large a sense as it is in our Saviour's speech, John v. 28; and in Is. xxvi. 19, according to the LXX. reading; upon which passage writes Origen thus—'Here and in many other places the *graves* of the dead are to be understood, not such only as we see are builded for the receiving of men's bodies—either cut out in stones, or digged down in the earth; but *every place wherein a man's body lieth either entire or in part* . . . otherwise they which are not committed to burial, nor laid in graves, but have ended their life in shipwrecks, deserts, and such like ways, should not seem to be reckoned among those which are said to be raised from the *grave*' (*In Esai. lib. 28 citatus a Pamphilo, in Apol.*) We have here,

then, the *first* meaning of the Hebrew שְׁאוֹL, largely applied, as we have seen, in our A. V. to 'the *grave*,' considered in a universal sense (see the passages in the last note), commensurate with *death* itself as to the extent of its signification. (Comp. 'the *grave* and *gate* of *death*' of the Engl. Liturgy, Collect for Easter Even.) Though we carefully exclude the artificial *grave*, or קֶבֶר, from this cate-

gory, there is no doubt, as Bishop Lowth has well shewn (*De Sacra Poesi Hebr.* Prael vii. [ed. Oxon. with notes of Michaelis and Rosenmüller, 1821], pp. 65-69), that the Hebrew poets drew all the imagery, with which they describe the state and condition of the dead, from the funeral rites and pomp, and from the vaulted sepulchres of their great men. The Bishop's whole treatment of the subject is quite worth perusal. We can only quote his final remarks—'You will see this transcendent imagery better and more completely displayed in that noble triumphal song which was composed by Isaiah (xiv. 4-27) . . . previous to the death of the king of Babylon. Ezekiel has also grandly illustrated the same scene, with similar machinery, in the last prophecy concerning the fall of Pharaoh (xxxii. 18-32).' For an excellent vindication of the A. V. in many of its translations of the *grave*, we refer the reader to the treatise of Archbishop Ussher (*Answer to the Jesuit's Challenge*, *Works* [ed. Elrington], vol. iii., pp. 319-324 and 332-340. We doubt not that, if *grave* is an

admissible sense of שְׁאוֹL, our translators have, on the whole, made a judicious selection of the passages which will best bear the sense: their purpose was a popular one, and they accomplished it, in the instance of *uncertain* words and phrases, by giving them the most *intelligible* turn they would bear, as in the case before us. We undertake not to decide whether it would be better to leave the broad and generic word *Sheol*, as the great versions of antiquity did, everywhere; whether (e.g.) Jacob's lament (Gen. xxxvii. 35; xlii. 38) and such like

xliv. 29, 31; i Sam. ii. 6; i Kings ii. 6, 9; Job vii. 9; xiv. 13; xvii. 13; xxi. 13; xxiv. 19; Ps. vi. 5 (*Hebr. B.* 6); xxx. 3 (4); xxxi. 17 (18); xlix. 14 (15) [twice]; xlix. 15 (16); lxxxviii. 3 (4); lxxxix. 48 (49); cxli. 7; Prov. i. 12; xxx. 16; Eccl. ix. 10; Cantic. viii. 6; Is. xiv. 11 [margin, of v. 9 has *grave*]; xxxviii. 10, 18; Ezek. xxxi. 15; Hos. xiii. 14 [twice]; and in Jonah ii. 2 (3) the *margin* has 'grave.'

passages would be more suitably, if not correctly,* rendered by the simple retention of the original word, or the equally indefinite *hades*. (2) The other meaning of *ḥēl*, rendered *Hell* in thirty-one passages of A. V., according to the more ancient and, as it seems to us, preferable opinion, makes it local: i. e., the place of disembodied spirits. ('*Αἰδης δὲ τόπος ἡμῶν ἀείδης, ἡγουν ἀφανὴς καὶ ἀγνωστος, ὁ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἐντρεῦθεν ἐκδημοῦσας δεχόμενος*, Andr. Caesarius in *Apocal.* c. 63.) A later opinion supposes the word to indicate 'not the place where souls departed are, but the state and condition of the dead, or their permansion in death,' as Bishop Pearson calls it (*Creed* [ed. Chevallier], p. 439). On this opinion, which that great divine 'cannot admit as a full or proper exposition,' we shall say nothing more than that it is at best only a deduction from the foregoing local definition. That definition we have stated in the broadest terms, because, in reference to Dr. Is. Barrow's enumeration (given at the beginning of this article) of the questions which have arisen on the subject before us, we believe that Holy Scripture warrants the most ample of all the positions suggested by that eminent writer, to the effect that the *Sheol* or *Hell*, of which we treat, is not merely 'the place of good and happy souls,' or 'that of bad and miserable ones,' but 'indifferently and in common of both those.' We propose to arrange the Biblical passages so as to describe, first, the state of the occupants of *Sheol*, and, secondly, the locality of it, in some of its prominent features. As to the first point, *Sheol* is (a) the receptacle of the spirits of *all that depart this life*.† This

appears from Ps. lxxxix. 47, 48; and Is. xxxviii. 18, 19 (in which latter verse the opposition in its universal sense between *sheol* and the state of life in this world is to be observed). We do not hesitate with Archbishop Ussher (*Works*, iii. 318) to translate *ḥēl* in these passages 'hell' or 'sheol,' instead of 'grave,' as in A. V. *Sheol*, therefore, is (β') the abode of the wicked, Num. xvi. 33; Job xxiv. 19; Ps. ix. 17 (Hebr. Bib. 18); xxxi. 17 (18); Prov. v. 5; ix. 18; Is. lvii. 9; and (γ') of the good [both in their 'disembodied' condition], Ps. xvi. 10, comp. with Acts ii. 27, 31; Ps. xxx. 3 (4); xlix. 15 (16); lxxxvi. 13; Is. xxxviii. 10, comp. with Job. iii. 17-19; Hos. xiii. 14, comp. with 1 Cor. xv. 55. With regard to the second point, touching some local features of *Sheol*, we find it described as *very deep* (Job xi. 8); *dark* (Job x. 21, 22); (yet *conspicuous and open to the eye* of God, Job xxvi. 6); *with 'valleys'* [Gesen., *Thes.* 1348] or *depths* of various gradations (Ps. lxxxvi. 13 [comp. with Deut. xxxii. 22]; Prov. ix. 18); *with bars* (Job xvii. 16 [comp. with Jonah ii. 6] and *gates* (Is. xxxviii. 10); *situated beneath us*;^{*} hence the dead are said 'to go down' [דָּרָךְ] to *Sheol*, Num. xvi. 30, 33; Ezek. xxxi. 15, 16, 17 [comp. with Job vii. 9; Gen. xlii. 38]). We have seen how some have derived the name of *Sheol* from its insatiability; such quality is often attributed to it; it is *all-devouring* (Prov. i. 12); *never satisfied* (Prov. xxx. 16; Is. v. 14), and *inexorable* (Cant. viii. 7).

II. There is in the *Hades* ('*Αἰδης*) of the N. T. an equally ample signification with the *Sheol* of the O. T., as the abode of both happy and miserable beings. Its characteristics are not dissimilar; it is represented as 'a prison' (comp. 1 Pet. iii. 19, where inhabitants of *hades* are called τὰ ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύματα); with *gates* and *bars* (πόλαι ᾄδου, Matt. xvi. 18; comp. with the phrase εἰς Ἄδου of Acts ii. 27, 31, with the ellipsis of ὁμοῦ or οἴκον); and *locks* (the 'keys' of *Hades*, αἱ κλεῖς τοῦ Ἀδου, being in the hands of Christ, Rev. i. 18); its situation is also *downwards* (see the εἰς ᾄδου καταβιβασθήσῃ of Matt. xi. 23, and Luke x. 15). As might be expected, there is more plainly indicated in the N. T. the *separate* condition of the righteous and the wicked; to indicate this separation other terms are used; thus, in Luke xxiii. 43, *Paradise* (παράδεισος—no doubt different from that of St. Paul, 2 Cor. xii. 4, which is designated, in Rev. ii. 7, as ὁ παράδεισος τοῦ Θεοῦ, the *supernal*†

5 and elsewhere, and rendered *Rephaim* and *Giants*) is of the same form, but probably of a different origin (see Gesenius, *Thes.* 1302).

* Comp. Joseph. (*Antiq.* xviii. 1. 3), who when describing the tenets of the Jewish sects attributes to the Pharisees the belief of a future state, in which 'rewards and punishments' will be dealt out 'to men in their disembodied state' (ταῖς ψυχαῖς) 'under the earth' (ὕπὸ χθονὸς δικαιώσεις τε καὶ τιμὰς, κ. τ. λ.). On the phrase of the creed '*descended* into Hell,' and sundry uses of *Ἅδης* and *κατελθεῖν* as not necessarily implying local descent, but rather '*removal from one place to another*,' see Ussher, *Works*, iii. 392, 393.

† The distinction between the upper and the lower *Paradise* was familiar to the Jews. In Eusebius' *Eccl. Hist.* i. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

* There is some force in the observation often made (see Corn-a Lapidé, on Gen. xxxvii. 35; Bellarmine and others, adduced by Leigh, *Crit. Sacra*, i. 239), that 'it was not the *grave* of Joseph which Jacob meant; for he thought indeed that his son was devoured of wild beasts and not buried.' See more on this passage in Pearson, *Creed* [ed. Chevallier], p. 437; Fulke, *Translations*, etc., p. 314; both which writers defend the version of *grave*. Ainsworth *in loc.* (among the older commentators), and Knobel (among the moderns), stand for the general word *hell* [Knobel, *Schattenreich*]. Rosenmüller learnedly states both views, and leans in favour of 'locum, ubi mortui umbrarum instar degunt,' *Scholia*, vol. i., p. 576.

† Among the Scriptural designations of the inhabitants of *Sheol* is רפאים קהל (in Prov. xxi.

16) is rendered 'congregation of the dead' (or departed), in A. V. This is better than LXX. συναγωγη γιγάντων; and Vulg. 'coetus gigantum.'

There is force in the word קהל thus applied, derived from the use of the word to designate the great 'congregation' of the Jewish nation; see vol. i. p. 554, col. 1, of this work. For the use of the word רפאים, as applicable to the dead, see, especially, Böttcher, *de Infer.* pp. 94-10, sec. 193-204. The word occurs in this sense also in the grand passage of Is. xiv. [In ver. 9 '*Sheol* stirs up its *Rephaim*,' on the entrance of the spirit of the king of Babylon.] רפאים is met with in six other places in the same sense of *departed spirits*. It is connected with רפה, 'weak,' which occurs in Num. xiii. 18, and other passages (see Fürst *Hebr. W.-b.* ii. 383). The gentile noun (mentioned in Gen. xiv.

Paradise; see Robinson, *Lexicon*, N. T., pp. 13, 547; Wahl, *Clavis*, N. T., p. 376; Kuinoel [Ed. Lond.] on N. T. vol. ii. 237; and, especially, Meyer, *Kommentar u. d. Neue Test.* [ed. 4] vi. 292, and the authorities there quoted by him) is used to describe that part of Hades which the blessed dead inhabit—a figurative expression, so well adapted for the description of a locality of happiness, that the inspired writers employ it to describe the three happiest places, the Eden of Innocence, the Hades of departed saints, and the heaven of their glorious rest [PARADISE]. Another figurative expression used to designate the happy part of Hades is 'Abraham's bosom,' ὁ κόλπος Ἀβραάμ, Luke xvi. 22. (St. Augustine, who says [*Quæst. Evang.* ii. 38]; 'Sinus Abrahæ requies est beatorum pauperum . . . in quo post hanc vitam recipiuntur,' yet doubts whether *hades* is used at all in N. T. in a good sense. It is too strong a statement to say that the great father denies this use of the word (Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, i. 781); he does not do this, he only expresses his doubt, arising from imperfect knowledge. He says [*Ep. cxxxvii.*, *Works* ii. 689], 'Whether the bosom of Abraham, where the wicked Dives was, when in his torment he beheld the poor man at rest, were either to be deemed the same as Paradise, or to be thought to pertain to hell or hades, I cannot define,* non facile dixerim; so also he writes on *Ps. lxxv.* [*Works*, iv. 912]). For an explanation of the phrase, see ABRAHAM'S BOSOM. III. We need not linger over the Biblical sense of our last word Γέννα.† As Ἰλαδδευος is not limited to the finite happiness of Hades, but embraces in certain passages the ultimate blessedness of heaven, so there is no violence in supposing that Γέννα (from the finite signification which it possibly bears in Matt. v. 29, 30; xxiii. 15, equivalent to the Τάπρασ referred to by St. Peter, 2 Epist. ii. 4, as the place where the

much of their curious opinions on the subject is collected. In p. 298 are given the seven names of the heavenly Paradise; while in the next three are contained the seven names of the lower Paradise of Hades.

* Bishop Jeremy Taylor (*Works*, by Heber, vol. vi. p. 552) justly censures the hesitancy of the great Latin Father: 'If Christ's soul was in Paradise, he was in Hades: in vain, therefore, does St. Austin torment himself to tell how Christ could be in both places at once, when it is no harder to tell how a man may be in England and London at the same time.' Hades is no doubt mentioned as the name of the region to which Christ's soul went after the sufferings of Calvary, previous to his resurrection, Acts ii. 31. Once (Luke xvi. 23) the same term bears undoubtedly a bad sense, equivalent to Gehenna; but this fact only proves the indefiniteness of the meaning of Αἰδης in the N. T. like that of שְׁאוֹל in the O. T.

† We think it worth while to refer the reader to a 'Discourse' by the learned Joseph Mede (*Works*, p. 31-33) on Gehenna, which he shews to have not been used to designate 'Hell' before the captivity. He, in the same treatise, dwells on certain Hebrew words and phrases, which were in use previous to that epoch for designating Hades and its inhabitants—among these he especially notes רַפְאִים and קֶהָל, which we have observed on above.

fallen angels are reserved unto judgment, or 'until sentence,' comp. Jude v. 6) goes on to mean, in perhaps most of its occurrences in N. T., the final condition of the lost, as in Matt. xxiii. 33, where the expression ἡ κληρονομία τῆς γέεννης means probably the condemnation [or sentence] to Gehenna, as the ultimate doom. [GEHENNA.]

Synonymous Words and Phrases.—This article would not be complete without at least a cursory enumeration of some words and phrases, which, if not strictly synonymous with, are yet illustrative of 'hell.' (Most of them are given by Eisenmenger, *Entdeck. Jud.*, ii. 324, and Galatinus, *de Arcanis*, vi. 7, p. 345.) 1. גֵּהֶנְמָה, in Ps. cxv. 17, where

the phrase, כָּל־יְרֵדָהּ, 'all that go down into silence,' is in LXX., πάντες οἱ καταβαίνοντες εἰς ἄδου, while the Vulg. has 'omnes qui descendunt in inferum' (comp. Ps. xciv. 17). 2. אֲבִרֹן, in Job

xxvi. 6, is in poetical apposition with שְׁאוֹל (comp. Prov. xxvii. 20 [Kethib], where אֵל is in conjunction with שָׁ, forming an hendiadys for destructive hell; LXX. Αἰδης καὶ ἀπώλεια; Vulg. *infernus et perditio*; A. V. 'Hell and destruction').† 3. בֹּאֵר, שְׁחַת, Ps. lv. 24; A. V. 'pit of destruction'; LXX.

Φρέαρ διαφθοράς; Vulg. *Puteus interitus* (see also passages in which בֹּאֵר and שְׁחַת occur separately). 4. עֲצָמוֹת, with or without חֵשֶׁךְ, in Ps. cvii. 10, and other passages; LXX. Σκία θανάτου; Vulg. *Umbra mortis*; A. V. 'shadow of death.' 5.

תַּחְתִּיּוֹת־הָאָרֶץ, in Is. xlv. 23; A. V. 'lower parts of the earth' [Sheol or Hades, Gesen.]; LXX. Τὰ θεμέλια τῆς γῆς; Vulg. *Extrema terre* (comp. Ezek. xxvi. 20, etc., where the phrase is inverted, בֹּאֵר תַּחְתִּיּוֹת; of similar meaning is תַּחְתִּיּוֹת בֹּאֵר, Ps. lxxxviii. 6 (7)). 6. תַּפְתָּחַת, in Is. xxx. 33 [ac-

ording to Eisenmenger]; for another application of this word see Gesenius, *Thes.* s. v.; and Rosenmüller, *in loc.* 7. The phrase first used of Abraham, Gen. xxv. 8 (where it occurs, in the solemn description of the holy patriarch's end, *midway between death and burial*), 'He was gathered to his fathers,' is best interpreted of the departure of the soul to Hades to the company of those who preceded him thither (see Cajetan, *in loc.*, and Gesen. *Thes.*, s. v. אָסַף [Niphal], p. 131, col. 1). 8. τὸ σκοτὸς τὸ ἐξωτὸν, 'the outer darkness' of Matt. viii. 12, *et passim*, refers probably to what Josephus (*Jell. Jud.* iii. 25) calls ἄδης σκοτιώτερος, 'the darker Hades.'

Confirmation of these Biblical statements in Heathen Tradition.—St. Chrysostom (*Homil. ix. on 2 Corinth.*, *Opera*, x. 502; and, still more fully, *De Fato et Providentia*, orat. iv., *Opera*, ii. 766) says on this subject:—'The Greeks, though foolish in many points, and barbarians, and poets, and philosophers, and indeed all mankind, do herein agree with us, though not all alike, and say that

† 'Sciendum quod per infernum et perditionem, quæ duo in Scripturis sæpe conjunguntur, significatur status mortuorum—et non solum damnatorum, ut nos fere ex his vocibus auditis concipimus, sed in genere status defunctorum.' Cornel. Jansenius, *In Prov.* c. xv.

there are certain seats of judgment in *Hades*: so manifest and confest a thing is this.' On no subject of revelation is witness so closely borne by heathendom as on this. The great poems of Homer (a vast deposit of primeval and patriarchal tradition, outside of Scripture revelation, see Gladstone's *Homer and the Homeric Age*, vol. i. pp. 7-9) are full of the doctrine of a future state (Gladstone, ii. 167-171). *Hades* (and below it *Tartarus*) is *subterranean*, *Il.* xx. 63; *Od.* v. 185; *dark and spacious*, with mountains, woods, and waters, *Il.* viii. 16; *Od.* x. 509; *having strong gates*, *Il.* viii. 366; *Od.* xi. 622; inhabited by the shades of all who quit life. It is a very remarkable coincidence that conspicuous among the inhabitants of the Homeric *Tartarus* and *Hades* are *Giants and Titans*; while the *Rephaim* [same word as *Giants*] are a considerable part of the population of the Hebrew *Sheol* (see above, and Gladstone, ii. 163-166, where a comparison is made between Homer and certain passages of the O. T. and the Apocrypha). We cannot but call the reader's attention to the wonderful similarity in detail between the grand passages of *Is.* xiv. and *Ezek.* xxxii. on the one hand, and the *Nekyia* [or as Dante calls it, the *Inferno*] of *Odyssey* xi., imitated so fully by Virgil, *Æn.* vi., and repeated in another relation in the beginning of *Odyssey* xxiv. Details are here impossible; but who can detect without admiration the similarity of thought between the sensation in *Sheol* which thrills through its shadowy people when the spirit of 'Lucifer' enters ['Hell from beneath is moved for thee . . . it stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth,' *Is.* xiv. 9], and the excitement in *Hades* of the spirits of the mighty dead when Achilles enters (*Od.* xxiv. 19-21)—

Ὅτι οὐ μὲν περὶ κείνων ὁμιλεῖν ἀγγέλλοιεν δὲ
Ἥλιδ' ἐπὶ ψυχῇ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδου
Ἀχηνάεω· περὶ δ' ἄλλαι ἀγγεγυράδ'. κ. τ. λ.

(Comp. also *Ezek.* xxxii. 21 ['The strong among the mighty shall speak to him,' the king of Egypt, 'out of the midst of hell,' etc.], and *Od.* xi. and *Æn.* vi., *passim*). On the general subject, a couplet preserved by Clement of Alex., *Strom.* v., ascribed to either Diphilus or Philemon, distinctly mentions the twofold division of *Hades* (the *Elysium* and the *Tartarus*), for the blest and the miserable:—

Καὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἄδην δύο τρίβους νομίζομεν
Μίαν δικαίων, χατέραν δαιμόνων ὁδόν.

(Comp. Luke xvi. ver. 22 with 23.)

Jewish Opinions.—For these the reader is referred to the Apocryphal books—2 Esdr. ii. 29; iv. 8; viii. 53; Tobit xiii. 2; Wisdom xvii. 14; Eccles. xxi. 10; li. 5, 6; Song of Childr. ver. 66: the doctrines here do not essentially differ from what occur in the O. T. (comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 3; and see Prideaux, *Connection* [ed. Ox.], ii. 367). Later Rabbinical opinions are copiously stated by Eisenmenger, *Entdeck. Juden.*, vol. ii. pp. 322-369 [according to these there are *two Hells* (as there are two Paradieses), and a sevenfold division of abodes therein]; and by Bartolocci, *Biblioth. Rabbin.*, ii. 128, *sqq.*; a shorter statement, containing both Rabbinical and classical passages, occurs in Wetstein, *New Test.* i. 768, 769. For *Cabalistic* doctrines on the subject, see Reuchlini, *Cabala*, lib. ii. pp. 675, 676.

Patristic Comments.—These are abundant; the

opinions of the Greek Fathers are largely collected by Suicer, *The. Eccles.* vol. i. pp. 87-96. The reader will also find very many quoted from the Fathers of both East and West in Abb. Ussher's *Answ. to Jesuit*, chap. viii., *Limbus Patrum*, and *Christ's descent into Hell*. St. Jerome, in *Epist. ad Ephes.*, Works, vii. (1) 613, holds that *Hades* is literally 'in inferiori parte terræ.' St. Chrysostom discourages subtle questions about the precise site of *Hell*; as for himself, he is inclined to suppose that it is 'somewhere out of this world'—'Ἐξω σου, ὡς ἔγωγε οἶμαι, τοῦ κόσμου τούτου παρτός (*Epist. ad Rom. Homil.* xxxi. [Works, ed. Bened. vol. ix. 828]). On the general subject, besides the works which we have referred to, *passim*, in this article (especially Böttcher's work [of which, 'Tract. ii. cap. 1,' i. e., from page 64 to 101, is very valuable], where a mass of authors is adduced, and Abb. Ussher's treatise, which is also of great use to the student), we may mention the art. *Inferi* in Hoffmann's *Lexicon*, vol. ii. p. 625; Guider's articles *Hades*, *Hell*, *Gehenna* (in Herzog's *Real Encyclop.*); Delitzsch, *Comment. über d. Psalter*, i. 123-126; Keil and Delitzsch, *Bibl. Commentar*, i. 187; Thrupp, *Psalms*, vol. i. pp. 110-112; Bp. Horsley, *Psalms*, pp. 199, 200; Calmet, *Dict.* [by Mansi], s. v. *Infernus*; *Comment.* [also by Mansi], vol. v. pp. 133-144, containing a treatise called, *Dissert. de natura Anima et ejus post mortem statu*.

Conclusion.—We have purposely abstained from discussing all points which fall under controversial theology as unsuitable to this work, such as the subject of the *eternity* of hell-punishment. In one sense, indeed, we must predicate a *limit* of such punishment. In Rev. xx. 13, 14, it is certainly intimated that *Hades*, as the companion of *Death*, has an agency [the best commentators supposing a *personification* of the infernal powers in this passage, see Alford, Meyer, De Wette] which will cease at a given time; but as this surrender of a special function, which was obviously temporal from the first, is admitted on all hands, the polemical question is untouched by our admission. The ἡ λυμνη τοῦ πυρός of these verses is probably equivalent to γέεννα in its permanent character, of which we have treated. Our Lord predicates of ἡ γέεννα the strong attribute of τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀσβεστόν, Mark ix. 43-48; this attribute gives consistency to the grand statement of St. John in the passage of the Apocalypse which we have just considered.—P. H.

HELLENISTS, THE (οἱ Ἑλληισταί). This term occurs twice in the Acts of the Apostles (vi. 1; ix. 29) as the designation of a class of persons with whom the Apostles came in contact at Jerusalem at the beginning of the Gospel. In the former instance they appear as members of the church at Jerusalem; in the latter as the decided and violent adherents of Judaism, with whom Paul disputed, and by whom an attempt was made to destroy him. The word is found in another passage in the received text (Acts xi. 20); but the proper reading there seems to be Ἑλλήνας, and so it appears in all the critical editions (comp. Alford's note on the place).

All that can with certainty be concluded from the references to this class in the N. T. is, that, on the one hand, they were Jews either by descent or through proselytism, and on the other that they

were in some way distinct from another class of Jews who are designated of Ἑβραῖοι. Could we determine exactly the sense in which this latter designation was used it would enable us to fix the meaning of that with which it is placed in opposition; but unfortunately it is from this very opposition that it derives the special meaning which it bears as so placed; so that we have rather to determine the sense of Ἑβραῖοι, from that of οἱ Ἕλληνας than the reverse.

Uncertainty as to the constitutive difference between these two classes seems to have existed from a very early period; as appears from the Peshito

version, which in the one passages gives ܠܗܘܢ,

Greeks, in the other explains the term as ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ

ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ, Jews who

know Greek; and also from Chrysostom having found it necessary to explain the word to his hearers (*Hom. xiv., in Act. App.*, etc.) It is not surprising, therefore, that a considerable variety of opinion on this point should have emerged. The opinions which have been advanced may be distributed under the following heads:—

1. The distinctive difference between them was simply one of *language*; the Hebrews speaking the Aramaic of Palestine, the Hellenists the Greek. This is the most ancient opinion, being that expressed in the Peshito, and given by Chrysostom, Theophylact, etc.; and it is the one which has received the largest number of suffrages in more recent times. Among its advocates are Joseph Scaliger, Heinsius, Drusius, Grotius, Selden, Hottinger, Hug, etc.

2. The distinction was partly of *country* partly of *language*: the Hebrew being a native of Judea, and using the Aramaic language; the Hellenist born among the Gentiles, and using the speech of the country of which he was a native. So Erasmus, Lightfoot, Bengel, Wahl, De Wette, Davidson, Alford, Baumgarten, etc.

3. The difference was one of *religious history*: the Hebrew being a born child of the covenant; the Hellenist a proselyte from heathenism. So Beza, Salmasius, Pearson, Basnage, Pfannkuche, etc.

4. The difference was one of *principle*: the Hebrew adhering to one set of beliefs or modes of thought, the Hellenist adopting another. According to some this difference had the effect of constituting the Hellenists into a distinct sect among the Jews, such as the Essenes; whilst others, without going this length, regard the two classes as standing to each other very much in the relation in which parties in the state holding different political views, or parties in the same church having different aims and modes of regarding religious truth in modern times, may stand to each other; the Hebrews being like the Conservative or High Church party, while the Hellenists advocated a more progressive, unfettered, and comprehensive scheme of thinking and acting. This latter view, in its substance, has recently found an able advocate in Mr. Roberts (*Discussions on the Gospels*, p. 148, ff.). According to him 'the Hellenists were those Jews, whether belonging to Palestine or not, who willingly yielded to the influence of Gentile civilisation and habits, and were thus distinguished by their free and liberal spirit; the Hebrews, again, were the rigid

adherents to Judaism, who, in spite of the providential agencies, which had been long at work, endeavoured to keep up those peculiar and exclusive usages by which the Jews had for so many centuries been preserved distinct from all other nations."

We are not disposed to reject entirely any of these opinions. Each of them seems to have an element of truth in it; though the contributions they make to the whole truth on this subject are by no means of equal importance. The last alone points to what must be regarded as the fundamental and formative characteristic of Hellenism among the Jews. There can be no doubt historically that some such distinction as that to which it refers did subsist in the Jewish nation (see Jost, *Gesch. des Judenthums*, i. 99 ff., 345 ff.), and had come to a height at the commencement of the Christian era; and nothing can be more probable than that the existence of such a distinction should manifest itself in the very way in which the distinction between the Hebrews and the Hellenists is asserted to have shewn itself in Acts vi. 1, ff. It is in agreement with this also that Paul should have entered into discussion chiefly with the Hellenist Jews at Jerusalem; for it is probable that as his early Hellenic culture pointed him out as the person most fitted to meet them on their own ground, he may have been specially set upon this work by the other apostles. The violent hostility which existed against him on the part of the Hellenists is also wholly in harmony with this view of their peculiar characteristic as a party; for, as all history proves, the least tolerant of argumentative confutation are those who have assumed the pretensions of the enlightened and advanced thinkers of their age. The position which this view assigns to the Hebrews as a party is further wholly in accordance with the notices in the N. T. of a party designated οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς, a phrase which, as Mr. Roberts shews, cannot be taken simply as a periphrase for 'Jews,' but always carries in it an allusion to some speciality of doctrinal opinion or religious position. On the other hand, we can hardly accept this as the whole truth of the case. If we simply say that the Hellenists were more free and unfettered in their opinions and usages than the Hebrew, we have only in a very vague way ascertained their position and the reason of their name. Grant that the Hellenists were the liberal and less fettered party among the Jews, the question still remains, In what did their liberalism shew itself? Not certainly, as Mr. Roberts seems to intimate, in a disposition to relax the rigidity of Judaic ceremonial, or to abridge the distinction between Jew and Gentile; for so far as we know anything of the Hellenist party they were as bigotedly zealous for these as were the Hebrews. But if it was not a *religious* liberalism which characterised them, of what kind was it? To this question any theory which places the sole characteristic of Jewish Hellenism in liberality of opinion is bound to furnish an answer before it can be accepted.

If we would proceed on solid ground in this inquiry justice must first of all be done to the word itself by which this party is designated in the N. T. That word is a formation from the verb ἡλληνίζω, which, according to the analogy of verbs in -ίζω, expresses the act or condition of one who, in language, general deportment, and manner of life, appears as a Greek; so that Hellenist applied to a Jew would indicate that he was a favourer of what

was Grecian. There seems no ground for restricting this to language; at the same time, this element cannot be overlooked, because not only is it incredible that any man should be called 'Hellenist' who was destitute of the most obvious characteristic of a Hellenic, his language, but the special usage of *ἑλληνίζειν* in the sense of 'to speak Greek' (comp. Xenoph. *Anab.* vii. 3, 25; Plat. *Prot.* 327 E.; *Meno.* 82, B.; Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 5, 1; 12, 1; Lobeck, *Phryn.*, p. 379), necessitates our including this meaning in *Ἑλληνιστής*. A Hellenist, then, was a Jew who spoke Greek. It does not follow from this, however, that he spoke only Greek, or that those Jews who were not Hellenists were ignorant of Greek. It is probable that the knowledge of Greek was so widely diffused at the time when Christianity appeared, that it was in use throughout the Jewish community. Still it is conceivable that while some spoke Greek by preference and ostentatiously, others preferred Aramaic, and used Greek only as occasion required, and that the former stood to the latter in somewhat the same relation as the Frenchified Saxons of whom Higden complains (Warton, *Hist. of Engl. Poetry*, i. 5) stood to their old-fashioned countrymen, both parties understanding French, but the former using it by preference (which Higden calls 'Francigenari'), the latter only from necessity. The preference of the Greek language, however, was not the only or even the principal distinction of the Hellenist. What marked him out most, and perhaps excited most the hostility of the Hebrews against him, was his adoption of heathen manners, usages, and modes of thought; his holding himself free from the restrictions under which the other conceived all true Jews to be placed; and especially his claiming to explain the Mosaic ordinances and the O. T. generally according to a free speculation unfettered by the trammels of tradition. In this we conceive lay the essential characteristic of the Hellenist. With this might coincide other peculiarities; and in point of fact it is probable that the majority of the Hellenists were born and educated out of Palestine, and that many of them were proselytes or the sons of proselytes. But these were accidents rather than essentials; that which constituted the Hellenist was his acting the Greek, living after Greek fashions, using Greek methods of speculation, affecting the exclusive use of the Greek tongue. Meyer tersely defines the word 'Ein Jude welcher Griechische nationalität hat, und besonders Griechisch redet' (*Comment.* in loc.) The 'besonders,' however, seems misplaced here; that which especially marked the Hellenist was his leaning to Gentile methods and forms of religious speculation. Hence to *Hellenise* came in the writings of the fathers to be used as a current expression for the adopting of Gentile views and doctrines (see Suicer, *Thes. Eccl.*, sub voc.), though it is sometimes also used for the writing of good Greek or the favouring of Greek customs.

On the assumption that the Hellenists were distinguished by speaking Greek has been reared the doctrine of a Hellenistic dialect of the Greek language, a doctrine which has no foundation in the actual phenomena of the language as presented in the LXX. and the N. T. [GREEK LANGUAGE]. —W. L. A.

HELMET. [ARMS; ARMOUR.]

HELPS (*ἀντιλήψεις*; Vulg. *opitulaciones*; 1

Cor. xii. 28). The Greek word, signifying aids or assistances, has also this meaning, among others, in the classical writers (e.g., Diod. Sic. i. 87). In the Sept. it answers to עֲזָרָה (Ps. xxii. 19), עֲזָרָה (Ps. cviii. 12), and עֲזָרָה (Ps. lxxxiii. 8). It is found in the same sense, Ecclus. xi. 12; 2 Maccab. xi. 26; and in Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* iv. 5. 1). In the N. T. it occurs once, viz., in the enumeration of the several orders or classes of persons possessing miraculous gifts among the primitive Christians (*ut supra*), where it seems to be used by metonymy, the abstract for the concrete, and to mean *helpers*: like the words *δυνάμεις*, 'miracles,' i. e., *workers* of miracles; *κυβερνήσεις*, 'governments,' that is, *governors*, etc., in the same enumeration. The Americans, it is well known, by a similar idiom, call their servants 'helps.' Great difficulty attends the attempt to ascertain the nature of the office so designated among the first Christians. Theophylact explains *ἀντιλήψεις* by *ἀντεχέσθαι τῶν ασθενούντων*, *helping or supporting the infirm*. And so Gennadius, in Ecumenius. But this seems like an inference from the etymology (see Gr. of Acts xx. 35). It has been assumed by some eminent modern writers that the several 'orders' mentioned in ver. 28, correspond respectively to the several 'gifts' of the Spirit enumerated in ver. 8, 9. In order, however, to make the two enumerations tally, it is necessary to make 'divers kinds of tongues' and 'interpretation of tongues,' in the one, answer to 'diversities of tongues' in the other, which, in the present state of the received text, does not seem to be a complete correspondence. The result of the collation is that *ἀντιλήψεις* answers to 'prophecy'; whence it has been inferred that these persons were such as were qualified with the gift of 'lower prophecy,' to *help* the Christians in the public devotions (Barrington's *Miscellanea Sacra*, i. 166; Macknight on 1 Cor. xii. 10-28). Another result is, that 'governments' answers 'to discerning of spirits.' To both these Dr. Hales very reasonably objects, as unlikely, and pronounces this tabular view to be 'perplexed and embarrassing' (*New Analysis*, etc., Lond. 1830, iii. 289). Bishop Horsley has adopted this classification of the gifts and office-bearers, and points out as 'helps,' i. e., persons gifted with 'prophecies or predictions,' such persons as Mark, Tychicus, Onesimus. Vitringa, from a comparison of ver. 28, 29, 30, infers that the *ἀντιλήψεις* denote those who had the gift of *interpreting foreign languages* (*De Synag. Vet.* ii. 505, Franeg. 1696); which, though certainly possible, as an arbitrary use of a very significant word, stands in need of confirmation by actual instances. Dr. Lightfoot also, according to his biographer, adopted the same plan and arrived at the same conclusion (Styrie's *Life of Lightfoot*, prefixed to his *Works*, p. 4, Lond. 1684). But Lightfoot himself explains the word 'persons who accompanied the apostles, baptized those who were converted by them, and were sent to places to which they, being employed in other things, could not come, as Mark, Timothy, Titus.' He observes that the Talmudists sometimes call the Le-

vites מְסַעְדֵי לְכֹהֲנִים, 'the helpers of the priests' (vol. ii. p. 781). Similar catalogues of miraculous gifts and officers occur, Rom. xii. 6-8, and Eph. iv. 11, 12; but they neither correspond in number nor in the order of enumeration. In the former

'prophecy' stands first, and in the *latter*, second; and in the former many of the terms are of wide import, as 'ministering,' while *minute distinctions* are made between others, as between 'teaching' and 'exhortation,' 'giving' and 'showing mercy.' Other writers pursue different methods, and arrive at different conclusions. For instance, Hammond, arguing from the etymology of the word, and from passages in the early writers which describe the office of relieving the poor as peculiarly connected with that of the apostles and bishops by the deacons, infers that *ἁγία* 'denotes a special part of the office of those men which are set down at the beginning of the verse.' He also explains *κυβερνήτης* as another part of their office (Hammond, *Comment. in loc.*) Schleusner understands 'deacons who had the care of the sick.' Rosenmüller, 'Diaconi qui pauperibus, peregrinis, egrotis, mortuis, procurandis praeerant.' Bishop Pearce thinks that both these words may have been originally put in the margin to explain *δυνάμεις*, 'miracles or powers,' and urges that *ἁγία* is nowhere mentioned as a gift of the Spirit, and that it is not recapitulated in ver. 29, 30. Certainly the omission of these two words would nearly produce exactitude in the recapitulation. Bowyer adopts the same conjecture; but it is without support from MSS. or versions. He also observes that to the end of ver. 28 some copies of the Vulgate add 'interpretationes sermonum,' *ἐρμηνείας λόγων*; as also the later Syriac, Hilary, and Ambrose. This addition would make the *recapitulation perfect*. Chrysostom and all the Greek interpreters consider the *ἁγία* and *κυβερνήτης* as importing the same thing, viz., *functionaries* so called with reference to the two different parts of their office: the *ἁγία* superintending the care of the poor, sick, and strangers; the *κυβερνήτης* the burial of the dead, and the executorship of their effects, including the care of their widows and orphans, rather *managers* than governors (Blomfield's *Recensio Synopt.*) After all it must be confessed, with Doddridge, that 'we can only guess at the meaning of the words in question, having no principles on which to proceed in fixing it absolutely' (*Family Expositor*, on 1 Cor. xii. 28). (Alberti, *Glossar.* p. 123; Suicer, *Thesaur.* in voc.; Salmasius, *De Fanore Trapezitico*, p. 409; Wolfii *Cura Philolog.*, Basil. 1741.)—J. F. D.

HEM OF THE GARMENT. [FRINGES.]

HEMAN (הֵמָן; Sept. *Ἡμάν*; Alex. *Ἡμάν*, *Al-moudān*; Alex. *Almūdān*). 1. A person of the tribe of Judah, named with others celebrated for their wisdom, to which that of Solomon is compared (1 Kings iv. 31; 1 Chron. ii. 6). [EZRAHITE.]

2. HEMAN (Sept. *Ἡμάν*), a Kohathite of the tribe of Levi, and one of the leaders of the temple-music as organised by David (1 Chron. vi. 33; xvi. 41, 42).

HEMDAN (הֵמְדָן; Sept. *Ἡμδαδ*), the first named among the sons of Dishon, of whom Eshban is the second (Gen. xxxvi. 26). In 1 Chron. i. 41, he is called Hamrān (חֲמֵרָן; A. V. Amram).

Among the Arab tribes is one bearing the name of 'Amrān (همران), and dwelling eastward and south-eastward from Akaba. It is divided into five clans, among which are the Usbany, the

Humeidy, and the Humādy (Robinson, i. 268). These names are not far apart from Eshban and Hemdan, and this has led to the suggestion, that among the 'Amrān we are to seek the descendants of these Horite chiefs (Knobel, *Gen.* p. 256).—W. L. A.

HEMLOCK. [ROSH.]

HEMSEN, JOHANN TYCHSEN, a German theologian, was born at Boldixum, October 15, 1792. After studying at Copenhagen and Göttingen, he became doctor of philosophy in 1821 at the University of the latter place, where he was appointed professor extraordinary of theology in 1823. He died May 14, 1830. His chief works are—*Die Authentizität der Schriften des Evangelisten Johannes* (against Bretschneider's *Probabilia*), 1823; *De Christologia Joannis Baptiste*, 1824; *Der Apostel Paulus, sein Leben, Wirken, und seine Schriften*, published after his death, under the superintendence of Liicke and Goeschen, 1830. Hemsén was an amiable and pious man, but of very moderate abilities.—S. D.

HEN, prop. CHEN (חֵן), appears in the A. V. as the son of Zephaniah (Zech. vi. 14). The LXX. takes the word as a common noun, and translates *ἐς χάριτα υἱοῦ Σοφονίου*. This is approved by Ewald, Hengstenberg, and Maurer, who interpret it of the hospitality shown to the deputies by Josiah. But for this there seems no good reason.—W. L. A.

HEN. This bird is mentioned in Scripture in Matt. xxiii. 37, and Luke xii. 34, where the word used is simply *ὄρνις*. [COCK.]

HENA (חֵנָה; Sept. *Ἡνα*) twice mentioned in Scripture (2 Kings xix. 13; Is. xxxvii. 13), and one of a number of cities taken and destroyed by some of the kings of Assyria previous to the invasion of Judea by Sennacherib. What are believed to be the ruins and traces of these cities are still found on the banks of the Euphrates. Travellers are divided as to the exact situation of Hena; but the balance of probability favours the site near to Sepharvaim or Sippara (now Mosaib), where an ancient town of the name of *Ana* still exists, with the ruins of what appears to have been an immense city in its immediate neighbourhood (see Winer's *Realwörterbuch*, s.v.; Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, 355).—W. J. C.

HENADAD (חֵנָדָד; Sept. *Ἡναδάδ*), the head of a Levitical family, distinguished for the share they had in the rebuilding of the temple (Ezra iii. 9). It is the same person apparently who is mentioned as the father of Bavai and Binnui, who assisted in rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 18, 24), and the latter of whom signed the covenant for his family (x. 9).—†

HENDERSON, EBENEZER, D.D., was born at Dunfermline, 17th Nov. 1784, and died at Mortlake in Surrey, 16th May 1858. Having devoted himself to the work of a missionary to the heathen, he set out with a view of proceeding to India by way of Denmark, direct access to the British possessions in India not being then permitted to any but the servants of the Company. Whilst at Copenhagen circumstances occurred which led to his relinquishing his intention of going to the East,

and to his devoting himself to Bible circulation in the north of Europe. In this work he was engaged from 1805 to 1825, and in pursuance of it travelled through most of the northern countries, and through the south of Russia. In 1818 he published his *Travels in Iceland*, 2 vols. 8vo, and in 1826 his *Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia*, 1 vol. 8vo, both works of deep and lasting interest. While engaged in circulating the Scriptures, he was at the same time a laborious student of their contents; making himself familiar with the original languages and with all the helps which the scholarship of the Continent afforded to the exploration of their meaning. His well-known attainments in this department led to his being appointed in 1826 president of the Mission College connected with the London Missionary Society at Hoxton; and in 1830 he became professor of Theology and Biblical Literature in Highbury College. Declining strength obliged him to resign this office in 1850, when he retired to Mortlake. Here he officiated for some time as pastor of a small congregation at East Sheen; but this duty, too, he was obliged to relinquish some years before his death. Besides the works above mentioned, he published a translation of the *Exposition of the Prophecies of Daniel*, by M. F. Roos ('der grosse Schriftforscher voll stiller Tiefe,' as Delitzsch calls him), Edin. 1811; *The great Mystery of Godliness Incontrovertible* (a dissertation on 1 Tim. iii. 16), Lond. 1830; *Divine Inspiration* (being the congregational lecture for 1835), Lond. 1836, 3d ed., 1852; *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah, translated from the Original Hebrew, with a Commentary, critical, philological, and exegetical*, etc., Lond. 1840; *The Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets translated, with a Commentary*, etc., Lond. 1845; *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah and that of Lamentations*, etc., Lond. 1851; *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, etc., Lond. 1855; besides new editions of Buck's *Theological Dictionary*, and Gutbiri's *Syriac Lexicon*, and many minor works. Dr. Henderson was a scholar of varied and extensive attainments, especially in Oriental learning; and his contributions to Biblical literature are among the most valuable the age has produced, especially his lectures on inspiration and his commentaries on Isaiah and the minor prophets. He received the honorary degree of D.D. simultaneously from Amherst College, U.S., and from the university of Copenhagen, a spontaneous tribute to his learning, diligence, and worth.—W. L. A.

HENOCH [ENOCH]. This appears also in the A. V. of 1 Chron. i. 33 as the representative of the name which is more correctly given as *Hanoch* in Gen. xxv. 4. The original word חֲנוֹךְ is the same throughout.

HENRY, MATTHEW, was born at Broad Oak, on the confines of Flintshire and Shropshire, 18th October 1662, and died at Nantwich, 22d June 1714. Having received his preliminary education under his father, the Rev. Philip Henry, and a Mr. Turner, he was removed to the academy of Mr. Doolittle at Islington, whence he proceeded to become a student of law at Gray's Inn. His legal studies, however, had not proceeded far when he relinquished them for theology, to which he thenceforward devoted himself. In 1687 he became minister of a Presbyterian congregation at Chester,

where he remained twenty-five years; from this he removed in 1712 to Hackney, where he was permitted only a short term of labour. His death occurred whilst on a preaching tour in the vicinity of his first charge. His great work is his *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments*, of which he had completed as far as the end of the Acts when his hand was arrested by death. The work was finished by others. As a popular commentary on the Scriptures, this work has not yet been surpassed. Without pretending to be elaborately exegetical, it yet throws a continuous stream of light on the meaning of the sacred writers; the author's analysis of the train of thought is generally satisfactory; and nothing can be more felicitous than his practical applications of the truths he educes. If the work does not shew deep learning, it displays unflinching good sense, discriminating thought, sterling piety, and a constant sympathy with the sacred writers, which is often of more avail for the discovery of their meaning than the profoundest learning.—W. L. A.

HEPHER (חֶפְרִי; Sept. Ὁφέρ). The founder of the family of the Hephrites. He was the son of Gilead, in the line of Manasseh, who was the first of the sons of Joseph, by his wife Asenath (Num. xxvi. 32). The daughters of his son Zelophead are noteworthy as the first to have obtained the right of inheriting a father's property (Num. xxvii. 1, sq.).

Another person of the name of Hephher (Sept. Ἡφῶλ) is mentioned in 1 Chron. iv. 6. He was the second of the sons of Ashur by his wife Naarah.

And a third is Hephher the Mecherathite, and one of 'the valiant men of the armies' of David (1 Chron. xi. 25, 36). His name is somehow omitted in the list of David's mighty men given in 2 Samuel (xxiii. 34). Kennicott is of opinion that the name as occurring in 1 Chron. xi. 36 is a corruption; and the supposition is by no means improbable if he is right in regarding the catalogue in Samuel as the original of the two.—W. J. C.

HEPHZIBAH (חֶפְזִיבָּה; Sept. Ἀψιδά; Alex. Ὁφισιδά), the wife of Hezekiah, and mother of Manasseh (2 Kings xxi. 1). There may be an allusion to her in Is. lxii. 4, where the prophet says this name shall be given to Jerusalem, 'because Jehovah delighteth (יִפְצֵּי) in thee;' or this may have been with the Jews a name of affection.—W. L. A.

HERAKLES (Ἡρακλῆς) is mentioned in 2 Mac. iv. 19, as the Tyrian god to whom the Jewish high-priest Jason sent a religious embassy (θεωροί), with the offering of 300 drachmæ of silver. That this Tyrian Hercules (Herod. ii. 44) is the same as the Tyrian Baal, is evident from a bilingual Phœnician inscription found at Malta (described by Gesenius, *Monum. Ling. Phœn.* i. 96), in which the Phœnician words, 'To our Lord, to Melkarth, the Baal of Tyre,' are represented by the Greek Ἡρακλεῖ Ἀρχηγέτην. Moreover, Herakles and Astarte are mentioned together by Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 5. 3), just in the same manner as Baal and Ashtoreth are in the Old Testament. The further identity of this Tyrian Baal with the Baal whom the idolatrous Israelites worshipped, is evinced by the following arguments, as stated chiefly by Movers

[*Die Phönizier*, i. 178). The worship of Baal, which prevailed in the time of the Judges, was put down by Samuel (1 Sam. vii. 4), and the effects of that suppression appear to have lasted through the next few centuries, as Baal is not enumerated among the idols of Solomon (1 Kings xi. 5-8; 2 Kings xxiii. 13), nor among those worshipped in Judah (2 Kings xxiii. 12), or in Samaria, where we only read of the golden calves of Jeroboam (1 Kings xii. 28; xv. 26). That worship of Baal which prevailed in the reign of Ahab, cannot, therefore, be regarded as a mere continuation or revival of the old Canaanite idolatry (although there is no reason to doubt the essential identity of both Baals), but was introduced directly from Phœnicia by Ahab's marriage with the Sidonian princess Jezebel (1 Kings xvi. 31). In like manner, the establishment of this idolatry in Judah is ascribed to the marriage of the king with a daughter of Jezebel. (Comp. Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. 13. 1; ix. 6. 6.)

The power of nature, which was worshipped under the form of the Tyrian Hercules, Melkarth, Baal, Adonis, Moloch, and whatever his other names are, was that which originates, sustains, and destroys life. These functions of the Deity, according to the Phœnicians, were represented, although not exclusively, by the *sun*, the influence of which both animates vegetation by its genial warmth, and scorches it up by its fervour.

Almost all that we know of the worship of the Tyrian Hercules is preserved by the classical writers, and relates chiefly to the Phœnician colonies, and not to the mother-state. The eagle, the lion, and the thunny-fish, were sacred to him, and are often found on Phœnician coins. Pliny expressly testifies that human sacrifices were offered up every year to the Carthaginian Hercules (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. v. 12); which coincides with what is stated of Baal in Jer. xix. 5, and with the acknowledged worship of Moloch.

Movers endeavours to shew that Herakles and Hercules are not merely Greek and Latin synonyms for this god, but that they are actually derived from his true Phœnician name. This original name he supposes to have consisted of the syllables מלך (as found in מלך, *lion*, and in other words), meaning *strong*, and כל, from יכל, *to conquer*; so that the compound means *Ar conquers*. This harmonizes with what he conceives to be the idea represented by Hercules as the destroyer of Typhonic monsters (*l. c.* p. 430). Melkarth, the Μελκαρθος of Sanchoniathon, occurs on coins only in the form מלךרת. We must in this case assume that a *kaph* has been absorbed, and resolve the word into מלך קרתא, *king of the city*, πολιοῦχος. The bilingual inscription renders it by Ἀρχηγέτης; and it is a title of the god as the patron of the city.—J. N.

HERALD. This term occurs only once in the A. V., as a translation of the Chaldee כְּרִיז, *khrîz*, *præco*, Dan. iii. 4. The verb which, as Gesenius remarks (*Thesaurus*, 712), belongs to a root widely diffused among the Indo-Germanic languages, is found in the same book, ver. 29, וְכִרְזוּ, *ekhrîze*, *prædicatum est*. The Greek term κηρύσσει occurs in the Apocrypha, Eccus. xx. 15, 'crier,' A. V.; also in 1 Tim. ii. 7; 2 Tim. i. 11;

2 Peter ii. 5; and the verb κηρύσσειν in 1 Cor. ix. 27, with an evident allusion to the officer employed at the Grecian games.—J. E. R.

HERDER, JOHANN GOTTFRIED VON. This truly great man, great as a poet, a philosopher, a scholar, an historian, and a divine, was born at Mohrungen, 25th August 1744. His father kept a school for girls, and the young Herder was allowed no books except a Bible and hymn-book. At the age of fifteen he became an amanuensis to Trescho, the pastor of Mohrungen, who discovered his genius, and encouraged his industry. Prevented by his keen sensitiveness from becoming a surgeon, he studied at Königsberg, and was allowed to attend Kant's lecture gratis. In 1764 he became a teacher in the school at Riga, and in 1767 began to obtain some celebrity as a preacher, and made his début in literature. In 1769 he travelled as tutor to the Prince of Holstein, and after various promotions and successes, was appointed general superintendent at Weimar. At this town he long lived in the zenith of his fame and prosperity, mingling on equal terms with such men as Wieland, Schiller, Gothe, and Jean Paul, and exercising a great and admirable influence both as court-preacher and director of education. In 1801 he became president of the higher consistory, and was soon after ennobled. He died at Weimar, 18th December 1803.

Herder's literary greatness is universally recognised, and it is admitted by all that his writings had no mean share in the work of stimulating the intellect of his countrymen, and giving that mighty impulse to the thoughtful activity of Germany which has produced such grand results. But it has been the fashion to depreciate his direct merits as a theologian, which are of the most important kind. He rendered to modern theology an inestimable service—a service the effects of which it is almost impossible to overrate—by making philosophy bear directly upon religion, and by infusing a genial and poetic spirit into inquiries which he enriched with an encyclopædic range of knowledge. Gentle, fresh, clear-sighted, tolerant, liberal, he was at the same time full of firm faith and deep reverence. The light of a pure and lofty genius, the expansiveness of a glowing heart, and the charm of an eloquent and lucid style, give a value even to those of his works which are critically weak or theologically questionable. He has been called the 'prophetic forerunner of modern theology;' and Jean Paul Richter beautifully observes that in his works 'you walk, as it were, amid moonshine, into which the red dawn is already falling; but one hidden sun is the painter of them both' (*Vorschul der Ästhetik*, sec. 545).

Even Herder's philosophical and literary works had an influence on theology, especially his *Ideen zur Philosophie d. Geschichte d. Menschheit*; and his poems are deeply religious in tone and spirit. His general views on doctrine have been selected by Augusti (*Herder's Dogmatik*, Jena, 1805), mainly from papers in the Christliche Schriften; and his opinions on the Christian ministry (which are of a true and lofty kind) are contained in his *Provinzialblätter an Prediger*, 1774, and *Briefe über das Studium d. Theologie*, 1780. His directly exegetical works are *Erläuterungen zum N. T.*, and short books on the Revelation, and the epistles of James and Jude. These are perhaps the *least* valuable of

his writings, as those on the O. T. are the most valuable. The latter are *Aelteste Urkunde d. Menschengeschlechtes*, 1774, an explanation of the earlier part of Genesis from a far wiser and truer standpoint than the one usually adopted; and *Geist der draisichen Poesie*, 1782, a work into which he threw his whole heart, and of which he wrote to Hamann that 'he had cherished the idea in his heart since childhood,' and to Müller 'that he loved it like a child' (see the Vorrede to Justi's edition, 1825). This is his greatest theological work, and though thirty years subsequent to Lowth's book, *De Sacra Poet.*, it is no less valuable than its predecessor, and produced a wider effect in raising the poetry of the Bible from the contempt which it had incurred from the supercilious ignorance of shallow classicists. So that both those books opened a new path, and mark a great epoch in the history of Bible exegesis.

Herder's theological works (*Sämmtliche Werke zur Theol. und Relig.*) were published in 12 vols. at Vienna in 1823, and edited with a biography by his friend, J. G. Müller, at Tübingen, 1805-1820. His *Christliche Schriften* were published at Riga in 1798, and contain papers on the Gift of Tongues, the Resurrection, the Redeemer, the Son of God, on the Spirit of Christianity, and on Religion. Besides the books already mentioned he wrote *Gott, einige Gespräche*, Gotha, 1800; *Christliche Reden und Homilien*, edited by J. E. Müller, 1805 (sketches of sermons, full of thoughtful piety and suggestive eloquence); *Luther's Katechismus*, with an explanation for the use of schools, 1799; and *Weimarisches Gesangbuch*, 1800. His *Ursprung d. Sprache* obtained the Berlin prize in 1771. He afterwards unwisely retracted this eloquently-expounded theory under the influence of Hamann, to whose philosophic views he leant. Several of his works have been translated into English.—F. W. F.

HERDMAN. [HERDS AND FLOCKS.]

HERDS AND FLOCKS. From the earliest times the Hebrews were a pastoral people. Abraham and his sons were masters of herds and flocks, and were regulated in their movements very much by a regard to the necessities of their cattle, in which their wealth almost entirely consisted. In Egypt the Israelites were known as keepers of cattle. When they left Egypt they, notwithstanding the oppressions to which they had been subjected, took with them 'flocks and herds, even very much cattle' (Exod. xii. 38); and though during their wanderings in the wilderness their stock was in all probability greatly reduced, before they entered Canaan they had so replenished it by their conquests in the pastoral regions beyond Jordan that they took with them a goodly number of animals wherewith to begin their new life in the land that had been promised them. Of that land large tracts were suited for pasturage; certain of the tribes were almost exclusively devoted to pastoral occupations; and traces of a nomadic life among other tribes than those settled on the east of the Jordan are found even as late as the time of the monarchy (comp. 1 Chron. iv. 38-43).

The pastoral life has always had a charm for the Semitic peoples; and among them, as well as among other nations, it has always been held in honour. In the open and spacious fields bordering on the Jordan and in the hill country of Pales-

tine, it is a life of comparative ease and of great independence even in the present day; men possessed of flocks and herds become quietly and gradually rich without any severe exertion or anxiety; and but for feuds among themselves, the oppression of superiors, and the predatory tendencies of their less respectable neighbours, their life might flow on in an almost unbroken tranquillity. The wealth of Sheykhs and Emirs is measured chiefly by the number of their flocks and herds; and men who would count it an intolerable indignity to be constrained to engage in any handicraft occupation, or even in mercantile adventure, fulfil with pride and satisfaction the duties which their pastoral life imposes upon them. It was the same in ancient times. Job's substance consisted chiefly of cattle, his wealth in which made him the greatest of all the men of the east (i. 3). The first two kings of Israel, Saul and David, came from 'following the herd' to ascend the throne (1 Sam. ix. xi. 5; Ps. lxxviii. 70). Men 'very great,' like Nabal, derived their riches from their flocks, and themselves superintended the operations connected with the care of them (1 Sam. xxv. 2, ff.) Absalom, the prince of Israel, had a sheep-farm, and personally occupied himself with its duties (2 Sam. xiii. 23). Mesha, king of Moab, was 'a sheepmaster' (מִשְׁעָה, 2 Kings iii. 4). The daughters of chiefs and wealthy proprietors did not think it beneath them to tend the flocks and herds of their family (Gen. xxix. 9 [comp. xxiv. 15, 19]; Exod. ii. 16; comp. Hom. *Il.* vi. 423; *Odys.* xii. 121; xiii. 221; Varro, *De Re Rust.* ii. 1). The proudest title of the kings of Israel was that of shepherds of the people (Jer. xxiii. 4; Ezek. xxxiv. 2, etc.; comp. ποιμένες λαῶν in Homer and Hesiod, *passim*, and Plato, *De Rep.* iv. 15, p. 440, D.), and God himself condescended to be addressed as the Shepherd of Israel (Ps. lxxx. 1), and was trusted in by his pious servants as their shepherd (Ps. xxiii. 1). In later times the title of shepherd was given to the teachers and leaders of the synagogues, who were called פִּרְשֵׁי טוֹרָה (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb. in Matt.* iv. 23); but this was unknown to the times before Christ.

By the wealthier proprietors their flocks and herds were placed under the charge of servants, who bore the designation of רֹעֵי צֹאן, רֹעֵי מִקְנֶה, or שֹׁמְרֵי, נִקְרִים. These were armed sometimes with weapons, to protect themselves and their charge from robbers or wild beasts; though, if we may judge from the case of David, their furniture in this respect was of the simplest description. Usually they carried with them a staff (שֶׁבֶט, מִקֵּל) furnished with a crook, which might be used for the purpose of catching an animal by the foot; those who had the charge of oxen carried with them a goad (מִלְכֹד, דִּרְבֵּן, Judg. iii. 31; 1 Sam. xiii. 21 [GOAD]). They had also a wallet or small bag (זִקְקָה, זִקְקָה) in which to carry provisions, ammunition, or any easily portable article (1 Sam. xvii. 40, 43; Ps. xxiii. 4; Micah vii. 14; Matt. x. 10; Luke ix. 3, 10). Their dress consisted principally of a cloak or mantle (the burnoose of the modern Arabs) in which they could wrap the entire body (Jer. xliii. 12). For food they were obliged to be contented with the plainest fare, and often were reduced to the

last extremities (Amos vii. 14; Luke xv. 15). Their wages consisted in a portion of the produce, especially of the milk of the flock (Gen. xxx. 32, ff.; 1 Cor. ix. 7). That they cultivated music is not unlikely, though it hardly follows from 1 Sam. xvi. 18, for David's case may have been exceptional; in all countries and times, however, music has been associated with the pastoral life. When the servants belonging to one master existed in any number they were placed under a chief (מִקְנֵהוּ, שֵׁר,

Gen. xlvii. 6; ἀρχιποιμήν, 1 Pet. v. 4); and under the monarchy there was a royal officer who bore the title of מִשְׁכֵּן הָרִעִים, 'chief of the herdsmen' (1 Sam. xxi. 7; comp. 1 Chron. xxvii. 29, and 'magister regii pecoris,' Liv. i. 4).

The animals placed under the care of these herdsmen were chiefly sheep and goats; but besides these there were also neat cattle, asses, camels, and in later times swine. It would seem that the keeping of the animals last named was the lowest grade in the pastoral life (Luke xv. 15); and probably the keeping of sheep and goats was held to be the highest, as that of horses is among the Arabs in the present day (Niebuhr, *Arabia*, i. 226). The herdsman led his charge into the open pasture-land, where they could freely roam and find abundant supply of food; the neat cattle were conducted to the richer pastures, such as those of Bashan, while the sheep, goats, and camels found sufficient sustenance from the scantier herbage of the more rocky and arid parts of Palestine, provided there was a supply of water.* Whilst in the fields the herdsmen lived in tents (מִשְׁכְּנֵיהֶם, Song of Sol.

i. 8; Is. xxxviii. 12; Jer. vi. 3), and there were folds (גִּרְדִּים, Num. xxxii. 16; 2 Sam. vii. 8; Zeph. ii. 6), and apparently in some cases tents (אֹהֲלִים, 2 Chron. xiv. 15) for the cattle. Watch

towers were also erected, whence the shepherd could descry any coming danger to his charge; and vigilance in this respect was one of the shepherd's chief virtues (Mic. iv. 8; Nah. iii. 18; Luke ii. 8). If any of the cattle wandered, he was bound to follow them, and leave no means untried to recover them (Ezek. xxxiv. 12; Luke xv. 5); and harsh masters were apt to require at their servants' hands any loss they might have sustained, either by the wandering of the cattle or the ravages of wild beasts (Gen. xxxi. 38, ff.), a tendency on which a partial check was placed by the law, that if it was torn by beasts, and the pieces could be produced, the person in whose charge it was should not be required to make restitution (Exod. xxii. 13; comp. Amos iii. 12). To assist them in both watching and defending the flocks, and in recovering any that had strayed, they had dogs (Job xxx. 1), as have the modern Arabs, not, however, 'like those in other lands, fine faithful fellows, the friend and companion of their masters, . . . but a mean, sinister, ill-conditioned generation, kept at a distance, kicked about, and half-starved, with nothing noble or attractive about them' (Thomson, *Land and Book*, i. 301), a description which fully suits Job's disparaging comparison.

* The ancients seem to have had the belief that rich herbage was not favourable to the rearing of sheep. Comp. Virg., *Georg.* iii. 384; Colum. vii. 2, 3; Varro, *De Re Rust.* ii. 2, 4; etc.

The flocks and herds were regularly counted (Lev xxvii. 32; Jer. xxxiii. 13).

The pastures to which the herdsmen conducted their flocks were called מְדִינֹת, *the places without, the country, the desert* (Job v. 10; xviii. 17; Prov. vii. 26: comp. *ἔξω ἐν ἐρήμῳ*, Mark i. 45); also מְדִינֹת (Jer. xxv. 37; Amos i. 2), מְדִינֹת (Ps. lxxv. 13; Jer. ix. 9, etc.), נָוָה (1 Sam. vii. 8; Hos. ix. 13, etc.), מְדִינֹת (Ps. lxxv. 13; Is. xlii. 11; Jer. xxxiii. 10; Joel ii. 22, etc.) In summer the modern nomades seek the northern and more hilly regions, in winter they betake themselves to the south and to the plain country (D'Arvieux, iii. 315; v. 428); and probably the same usage prevailed among the Hebrews. In leading out the flocks, the shepherd went before them, and they followed him obedient to his call; a practice from which our Saviour draws a touching illustration of the intimate relation between Him and His people (John x. 4). The young and the sickly of the flock the shepherd would take in his arms and carry, and he was careful to adapt the rate of advance to the condition and capacity of the feeble or burdened portion of his charge; a practice which again gives occasion for a beautiful illustration of God's care for his people (Is. xl. 11; comp. Gen. xxxiii. 13). These usages still prevail in Palestine, and have been often described by travellers; one of the most graphic descriptions is that given by Mr. Thomson (*Land and Book*, i. 301, ff.; comp. Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 322). As the Jews advanced in commercial wealth the office of shepherd diminished in importance and dignity. Among the later Jews the shepherd of a small flock was precluded from bearing witness, on the ground that, as such fed their flocks on the pastures of others, they were infected with dishonesty (Maimon. in *Demai*, ii. 3).—W. L. A.

HERESY (*Aἵρεσις*), as used in the N. T., means a sect or party. In this sense it is used of the Pharisees as one of the religious parties among the Jews (Acts v. 17; xv. 5; xxvi. 5; xxviii. 22); and it is in the same sense applied by them to the Christians (Acts xxiv. 5, 14). This is in accordance with the common usage of the Greek, for not only does Josephus speak of the three sects of the Jews, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, as the 'three heresies of the Jews' (*Antiq.* xiii. 5. 9; *Vita*, sec. 2); but the Greeks commonly used this term to describe the schools into which their philosophers were divided.

The word itself properly means *choice*, or the taking of one thing in preference to another; and from this by an easy transition it passed to designate the party or body which was constituted through choosing a certain dogma or set of dogmas in preference to others. But as all such choosing implies the assertion of a right to choose, the word may come to have a bad meaning attached to it when the choice is exercised where such a right does not exist; and further, when by the exercise of such choice a small party separates itself from the great body of those who profess the same aims and the same pursuits, the application to them of the title 'heresy' may involve a censure of them as so separating themselves. Hence we find in the N. T. that the word 'heresy' came to be applied within the church to divisions among the brethren arising from arbitrary and self-willed preferences on the part

of some (1 Cor. xi. 19; Gal. v. 20; 2 Pet. ii. 1), divisions to be censured and shunned. A still further departure was made in the church from the primitive usage of the word in the ages which succeeded the apostolic. From designating the section or body of persons making the lawless or wrong choice, it came to be used of the dogma or opinion by the choice of which they were distinguished; and as the standard set up was the assumed consent of the Catholic Church, a heresy came to mean any opinion in religion which was a departure from this standard. 'Hæreses,' says Tertullian, 'dictæ Græca voce ex interpretatione *electionis*, qua quis sive ad instituendas sive ad suscipiendas eas utitur' (*De Præscript. Hæret.*, 6). The same change passed on the cognate adjective *heretic* (*αἰρετικός*). In the N. T. this means one who makes a party in a church, and thereby produces division (Tit. iii. 10); in subsequent ecclesiastical usage it means a man who adopts an opinion not in accordance with the assumed Catholic belief. This usage of the term is purely ecclesiastical. 'A Stoic could not have called a Peripatetic simply *αἰρετικός*, though he might have spoken of him as *αἰρετικός τῆς Ἀριστοτελικῆς φιλοσοφίας*. The Christian writers are, therefore, the first in which we find the word *αἰρετικός* used by itself' (Burton, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 11). Instances, however, occur in which the Christian fathers use the word in its original sense; as, *ex. gr.*, when Basil (*Epist.* 33) speaks of his own *περὶ τὸν Θεὸν αἰρέσεις*. They use it also sometimes of opinions which do not pretend to be Christian; but this is a rare and improper use of the term (comp. Dorner *Entwicklungsgesch.* i. p. 71, note 4, Eng. Tr. I., App. Note U).—W. L. A.

HERMAS, Ἑρμᾶς, one of the Christians at Rome to whom Paul addressed special salutations in his Epistle (Rom. xvi. 14). Of his history and station in life nothing is known. By several writers, ancient and modern, he has been reputed to be the author of a work entitled *The Shepherd of Hermas*, which from its high antiquity and the supposed connection of the writer with St. Paul, has been usually classed with the epistles of the so-called Apostolic Fathers. A Latin version has come down to us from the time of Tertullian; of the original Greek, till very recently, only a few fragments have been known as quotations in other ancient authors. But in 1859 the first part of the original, being nearly one-fourth of the whole, was discovered by Tischendorf at the end of the *Codex Sinaiticus*; a fac-simile of a portion of it is given in his *Notitia*. A mediæval Greek re-translation of the Latin version (according to Tischendorf) was published by Dressel in his edition of the Apostolic Fathers. It has been divided by modern editors (for in the manuscript copies there is no such division) into three books; the first consisting of four visions, the second of twelve commands, and the third of ten similitudes. It is called the 'Shepherd' (ὁ Ποιμήν, *Pastor*), because the Angel of Repentance (*Nuntius Penitentia*), at whose dictation Hermas professes that he wrote the second and third books, appeared in the garb of a shepherd. It is frequently quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, either by the author's name (*Strom.* i. 29, sec. 181; *Opp.* ed. Klotz, ii. 119; ii. 1, sec. 3; *Opp.* ii. 124), or by the phrase 'the Shepherd says' (*Strom.* i. 17, sec. 85; *Opp.* ii. 60; ii. 12, sec. 55; *Opp.* ii. 158; ii. 9, sec. 43; *Opp.* ii. 150; ii. 12,

sec. 55; *Opp.* ii. 158; iv. 9, sec. 76; *Opp.* ii. 318; vi. 6, sec. 46; *Opp.* iii. 125), though he does not expressly identify the author as the Hermas in Rom. xvi. Eusebius is more definite. In his *Eccles. Hist.* (iii. 3) he says, 'The apostle, in the salutations at the end of his Epistle to the Romans, makes mention among others of Hermas, who, it is said, wrote the book called the Shepherd; it is to be noted that this book is called in question (*ἀντιλέλεκται*), so that it cannot be ranked among the books received as canonical (*ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις*). By others it is judged to be a most necessary book for elementary instruction. And we know that it is publicly read in churches, and that some very ancient writers make use of it.' Elsewhere he says, 'among the spurious (*ἐν τοῖς νόθοις*) are to be placed the Acts of Paul, the Book called the Shepherd, and the Revelation of Peter' (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 25). And in giving an account of the opinions of Irenæus (*Hist. Eccles.* v. 8), he remarks, 'the book (*τὴν γραφὴν*) of the Shepherd he not only knew, but received with approbation, saying, Well spake the book (*ἡ γραφὴ*) which says, 'first of all believe that there is one God.' This passage has been adduced, but, perhaps, improperly, to prove that Irenæus regarded 'The Shepherd' as canonical: the word *γραφὴ*, by some here translated *Scripture*, may mean simply the book or writing (Lardner's *Credibility*, ch. xvii.; *Works*, ii. 171). Origen often quotes 'The Shepherd,' speaks of it as useful, and, in his opinion, inspired: *ut paulo, divinitus inspirata* (*Ep. ad Rom. Comment.* lib. x.; *Opera*, vii. 437, ed. Lommatsch). Elsewhere he describes it as 'a book circulated in the church, but not universally acknowledged to be divine' (*Comment. in Evang. Matt. Hom.* xiv.; *Opp.* iii. 316). Jerome also states that 'it was publicly read in some of the churches of Greece, though among the Latins it was almost unknown (*De Illust. Vir.* cap. x.) Tertullian (*De Pudicitia*, sec. 10) classes it with apocryphal and spurious writings. If it be admitted that 'The Shepherd' was written by the Hermas of St. Paul, its date must be fixed towards the end of the first century. Some eminent critics, however, ascribe it to Hermas, a brother of Pius, who was Bishop of Rome about A.D. 141. Mosheim argues at some length in favour of this opinion; but the only authorities he adduces on its behalf are some lines in a poem against the Marcionites, falsely attributed to Tertullian, the fragment of an anonymous work on the canon, published by Muratori in his *Antiquitates Ital. Med. Ævi*, and a passage in the *Liber Pontificalis*, respecting Easter, there said to be from a book called the Shepherd, written by Hermas, the brother of Pius, but not found in the work that has come down to us under that title (*Commentaries on the Affairs of the Christians*, vol. i. pp. 180-188, Vidal's transl.) The same opinion is advocated by Hefele, in the *Tübinger Theol. Quart. Schrift.*, 1839. Neander, while he allows that it may be doubted whether 'The Shepherd' was written by the Hermas of St. Paul, seems to consider the other supposition still more questionable, since we cannot determine what credit is due to the authorities adduced in its favour, and it is difficult to reconcile with the later origination of the work, the high esteem in which it was held in the age of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria (*Allgemeine Geschichte*, etc. Abth. i. Band 2, p. 1139, 2d ed.; Torrey's translation [Bohn] ii. 210). The Shepherd of Hermas was first published at

Paris in 1513, and is included in the editions of the apostolic fathers by Cotelierus, Galland, Dreschel, and Hefele. Fabricius also published it in his *Codex Apocryphus*, Hamburgi, 1719. Archbishop Wake's translation is well known.

The following works may be consulted—Dorner, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi*, Erste Abth. 185-215; *Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, vol. i. 123-135, *Notes*, 380-399 (Clark's *F. T. Library*); Lechler, *Das Apostolische und das Nachapostolische Zeitalter*, 489, 518; Bunsen, *Hippolytus*, vol. i.; Uhlhorn, *Hermas in Herzog's Real Encyclopädie*, v. 771.—J. E. R.

HERMES (Ἑρμῆς), the Mercurius of the Romans, was the messenger of the gods, and was equally characterised by adroitness of action and readiness of speech. He was also the customary attendant of Jupiter when he appeared on earth (Ovid, *Fast.* v. 495). These circumstances explain why the inhabitants of Lystra (Acts xiv. 12), as soon as ever they were disposed to believe that the gods had visited them in the likeness of men, discovered Hermes in Paul, as the chief speaker, and as the attendant of Jupiter. It seems unnecessary to be curious whether the representations of Mercury in ancient statues accord with the supposed personal appearance of Paul, and especially in the matter of the *beard* of the latter; for all known representations of the god differ in much more important particulars from the probable costume of Paul (e.g., in the absence of any garment at all, or in the use of the short chlamys merely; in the caduceus, the petasus, etc.) It is more reasonable to suppose that those who expected to see the gods mixing in the affairs of this lower world, in human form, would not look for much more than the outward semblance of ordinary men. Comp. the 'dissimulante deos' of Ovid (*l. c.*, 504).—J. N.

HERMES (Ἑρμῆς), the name of a disciple mentioned Rom. xvi. 14. In the Greek Church his festival is kept on April 8. According to them he was one of the seventy disciples, and afterwards Bishop of Dalmatia.

HERMOGENES (Ἑρμογένης), the name of a man mentioned by St. Paul in the latest of the pastoral epistles (2 Tim. i. 15), who, with Phygelus, deserted him when 'all they which are in Asia' (οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, or perhaps 'they of or from Asia', οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, vol. ii. p. 585) had 'turned away from him.' The 'all in Asia' cannot imply a general desertion, but only those of whom St. Paul had had trial (Alford *loc.*). Whether Hermogenes and Phygelus had forsaken St. Paul because they were ashamed of him when in bonds (2 Tim. iv. 16); or whether, like Hymenæus and Philetus, they had 'erred concerning the truth' (2 Tim. ii. 18), is not stated. In the Roman breviary (*in Fest. S. Juc. Apost. Pars astiva*, p. 485, Milan, 1851) the conversion of Hermogenes is attributed to St. James the Great, and in the legendary history of Abdias, the so-called bishop of Babylon (Fabricius, *Cod. Apocryph. N. T.*, p. 517 *seq.*), Hermogenes is represented as first practising magic, and converted, with Philetus, by the same apostle. Grotius, apparently misled by the circumstance that the historian or geographer Hermogenes, mentioned by the scholiast of Apollonius

Rhodium (ii. 722, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, Didot. ed., vol. iii., p. 523), wrote on primitive history, and incidentally (?) speaks of Nannacus or Anacus—and may therefore probably be the same as the Hermogenes whom Josephus mentions as having treated on Jewish history (*Contra Apion.* i. 23)—suggests that he may be the person mentioned by St. Paul. This, however, is not likely. Nothing more is known of the Hermogenes in question, and he cannot be identified either with Hermogenes of Tarsus, a historian of the time of Domitian, who was put to death by that emperor (Suet. *Domit.* 10; Smith's *Dict. of Biography*, s. v.; Hoffmann, *Lex. Univ.*, s. v.; Alford, 2 Tim. i. 15), nor with Hermogenes the painter, against whom Tertullian wrote (Smith's *Dict. of Biography*, s. v.), nor with the saints of the Byzantine Church, commemorated on Jan. 24 and Sept. 1 (Neale, *Eastern Church*, vol. ii., pp. 770, 781).—F. W. M.

HERMON (הַרְמוֹן, and in the pl. הַרְמוֹנִים; Ἀερμών, Ἑρμωνία; *Hermon*), a celebrated mountain on the northern border of Palestine, on the east side of the great valley of the Jordan, and just above the sources of that river. Hence it was mentioned by Moses as marking the limit of the country conquered east of the Jordan:—'He took at that time out of the hand of the two kings of the Amorites the land that was on this side Jordan, from the river of Arnon unto Mount Hermon' (Deut. iii. 8). Hermon was a natural landmark. It could be seen from the 'plains of Moab' beside the Dead Sea, from the heights of Nebo, from every prominent spot, in fact, in Moab, Gilead, and Bashan—a pale blue, snow-capped peak, terminating the view on the northern horizon. When the people came to know the country better—when not merely its great physical features but its towns and villages became familiar to them, then Baal-Gad and Dan took the place of Hermon; both of them being situated just at the southern base of that mountain. Hermon itself was not embraced in the country conquered by Moses and Joshua; their conquests extended only to it (see Josh. xi. 17; Deut. xxxiv. 1; 1 Sam. iii. 20). Hermon was also the north-western boundary of the old kingdom of Bashan, as Salcah was the south-eastern. We read in Josh. xii. 5 that Og 'reigned in Mount Hermon, and in Salcah, and in all Bashan'; i. e., in all Bashan, from Hermon to Salcah. Another notice of Hermon shews the minute accuracy of the topography of Joshua. He makes 'Lebanon toward the sun-rising,' that is, the range of Antilebanon, extend from Hermon to the entering into Hamath (xiii. 5). Every Oriental geographer now knows that Hermon is the southern and culminating point of this range. The beauty and grandeur of Hermon did not escape the attention of the Hebrew poets. From nearly every prominent point in Palestine the mountain is visible; but it is when we leave the hill country of Samaria and enter the plain of Esdraelon, that Hermon appears in all its majesty, shooting up on the distant horizon behind the graceful rounded top of Tabor. It was probably this view that suggested to the Psalmist the words, 'The north and the south thou hast created them: Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name' (lxxxix. 12). The explanation of this passage given by Venema, Bochart, and others, that Tabor and Hermon represent the east and the west, are totally wrong

(Venema, *Comment.* in loc. ; Bochart, *Opp.* i. 447 ; Reland, p. 324).

The names of Hermon, ancient and modern, are numerous, and they are all descriptive. They appear to have been suggested by the impressions made on the minds of the several writers by the appearance of the mountain from their different points of view. *Hermon* is equivalent to the

Arabic *Khurmon*, *خرم*, *prominens montis ver-*

tex (Freitag, *Lex. Arab.*) Hilary gives a different etymology : Hermon mons est in Phœnice cujus interpretatio *Anathema* est (*Comm. in Ps. cxxxiii.*) The Amorites, we are told, called it *Shenir* (שֶׁנִּיר ;

Sept. Σαβίρ ; Deut. iii. 9), and the Sidonians *Sirion* (סִרְיֹן ; Sept. Σαριών ; Deut. iii. 9 ; Ezek. xxvii. 5), words radically identical, and signifying 'a breastplate' or 'coat of mail' ; to which, as seen from the west when the sun's rays are reflected from its icy crown, it bears some resemblance. It was also called *Sion* (צִיּוֹן), 'the lofty,' as overtopping all its fellows (Deut. iv. 48)—a name which seems to throw light on the difficult passage in Ps. cxxxiii. 3 : 'As the dew of Hermon that descended upon the mountains of Zion.' Here *Zion*, צִיּוֹן, appears to be used for, or as equivalent to, שֶׁנִּיר (see Grotius and Venema, *ad loc.*)

Hermon is composed of a cluster of mountains, which in the distance appear to form one great cone ; but, on closer inspection, we find a number of lofty ranges, radiating from a central peak, and this peak itself resolves itself into three summits (Porter's *Damascus*, i. 292, sq.) Thus we see the accuracy of the Psalmist's allusion : 'Therefore will I remember thee from the land of the *Hermons*' (not 'Hermonites,' as in our A. V., but הרמנים). It appears, too, that occasionally the different names of the mountain were attached distinctively to different parts of the group, a practice not uncommon in Syria at the present day. Thus, in 1 Chron. v. 23, 'And the children of Manasseh dwelt in the land : they increased from Bashan unto Baal-hermon, and Senir, and unto Mount Hermon.' Now each of these names is used in other passages to denote the whole mountain (Judg. iii. 3 ; Deut. iii. 9, etc.) ; but here they seem to be distinctive. Probably that southern section of the group, where the Sidonians had their great stronghold near Paneas, was called by local writers *Senir*. The name *Baal-hermon* may have been applied to some noted sanctuary on a spur in another direction, and Mount Hermon meant the central peak itself. Its usual modern names are

Jebel esh-Sheikh, *جبل الشيخ*, 'the chief moun-

tain ;' and *Jebel eth-Thelj*, *جبل الثلج*, 'the snow mountain.' The latter we find in the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, which, in Deut. iii. 9, read טור תלנא (see also Abulfeda, *Tab. Syr.*, p. 18 ; Reland, p. 323). Hermon is the only snow-crowned peak visible from Palestine during the summer months.

There can be no doubt that one of the southern peaks of Hermon was the scene of the Transfiguration. Our Lord travelled from Bethsaida on the north-east shore of the Sea of Galilee, 'to the coasts of Cæsarea-Philippi.' Thence he led his disciples 'into an high mountain apart, and was

transfigured before them ;' and afterwards he returned, going towards Jerusalem through Galilee (comp. Mark viii. 22-28 ; Matt. xvi. 13 ; Mark ix. 2-13, 30-33). No other mountain in Palestine seems so appropriate to the circumstances of that glorious scene. For many centuries a monkish tradition assigned this honour to Tabor (Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 358) ; but it is now restored to its proper locality, and will give additional celebrity to the prince of Syrian mountains (Porter's *Damascus*, i. 306 ; Stanley, *S. and P.*, 392).

Hermon is, both physically and politically, a grand central point in the geography of Syria and Palestine. From it radiate all the most noted rivers—the Jordan, whose fountains are fed by its eternal snows ; the Abana and Pharpar, 'rivers of Damascus ;' the Orontes, which swept past the walls of the classic and 'Christian' Antioch ; and the Leontes. All the great ancient kingdoms in the country also converged at Hermon—Bashan, Damascus, Phœnicia, Israel. And Hermon was the *religious* centre of primeval Syria. Its Baal sanctuaries not only existed, but gave it a name, before the Exodus (Josh. xi. 17). It retained its sacred character during the long rule of the Greeks and Romans ; and Jerome writes : 'Dicitur esse in vertice ejus insigne templum, quod ab ethnicis cultui habetur,' etc. (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Aermon*). Recent investigations have illustrated these historic statements in a remarkable manner. Round the whole base and sides of the mountain the ruins of many ancient temples have been discovered, and all of them pointing towards the central peak ! (*Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 457). The writer of this article ascended Hermon in 1852, and found still existing on its highest summit the remains of the very temple referred to by Jerome ; and beside it the primeval fire-altar which gave to it, in all probability, its Scriptural appellation, *Baal-hermon*. 'Hermon has three summits. . . . On the second of these (overhanging the deep glen in which are the sources of the Pharpar) are curious and interesting ruins. Round a rock, which forms the crest of the peak, are the foundations of a circular wall, composed of large stones, and within the circle are heaps of hewn stones, some of them bevelled, and others with a plain moulding round the edge. The foundations of a small temple can be made out. It stands on the brow of the mountain, overhanging a long steep declivity. The ruins of this temple seem to be more recent than the stones of the *ring*' (*Handbook for S. and P.*, ii. p. 454). The ancient inhabitants of Canaan had their sacred places on 'the high mountains and the hills' (Deut. xii. 2 ; cf. 2 Kings xvii. 10, 11). We need not wonder then that Hermon should have been selected for the erection of an altar and the burning of a sacred fire. The glorious view obtained from it of the sun's course, from his rising in the eastern desert to his setting in the great sea, would naturally mark it as the most fitting locality for his chief worship.

The lower slopes of Hermon, and the ranges that radiate from it are thinly clothed with oak forests, chiefly evergreen. The central peak is a naked obtuse cone of gray limestone, rising from 2000 to 3000 feet above the attached ridges. During the winter the peak is covered with snow, but in summer the snow gradually dissolves until only a few streaks remain on the summit. According to the measurement of Major Scott, Hermon has an

elevation of 9376 feet, being 775 feet less than the highest peak of the Lebanon range (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, pp. 170, 176). It is thus the second mountain in Syria. During the summer months fleecy clouds cling round the top of Hermon when the whole heavens are elsewhere cloudless. The dew on and around the mountain is very abundant. One of its southern spurs is called *Abu Nady*, 'the father of dew.' In the spring of 1857, the writer encamped two nights at its base, and his tent was as completely saturated as if heavy rain had fallen. For fuller information the student may consult Porter, *Damascus*, i. pp. 279, sq.; Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 431, sq.; Lynch, *Expedition to the Dead Sea*; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, ii. 152, sq.—J. L. F.

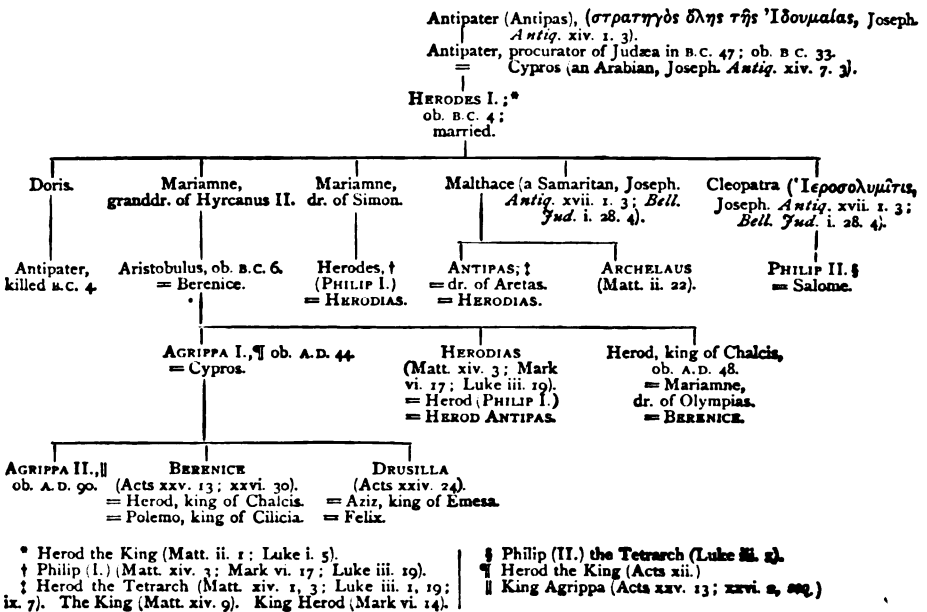
HERODIAN FAMILY. We are principally indebted to Josephus for the information respecting the Herodian family, though incidental notices occur in the classical writers, especially in Strabo (xvi. c. ii. 46). It will be sufficient for our purpose to commence our consideration of their origin from Antipater the Idumæan, father of Herod I. This Antipater, or Antipas, son of an Idumæan of the same name, had embraced the Jewish religion when Idumæa was taken by John Hyrcanus (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 9. 1). Afterwards disputes arising between Hyrcanus II. and his brother Aristobulus, the competing princes produced their case before Pompey. In B.C. 63 Pompey took Jerusalem, and Aristobulus was deposed; and in B.C. 47, when Cæsar came to Syria, he appointed Antipater governor of Judæa.

According to Nicolaus of Damascus, Antipater was of the stock of the principal Jews who came out of Babylon into Judæa (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 1. 3). Various other accounts are given of his ancestry, but none are worthy of notice here. Josephus himself in several passages says that Antipater was of Idumæan descent, and that Antigonus, the adversary of Herod, publicly proclaimed that

the Romans would not do justly if they gave the kingdom to Herod, who was an Idumæan, *i.e.*, a half-Jew (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 15. 2). The latter expression shews that he was of a proselyte family. In other passages he says that Antipater was of the same race as the Jews, and that Herod was by birth a Jew (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 1; xx. 8. 7). It seems, therefore, nearly certain, that the Herodian family were of Idumæan descent, and Ewald gives several forms of the names still retained in the family (*Geschichte*, iv. 477, note).

The splendour and magnificence of the reign of Herod shed a dazzling lustre around his government, though he was really dependent upon the empire, and wisely saw the policy, which was followed by all the members of his family, of courting his Roman masters, no doubt with the idea of forming at some time an independent Eastern monarchy. He was the first who shook the foundation of the ancient form of Jewish government as constituted by the Law. He appointed the high-priests, and removed them at pleasure, often filling the sacred office with men of low birth. In this he was followed by Archelaus, and afterwards by the Romans, so that there were in all twenty-eight high-priests from the days of Herod to the taking of the Temple by Titus, a period of 107 years (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 10).

Herod the Great had ten wives; of two of them the names have not been preserved. Accounts of the family of Herod and the combinations of relationship between the descendants of the different wives may be found in the following passages of Josephus (*Antiq.* xvii. 1. 3; xviii. 5. 4; *Bell. Jud.* i. 28. 4). The following table merely shews the relationship between those members of the Herodian family mentioned in the N. T. An elaborate table, by Mr. Westcott, giving a summary of the accounts of Josephus, which are not always consistent in detail, is in Dr. Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 792.



I. HEROD, surnamed THE GREAT (Ἡρώδης), was the second son of Antipater and Cypros, an Arabian lady of noble descent (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 3). In B.C. 47 Julius Cæsar made Antipater Procurator of Judæa, and the latter divided his territories among his four sons, assigning the district of Galilee to Herod (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 9. 3; *Bell. Jud.* i. 10. 4). At the time when he was invested with the government he was fifteen years of age according to Josephus (*Antiq.* xiv. 9. 2); but it must be a mistake. Herod died, aged sixty-nine, in B.C. 4, consequently he must have been twenty-six or twenty-five in the year B.C. 47, when he was made governor of Galilee (πέρτε καὶ εὐκροί, given by Dindorf in the ed. Didot, but no stated authority). One of his first acts was to repress the brigands who were infesting his provinces, and to put many of their leaders to death upon his own authority. This was made known to Hyrcanus, and Herod was summoned to take his trial before the Sanhedrim for his deeds of violence. Herod, instead of appearing before the Sanhedrim clothed in mourning, came in purple, attended by armed guards, and bearing in his hand a letter from the Roman commander Sextus Cæsar for his acquittal. This overawed the assembly, but Sameas, a just man (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 9. 4), stepped forward, and boldly addressing the assembly, predicted that should the offender escape punishment, he would live to kill all those who were his judges, and would not grant the pardon which the assembly seemed inclined to extend to him. He, however, escaped, and took refuge with Sextus Cæsar, who soon appointed him governor (στυγυός) of Coele-Syria. He then determined to march against Jerusalem, and would have done so, had not his father Antipater and his family restrained him from committing any fresh acts of violence. In B.C. 44, after Cæsar's death, Cassius took the government of Syria. Herod and his father Antipater willingly assisted Cassius in obtaining the taxes levied upon the Jews for the support of the troops. For this Herod was confirmed in the government of Coele-Syria (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* i. 11. 4). In B.C. 41 Antony came to Syria, and Herod, by making him valuable presents, soon formed with him a close personal intimacy (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 12. 2). Hyrcanus, to whose beautiful granddaughter Mariamne Herod was betrothed, induced Antony to make Herod and his brother Phasael tetrarchs of Judæa (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 13. 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. 12. 5). The invasion of the Parthians, who sided with Antigonus the Asmonæan, compelled Herod to give up Judæa and fly to Rome. Antony was then in great power, and took Herod under his protection, and seeing that he might prove useful to him, obtained a decree of the senate appointing him king of Judæa, to the extinction of all the living Asmonæan princes (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 9-14; *Bell. Jud.* i. 10-14; Dion Cass. xlviii.) These events took place in B.C. 40, and Herod, only staying seven days at Rome, returned speedily to Jerusalem within three months from the time he had first fled.

It was not, however, so easy for Herod to obtain possession of Jerusalem or to establish himself as king of Judæa, as it had been to obtain this title from the Romans. The Jews still held firmly to Antigonus as the representative of the Asmonæan line, and it was not for several years that Herod made any material advance whatever. With the

assistance of the Romans Herod made preparations to take Jerusalem. He had endeavoured to conciliate the people by marrying Mariamne, thinking that by so doing the attachment of the Jews to the Asmonæan family would be extended to him. After six months' siege the Romans entered the city (B.C. 37), and to revenge the obstinate resistance they had received, began to ransack and plunder, and it was no easy task for Herod to purchase from the conquerors the freedom from pillage of some part of his capital. Antigonus was taken and conveyed to Antioch, where, having been previously beaten, he was ignominiously executed with the axe by the order of Antony, a mode of treatment which the Romans had never before used to a king (Dion Cass. lix. 22; Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 1. 2). Thus ended the government of the Asmonæans, 126 years after it was first set up (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 16. 4). Immediately on ascending the throne Herod put to death all the members of the Sanhedrim, excepting Pollio and Sameas,* who had predicted this result, and also all the adherents of Antigonus who could be found. Having confiscated their property, he sent presents to Antony to repay him for his assistance and to further secure his favour. He then gave the office of high-priest, which had become vacant by the death of Antigonus, and the mutilation of Hyrcanus, whose ears had been cut off by Antigonus (cf. Lev. xxi. 16-24), to an obscure priest from Babylon, named Ananel. At this insult Alexandra, the mother of Mariamne and Aristobulus, to whom the office of high-priest belonged by hereditary succession, appealed to Cleopatra to use her powerful influence with Antony, and Herod was thus compelled to depose Ananel, and to elevate Aristobulus to the high-priesthood. The increasing popularity of Aristobulus, added to the further intrigues of Alexandra, so excited the jealousy of Herod, that he caused him to be drowned while bathing, and expressed great sorrow at the accident. Alexandra again applied to Cleopatra, who at last persuaded Antony to summon Herod to Laodicea to answer for his conduct. Herod was obliged to obey, but was dismissed with the highest honours (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 3. 1-8; cf. *Bell. Jud.* i. 22. 2). After the defeat of Antony at Actium in B.C. 31, Herod had an audience at Rhodes with Octavius, who did not think that Antony was quite powerless while Herod continued his assistance to him (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* i. 20. 1). Herod so conciliated him that he obtained security in his kingdom of Judæa, to which Octavius added Gadara, Samaria, and the maritime cities Gaza and Joppa. Shortly after the regions of Trachonitis, Batanea, and Auranitis, were given him (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 5. 6, 7; 10. 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. 20. 3, 4; comp. Tac. *Hist.* v. 9). Herod's domestic life was troubled by a long series of bloodshed. Hyrcanus, the grandfather of his wife Mariamne, was put to death before his visit to Octavius, and Mariamne, to whom he was passionately attached, fell a victim to his jealousy soon after his return. His remorse for the deed is well described by Josephus, who says that Herod commanded his attendants always to speak of her as alive (*Antiq.* xv. 7. 7; *Bell. Jud.* i. 22. 5). In

* These two are the famous Hillel and Shammai of the Rabbinical writers, the founders of the two schools of doctrine.

B.C. 20, when Augustus visited Judæa in person, another extensive addition was made to his territories. The district of Paneas was taken away from its ruler Zenodorus for leaguering himself with the Arabs, and given to Herod. In return Herod adorned this place by erecting a temple, which he dedicated to Augustus (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 10. 3; *Bell. Jud.* i. 20. 4; Dion Cass. liv. 9). Not long after this, the death of his wife was followed by other atrocities. Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamne, were put to death, and at last, in B.C. 4, Herod ordered his eldest son, Antipater, to be killed. Herod's painful disease no doubt maddened him in his later years, and in anticipation of his own death he gave orders that the principal Jews, whom he had shut up in the Hippodrome at Jericho, should immediately after his decease be put to death, that mourners might not be wanting at his funeral (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 5). On his deathbed, too, he must have ordered the murder of the infants at Bethlehem, as recorded in St. Matthew (ii. 16-18). The number of children in a village must have been very few, and Josephus has passed this story over unnoticed; yet it is worthy of remark that he has given an account of a massacre by Herod of all the members of his family who had consented to what the Pharisees foretold, viz., that Herod's government should cease, and his posterity be deprived of the kingdom (*Antiq.* xvii. 2. 4). A confused account of the massacre of the children and the murder of Antipater is given in Macrobius—'Augustus cum audisset inter pueros, quos in Syriâ Herodes, rex Judæorum, intra bimatum jussit interfici, filium quoque ejus occisum, ait: Melius est Herodis porcum (τὸν ὄν?) esse quam filium (τὸν υἱόν?)' (*Sat.* ii. 4). Macrobius lived in the 5th century (c.A.D. 420), and the words *intra bimatum* (à bimatu et infra, Matt. ii. 16, Vulg.) seem to be borrowed; the story, too, is wrong, as Antipater was of age when he was executed (Alford, *in loc.*) Macrobius may have made some mistake on account of Herod's wish to destroy the heir to the throne of David. Herod died in the thirty-seventh year of his reign (dating from his being made king by Antony), and in the seventieth year of his age, B.C. 4. His body was conveyed by his son Archelaus from Jericho, where he died, to Herodium, a city and fortress 200 stadia distant; and he was there buried with great pomp (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 2; *Bell. Jud.* i. 38. 9).

On the extirpation of the Asmonean family, finding that there was then no one who could interfere with him, Herod had introduced heathenish customs, such as plays, shows, and chariot-races, which the Jews condemned as contrary to the laws of Moses (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 8. 1); and on the completion of the building of Cæsarea he also introduced Olympic games and consecrated them to Cæsar, ordering them to be celebrated every fifth year (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 9. 6; xvi. 5. 1). Notwithstanding that he thus alienated his subjects from him, he greatly improved his country by the number of fine towns and magnificent public buildings which he had erected. He built a temple at Samaria, and converted it into a Roman city under the name of Sebaste. He also built Gaba in Galilee, and Heshbonitis in Peræa (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 8. 5), besides several other towns, which he called by the names of different members of his family, as Antipatris, from the name of his father Antipater, and Phasaelis, in the

plains of Jericho, after his brother Phasael (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvi. 5. 2). On many other towns in Syria and Greece he bestowed money, but his grandest undertaking was the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem. It was commenced in the eighteenth year of his reign (B.C. 20), and the work was carried on with such vigour that the Temple itself (*ναός*, i.e., the Holy House, was finished in a year and a half (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 11. 1, 6). The cloisters and outer buildings were finished in eight years (Joseph. *Antiq.*, l. c., 11. 5). Additions and repairs were continually being made, and it was not till the reign of Herod Agrippa II. (c. A.D. 65) that the Temple (τὸ ἱερόν) was completed (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 9. 7). Hence the Jews said to our Lord, 'Forty and six years was this Temple in building [*ᾠκοδομήθη*—and is not even yet completed], and wilt thou raise it up in three days?' (John ii. 20). This took place in A.D. 27, just after our Lord's baptism, who 'was about thirty years of age' (Luke iii. 23), and who was born a few months before the death of Herod, in B.C. 4, according to the usual chronology, which places the nativity four years before the Vulgar era. This beautiful temple, though built in honour of the God of Israel, did not win the hearts of the people, as is proved by the revolt which took place shortly before Herod's death, when the Jews tore down the golden eagle which he had fastened to the Temple, and broke it in pieces (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 2, 3).

The diversity of Herod's nature is remarkable. On regarding his magnificence, and the benefits he bestowed upon his people, one cannot deny that he had a very beneficent disposition; but when we read of his cruelties, not only to his subjects, but even to his own relations, one is forced to allow that he was brutish and a stranger to humanity (cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* xvi. 5. 4). His servility to Rome is amply shewn by the manner in which he transgressed the customs of his nation and set aside many of their laws, building cities and erecting temples in foreign countries, for the Jews did not permit him so to do in Judæa, even though they were under so tyrannical a government as that of Herod. His confessed apology was that he was acting to please Cæsar and the Romans, and so through all his reign he was a Jewish prince only in name, with a Hellenistic disposition (cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 9. 5; xix. 7. 3). Josephus gives Herod I. the surname of Great ('*Ἡρώδης τῷ μεγάλῳ*). Ewald suggests that the title of *elder* is only intended to distinguish him from the younger Herod (Antipas), and compares the cases of 'Ἐλλάς ὁ μέγας' (*Antiq.* xviii. 8. 4) and Agrippa the Great, in contradistinction to Helcias, the keeper of the sacred treasure (*Antiq.* xx. 11. 1), and to Agrippa II. The title, 'Agrippa the Great,' is confirmed by coins, on which he is styled ΜΕΓΑΣ (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. iii. p. 492; Akerman, *Num. Chron.*, vol. ix. p. 23), and so, says Ewald, 'it may similarly have been given upon the coins of Herod, and from this the origin of the surname may have been derived' (*Geschichte*, vol. iv. p. 473, note). There are, however, no coins of Herod I. with the title *great*. Jost, in his *Geschichte des Judenthums*, p. 319 note, in speaking of 'the tyrannical government of Herod, whom history called, as it were in derision (?), the Great,' says, 'Perhaps this (the title Great) arises from a mistaken translation of רבא, which may also mean

the elder. Unfortunately he does not say from what source he obtains this word; and if it is to be found, it must be of very rare occurrence. It is best to suppose that the title in Josephus is merely a distinguishing epithet, and not meant to express greatness of character or achievements.

2. HEROD ANTIPAS ('*Ἡρώδης*, Matt., Mark, Luke; '*Avritas*, Josephus) was the son of Herod the Great, by Malthace, a Samaritan (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 1. 3; *Bell. Jud.* i. 28. 4). His father had already given him 'the kingdom' in his first will, but in the final arrangement left him the tetrarchy of Galilee and Peræa (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 1; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 9. 1; Matt. xiv. 1; Luke iii. 1; iii. 19; ix. 1; Acts xiii. 1), which brought him the yearly revenue of 200 talents (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1). On his way to Rome he visited his brother Philip, and commencing an intrigue with his wife Herodias, daughter of Aristobulus, the son of Mariamne, he afterwards incestuously married her. He had been previously married to a daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea, who avenged this insult by invading his dominions, and defeated him with great loss (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1). Josephus says that the opinion of the Jews was that the defeat was a punishment for his having imprisoned John the Baptist on account of his popularity, and afterwards put him to death, but does not mention the reproval that John gave him, nor that it was at the instigation of Herodias that he was killed, as recorded in the Gospels (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4; Matt. xiv. 1-11; Mark vi. 14-16; Luke iii. 19; ix. 7-9). The evangelists evidently give the true reason, and Josephus the one generally received by the people. In A.D. 38, after the death of Tiberius, he was persuaded to go to Rome to procure for himself the royal title. Agrippa [HEROD AGRIPPA I.], who was high in the favour of Caius, opposed this with such success, that Antipas was condemned to perpetual banishment at Lyons, a city of Gaul (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 7. 2), and eventually died in Spain, whither his wife Herodias [HERODIAS] had voluntarily followed him' (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 9. 6). He is called *king* by St. Matthew (xiv. 9) and by St. Mark (vi. 14).

Herod Antipas was in high favour with Tiberius. Hence he gave the name of Tiberias to the city he built on the lake of Gennesareth (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 3). He enlarged and improved several cities of his dominions, and also built a wall about Sepphoris, and round Betharamphtha, which latter town he named *Julias* in honour of the wife of the Emperor† (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 1; cf. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 9. 1).

* There is here some confusion. It has been suggested (Dr. Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* vol. i. p. 796) that the town is Lugdunum Convenarum (now St. Bertrand de Comminges), a town of Gaul situated on the right bank of the Garonne, at the foot of the Pyrenees, as a town like this would satisfy both passages.

† If Josephus means Augustus, his wife Livia did not receive the name of Julia till after the Emperor's death in A.D. 14, and it seems very improbable that Antipas should have renamed the city at so late a date as the death of Augustus. If he means Tiberius, his wife Julia, the daughter of Augustus, was not living with him when he came to the throne. Eusebius and Jerome state

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It was before Herod Antipas that our Lord was sent for examination when Pilate heard that He was a Galilean, as Pilate had already had several disputes with the Galilæans, and was not at this time on very good terms with Herod (Luke xiii. 1; xxiii. 6-7), and 'on the same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together' (Luke xxiii. 12; cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 2; Ps. lxxiii. 5). The name of Herod Antipas is coupled with that of Pilate in the prayer of the Apostles mentioned in the Acts (iv. 24-30). His personal character is little touched upon by either Josephus or the Evangelists, yet from his consenting to the death of John the Baptist to gratify the malice of a wicked woman, though for a time he had 'heard him gladly' (Mark vi. 20), we perceive his cowardice, his want of spirit, and his fear of ridicule. His wicked oath was not binding on him, for Herod was bound by the law of God not to commit murder. He was in any case desirous to see Jesus, and 'hoped to have seen a miracle from him' (Luke xxiii. 8). His artifice and cunning are specially alluded to by our Lord, 'Go ye and tell that *fox*' (*τῇ ἀλώπεκι ταύτῃ*, Luke xiii. 32). Coins of Herod Antipas bear the title ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ.

3. HEROD ARCHELAUS ('*Ἀρχελαός*, Matt.; Josephus; '*Ἡρώδης*, Dion Cassius; coins), son of Herod the Great and Malthace, uterine and younger brother of Herod Antipas, and called by Dion Cassius '*Ἡρώδης Παλαιστῆνός*' (lib. iv. 57). His father had disinherited him in consequence of the false accusations of his eldest brother Antipater, the son of Doris; but Herod, on making a new will, altered his mind, and gave him 'the kingdom,' which had been before left to Antipas (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 1). He was saluted as 'king' by the army, but refused to accept that title till it should be confirmed by Augustus (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 2, 4; *Bell. Jud.* i. 1). Shortly after this a sedition was raised against him, which he quelled by killing 3000 persons, and he then set sail with his brother Antipas to Rome (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 9. 2, 4; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 2. 3). Upon this the Jews sent an embassy to Augustus to request that they might be allowed to live according to their own laws under a Roman governor. Our Lord seems to allude to this circumstance in the parable of the nobleman going into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom. 'But his citizens hated him, and sent a message after him, saying, we will not have this man to reign over us' (Luke xix. 12-27). While he was at Rome Jerusalem was under the care of Sabinus the Roman procurator, and a quarrel ensued in consequence of the manner in which the Jews were treated. Quiet was again established through the intervention of Varus, the president of Syria, and the authors of the sedition were punished (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 10). Augustus, however, ratified the main points of Herod's will, and gave Archelaus, Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa, with the cities of Cæsarea, Sebaste, Joppa, and Jerusalem, the title of *ethnarch*, and a promise that he should have the royal dignity hereafter if he

that Herod (I.?) had given it the name of *Libias* (*Livias*) in honour of the wife of Augustus (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Libias*). Julia (Betharamphtha) must not be confounded with the Julia (Bethsaida) enlarged by Herod Philip II., and named after the daughter of Augustus (see HEROD PHILIP II.)

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governed virtuously* (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 4; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 6. 3). When Archelaus returned to Judea he rebuilt the royal palace at Jericho, and established a village, naming it after himself, Archelais (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 1). It was evidently the alteration of Herod's will that caused Joseph to return into Galilee, which was under the milder government of Antipas (Matt. ii. 22). Shortly after Archelaus' return he violated the Mosaic law by marrying Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and the Jews complaining again loudly of his tyranny, Augustus summoned him to Rome, and finally, A.D. 6, sent him into exile at Vienna in Gaul, where he probably died, and his dominions were attached to the Roman empire (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 2; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 7; cf. Strabo, xvi. p. 765; Dion Cass., iv. 25, 27). Jerome, however, relates that he was shewn the tomb of Archelaus near Bethlehem (*Onomasticon*, s. v.) Coins with the title ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΣ belong to Archelaus.

4. HEROD PHILIP I. (Φίλιππος, Mark vi. 17; Ηρώδης, Josephus), was the son of Herod the Great, by a second Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high-priest (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4), and must be distinguished from Philip the tetrarch. [HEROD PHILIP II.] He was the husband of Herodias, by whom he had a daughter, Salome. Herodias, however, contrary to the laws of her country, divorced herself from him, and married her uncle Antipas [HEROD ANTIPAS; HERODIAS] (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4; Matt. xiv. 3; Mark vi. 17; Luke iii. 19). He was omitted in the will of Herod in consequence of the discovery that Mariamne was conscious of the plots of Antipater, Herod the Great's son by Doris (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* i. 30. 7).

5. HERODIAS (Ηρώδια, Matt. xiv. 1-11; Mark vi. 14-16; Luke iii. 19) was daughter of Aristobulus, one of the sons of Herod I. by the first Mariamne, and of Berenice, the daughter of Salome, Herod's sister, and was consequently sister of Herod Agrippa I. (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4; *Bell. Jud.* i. 28. 1). She was first married to her uncle, Herod Philip I., the son of Herod I., and the second Mariamne, by whom she had a daughter Salome, probably the one that danced and pleased Herod Antipas, and who afterwards married her uncle Philip II. Herodias soon divorced herself from him, and married Herod Antipas, who was also her uncle, being the son of Herod I. and Malthace, and who agreed, for her sake, to put away his own wife, the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1, 4). St. John the Baptist reproved her for her crimes, in thus living in adultery and incest, and she took the first opportunity to cause him to be put to death, thus adding thereto the crime of murder. Her marriage was unlawful for three reasons; first, her former husband, Philip, was still alive (διαστὰσα ζώντος,

Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4); secondly, Antipas' wife was still alive; and thirdly, by her first marriage with Philip she became the sister-in-law of Antipas, who was consequently forbidden by the Jewish law to marry his brother's wife (Levit. xviii. 16; xx. 21; cf. Alford, Matt. xiv. 4). When Antipas was condemned by Caius to perpetual banishment, Herodias was offered a pardon, and the Emperor made her a present of money, telling her that it was her brother Agrippa (I.) who prevented her being involved in the same calamity as her husband. The best trait of her character is shewn when, in true Jewish spirit, she refused this offer, and voluntarily chose to share the exile of her husband [HEROD ANTIPAS] (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 7. 2).

6. HEROD PHILIP II. (Φίλιππος, Luke; Josephus) was son of Herod the Great and Cleopatra (Γερσολυμῆτις), and was with his half brothers Archelaus and Antipas brought up at Rome* (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 1. 3; *Bell. Jud.* i. 28. 4). He received as his share of the empire the tetrarchy of Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and certain parts about Jamnia, with a revenue of 100 talents (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 4; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 6. 3). He is only mentioned once in the N. T. (Luke iii. 1, Φίλιππου τετραρχούντος). He was married to Salome, the daughter of Herod Philip I. and Herodias, but left no children (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4). He reigned over his dominions for 37 years (B.C. 4—A.D. 34), during which time he shewed himself to be a person of moderation and quietness in the conduct of his life and government (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 6). He built the city of Paneas and named it Cæsarea, more commonly known as Cæsarea Philippi (Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27), and also advanced to the dignity of a city the village Bethsaida, calling it by the name of *Julias*, in honour of the daughter of Augustus.† He died at Julias, and was buried in the monument he had there built (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 1; 4. 6; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 9. 1). Leaving no children, his dominions were annexed to the Roman province of Syria (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 6). Coins of Philip II. bear the title ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΣ.

7. HEROD AGRIPPA I. (Ηρώδης Acts; Ἀγρίππας, Josephus) was the son of Aristobulus and Berenice, and grandson of Herod the Great (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 1. 2; *Bell. Jud.* i. 28. 1). He is called 'Agrippa the Great' by Josephus (*Antiq.* xvii. 2. 2). A short time before the death of Herod the Great he was living at Rome, and was brought up with Drusus, the son of Tiberius, and with Antonia, the wife of Drusus (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 1). He was only one year older than Claudius, who was born in B.C. 10, and they were bred up together in the closest intimacy. He, however, soon exhausted all his funds by his reckless extravagance, but ultimately obtained the appoint-

* Archelaus never really had the title of king (βασιλεύς), though at first called so by the people (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 2); yet we cannot object to the word βασιλεύει in St. Matthew, for Archelaus regarded himself as king (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 1. 1), and Josephus speaks of the province of Lysanias, which was only a tetrarchy, as βασιλείαν τῇν Λυσανίου (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 11. 5). Herod (Antipas) the tetrarch is also called ὁ βασιλεύς (Matt. xiv. 9; Mark vi. 14).

* Josephus, in his *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 1, calls Philip Ἀρχελαῶν ἀδελφῷ γνησίῳ, own brother of Archelaus. In other passages he gives their descent correctly.

† This is not the Bethsaida of Galilee, but that mentioned in Luke ix. 10, where Christ fed the 5000, and in Mark viii. 22. It was in Lower Gaulonitis (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 9. 1). Its situation is described by Josephus, where he says that the Jordan just passes by the city Julias, and then through the middle of the Lake of Gennesareth (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 10. 9) [BETHSAIDA].

ment of governor of the city of Tiberias through the instigation of his sister Herodias, and his wife Cypros, the daughter of Phasael, brother of Herod the Great (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 2). In an unguarded moment he expressed the wish that Caius might soon succeed to the throne, which, being reported to Tiberius, he was arrested and thrown into prison, where he remained till the accession of Caius in A.D. 37 (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10). Caius shortly after gave him the tetrarchy of Philip, the iron chain with which he had been fastened to a soldier being exchanged for a gold one (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10). He then started to take possession of his kingdom, and at Alexandria was insulted by the people, who dressed up an idiot, and bore him in mock triumph through the streets to deride the new king of the Jews (Philo, in *Flaccum*, 6). After the exile of his uncle Antipas, he received from Caius the tetrarchy of Galilee and Peræa (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 7. 2); and in A.D. 41, for having greatly assisted Claudius, he received his whole paternal kingdom (Judæa and Samaria), and in addition the tetrarchy of Lysanias II.* (cf. Luke iii. 1). Agrippa now possessed the entire kingdom of Herod the Great. At this time he begged of Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis for his brother Herod (Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 5. 1; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 11. 5). He loved to live at Jerusalem, and was a strict observer of the laws of his country, which will account for his persecuting the Christians, who were hated by the Jews (Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 7. 3). Thus influenced by a strong desire for popularity, rather than from innate cruelty, 'he stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the church.' He put to death James the elder, son of Zebedee, and cast Peter into prison, no doubt with the intention of killing him also. This was frustrated by his miraculous deliverance from his jailors by the angel of the Lord (Acts xii. 1-19). Agrippa I., like his grandfather, displayed great taste in building, and especially adorned the city of Berytus (Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 7. 5). In A.D. 44 Agrippa celebrated games at Cæsarea in honour of the emperor, and to make vows for his safety. At this festival a number of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity in the province, attended.† On the second day Agrippa appeared in the theatre in a garment interwoven with silver. On closing his address to the people, they saluted him as a god, for which he did not rebuke them, and he was immediately seized with violent internal pains, and died five days after (Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2).

This fuller account of Josephus agrees substantially with that in the Acts. The silver dress (ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένην πᾶσαν, Josephus; ἐσθῆτα βασιλικήν, Acts); and the disease (τῷ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀγχατῇ τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν, Josephus; γενόμενος σκυληκόβρωτος ἐξέψυξεν, Acts). The owl (βούβα τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ σχοινοῦ τῶν) which on this occasion ap-

peared to Agrippa as the messenger of ill tidings (ἄγγελος κακῶν, Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2), though on a former one it had appeared to him as a messenger of good news (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 7), is converted by Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. ch. 10), who professes to quote Josephus, into the angel of the Acts (ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος Κυρίου, Acts xii. 23). For an explanation of the confusion, cf. Eusebius *l. c.*, ed. Heinichen, Excurs. ii. vol. iii. p. 556; Alford, *in. loc.*)

8. HEROD AGRIPPA II. ('Αγρίππας, Acts; Josephus) was the son of Herod Agrippa I. and Cypros (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 11. 6). At the time of his father's death (A.D. 44) he was only seventeen years of age, and the emperor Claudius, thinking him too young to govern the kingdom, sent Cuspius Fadus as procurator, and thus made it again a Roman province (Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 9. 2; Tac. *Hist.* v. 9). After the death of his uncle Herod in A.D. 48, Claudius bestowed upon him the small kingdom of Chalcis (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 5. 2; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 12. 1), and four years after took it away from him, giving him instead the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 12. 8) with the title of king (Acts xxv. 13; xxvi. 2, 7). In A.D. 55 Nero gave him the cities of Tiberias and Taricheæ in Galilee, and Julias, a city of Peræa, with fourteen villages near it (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 8. 4; cf. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 13. 2).

Agrippa II. exhibited the Herodian partiality for building. He much enlarged the city of Cæsarea Philippi, and in honour of Nero called it Neronias. He also supplied large sums of money towards beautifying Jerusalem and Berytus, transferring almost everything that was ornamental from his own kingdom to this latter place. These acts rendered him most unpopular (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 9. 4). In A.D. 60 king Agrippa and Berenice his sister [BERENICE], concerning the nature of whose equivocal intercourse with each other there had been much grave conversation, and who in consequence persuaded Polemo, king of Cilicia, to marry her (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 7. 3), came to Cæsarea (Acts xxv. 13). It was before him and his sister that the Apostle Paul made his defence, and almost 'persuaded him to be a Christian.'

The famous speech which Agrippa made to the Jews, to dissuade them from waging war with the Romans, is recorded by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 16. 4). At the commencement of the war he sided with the Romans, and was wounded by a sling-stone at the siege of Gamala (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iv. 1. 3). After the fall of Jerusalem he retired with his sister Berenice to Rome, and there died in the seventieth year of his age, and in the third year of Trajan (A.D. 100). He was on intimate terms with Josephus, who gives two of his letters (*Life*, sec. 65), and he was the last Jewish prince of the Herodian line.

As regards his coins, Eckhel gives two with the head of Nero, one with the legend ΕΠΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ ΝΕΡΟΝΙΕ, confirming the account of Josephus as regards the city of Cæsarea Philippi, and the other bearing the prænomen of *Marcus*, which he may have received on account of his family being indebted to the triumvir Antony, or else, as Eckhel thinks, more likely from Marcus Agrippa (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. iii. pp. 493, 494; cf. Akerman, *Num. Chron.*, vol. ix. p. 421). There are other coins with the heads of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. Most of his coins

* Josephus says, in one passage, that Caius gave him this tetrarchy (*Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10), but afterwards, in two places, that Claudius gave it to him (*Antiq.* xix. 5. 1; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 11. 5). Caius probably promised it, and Claudius actually conferred it.

† Josephus does not mention those of Tyre and Sidon as recorded in the Acts (xii. 20). Though Agrippa was 'highly displeased,' it does not appear that any rupture worthy of notice had taken place.

bear the title of 'king Agrippa,' by which he is known in the Acts. An account of the coinage of the Herodian family will be found in the article MONEY.

9. BERENICE. [BERENICE.]

10. DRUSILLA. [DRUSILLA].—F. W. M.

HERODIANS, a class of Jews that existed in the time of Jesus Christ, whether of a political or religious description it is not easy, for want of materials, to determine. The passages of the N. T. which refer to them are the following, Matt. xxii. 16; Mark iii. 6; xii. 13; Luke xx. 20. The particulars are these:—The ecclesiastical authorities of Judæa having failed to entrap Jesus by demanding the authority by which he did his wonderful works, especially as seen in his expurgation of the temple; and being incensed in consequence of the parable spoken against them, namely, 'A certain man planted a vineyard,' etc., held a council against him, and associating with themselves the Herodians, sent an embassy to our Lord with the express but covert design of ensnaring him in his speech, that thus they might compass his destruction. The question they put to him was one of the most difficult—'Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar?' The way in which Jesus extricated himself from the difficulty and discomfited his enemies is well known.

Do these circumstances afford any light as to what was the precise character of the Herodians? Whatever decision on this point may be arrived at, the general import of the transaction is very clear, and of a character highly honourable to Jesus. That his enemies were actuated by bad faith, and came with false pretences, might also be safely inferred. Luke, however, makes an express statement to this effect, saying (xx. 18-20), 'they sought to lay hands on him; and they feared the people; and they watched him, and sent forth spies which should feign themselves just men, that they might take hold of his words, that so they might deliver him unto the power and authority of the governor.' The aim, then, was to embroil our Lord with the Romans. For this purpose the question put had been cunningly chosen. These appear to have been the several feelings whose toils were around Jesus—the hatred of the priests, the favour of the people towards himself, and their aversion to the dominion of the Romans, their half faith in him as the Messiah, which would probably be converted into the vexation and rage of disappointment, should he approve the payment of tribute to Rome; another element of difficulty had in the actual case been deliberately provided—the presence of the Herodians. Altogether the scene was most perplexing, the trial most perilous. But what additional difficulty did the Herodians bring? Herod Antipas was now Tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, which was the only inheritance he received from his father Herod the Great. As Tetrarch of Galilee he was specially the ruler of Jesus, whose home was in that province. The Herodians, then, may have been subjects of Herod, Galilæans, whose evidence the priests were wishful to procure, because theirs would be the evidence of fellow-countrymen, and of special force with Antipas as being that of his own immediate subjects (Luke xxiii. 7).

Herod's relations with Rome were in an unsafe condition. He was a weak prince, given to ease

and luxury, and his wife's ambition conspired with his own desires to make him strive to obtain from the Emperor Caligula the title of king. For this purpose he took a journey to Rome, and was banished to Lyons in Gaul.

The Herodians may have been favourers of his pretensions: if so, they would be partial hearers, and eager witnesses against Jesus before the Roman tribunal. It would be a great service to the Romans to be the means of enabling them to get rid of one who aspired to be king of the Jews. It would equally gratify their own lord, should the Herodians give effectual aid in putting a period to the mysterious yet formidable claims of a rival claimant of the crown.

We do not see that the two characters here ascribed to the Herodians are incompatible; and if they were a Galilean political party who were eager to procure from Rome the honour of royalty for Herod (Mark vi. 14, the name of king is merely as of courtesy), they were chosen as associates by the Sanhedrim with especial propriety.

The deputation were to 'feign themselves just men,' that is, men whose sympathies were entirely Jewish, and, as such, anti-heathen: they were to intimate their dislike of paying tribute, as being an acknowledgment of a foreign yoke; and by flattering Jesus, as one who loved truth, feared no man, and would say what he thought, they meant to inveigle him into a condemnation of the practice. In order to carry these base and hypocritical designs into effect, the Herodians were appropriately associated with the Pharisees; for as the latter were the recognised conservators of Judaism, so the former were friends of the aggrandisement of a native as against a foreign prince.

Other hypotheses may be found in Paulus on the passage in Matt.; in Wolf, *Cure Phil.* i. 311, sq.; see also J. Steuch, *Diss. de Herod.*, Lund. 1706; J. Floder, *Diss. de Herod.*, Upsal. 1764.—J. R. B.

HERODIAS. [HERODIAN FAMILY.]

HERON. [ANAPHA.]

HESHBON (הֶשְׁבֹּן; Sept. Ἑσβεών; Euseb. Ἑσσεβών); a town in the southern district of the Hebrew territory beyond the Jordan, parallel with, and twenty-one miles east of, the point where the Jordan enters the Dead Sea, and nearly midway between the rivers Jabbok and Arnon. It originally belonged to the Moabites; but when the Israelites arrived from Egypt, it was found to be in the possession of the Amorites, whose king, Sihon, is styled both king of the Amorites and king of Heshbon, and is expressly said to have 'reigned in Heshbon' (Josh. iii. 10; comp. Num. xxi. 26; Deut. ii. 9). It was taken by Moses (Num. xxi. 23-26), and eventually became a Levitical city (Josh. xxi. 39; 1 Chron. vi. 81) in the tribe of Reuben (Num. xxxii. 37; Josh. xiii. 17); but being on the confines of Gad, is sometimes assigned to the latter tribe (Josh. xxi. 39; 1 Chron. vi. 81). After the ten tribes were sent into exile, Heshbon was taken possession of by the Moabites, and hence is mentioned by the prophets in their declarations against Moab (Is. xv. 4; Jer. xlviii. 2, 34, 45). Under King Alexander Jannæus we find it again reckoned as a Jewish city (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 4). In the time of Eusebius and Jerome it was still a place of some consequence

under the name of Esbus (Ἐσβούς); but at the present day it is known by its ancient name of Heshbon, in the slightly modified form of Hesban. The ruins of a considerable town still exist, covering the sides of an insulated hill, but not a single edifice is left entire. The view from the summit is very extensive, embracing the ruins of a vast number of cities, the names of some of which bear a strong resemblance to those mentioned in Scripture. There are reservoirs connected with this and the other received towns of this region. These have been supposed to be the pools of Heshbon mentioned by Solomon (Cant. vii. 4); but, say Irby and Mangles, 'The ruins are uninteresting, and the only pool we saw was too insignificant to be one of those mentioned in Scripture.' In two of the cisterns among the ruins they found about three dozen of human skulls and bones, which they justly regarded as an illustration of Gen. xxxvii. 20 (*Travels*, p. 472; see also Burckhardt, George Robinson, Lord Lindsay, etc.)—J. K.

HESHMON (הֶשְׁמוֹן), a town on the southern boundary of Palestine (Josh. xv. 27). It has not been identified. To the suggestion that it is the same with the Azmon mentioned Num. xxxiv. 4 (Smith, *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v.), it may be objected that not only does this change the initiatory guttural, but it supposes a repetition of a name already mentioned in the boundary line (see ver. 4), and probably more to the west.—†

HETH, prop. **CHETH** (חֶת); Sept. Χῆτ, the father of the Hittites. [HAM; HITTITES.]

HETHLON (חֶתְלוֹן; Vulg. *Hethalon*. The name is wanting in the Sept.) 'The way of Hethlon' is twice mentioned by Ezekiel when describing the northern border of the land of Israel. In one passage it is spoken of as 'the way of Hethlon, as men go to Zedad' (xlvii. 15); in the other, 'the way of Hethlon, as one goeth to Hamath' (xlviii. 1). This 'way' was manifestly some noted road, or pass, leading from the sea-coast on the west to the kingdom of Hamath, in which Zedad was situated [ZEDAD]. A comparison of these passages with Num. xxxiv. 8 warrants us in concluding that 'the way of Hethlon' was identical with 'the entrance of Hamath.' It was thus the name of the great opening between the northern extremity of Lebanon and the Nusairiyeh mountains. This pass forms the only 'entrance' to the plain of Hamath from the western coast (Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 356; Robinson, *Bib. Res.* iii. 568). Winer calls Hethlon a city (*Stadt*), but there is no proof of this (R. W., s. v. *Hethlon*).—J. L. P.

HEYDENREICH, AUGUST. LUDWIG CHRISTIAN, a Protestant theologian, was born at Wiesbaden, 25th July 1773. In 1795 he was rector and preacher in Usingen; in 1797 rector and preacher in Wiesbaden; in 1800 Stadtpfarrer in Usingen; in 1809 second Stadtpfarrer in Wiesbaden; in 1813 inspector at Dotzheim; in 1818 Kirchenrath, professor and preacher in Herborn. Subsequently he became evangelical rural bishop in Wiesbaden. He died in 1856 (?). Most of his works are homiletic and practical. The exegetical are—*Commentar in 1 Pauli ad Corinth. epistolam*, 1825, 1828, 2 parts; *Die Pastoralbriefe erläutert*, 1827, 1828, 2 parts; *Ueber die Unzulä-*

sigkeit der mythisch. Auffassung des histor. im N. T. und im Christenthume, 1831-1833, 2 divisions. Heydenreich was a dull, flat writer, who contributed nothing to the interpretation of the N. T. He had little talent and moderate learning. His time was devoted to the work of a preacher or pastor rather than a scholar.—S. D.

HEZEKIAH ('Strength of the Lord,' חִזְקִיָּהוּ and חִזְקִיָּה, and in both forms with initial י, LXX.

'Ezekias), son and successor of Ahaz, reigned twenty-nine years in Jerusalem. There is something wrong in the numbers, according to which he was twenty-five years old at the death of Ahaz, whose reign of sixteen years began when he was twenty years old; for so Hezekiah would have been born only eleven years after his father. The error cannot lie in the number sixteen, which is attested by the synchronisms; but the difficulty would be solved by supposing either Ahaz twenty-five, or Hezekiah twenty years old at accession. And as the LXX., followed by the Peshito, Arabic, and some copies of the Hebrew, does in fact read 'twenty-five' for the 'twenty' of the received text in 2 Chron. xxviii. 1, the former is the solution usually adopted. The history of the reign is contained in 2 Kings xviii.-xx., Is. xxxvi.-xxxix., and 2 Chron. xxx.-xxxii., illustrated by contemporary prophecies of Isaiah and Micah. Hezekiah is represented as a great and good king (2 Kings xviii. 5, 6), who set himself, immediately on his accession, to abolish idolatry, and restore the worship of Jehovah. The history of this Reformation, of which 2 Kings xviii. 4 ff. gives only a concise summary, is copiously related, from the Levitical point of view, in 2 Chron. xxix. ff. It commenced with the cleansing of the Temple 'in the first month' of Hezekiah's first year, i. e., in the month Nisan next after his accession, and was followed in the next month (because at the regular season neither Levites nor Temple were in a due state of preparation) by a great Passover, extended to fourteen days, to which not only all Judah was summoned, but also the 'remnant' of the Ten Tribes, some of whom accepted the invitation. Some writers (as Jahn, Keil, and Caspari) contend that this passover must have been subsequent to the fall of Samaria, alleging that the mention of the 'remnant' (2 Chron. xxx. 6) is unsuitable to an earlier period, and that, while the kingdom of Samaria still subsisted, Hezekiah's messengers would not have been suffered to pass through the land, much less would the destruction of the high-places in Ephraim and Manasse have been permitted (xxx. 1). But the intention of the chronicler at least is plain enough: the connection of xxix. 17, 'the first month,' with xxx. 2, 'the second month,' admits of but one construction—that both are meant to belong to one and the same year, the first of the reign. Accordingly, Thénius, in the *kgf. exeg. Hdb.* 2 Kings, p. 379, urges this as an argument against the historical character of the whole narrative of this passover, which, he thinks, 'rendered antecedently improbable by the silence of the Book of Kings, is perhaps completely refuted by 2 Kings xxiii. 22. The author of the story, wishing to place in the strongest light Hezekiah's zeal for religion, represents him, not Josiah, as the restorer of the Passover after long desuetude, and this in the very beginning of his reign, without, perhaps, caring to reflect that the final deportatio-

of the Ten Tribes, implied in xxx. 6, had not then taken place.' But 2 Kings xxiii. 22, taken in connection, as it ought to be, with the preceding verse, is perfectly compatible with the account in the Chronicles. It says: 'Surely *such* a Passover'—one kept in all respects 'as it is written in the Book of the Covenant'—'was not holden from the time of the Judges,' etc.: whereas Hezekiah's Passover, though kept with even greater joy and fervour than Josiah's, was held neither at the appointed season, nor in strict conformity with the law. Nor is it necessary to suppose that by 'the remnant' the chronicler understood those who were left by Shalmaneser. Rather, his view is, that the people of the Ten Tribes, untaught by the judgments brought upon them by former reverses and partial deportations (under Tiglath-Pileser), in respect of which they might well be called a 'remnant' (comp. the very similar terms in which even Judah is spoken of, xxix. 8, 9), and scornfully rejecting the last call to repentance, brought upon themselves their final judgment and complete overthrow (Bertheau, *kgf. exeg. Hdb.* 2 Chron. p. 395 ff.) Those, however, of the Ten Tribes who had taken part in the solemnity were thereby (such is evidently the chronicler's view of the matter, xxxi. 1) inspired with a zeal for the true religion which enabled them, on their return home, in defiance of all opposition on the part of the scorners or of Hoshea, to effect a destruction of the high-places and altars in Ephraim and Manasseh, as complete as was effected in Jerusalem before, and in Judah after the Passover. The notice of the reformation in 2 Kings xviii., brief as it is, and confined to Hezekiah's destruction of the *bamoth*, images, and *asherah* in his own kingdom, specifies one notable act unmentioned by the chronicler—his breaking in pieces 'the brazen serpent which Moses had made, for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it, and (men) called it (it was known as) Nehushtan,' the Brazen (god). So the passage must be understood. See Ewald, *Ausf. Lehrb.* sec. 163, *Gesch.* iii. 328.

That this prudent and pious king was not deficient in military qualities, is shown by his successes against the Philistines, seemingly in the latter part of his reign after the overthrow of Sennacherib, 2 Kings xviii. 8, and by the efficient measures taken by him for the defence of Jerusalem against the Assyrians. But he assiduously cultivated the arts of peace, and by wise management of finance, and the attention which, after the example of David and Uzziah, he paid to agriculture and the increase of flocks and herds, he became possessed, even in troubled times, of an ample exchequer and treasures of wealth (2 Chron. xxxii. 27-29; 2 Kings xx. 13; Is. xxxix. 2). Himself a sacred poet, and probably the author of other psalms besides that in Is. xxxviii., he seems to have collected the psalms of David and Asaph for the Temple-worship, and certainly employed competent scribes to complete the collection of Solomon's Proverbs (Prov. xxv. 1). He appears also to have taken order for the preservation of genealogical records. A critical examination of the principal documents relating to the Levitical families in 1 Chron. has satisfied the present writer that the originals terminated in the reign of Hezekiah (*Review of Lepsius on Bible Chronology*, in Arnold's *Theological Critic*, i. 59 ff.)

At what time it was that Hezekiah 'rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not,'

we do not learn from the direct history: in the brief summary, 2 Kings xviii. 7, 8 (for such it clearly is), of the successes with which the Lord prospered him, that particular statement only introduces what is more fully detailed in the sequel, xviii. 13-19. 37. That it precedes the notice of the overthrow of Samaria, ver. 9, ff., does not warrant the inference that the assertion of independence belongs to the earliest years of Hezekiah's reign (see Winer, *Real W. B.* i. 497, n. 2). Ewald, however, thinks otherwise: in the absence of direct evidence, making history, as his manner is, out of his own peremptory interpretation of certain passages of Isaiah (c. i. and xxii. 1-14), he informs us that Hezekiah, holding his kingdom absolved by the death of Ahaz from the obligations contracted with Tiglath-Pileser, prepared himself from the first to resist the demands of Assyria, and put Jerusalem in a state of defence. (It matters not to Ewald that the measures noted in 2 Kings xx. 20, 2 Chron. xxxii. 3-5, 30, are, in the latter passage, expressly assigned to the time of Sennacherib's advance upon Jerusalem.) 'From Shalmaneser's hosts at that time stationed in Phœnicia and elsewhere in the neighbourhood of Judah, forces were detached which laid waste the land in all directions: an army sent against them from Jerusalem, seized with panic at the sight of the unwonted enemy, took to flight, and, Jerusalem now lying helplessly exposed, a peace was concluded in all haste, upon the stipulation of a yearly tribute, and the ignominious deliverance was celebrated with feastings in Jerusalem' (*Gesch. des V. J.* iii. p. 330, ff.): all of which rests upon the supposition that Ewald's interpretation of Is. i. 22 is the only possible one: it cannot be said to be on record as history.

As gathered from the Scriptures only, the course of events appears to have been as follows: Ahaz had placed his kingdom as tributary under the protection of Tiglath-Pileser (2 Kings xvi. 7). It would seem from Is. x. 27, and xxviii. 22, that in the time of Shalmaneser, to which the latter passage certainly, and the former probably, belongs, Judah was still under the yoke of this dependence. The fact that Sargon (whether or not the same with the Shalmaneser of the history) in his expedition against Egypt left Judah untouched (Is. xx.), implies that Judah had not yet asserted its independence. A powerful party, indeed, was scheming for revolt from Assyria and a league with Egypt; but there appears no reason to believe that Hezekiah all along favoured a policy which Isaiah in the name of the Lord, to the last, strenuously condemned. It was not till after the accession of Sennacherib that Hezekiah refused the tribute, and at the instigation of his nobles made a league with Egypt by ambassadors sent to Zoan (Tanis) Is. xxx., xxxi.; comp. xxxvi. 6-9.* Hereupon, 'in the fourteenth

* Some, indeed (as Ewald and Caspari), place Is. xxix.-xxxii. before the fall of Samaria, to which time ch. xxviii. must unquestionably be assigned. Possibly ch. xxix. may belong to the same time, and ver. 15 may refer to plottings for a league with Egypt already carrying on in secret. Knobel, *kgf. exeg. Hdb.* pp. 215, 223, decides too peremptorily that such *must* be the reference, and consequently that ch. xxix. falls only a little earlier than the following chapters, where the league is openly denounced, viz., in the early part of the reign of Sennacherib.

year of Hezekiah, Sennacherib came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them' (2 Kings xviii. 13; Is. xxxvi. 1); and Hezekiah by an embassy sent to Lachish, made humble submission, and bought the king's forbearance by a tribute of 300 talents of silver, and 30 talents of gold (2 Kings xviii. 14-16: it is remarkable that in Is. xxxvi. and 2 Chron. xxxii. there is no mention made of this submission). To this conjuncture Is. xxii. 1-14 may be most suitably referred, as prophecy (not with Eichhorn, Ewald, Maurer, as history, to the time of Shalmaneser, in the early years of Hezekiah). The untimely and shameful rejoicing there condemned was, however, turned into renewed dismay when Sennacherib, alleging the Egyptian alliance as the provocation, sent his Tartan, or chief of the body-guard, with two other high officials, the Rab-saris and the Rab-shakeh, with a powerful force from Lachish against Jerusalem (2 Kings xviii. 17; Is. xxxvi. 2; 2 Chron. xxxii. 9). What length of time elapsed between the acceptance of the submission and the hostile advance from Lachish, the history does not inform us; only it is clear that in the view of the writer of the narrative in 2 Kings xviii., and especially of him by whom it was transferred to the volume of Isaiah's prophecies, the two are separated by no great interval, and both are referred to Hezekiah's fourteenth year. According to the chronicler, *ibid.* 2, ff., it was after the attack upon 'the fenced cities of Judah,' and in the prospect of an assault upon Jerusalem,* that Hezekiah took measures for its defence, and especially for at once cutting off from a besieging army the principal run of water without the walls ('the upper water-course of Gihon,' on the north-west side), and bringing it within the walls for the supply of the western portion of Jerusalem: a work for which his memory was honoured in later times (2 Chron. xxxii. 3, ff., 30; comp. 2 Kings xx. 20; and Eccles. xlviii. 17).† Whether the reservoir traditionally called 'the Pool of Hezekiah' was the work of this king, is disputed by Ritter, *Erdrkunde* xvi. 371, ff.; but Robinson's latest investigations, p. 112, comp. Bartlett, *Walks about Jerusalem*, p. 82, ff., leave little doubt that it was (Thenius, *u. s.*, p. 409).

The assault, however, did not take place, and Sennacherib's officers drew off their force to join him at Libnah, another fortified town in the south of Judah. Alarmed by tidings of the advance of Tirhaka, 'king of Ethiopia,' Sennacherib dispatched a letter to Hezekiah (whether from Libnah or what other place is not said), imperiously urging him to abandon all further resistance. The miraculous overthrow of the Assyrian army, which is represented as following immediately, may have been brought about by a pestilence (*ἀνμικὴ νόστος*, Josephus), if 'the angel of the Lord' has the same reference as in 2 Sam. xxiv. 15, 16. It is not said where it occurred: the prophecies concerning it, Is. x.-xxxvii., seem to denote the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, as would Ps. lxxvi., if it was written at that time. On the other hand, the narrative would surely have been fuller, had the

overthrow, with its attendant opportunities of beholding the bodies of their dreaded enemies and of gathering great spoil, befallen near Jerusalem, or even within the limits of Judah. That version of the story which reached Herodotus (ii. 140)—for few will hold with Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 336) that the story is not substantially the same—indicates the frontier of Egypt near Pelusium as the scene of the disaster. The Assyrian army would probably break up from Libnah on the tidings of Tirhaka's approach, and advance to meet him. In ascribing it to a vast swarm of field-mice, which, devouring the quivers and bow-strings of the Egyptians, compelled them to flee in the morning, Herodotus may have misinterpreted the symbolical language of the Egyptians, in which the mouse denotes annihilation (*ἀφανισμός*, Horapoll. i. 50): though, as Knobel (*u. s.* p. 280) has shewn by apposite instances, an army of mice is capable of committing such ravages and also of leaving pestilence behind it. That the destruction was effected in the course of one night, is clearly expressed in 2 Kings xix. 35, where 'that night' is plainly that which followed after the delivery of Isaiah's prophecy, and is evidently implied alike in Is. xxxvi. 36 ('when men arose early in the morning'), and in the story of Herodotus.

'In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death.' So begins, in all the accounts, and immediately after the discomfiture of Sennacherib, the narrative of Hezekiah's sickness and miraculous recovery (2 Kings xx. 1; 2 Chron. xxxii. 24; Is. xxxviii. 1). The time is defined, by the promise of fifteen years to be added to the life of Hezekiah, to the fourteenth year complete, or fifteenth current, of his reign of twenty-nine years. But it is stated to have been in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah that Sennacherib took the fenced cities of Judah, and thereafter threatened Jerusalem and came to his overthrow. The two notes of time, the express and the implied, fully accord, and place beyond question at least the view of the writer or last redactor in 2 Kings xviii., xix.; Is. xxxvi., xxxvii., that the Assyrian invasion began before Hezekiah's illness,* and lies in the middle of his reign. In the received chronology, as the first year of Hezekiah precedes the fourth of Jehoiakim = first of Nebuchadnezzar (*i. e.*, 604 B.C. in the Canon, 606 B.C. in the Hebrew reckoning) by 29, 55, 2, 31, 3 = 120 years, the epoch of the reign is 724 or 726 B.C., and its 14th year 711 or 713 B.C. But it is contended that so early a year is irreconcilable with definite and unquestionable data of contemporary history, Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian. The grounds on which that conclusion rests have been briefly indicated in the article CHRONOLOGY, sec. 12, ff.: a fuller consideration of the facts and necessities of the case is reserved for the articles MERODACH-BALADAN and SENNACHERIB. The present article has confined itself to the Biblical elements of the question.

* But from the promise 'I will deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria' (2 Kings xx. 6; Is. xxxviii. 6), it appears that the deliverance was not yet completed. Hezekiah also, in his Psalm of thanksgiving, acknowledges only the personal, not a national deliverance. This circumstance, however, and the absence of all allusion to the peril then impending over the nation, may be urged in favour of Dr. Hincks's conclusion, that the Assyrian invasion was long subsequent to Hezekiah's illness.

* Is. xxxiii. belongs to this time, and perhaps to the period of suspense before the submission was accepted.

† The defensive works of Hezekiah seem to be intended in Is. xxii. 9-11, and perhaps in Ps. xlviii. 12, 13.

Some writers have thought to find a note of time in 2 Kings xix. 29, Is. xxxvii. 30, 'Ye shall eat this year such as groweth of itself,' etc., assuming that the passage is only to be explained as implying the intervention of a sabbath-year, or even of a sabbath-year followed by a year of jubilee. All that can be said is, that the passage *may* be interpreted in that sense; and it does happen that according to that view of the order of sabbatic and jubilean years which is the best attested, a sabbath-year would begin in the autumn of B.C. 713 (*Ordo Saeculorum*, sec. 272-280), i. e., on the perhaps precarious assumption that the cycle persisted without interruption. At most, however, this no more fixes the fourteenth of Hezekiah to the year 713 B.C., than it does to 706 or 699 or any other year of the series. But, in fact, it is not necessary to assume any reference to a sabbath-year. Suppose the words to have been spoken in the autumn, then, the produce of the previous harvest (April, May) having been destroyed or carried off by the invaders, there remained only that which sprung naturally from the dropt or trodden-out seed (חֲרִיץ), and as the enemy's presence in the land hindered the autumnal tillage, there could be no regular harvest in the following spring (only the שָׁמֶר, *avbūara*). Hence there is no need to infer with Thenius *ad loc.* that the enemy must have been in the land at least eighteen months, or, with Ewald, that Isaiah, speaking in the autumn, anticipated that the invasion would last through the following year (*die Propheten des A. B. I.* 301, and similarly Knobel *u. s.*, p. 278).

The sign given to Hezekiah in the going back of the shadow on the 'sun-dial of Ahaz,' can only be interpreted as a miracle (see DIAL). The explanation proposed by J. von Gumpach (*Alt. Test. Studien*, p. 181, ff.) is as incompatible with the terms of the narrative (Is. xxxviii. 8, especially the fuller one, 2 Kings xx. 8-11) as it is insulting to the character of the prophet, who is represented to have managed the seeming return of the shadow by the trick of secretly turning the movable dial from its proper position to its opposite! Thenius (*u. s.* p. 403, ff.) would naturalise the miracle so as to obtain from it a note of time. The phenomenon was due, he thinks, to a solar eclipse, very small, viz., the one of 26th September 713 B.C. Here, also, the prophet is taxed with a deception, to be justified by his wish to inspire the despairing king with the confidence essential to his recovery. The prophet employed for this purpose his astronomical knowledge of the fact that the eclipse was about to take place, and of the further fact that 'at the beginning of an eclipse the shadow (e.g., of a gnomon) goes back, and at its ending goes forward': an effect, it is true, so minute that the difference amounts at most to sixty seconds of time; but then, the 'degrees' would mark extremely small portions of time, possibly even 1080 to the hour (like the later Hebrew *Chlakim*), and the so-called 'dial' was enormously large! Not more successfully, Mr. Bosanquet (*Trans. of R. Asiat. Soc.* xv. 277) has recourse to the same expedient of an eclipse on 11th Jan. 689 B.C., which, in this writer's scheme, lies in the fourteenth of Hezekiah (see the art. CHRONOLOGY, sec. 17). 'Whoever truly believes in the Old Testament, as Mr. Bosanquet evidently does, must also be prepared to believe in a miracle,' is the just comment made

by M. v. Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assurs und Babels*, p. 49. Mr. Greswell's elaborate attempt to prove from ancient astronomical records that the day of this miracle was preternaturally lengthened out to thirty-six hours will scarcely convince any one but himself (*Fasti Temporis Catholici*, etc., and 'Remarks' on the same by the present writer, 1852, p. 23, ff.)

Between Hezekiah's recovery and the embassy sent from Babylon to congratulate him (MERO-DACH-BALADAN), the narrative implies no greater length of time than would be required for the tidings to reach Babylon, and the ambassadors to make the journey to Jerusalem. The manner in which Babylon is pointed to as the instrument of a future judgment shews plainly that in the view of the writer or last redactor the Assyrian crisis was past. If in the original record the account of Hezekiah's illness preceded the Assyrian invasion, this mention of a Babylonian judgment, and the expression of Hezekiah's thankfulness 'there shall be peace and truth in my days,' could not form the sequel to that account. And unless we are prepared to assume that the relation of what passed between Isaiah and Hezekiah took its present form and colouring at a later time when the event had verified the prophet's foreboding (Ewald, iii. 346), we must suppose the order of events to be—1. Hezekiah's illness and recovery; 2. The Assyrian invasion, and Sennacherib's discomfiture; 3. The embassy from Babylon—that is, on that construction of the chronology which is said to be rendered necessary by external testimony, the Babylonian king sent to congratulate Hezekiah some ten or twelve years after his recovery! On the ordinary construction a difficulty arises from the fact that Hezekiah, whose resources were exhausted by the Assyrian tribute, was able only one or two years later to exhibit treasures of wealth to these ambassadors: but this is explained by the notice, 2 Chron. xxxii. 23, of the costly gifts which flowed in from the surrounding nations after the overthrow of the Assyrians. It is peculiar to the chronicler that he represents the embassy to have been 'sent to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land' (xxxii. 31), meaning by the מֵוֹדָע, 'the sign' ('וֹד, ver. 24) given to Hezekiah, which this writer must therefore have conceived to have in some way attracted the attention of the Chaldean astronomers. It would be unwise to urge the unsupported statement of the chronicler, either as implying an eclipse (Thenius, *u. s.*), or for proof that the preternatural occurrence was noted elsewhere than at Jerusalem. Perhaps he put his own construction on a statement in his sources purporting that the ambassadors were sent to congratulate Hezekiah on his recovery, and on the miraculous deliverance afforded by the overthrow of the Assyrians.

After this embassy we have only a general account of the peace and prosperity in which Hezekiah closed his days.* In later times, he was

* 'He was buried in the going up (מַעְלֵה) to the sepulchres of the sons of David,' 2 Chron. xxxii. 33: from this, and the fact that the succeeding kings were laid in sepulchres of their own, it may be inferred that after Ahaz, thirteenth from David, there was no more room left in the ancestral sepulchre (Thenius, *u. s.*, p. 410).

held in honour as the king who had 'after him none like him among all the kings of Judah, nor any that were before him' (2 Kings xviii. 5); in Jer. xxvi. 17 the elders of the land cite him as an example of pious submission to the word of the Lord spoken by Micah; and the son of Sirach closes his recital of the kings with this judgment—that of all the kings of Judah, 'David, Hezekiah, and Josiah alone transgressed not, nor forsook the law of the Most High' (Ecclus xlii. 4).—H. B.

HEZEL, J. W. F., a German Orientalist and theologian, was born at Königsberg, May 16, 1754. Having received his first instruction from his father, who was a Protestant pastor, he subsequently repaired to the University of Jena, 1772. In 1786 he was appointed professor of the Oriental languages at Giessen; and in 1800 keeper of the university library there. In 1801 he was called to the University of Dorpat, where he filled the chair of Oriental literature till 1820, in which year he requested permission to retire, which was granted. He died February 1st 1829, at the age of 75. Hezel's works are many, but they are little read at the present day. They are chiefly these:—*Ausführliche Hebräische Sprachlehre*, 1777, 8vo; *Anweisung zum Hebräischen bei Ermangelung alles mündlichen Unterrichts*, 1781, 8vo; *Nominalformenlehre der Hebräischen Sprache*, 1793, 8vo; *Institutio Philologi Hebraei*, 1793, 8vo; *Palaeographische Fragmente*, 1816, 8vo; *Geschichte der Hebräischen Literatur*, 1776, 8vo; *Anweisung zum Chaldeischen bei Ermangelung alles mündlichen Unterrichts*, 1787, 8vo; *Syrische Sprachlehre*, 1788, 8vo; *Arabische Grammatik nebst einer kurzen Arabischen Chrestomathie*, 1776, 8vo; *Anweisung zur Arabischen Sprache bei Ermangelung alles mündlichen Unterrichts*, 1784-1785, 2 vols. 8vo; *Die Bibel altes und neues Testament mit vollständig erklärenden Bemerkungen*, 1780-1791, 10 vols. 8vo; *Dialogen zur Erläuterung der Bibel*, 1785, 8vo; *Die Bibel in ihrer wahren Gestalt*, 1786, 8vo; *Neuer Versuch ueber den Brief an die Hebräer*, 1795, 8vo; *Biblisches Reallexicon*, 1783-1785, 3 vols. 8vo; *Die freie Untersuchung der Absicht des Hohenliedes*, 1777, 8vo. He afterwards published a new translation and explanation of the Song, 1777, 8vo. In 1777 he also published a small treatise on the fall, the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, and Enoch's translation; and in 1780 a dissertation on the sources of the early history in the Pentateuch. *Lehrbuch der Kritik des A. T.* appeared in 1783, 8vo.—S. D.

HEZION (הֶזִיּוֹן); LXX. Ἀζῆν; Alex. Ἀζαήλ; Vulg. *Hezion*), the grandfather of the first of the Benhadads mentioned in Scripture History. A question has long been raised whether this name (which occurs in 1 Kings xv. 18) indicates the same person as the REZON of 1 Kings xi. 23. Thenius, after Ewald, suggests that the successful adventurer who became king of Damascus, and was so hostile a neighbour to Solomon throughout his reign, was really called *Hezion*, and that the designation *Rezon* (הֶזִיּוֹן, 'prince') was either assumed by him, or bestowed on him by his followers after he was seated on his new throne. There is of course no chronological difficulty in this supposition. Less than forty years intervened between the death of Solomon, when Rezon was reigning at Damascus (1 Kings xi. 25), and the treaty between Asa and Benhadad I. (1 Kings xv. 18, 19), during which

interval there is no violence to probability in assuming the occurrence of the death of Rezon or Hezion, the accession and entire reign of Tabrimon his son, who was unquestionably king of Syria and contemporary with Asa's father (1 Kings xv. 19), and the succession of Tabrimon's son, Benhadad I. This identity of Hezion with Rezon is an idea apparently as old as the Septuagint translators; for they associated in their version with Solomon's adversary the Edomite Hadlad [or, as they called him, *Ader*, τὸν Ἀδερ], '*Esrom*, the son of Eliadad' (see the LXX. of 1 Kings xi. 14); a name which closely resembles our *Hezion*, though it refers to Rezon, as the patronymic proves (1 Kings xi. 23).

The later versions, Peschito (ܠܗܕܪܘܢ *Hadron*), and

Arabic (هذرون *Hedron*), seem to approximate also more nearly to *Hezion* than to *Rezon*. Of the older commentators, Junius, Piscator, Malvenda, and Menochius have been cited (see *Poli Synops.* in loc.) as maintaining the identity. Köhler also, and Marsham (*Can. Chron.* p. 346) and Dathe, have been referred to by Keil as in favour of the same view. Keil himself is uncertain. According to another opinion, Hezion was not identical with Rezon, but his successor; this is propounded by Winer (*B. R. W.*, vol. i. p. 245, and vol. ii. p. 322). If the account be correct which is communicated by Josephus (*Antiq.* vii. 5. 2) from the 4th book of *Nicolaus Damascus*, to the effect that the name of the king of Damascus who was contemporary with David was *Hadad* (Ἀδαδός), we have in it probably the dynastic name which Rezon or Hezion adopted for himself and his heirs, who, according to the same statement, occupied the throne of Syria for ten generations. According to Macrobius (*Saturnalia*, i. 23) *Adad* was the name of the supreme god of the Syrians ['Deo quem summum maximumque veneratur *Adad* nomen dederunt']; and as it was a constant practice with the kings of Syria and Babylon to assume names which connected them with their gods (cf. *Tabrimon* of 1 Kings xv. 18, the son of our Hezion, whose name = קֹבֵץ וְרִמּוֹן, 'good is Rimmon,'

another Syrian deity, probably the same with *Adad*; see 2 Kings v. 18, and Zech. xii. 11), we may not unreasonably conjecture that *Hezion*, who in his political relation called himself *Rezon*, or 'prince,' adopted the name *Hadad* [or rather *Benhadad*, 'Son of the supreme God'] in relation to the religion of his country and to his own ecclesiastical supremacy. It is remarkable that even after the change of dynasty in Hazael, this title of *Benhadad* seemed to survive (see 2 Kings xiii. 3). If this conjecture be true, the energetic marauder who passes under the names of *Rezon* and *Hezion* in the passages which we quoted at the commencement of this art., was strong enough not only to harass the great Solomon, but to found a dynasty of kings which occupied the throne of Syria to the tenth descent, even down to the revolution effected by Hazael, 'near two hundred years, according to the exactest chronology of Josephus' (Whiston's note, on *Antiq.* vii. 5. 2).—P. H.

HIDDEKEL (חִדְקֵל; Τίγρις and Τίγρις Ἐδδκελ; *Tygris* and *Tigris*), the third river of Eden, described in Gen. ii. 14 as flowing 'to the east of

Assyria' (קדמת אשור), or it may be translated 'towards the east of Assyria.' It is also mentioned by Daniel, who saw one of his wondrous visions as he stood 'by the side of the great river, which is Hiddekel' (x. 4). The translators of the Septuagint identify this river with the Tigris; and so also does Jerome. There can be no doubt that they are correct. The name suggests the identity.

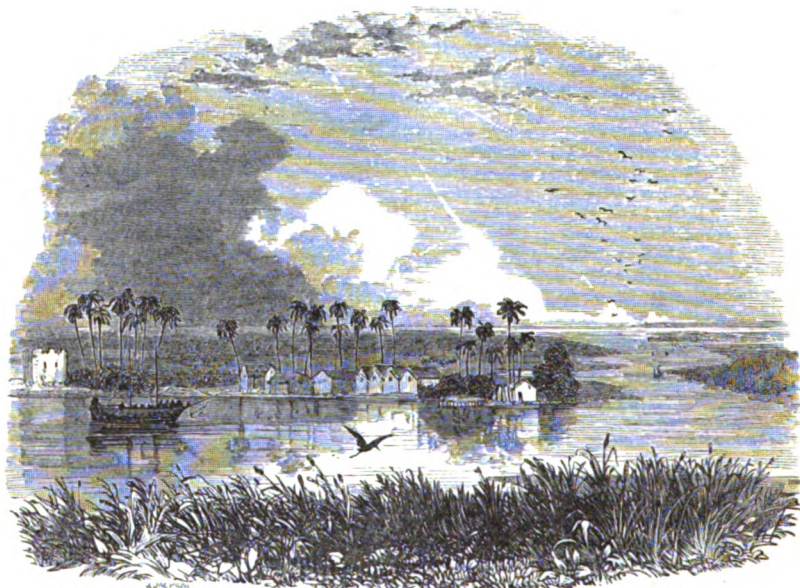
The Aramaean name of the Tigris is דגלא, *Digla*,

and the Arabic دجلة. The Hebrew name חדקל

appears to be compounded of חר, 'active,' and דקל, the common name. *Digla* was easily transformed by the Greeks into *Tigris*; or perhaps the latter was the Persian form, derived from the word *Tigra*, 'an arrow.' Pliny says, 'as soon as this

river begins to flow, though with a slow current, it has the name *Diglito*. When its course becomes more rapid it assumes the name *Tigris*, given to it on account of its *swiftness*, that word signifying 'an arrow' in the Median language' (vi. 27). To the same effect Strabo writes (xi. 14. 8). Josephus states that the word 'Tigris, or Diglath, signifies what is swift, with narrowness' (*Antiq.* i. 1. 3). The great rapidity of the current appears to have suggested the name.

The Tigris is often mentioned by classic writers. Pliny gives the fullest description; but the notices of Herodotus (v. 22), Strabo (xi. 14), and Xenophon (*Anab.* iv. 1. 3) supply some important details. The river has several sources among the mountains of Armenia. Those of the eastern branch were discovered by Layard, south of Lake Van (*Lavard Nin. and Babylon*, 420); the highest source of the



262. The Tigris at its junction with the Euphrates. Korna.

western branch is only a few miles distant from the Euphrates. The Tigris flows at first eastward, then gradually turns to the south-east; and after a tortuous course of more than 200 miles through a wild mountainous region, it passes by a sublime ravine into the plain of Assyria (Layard, p. 51). It then sweeps past the great mounds of Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah, and other primeval cities—still retaining its rapidity, and frequently breaking over rocky barriers and artificial dams. At length, near the old town of Tekrit, 100 miles below Mosul, it enters the low plain of Mesopotamia. Here its waters were formerly drawn off by canals for irrigation. The stream is now sluggish, and the banks are fringed with thick jungles. It flows on through the palm groves of Baghdad, laving the walls of the decaying city. It is here only about 30 miles from the Euphrates. The two sister rivers run parallel for 100 miles or more; and then the Tigris sweeps round to the eastward, through

the marshy plains of Elam, and turning south unites with the Euphrates at Korna. The river formed by the junction is called *Shât el-Arab*. It flows in a south-eastern course, through swamps and desolate plains, to Busrah and the Persian Gulf.

The Tigris is navigable for small vessels as high up as Tekrit—nearly 500 miles; and a channel could easily be formed to Mosul. But the indifference and neglect of the Turkish government leave the river useless, and the magnificent country surrounding it a desert (Layard, p. 475). In addition to the authors already cited, descriptions of the Tigris are given in Rich's *Koordistan*; Chesney's *Euphrates Expedition*; Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i.—J. L. P.

HIEL (חִיֵּל, *God liveth*; Sept. Ἀχιῶλ), a native of Beth-el, who rebuilt Jericho, above 500 years after its destruction by the Israelites, and who, in so doing, incurred the effects of the im-

precation pronounced by Joshua (1 Kings xvi. 34).

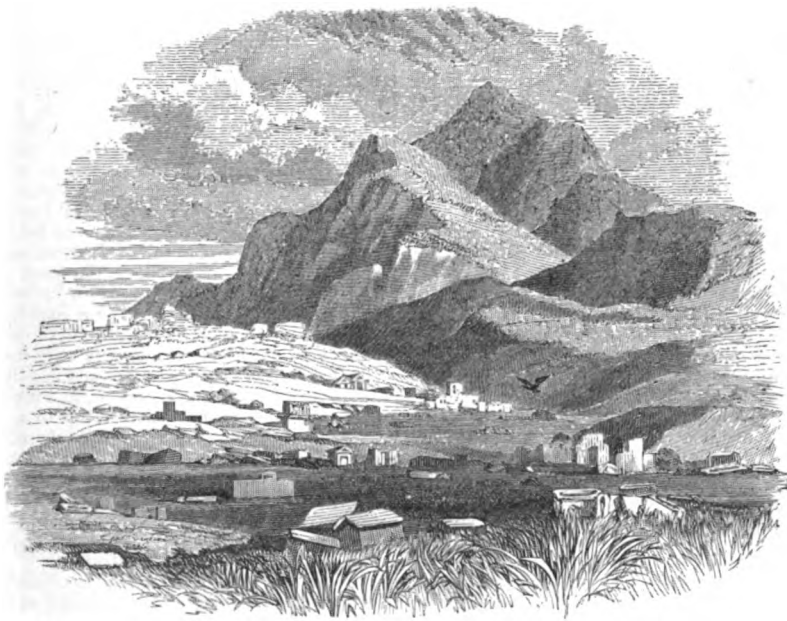
Accursed the man in the sight of Jehovah,
Who shall arise and build this city, even Jericho;
With the loss of his first-born shall he found it,
And with the loss of his youngest shall he fix its
gates (Josh. vi. 26).—J. E. R.

HIERAPOLIS (Ἱερὰ πόλις), a city of Phrygia, not far from Colossæ and Laodicea, where there was a Christian church as early as the time of St. Paul (Col. iv. 12, 13). The place is visible from the theatre at Laodicea, from which it is five miles distant northward.

Smith, in his journey to the Seven Churches (1671), was the first to describe the ancient sites in this neighbourhood. He was followed by Pococke

and Chandler; and more recently by Richter, Cockerell, Hartley, and Arundell.

The place now bears the name of *Pambouk-Kul-asi* (Cotton-castle), from the white appearance of the cliffs of the mountain on the lower summit, or rather an extended terrace, on which the ruins are situated. It owed its celebrity, and probably the sanctity indicated by its ancient name (Holy City), to its very remarkable springs of mineral water, the singular effects of which, in the formation of stalactites and incrustations by its deposits, are shewn in the accounts of Pococke (ii. pt. 2, c. 13) and Chandler (*Asia Minor*, c. 68), to have been accurately described by Strabo (xiii. p. 629). A great number and variety of sepulchres are found in the different approaches to the site, which on one side is sufficiently defended by the precipices overlook-



263. Hierapolis.

ing the valleys of the Lycus and Mæander, while on the other sides the town walls are still observable. The magnificent ruins clearly attest the ancient importance of the place. The main street can still be traced in its whole extent, and is bordered by the remains of three Christian churches, one of which is upwards of 300 feet long. About the middle of this street, just above the mineral springs, Pococke, in 1741, thought that he distinguished some remains of the Temple of Apollo, which, according to Damascius, quoted by Photius (*Biblioth.* p. 1054), was in this situation. But the principal ruins are a theatre and gymnasium, both in a state of uncommon preservation; the former 346 feet in diameter, the latter nearly filling a space of 400 feet square. Strabo (*loc. cit.*) and Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* v. 29) mention a cave called the Plutonium, filled with pestilential vapours, similar to the celebrated Grotto del Cane in Italy. High up the

mountain-side is a deep recess far into the mountain; and Mr. Arundell says that he should have supposed that the mephitic cavern lay in this recess, if Mr. Cockerell had not found it near the theatre, the position anciently assigned to it. He adds, that the experiments made in this mountain-side recess do not seem very conclusive, and conjectures that it may be the same in which Chandler distinguished the area of a stadium (Arundell, *Asia Minor*, ii. 210). The same writer gives, from the *Oriens Christianus*, a list of the bishops of Hierapolis down to the time of the emperor Isaac Angelus. Fuller accounts of the ruins, etc., may be seen in the authors named above (comp. also Col. Leake's *Geogr. of Asia Minor*, pp. 252, 253).—J. K.

HIERONYMUS (Ἱερώνυμος), a Syrian general in the time of Antiochus V. Eupator (2 Maccab. xii. 2).

HIERONYMUS. [JEROME.]

HIGGAION. [PSALMS.]

HIGH PLACES AND GROVES. i. *High Places*.—The word rendered 'high place' in the A. V. is בִּמְצָה, 'a natural height.' Upon such heights in Palestine altars were raised and temples built, the latter called 'houses of high places' (בְּתֵי הַבִּמְצֹת, sing. בֵּית הַבִּמְצָה). When used in relation to religion, whether idolatrous or not, this word may signify the sacred height itself, or the altar or temple upon it. At a late period high places seem to have been often slight artificial elevations, and thus the name may have come to be applied to altars. It is needless to shew the motives which led mankind to worship upon heights, or to instance different forms of this practice. Our inquiry must be as to the character of the worship at the high places of Palestine (1) before the conquest of the country; (2) in the time of the Judges, and until the Temple was built; and (3) after the building of the Temple. [ALTAR.]

1. This practice was probably of great antiquity in Palestine. Upon the summit of lofty Hermon are the remains of 'a small and very ancient temple,' towards which faced a circle of temples surrounding the mountain (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, HERMON, i. p. 790 a). That a temple should have been built on a summit of bare rock perpetually covered with snow, shews a strong religious motive, and the position of the temples around the mountain indicates a belief in the sanctity of Hermon itself. This inference is supported by a passage in the treaty of Rameses II. with the Hittites of Syria, in which, besides gods and goddesses, the mountains and the rivers, both of the land of the Hittites and of Egypt, and the winds, are mentioned, in a list of Hittite and Egyptian divinities. The Egyptian divinities are spoken of from a Hittite point of view, for the expression, 'the mountains and the rivers of the land of Egypt' is only half-applicable to the Egyptian nature-worship, which had, in Egypt at least, but one sacred river (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 146; Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, ii. p. 29; De Rouge in *Rev. Arch.*, nouv. ser., iv. p. 372; HITTITES). That Hermon was worshipped in connection with Baal is probable from the name Mount Baal-Hermon (Judg. iii. 3), Baal-Hermon (1 Chron. v. 23) being apparently given to it,* Baal being, as the Egyptian monuments indicate, the chief god of the Hittites [HITTITES]. That there was such a belief in the sanctity of mountains and hills seems evident from the great number of high places of the old inhabitants, which is clearly indicated in the prohibition of their worship as compared with the statement of the disobedience of the Israelites. The command enjoined the destruction of all the idolatrous places 'upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree' (Deut. xii. 2); and it is related that the Israelites set up idolatrous objects 'in every high hill, and under every green tree,' high places being spoken of in connection with this worship, and as belonging to the system of the natives of Canaan (2 Kings xvii. 9-11). There is no distinct mention of the exact character of any idolatrous worship at

high places in the narrative portions of Scripture relating to the period before the conquest of Canaan, but no doubt there is an indication in the name 'high-places of Baal,' applied to one of the heights whence Balaam saw Israel, and where he sacrificed. But Balaam here, as elsewhere, had altars built for the sacrifices (Num. xxii. 41; xxiii. 1). There is no evidence that the believing Hebrews before the Law followed this practice. Those who endeavour to discover it cite the passage describing Abraham's arrival at 'a mountain' between Bethel and Ai, and there building an altar (Gen. xii. 8), but this is very insufficient. The mountain, as the Hebrew term allows, must have been a slight eminence, and it is mentioned in connection with Abraham's pitching his tent, rather than his building the altar. It is most unlikely that Abraham would have chosen a place that would have been chosen by the heathen; had he done so in this case, we should probably have had some additional evidence from another instance.

2. The Israelites, on occupying Canaan, must have found the land covered with the places of idolatrous worship. During the troubled period of the Judges, they were mainly confined to the three mountainous tracts separated by the plain of Esdraelon and the Jordan valley, the territory of the northern tribes, three of which rose at the call of Barak; that of which Judah and Ephraim formed the great rallying points; and, beyond Jordan, hilly Gilead. The plain of Esdraelon was held by the Canaanites, the coast of the Mediterranean, by the Phœnicians and the Philistines, the great pastures-lands on the east of Jordan, mainly by wandering tribes of Abrahamic descent. Thus confined to the hilly parts of the country, the Israelites lived where the associations of the old idolatry were strongest. Worship at high places was thus adopted by them, and in their subsequent history we find it practised among them, both by believers, up to a certain period, and by idolaters. It was, perhaps, on this account that the servants of Benhadad counselled him to fight Israel in the plain, arguing: 'Their gods [are] gods of the hills; therefore they were stronger than we; but let us fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they' (1 Kings xx. 23). [See PHœNICIA.]

In the Law it was distinctly commanded that no sacrifices should be offered except at the one place of worship. It is indeed said that the offerings were to be brought to this place after the people had rest from their enemies (Deut. xii. 10, 11); but this injunction seems to refer to the rest after the first conquest, and certainly does not allow of the use of other altars. That this law was clearly understood at the first is evident from the history of the altar of witness built by the two tribes and a half when they departed to their inheritance (Josh. xxii. 10-34). Nothing can be more explicit than the words of these tribes—'God forbid that we should rebel against the LORD, and turn this day from following the LORD, to build an altar for burnt offerings, for meat offerings, or for sacrifices, beside the altar of the LORD our God that [is] before his tabernacle' (ver. 29). There is therefore no possibility of admitting the theory that the prohibition was not to come into force until the Temple had been built, when it was thus understood in the lifetime of Phinehas.

Not long after this, the custom of sacrificing else-

* Mr. Grove has shewn the probability of Mount Baal-Hermon being the same as Hermon (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, i. p. 147 b).

where than at Shiloh appears to have commenced, for we read how, evidently in the earliest days of the occupation of Canaan, the people were reprov'd by an angel at Bochim, and 'sacrificed there unto the LORD' (Judg. ii. 5). It is still more remarkable to read that Gideon built an altar to the LORD, and afterwards that he was commanded to destroy the altar of Baal, and build an altar to the LORD (vi. 24, 25, 26). So, too, Manoah sacrificed where the angel appeared (xiii. 19). This worship seems to have been occasioned by the disturbed state of the country and the difficulty of uniting in journeys to Shiloh for the great feasts, and it may perhaps have been permitted as a recurrence to the patriarchal system. The local idolatrous worship adopted from the heathen was carried on at the same time. We hear, however, nothing of high places until the time of Samuel, when the sacrificing and worship in high places seems to have been usual, and was sanctioned by the practice and approval of the priest-judge (1 Sam. ix. 12; x. 5, 13). In the time of Solomon this worship still obtained, for it is said of the beginning of his reign, 'Only the people sacrificed in high places, because there was no house built unto the name of the LORD, until those days' (1 Kings iii. 2). Solomon accordingly 'went to Gibeon to sacrifice there; for that [was] the great high place' (ver. 4). That his sacrificing was not disapproved is evident from the dream which God there granted to him. At this time the Tabernacle was at Gibeon, though David had removed the Ark to Jerusalem (2 Chron. i. 3-6, comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 37-40). The separation of the Ark from the Tabernacle, and the pitching the latter at a high place, are very remarkable points.

3. After the completion of the Temple there must have been no excuse for worship at high places, and it was probably for a time discontinued. When they are again mentioned it is in connection with idolatry. Solomon made a high place, or high places, for the idols of Moab and Ammon (1 Kings xi. 7). Jeroboam, to prevent his subjects from going to Jerusalem, established a series of high places. At Dan and Bethel he raised houses of high places, and throughout his kingdom (xii. 26-31; xiii. 32). The Levites having left their cities in his dominions, and gone to Rehoboam, the king of Israel appears to have made use of Shishak to capture those cities, and established a spurious priesthood (2 Chron. xi. 13, 14, 15; 1 Kings xii. 31; xiii. 33; comp. Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* ii. pp. 70, 71). The system set up by Jeroboam was partly an imitation of the national religion, partly of the idolatry of Egypt and Canaan [IDOLATRY]. From this time we find high places used either for idolatrous worship, or, apparently, for an independent and unlawful practice of the national rites. In general, the former use seems to have obtained in Judah, and the latter in Israel, though this rule cannot be strictly applied in either case. Already in Rehoboam's time the people of Judah had set up idolatrous high places (1 Kings xiv. 23). Later we find it recorded as a flaw in the reigns of pious kings of Judah that the high places yet remained in use, the people still sacrificing and burning incense at them. It is said of Asa that he took away the high places (2 Chron. xiv. 5), but it appears that this reform was not successfully accomplished, at least in Israel (xv. 17; 1 Kings xv. 14), of which he held cities (2 Chron. xv. 8; xvii. 2). Jehoshaphat, again, is said to have taken away

'the high places and groves out of Judah' (ver. 6, comp. xix. 3); but it seems that he was not fully successful, for we read in a later place that 'the high places were not taken away' (xx. 33; 1 Kings xxii. 43). Hezekiah appears, however, at the commencement of his reign, to have successfully suppressed the high places. They were destroyed not only in Judah and Benjamin, but also in Ephraim and Manasseh. This work, so far as it concerned the Israelite territory, may have been spontaneously executed by the believing people, as seems implied in the account in Chronicles, but it is also possible that in the broken state of the Israelite monarchy Hezekiah held a large portion of its more southern territories (2 Kings xviii. 4, comp. 2 Chron. xxxi. 1). But even this reform was not final, and, after the relapse into idolatry of Manasseh and Amon, there was another suppression of the high places by Josiah, apparently the first which was thorough. He destroyed and defiled the high place of Bethel which Jeroboam had made, the houses of the high places in the cities of the kingdom of Samaria, the high places which Solomon had built for foreign idols in the Mount of Corruption, and those in the cities of Judah (2 Kings xxiii. 5, 8, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3-7).

Worship at altars not at Jerusalem seems to have been occasionally practised by believers after the building of the Temple, as in the remarkable instance of Elijah on Mount Carmel, where 'he repaired the altar of the LORD [that was] broken down,' building it of twelve stones, according to the number of the tribes of Israel, a circumstance which seems to make its much older origin probable (1 Kings xviii. 30-32). Elijah also complained at Horeb that God's altars were overthrown (xix. 10). Yet we have no ground for supposing that any general deviation from the worship at the one sanctuary was allowed after the Temple had been built. A prophet might have been commanded to sacrifice at an altar away from Jerusalem on a special occasion. But a general practice, tending to a neglect of the feasts and their sacrifices, and to the formation of an unlawful priesthood, was evidently forbidden as wrong and dangerous. The increase of strength in the terms in which this practice is condemned, seems due to the increase of corruption which it caused. The sin of Jeroboam soon led to idolatry of various other kinds, and the high places, which probably were originally, save in the case of Solomon's, which, perhaps, were soon abandoned, intended for corrupt worship, seem to have been used at last wholly for heathen rites. As they were opposed to the temple-worship, the high places probably never took an important position in the kingdom of Judah; on the contrary, in the rival kingdom they were adopted as a state-expedient to prevent the return of the people to their allegiance to the line of David.

The passages relating to the high places furnish us with several interesting particulars. Jeroboam not only set up the calves as objects of worship at the houses of the high places of Bethel and Dan, but, as we have seen, he made a priesthood of the lowest of the people, not Levites, and he also fixed an annual feast on the fifteenth day of the eighth month (1 Kings xii. 28-33). It was when Jeroboam stood by the altar at Bethel that the prophet who came out of Judah fore

told its overthrow (xiii. 1-3). It was at Bethel, in the time of the second Jeroboam, that Amos predicted the ruin of the high places, and was complained of to the king by Amaziah, the priest of Bethel (Amos vii. 9-13). The remarkable passage, 'And the high places of Isaac shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste' (ver. 9), is explained by a comparison with a previous enumeration of high places; 'Seek not Bethel, nor enter into Gilgal, and pass not to Beer-sheba' (ver. 5). The high places of Isaac would refer to Beer-sheba, and the sanctuaries of Israel to Bethel; Gilgal was a place of worship at the time of Samuel (1 Sam. xii. 15). Hosea, like Amos a prophet especially sent to Israel, like him condemns the worship at high places. He mentions their priests by the name Chemarim, כְּמָרִים, a word of Syriac origin, used only for ido-

latrous priests, occurring as the designation of the priests of the high places of the cities of Judah (2 Kings xxiii. 5), and in Zephaniah as that of idolatrous priests (i. 4). We have no means of forming any idea of the character of the temples attached to the high places, but it is evident that they must have been too numerous to have been large, except perhaps those at Dan and Bethel. Probably the high place had frequently nothing on its summit but an altar, and this would account for the difficulty of destroying this worship. So long as the site was considered sacred, it little mattered that a fresh altar was to be built. Josiah's way of dealing with this practice was evidently effectual.

ii. *Groves*.—'The Grove,' or 'the Groves,' as the word Asherah, אֲשֶׁרָה, and its plural are rendered in the A. V., are constantly mentioned with high places. At first sight the common LXX. rendering, followed by our version, seems to carry conviction with it, from the connection of high places with worship under the trees, and the prevalence of nature-worship in Palestine; but a closer examination shews that something of the character of an image must be intended. In a previous article [ASHTORETH] the reasons for this conclusion have been stated, and it has been proposed to adopt the theory which makes Asherah a name for Ashtoreth, as the goddess of good fortune, a sense of the former taken from the root אָשַׁר, 'he, or it, was straight, right,' and hence, 'fortunate.' It is especially noticed, in favour of this identification, that the grove, or groves, occur with Baal like Ashtoreth; that the LXX. renders asherah by Astarte in 2 Chron. xv. 16, as does the Vulg. in Judg. iii. 7, and conversely Ashtoreth by groves in 1 Sam. vii. 3. But it may be objected that it is very strange that two names should be applied to the same goddess in writings of the same age, and that she should be indiscriminately mentioned by her usual proper name and as a statue, for asherah, if a proper name, certainly would indicate a statue; that the root equally allows us to understand by asherah something upright, set up; and that isolated renderings of the LXX. and Vulg. may merely indicate errors of copyists. Supposing that the radical meaning indicates something upright or set up, which seems always, be it recollected, to have been made of wood, do we find anything in ancient idolatry to warrant the translation 'grove'? It must be remembered that the grove is constantly connected with Baal. On the

ancient Egyptian monuments, the figure of Khem, the god of productiveness, is constantly accompanied by the representation of one or more trees or plants. In the plates of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* we observe the following variations in these objects. A shrine, from which rises a double flower like two blossoms of the lotus, behind Khem (here as AMEN-RA KA-MUT-EF, 'Amen-ra, who is male and female,' pl. 22); a shrine, from which rise a flower and two trees, behind Khem (pl. 26); a great nosegay in effigy, carried before, and another, behind an image of Khem; behind the same image, a sacred chest adorned with rosettes, upon which are five representations of trees; and behind an image of Khem, a flower and two other objects (pl. 76). It is quite evident that all these trees and flowers are imitations, on account of their dimensions, and, in some cases, the manner in which they are attached to shrines or the like. From their forms and size, compared, in the latter particular, with their being portable, it is equally certain that they must have been generally, if not always, of wood. It is not necessary to prove how completely they agree with the idolatrous objects rendered 'groves' in the A. V. Are we to suppose that the LXX. translators adopted the meaning in consequence of their observing objects in Egyptian idolatry which aptly corresponded, letting alone the signification 'grove' as probably not derivable from the Hebrew, to the idolatrous objects connected with the worship of Baal and Ashtoreth; and, further, that the groves of Egypt and Palestine were identical? The former question seems easily answered affirmatively, the latter suggests several curious inquiries. We have to determine how far Baal and Ashtoreth were identical with Khem, whether the worship of groves is to be traced to Egypt, and what is the etymology of the name asherah. Khem is the Egyptian personification of the productiveness of nature; hence the connection of these vegetable objects with his worship is easily understood. Baal is sometimes connected with productiveness, and Ashtoreth has certainly this relation. Perhaps they may be reasonably supposed to represent the two ideas that are expressed in the title of Khem, 'who is male and female.' But it is to be observed that the name of Baal is found on the Egyptian monuments as equivalent to that of Set or Sutekh, the personification of physical evil. The idea conveyed by the latter is so opposed to that of Baal that we may reasonably conjecture that the identification was founded upon something different from a comparison of the supposed characteristics of these idols. It seems reasonable to trace it to some such idea as that the personification of physical evil would be the protector of the warlike enemies of Egypt. Khem, if the name be correctly read, was probably introduced from the East, and perhaps from Palestine. Ashtoreth, like Baal, is mentioned on the Egyptian monuments. She is worshipped as a foreign divinity, and is connected with Set (Chabas, *Papyrus Magique Hariri*, pp. 55, seqq.) The worship of groves may have been common from a remote period to Egypt and Palestine, or it may have been derived from Egypt. This question depends for its resolution very much upon the degree of completeness which the worship of Khem may be supposed to have attained at the time of its first introduction into Egypt, if introduced into that country. With refer-

ence to the etymology of asherah, we find no reason for considering it anything but Hebrew, nor have we any ground for supposing it to have been adopted from the resemblance of a Hebrew to an Egyptian word.—The question of the connection of the Israelite groves and the like Egyptian objects with primitive low nature-worship will be considered in the article IDOLATRY.—R. S. P.

HIGH-PRIEST. (PRIEST; TABERNACLE; ANANIAS.)

HILALI, or HELALI CODEX (הִלְאִי), one of the most ancient and most celebrated codices of the Hebrew Scriptures, which derived its name from the fact that it was written at Hilla

(הִלְאִי; Arab. حلي), a town built near the ruins of ancient Babel. Others, however, maintain that it was called *Hilali* because the name of the man who wrote it was *Hilal*. But whatever uncertainty there may be about the derivation of its name, there can hardly be any doubt that it was written A.D. 600, for Sakkuto tells us most distinctly that when he saw the remainder of it (*circa* 1500), the Codex was 900 years old. His words are—'In the year 4956, on the 28th of Ab (1196, better 1197), there was a great persecution of the Jews in the kingdom of Leon from the two kingdoms that came to besiege it. It was there that the twenty-four sacred books which were written long ago, about the year 600, by R. Moses b. Hillel (on which account the Codex was called Hilali), in an exceedingly correct manner, and after which all the copies were corrected, were taken away. I saw the remaining two portions of it—viz., the earlier and later prophets—written in large and beautiful characters, which were brought to Portugal and sold in Africa, where they still are, having been written 900 years ago. Kimchi, in his Grammar on Num. xv. 4, says that the Pentateuch of this Codex was extant in Toleti' (*Guchassin ed. Filipowski*, London 1857, p. 220). The Codex had the Tiberian vowels and accents, Massora and Nikud glosses, and it served up to A.D. 1500 as a model from which copies were made. This Codex which Haja had in Babylon about A.D. 1000, was conveyed to Leon in Spain, where the greater part of it became a prey to the fury of the martial hosts who sacked the Jewish dwellings in 1197. The celebrated grammarian, Jacob b. Eleazar, fixed the renderings of the Biblical text according to this Codex [JACOB B. ELEAZAR], and the older philologists frequently quote it. Comp. Graetz, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vi. 132, 229; Fürst, *Geschichte des Karienthums*, Leipzig 1862, pp. 22, 138; Kimchi, *Radix Liber ed. Biesenthal et Lebrecht*, Berolini 1847, p. 26.—C. D. G.

HILARIUS, a native of Poitiers, was bishop of that see in the middle of the 4th century, and a zealous opponent of the Arian party. He became bishop in 350, and died 13th January 368. Of his numerous works two are of an exegetical character, his *Commentationes in Evangelium Matthæi*, and his *Commentarii in Psalmos*. He displays little exegetical ability and no learning; his strength as a writer lying chiefly in his polemical abilities. The best edition of his works is that edited by Maffei, from the Benedictine edition, 2 vols fol., Verona 1730.—W. L. A.

HILARIUS, surnamed DIACONUS, was a native of Sardinia, and a deacon of the church at Rome. He flourished in the middle of the 4th century. To him are ascribed the *Questiones in Vet. et Nov. Test.*, usually printed with Augustine's works, and the *Commentarii in Epp. S. Pauli*, which appear among those of Ambrose.—W. L. A.

HILKIAH (הִלְקִיָּהּ), more fully הִלְקִיָּהוּ, HILKIAHU, Sept. Χελκίας). Of the seven persons bearing this name in the Bible, the most important is the high-priest in the reign of Joash (2 Kings xxii. 4, ff.; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 9, ff.). He was the son of Shallum (1 Chron. vi. 13); and Ezra, the scribe, was his great-grandson (Ezra vii. 1). He took a prominent part in the reforms effected by king Josiah, and is especially remarkable for the discovery which he made in the house of the Lord of a book which is called 'The Book of the Law' (2 Kings xxii. 8), and 'The Book of the Covenant' (xxiii. 2). That this was some well-known book is evident from the form of the expression; but as to what it was opinions are divided. That it was the writing of Moses is expressly stated (2 Chron. xxxiv. 14); that it was the entire Pentateuch is the opinion of Josephus, von Lengerke, Keil, Ewald, Hävernick, etc.; but others think it was only part of that collection, and others, that it was simply a collection of laws and ordinances appointed by Moses, such as are given in the Pentateuch, and especially in Deuteronomy. The objection to its being the whole Pentateuch is the improbability of that being read in the audience of the people at one time, as was this book (xxiii. 2); and there are many circumstances which render it probable that what was read to the people was the book of Deuteronomy, as, *ex. gr.*, the apparent allusion to Deut. xxix. 1 and xxx. 2 in ch. xxii. 2, 3, and the special effect which the reading of the book had on the king, who did, in consequence, just what one impressed by such passages as occur in Deut. xvi. 18, etc., would be likely to do. At the same time, even if we admit that the part actually read consisted only of the summary of laws and institutions in Deuteronomy, it will not follow that that was the only part of the Pentateuch found by Hilkiah; for, as the matter brought before his mind by Huldah, the prophetess (2 Kings xxii. 15, ff.), respected the restoration of the worship of Jehovah, it might be only to what bore on that that the reading specially referred. The probability is that the book found by Hilkiah was the same which was entrusted to the care of the priests, and was to be put in the side of the ark (Deut. xxxi. 9-26); and that this was the entire body of the Mosaic writing, and not any part of it, seems the only tenable conclusion (Hengstenberg, *Beiträge* ii. 159, ff.).—W. L. A.

HILLEL I., HA-SAKEN (הִלְלֵי), or the GREAT B. SIMON. This extraordinary Rabbi, the second Ezra, or the restorer of the Law, as he is called (*Succa*, 20, a), under whose presidency Christ was born, and who, by his self-denying and holy life, as well as by his great wisdom and learning, exercised so remarkable an influence both upon the theology and literature of the Jewish nation, and prepared the way for the advent of the Saviour, was born in Babylon about 75 B.C., of the royal family of David. He settled in Jerusalem about 36 B.C., where, notwithstanding his renowned lineage, he had to support himself by the labour of his hands, and

attended at the same time the lectures of Shemaja and Abtalion, who were the heads of the Sanhedrim [EDUCATION]. So great was his thirst after knowledge that he gave daily half of his scanty earnings to the doorkeeper of the college in order to be admitted to the lectures, and when the janitor would not admit him one day because he had no money to pay, this zealous scholar, rather than lose the day's instruction, climbed up to the window, and there sat outside on a bitterly cold winter's day, attentively listening till he was completely covered with snow and rendered insensible by the cold. When he was discovered, though it was on the Sabbath, the students disregarding the sanctity of the day, procured the necessary remedies, and to their joy restored him to life, and from that day looked up to him as their future guide (*Joma*, 35, *b*). He succeeded to the presidency of the Sanhedrim about 30 B.C. His zeal for the Law of God, and his modest honesty, would not, however, allow him to be seated on the presidential throne without plainly telling the spiritual guides of Jerusalem that it was their negligence in studying the Law which necessitated them to elect him. 'What,' said he to them, in godly sincerity, 'has led to it that I, insignificant Babylonian, must become president of the Sanhedrim? Your negligence in attending to the teaching of Shemaja and Abtalion' (*Sabbath*, 15, *a*; *Pesachim*, 66, *b*). He had no less than 1000 pupils, 80 of whom had more especially distinguished themselves—Jonathan ben Uziel, the translator of the prophets into Chaldee, being the chief, and Jochanan b. Zakkai the least amongst them (*Succa*, 28, *a*; *Baba Bathra*, 134, *a*). As most of these disciples became the spiritual guides of the nation at the advent of Christ, it is most important to give some of the lessons which they were taught by their great master Hillel, and which they again imparted to the people, in order to see how far these lessons agree with those of the Saviour, and how they prepared the minds of the people to receive the teachings of the Gospel. His cardinal doctrine and aim of life were 'to be gentle, shewing all meekness to all men,' and 'when reviled not revile again;' and of this he gave a signal illustration on one occasion when one laid a wager that he would provoke the Rabbi to anger. He went to Hillel and teased him with a number of foolish questions, and seeing that he bore it meekly and patiently, the man began to insult him, but Hillel answered him with uniform kindness, mildness, and forbearance, and uttered not an angry word in reply to the insulting language (comp. *Sabbath*, 30 *a*, 31 *b*, with *Titus* iii. 2; 1 *Pet.* ii. 20-23; iii. 9). A heathen appealed to him to tell him one sentence which embodies the whole Law, to which Hillel replied, 'Whosoever thou wouldst not that a man should do to thee do not thou to him: this is the whole law' (comp. *Sabbath*, 31, *a*, with *Matt.* vii. 12; *Mark* vi. 31). Let a few more of his maxims suffice: 'Say not I will repent when I have leisure, lest the leisure should never be thine.' 'If I do not care for my soul, who can do it for me? If I only care for my own soul, what am I? If not now, when then?' (comp. *Aboth.* i. 14; *Sab.* iii. 13, with *James* iv. 13, 14). 'Do not separate thyself from the congregation, and have no confidence in thyself till the day of death' (comp. *Aboth.* ii. 4, with 1 *Cor.* x. 12). 'Judge not thy neighbour till thou art in his situation' (*Aboth.* ii. 4, with *Gal.* vi. 1-4). 'Be of the dis-

ciples of Aaron, love peace and pursue it, be kindly affectioned to all men, and thus commend the law of God' (*Aboth.* i. 12, with *Rom.* xiii. 10). 'Whosoever shall exalt his name, shall abase it; whosoever does not strive to the knowledge of the law is not worthy of life; whosoever does not increase his knowledge decreases it; whosoever turns the crown of knowledge into filthy lucre shall perish' (*Aboth.* i. 13, with *Matt.* xxiii. 12).

Hillel was the first who laid down definite hermeneutical rules for the interpretation of the Bible. Just as at the commencement of the Reformation England was distracted by the vacillation of Henry VIII., who one day became a defender of the Roman Catholic faith and another day espoused the cause of Protestantism; by the alternate powers of More, Fisher, and Gardiner, and Cromwell, and Cranmer; by Mary, who succeeded to the throne, and then again the good Protestant Edward VI. who followed her; so Judæa was perplexed by the Sadducean and Pharisean princes who alternately followed each other; Alexander Janai, a Sadducee, was succeeded by Queen Salome, whose sympathies were with the Pharisees, she again was succeeded by Aristobulus II., a Sadducee; and he again was followed by his brother Hyrcanus II., who favoured the Pharisees. Now Hillel tried to reconcile these opposite parties. He endeavoured to shew the Sadducees, who rejected every law which was not expressly laid down in the word of God, that the traditional law naturally flows from the written law, through the medium of the following seven rules of interpretation (זו מדרת).

1. *Inference from minor to the major* (קל וחומר), e.g., *Exod.* xxii. 13, does not say whether the borrower of a thing is responsible for theft. In *ver.* 9-11, however, it is declared that the depositary who can free himself from making restitution in cases of death or accident, must make restitution when the animal is stolen; whilst in *ver.* 13, the borrower is even obliged to make restitution in cases of death or accident. Hence the inference made from the minor (*i.e.*, the depositary) to the major (*i.e.*, the borrower) that he (in *xxii.* 13) is all the more responsible for theft (*Baba Mezia*, 95, *a*). This exegetical law is employed by Christ and the apostles (comp. *Matt.* vii. 11; *x.* 29-31; *Rom.* v. 8; *viii.* 32-34; *Heb.* iii. 3).

2. *The analogy of ideas* (שוה), or *analogous inferences*. This rule was employed by Hillel himself on a very extraordinary occasion. In his days the evening of the Passover (ערב פסח) happened to fall on a Sabbath, which is of very rare occurrence, and the question was hotly contested, whether or not the Paschal lamb might be slain on the Sabbath. Hillel said that it may be slain, and argued it thus:—It is said respecting the daily sacrifice, 'to offer it (במזמרה) in its time' (*Num.* xxviii. 2); and it also said, respecting the Paschal lamb, 'let the children of Israel keep it (במזמרה) in its time' (*ibid.* ix. 2). Now, with regard to the daily sacrifice, it is distinctly ordered that it should be offered on the Sabbath (*ibid.* xxviii. 9); the expression *in its time* does not, therefore, denote the day, but that the offering is to be observed at the appointed time; and as the expression is also used of the Passover lamb, hence it must be offered irrespective of the day, and, therefore, also irrespective of the Sabbath (comp. *Jerusalem Pesachim*, 66, *a*; *Pesachim*, vi. 1; *Tosifta Pesachim*, cap. iv.)

3. *Analogy of two objects in one verse* (בְּכֵן אֶבֶן). Thus Lev. xv. 4 mentions two objects, viz., the bed and the chair (מִשְׁכָּב וּמוֹשָׁב), which, though belonging to two different classes, have the common quality of serving for repose. And as these are declared to be unclean when touched by him who has an issue, and to have the power of defiling both men and garments through contact, it is inferred that all things which serve for resting may be rendered unclean by him who has an issue and then defile both men and garments.

4. *Analogy of two objects in two verses* (בְּכֵן אֶבֶן). (מִשְׁנֵי כְּתוּבִים), e.g., though the command to light the lamps in the sanctuary (נֵרוֹת, Lev. xxiv. 4) is different from the command 'to put out of the camp every leper'

(וְשָׁלַח מִן הַמַּחֲנֶה כָּל טָמֵא), Num. v. 2), inasmuch as in the former case the injunction is described as binding for ever or for all times (Levit. xxiv. 3), whilst in the latter the speedy carrying out of it is especially spoken of (Num. v. 4); yet because they have that in common that they are both alike commands, and that the word צִוְּ, *command*, is used with regard to both of them, hence it is concluded that every law with regard to which the expression צִוְּ, *command*, is used, must at once and for ever be obeyed.

5. *General and special* (כָּלל וּפְרָט). Thus, wherever a special statement follows a general one, the definition of the special is to be applied to the general one, because it is always the only valid meaning, e.g., it is said in Lev. i. 2, 'if any man of you bring an offering to the Lord, from cattle, from oxen, and from sheep.' Here cattle is a general expression, and may denote different kinds of animals. Oxen and sheep is the special whereby the general is defined, and therewith it is rendered co-extensive. Hence it is inferred that only oxen and small cattle may be brought as sacrifices but not beasts.

6. *Analogy of another passage* (כִּינָא בִּזְמָנִים). This is an extension of rules 3 and 4.

7. *The connection* (דְּרַבִּי הַלֹּמֵד מֵעֵינַי). Thus the prohibition, 'ye shall not steal,' in Lev. xix. 11, is explained to refer to stealing money and not human beings (comp. Exod. xxii. 16), because the whole connection treats upon money matters (comp. Sanhedr. 86).

These hermeneutical rules which are most important to the understanding of the ancient versions [MIDRASH] were afterwards extended by R. Ishmael and others [ISHMAEL]. Hillel also simplified the accumulated mass of the traditional explanations of the Pentateuch which had been divided into six or seven hundred sections (Chagiga 24; Succa xi.), by classifying its materials under six *Sedarim* (סִדְרִים) or Orders—the basis of the present arrangement of the Mishna. Hillel's liberality of mind did not suit his colleague, the rigid Shammai: the latter therefore founded a separate school, of which he became the head. The one is well known as the *school of Hillel*, and the other as the *school of Shammai*. After occupying the presidential throne for about forty years, the learned, godly, humane, meek, self-denying Hillel died when Jesus of Nazareth, the Redeemer of the world, was about ten years old. The presidency became hereditary in Hillel's family for fifteen generations [EDUCATION].

Literature—Bartolocci, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, ii. 784-796; Biesenthal, *Theolog. histor. Studien*, Berlin 1847, p. 68, ff.; Frankel, *Program*

zur Eröffnung des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars zu Breslau, 1854, p. 15, ff.; and *Monatschrift*, ii. p. 201, ff.; Graetz, in *Frankel's Monatschrift*, i. p. 156, ff.; and *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii., Leipzig 1856, p. 207, ff.; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, Leipzig 1857, vol. i., p. 254, ff.—C. D. G.

HILLEL II., b. JEHUDAH III.,* succeeded to the presidential throne about 330, which he occupied about thirty-five years. He immortalized his name by the introduction of the calendar, which is followed by the Jews to the present day. Up to his time the beginning of the month was fixed in Palestine upon the testimony of two witnesses, who appeared before the Sanhedrim, and declared that they had seen the new moon. The new month was then proclaimed and celebrated, which was

called קִדְּשׁ הַחֹדֶשׁ עַל פִּי הָרִאיוֹנִים, and the festivals which happened to occur during the month were fixed. As all the Jews who lived away from Jerusalem depended upon the authorities in the metropolis for their information about the time when the new moon began, it was arranged that if it be fixed that the closing month should have twenty-nine days, torches would be lighted on the mountain near Jerusalem, and thus, as if by telegraph, communicate the light, and with it the information from mountain to mountain throughout the land and beyond Judæa. If these lights did not appear, it was understood that the new month begins on thirty-first of the closing month, so that

the last month had thirty days (מָלֵא, מַעֲוֵבָה), and the festivals which happened to occur during the new month were arranged accordingly. When, however, the Samaritans out of spite kindled torches at improper times, and thereby led the Jews at a distance to begin their festivals at an improper time, the authorities in Jerusalem discarded the lights, and resolved henceforth to communicate the information through authorised messengers. But this, too, was attended with difficulties, as the messengers could not reach on the same day the places which were at a distance from Jerusalem, and hence led to the institution that those Jews who lived out of Palestine were to double the festival days, because they could not know at once whether the closing month was to have twenty-nine days or thirty [FESTIVALS]. Now Hillel, by the introduction of his calendar, rendered the Jews, dispersed through so many lands, independent of all such decisions. The calculations of his calendar are so simple and certain, that they, with a little improvement, are adopted by the Jews to the present day. According to this calendar, the difference between the solar and lunar year, upon which the cycle of the Jewish festivals depends, is yearly made up; the length of the month is made to approximate to the astronomical course of the moon; and attention is also paid in it to the Halachic matters connected with the Jewish festivals. It is based upon the

cycle of nineteen years (מַחְזֹר הַלְבָנָה), introduced by the Greek astronomer Meton, in which occur seven intercalary years. Each year has ten unchangeable months of alternately twenty-nine and

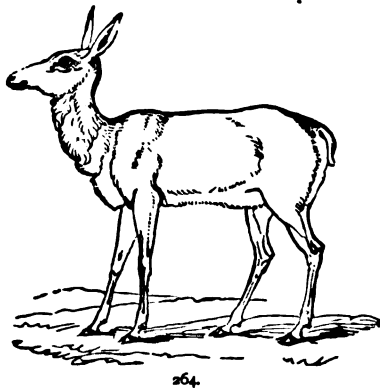
* In the article EDUCATION the line 'Jehudah III., b. Gamaliel IV. 300-300' has been omitted by mistake, and Hillel II. is printed 'b. Gamaliel IV.', instead of 'b. Jehudah III.'

thirty days; the two autumnal months, *Cheshvan* and *Kislev*, which follow the important month *Tishri*, are left changeable [HAPHTARA], because they depend upon certain astronomical phenomena and the following points of Jewish law:—1. That the month of *Tishri* is never to begin with the day which, to a great extent, belongs to the former month. 2. The Day of Atonement is not to fall on the day before or after Sabbath; and 3. That the *Hossana Day* is not to be on a Sabbath. It is impossible now to say with certainty how much of this calendar is Hillel's own, and how much he took from the national traditions, since it is beyond question that some astronomical rules were handed down by the presidents. This calendar Hillel introduced A.D. 359. That he convened a synod who fixed the epoch of the creation at the vernal equinox, 3761 years before the birth of Christ, which is the Jewish chronology of the present day, is simply conjecture. As to the story of his having embraced Christianity and been baptised on his death-bed by a neighbouring bishop, who ostensibly came to visit him in a medical capacity, and of there having been found in his coffer a Hebrew translation of the Gospel according to John, of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Lord's genealogy as recorded by Matthew (*Epiphanius, Adv. Her. xxx. 4, etc.*), this fact is entirely unknown to the Jews of Hillel's time, who, if it had actually taken place, would have execrated his name. It is, however, an interesting fact connected with Biblical literature to know that a Hebrew translation of many portions of the N. T. existed at so early a period of Christianity. Comp. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iv., Berlin 1853, p. 386, ff.; Oppenheim, in *Franckel's Monatschrift*, v., p. 412, ff.—C. D. G.

HILLS. [PALESTINE.]

HIN, a Hebrew liquid measure. [WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

HIND (חֵזֶה *ajalah*, Gen. xlix. 21; 2 Sam. xxii. 34; Job xxxix. 1; Ps. xviii. 33, etc.), the female of the hart or stag, doe being the female of the fallow-deer, and roe being sometimes used for that of the roebuck. All the females of the



Cervide, with the exception of the reindeer, are hornless. It may be remarked on Ps. xviii. 33 and Hab. iii. 19, where the Lord is said to cause the feet to stand firm like those of a hind on high

places, that this representation is in perfect harmony with the habits of mountain stags; but the version of Prov. v. 19, 'Let the wife of thy bosom be as the beloved hind and favourite roe,' seems to indicate that here the words are generalized so as to include under roe monogamous species of antelopes, whose affections and consortship are permanent and strong; for stags are polygamous. Finally, the emendation of Bochart on the version of Gen. xlix. 21, where for 'Naphtali is a hind let loose; he giveth goodly words,' he, by a small change in the punctuation of the original, proposes to read 'Naphtali is a spreading-tree, shooting forth beautiful branches,' restores the text to a consistent meaning, agreeing with the Sept., the Chaldee paraphrase, and the Arabic version. [AJAL.]—C. H. S.

HINGE. The Greeks and Romans, in common with the Oriental nations, instead of a hinge made use of a pivot and socket to hang their doors with freedom of action for opening and shutting. By the Greeks the pivot was termed *στροφόγυξ*, and the socket *στροφεύς*; the Latins commonly used *cardo* for each part or for the whole apparatus. In Hebrew there are two words, פֶּתַח and צֵדִי, both translated *hinge* in the A. V.; the first occurs in 1 Kings vii. 50; and the second in Prov. xxvi. 14. In 2 Chron. iv. 22, instead of פֶּתַח, *Supōmata, cardines*, we find פֶּתַח, *Supō.* [GATE; DOOR.]—J. E. R.

HINNOM, or *Valley of Ben-Hinnom* (הֶנּוֹם, usually כְּרִיתֹם; 'Ennōm and *Talevna*; *Ennom* and *Geennom*, etc.), a well-known valley (נֵי or נֵי; Sept. *φάραγξ*, and also simply rendered in Greek letters γαι and γη; hence *Talevna, Gehenna*), described in Josh. xviii. 16 as on the south side of Jebusi, that is, Mount Zion, on which the ancient stronghold of the Jebusites stood. The border of the tribe of Benjamin ran along this valley, from En-Rogel to the top of the mountain 'that lieth before the valley westward,' at the north end of the plain of Rephaim (Josh. xv. 8). The topographical notice is here singularly minute and accurate. The valley of Hinnom, still called by its ancient name, though in an Arabic form, *Jehennam* (جَهَنَّمَ),

commences in a broad depression in the rocky ridge, or plateau, west of Jerusalem. It runs in a south-easterly direction for about 700 yards towards the Yafa Gate, where it turns due south along the base of Mount Zion; still keeping close to the base of the mount it sweeps round to the eastward and joins the Kidron at En-Rogel. Its total length is about a mile and a half. Its banks have at first an easy slope, but they soon contract and become steep and rocky. South of Zion the right bank rises in broken irregular cliffs of naked limestone, filled with excavated tombs, and having a few gnarled olives clinging to the rocks here and there. On the side of the ravine, overhanging the point of junction with the Kidron, is *Acaldema* (*Handbook for S. and P.*, i. 99; Robinson, *B. R.* i. 239; Barclay, *City of the Great King*, 90).

The origin of the name Hinnom, or Ben-Hinnom, is unknown; it may have been derived from some of its ancient possessors. The valley obtained wide notoriety at the scene of the barbarous rites of Molech and Chemosh, first introduced by Solomon,

who built 'an high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the hill that is before Jerusalem (Olivet); and for Molech, the abomination of the children of Ammon' (1 Kings xi. 7). The inhuman rites were continued by the idolatrous kings of Judah. A monster idol of brass was erected in the opening of the valley, facing the steep side of Olivet; and there the infatuated inhabitants of Jerusalem burnt their sons and their daughters in the fire—casting them, it is said, into the red-hot arms of the idol (Jer. vii. 31; 2 Chron. xxviii. 3; xxxiii. 6). No spot could have been selected near the Holy City so well fitted for the perpetration of these horrid cruelties: the deep retired glen, shut in by rugged cliffs; and the bleak mountain sides rising over all. The worship of Molech was abolished by Josiah, and the place dedicated to him was defiled by being strewn with human bones: 'He defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter pass through the fire to Molech . . . and he brake in pieces the images, and cut down their groves, and filled their places with the bones of men' (2 Kings xxiii. 10, 14). The place thus became ceremonially unclean; no Jew could enter it. It was afterwards a public cemetery; and the traveller who now stands in the bottom of this valley, and looks up at the multitude of tombs in the cliffs above and around him, and which thickly dot the side of Olivet, will be able to see with what wondrous accuracy the prophetic curse of Jeremiah has been fulfilled—'Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that it shall no more be called Tophet, nor, The Valley of the Son of Hinnom, but, The Valley of Slaughter; for they shall bury in Tophet till there be no place' (vii. 32). We learn from Josephus that the last terrible struggle between the Jews and Romans took place here (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 8. 5); and here, too, it appears the dead bodies were thrown out of the city after the siege (v. 12. 7).

The inhuman rites anciently practised in the Valley of Hinnom caused the latter Jews to regard it with feelings of horror and detestation. The Rabbins suppose it to be the gate of Hell (Lightfoot, *Opera*, ii. 286); and the Jews applied the name given to the valley in some passages of the Septuagint, *Γέννα*, to the place of eternal torment. Hence we find in Matt. v. 22, 'Whosoever shall say, thou fool, shall be in danger of *τῆς γέννας τοῦ πυρός*—the *Gehenna* of fire.' The word is formed from the Hebrew *גִּנּוֹן נֵץ*, 'Valley of Hinnom.'

The valley was also called *Topheth* (2 Kings xxiii. 10; Is. xxx. 33; Jer. vii. 31), either from *תפת*, 'spittle,' and it would hence mean 'a place to spit upon;' or from *תחת*, 'place of burning.' For other theories about the valley of Hinnom the student may consult Hengstenberg, *Christology*, iv. 40 seq., ed. 1858.—J. L. P.

HIPPOLYTUS, PORTUENSIS, a bishop of Portus during the early part of the 3d century. The facts of his life are few and uncertain, and we shall mainly confine ourselves to giving the results which may now be considered as generally accepted. Eusebius (*H. E.*, vi. 20) mentions Hippolytus as a bishop and eminent ecclesiastical author in the times of Zephyrinus, but does not mention his diocese, which Jerome also says that 'he could not learn' (*Cat. vir. illustr.*, 61). As Eusebius names him with Beryllus of Bostra, Le Moyne (*Proleg. ad Var. Sacr.*) unfortunately conjectured

that he was bishop of Aden (Portus Romanus) in Arabia, and Cave (*Script. Eccles.*, i. 48) supposed him to have been an Arabian by birth. But, on the other hand, the *Chronicon Paschale*, our earliest authority, makes him 'bishop of the so-called Portus near Rome;' and as this statement is supported by the authority of Cyril, Zonaras, Anastasius, Nicephorus, and Syncellus (see Bunsen's *Hippolytus*, i. 205), and as Prudentius (lib., *περὶ στεφάνων*; *Hymn* ix.) describes his martyrdom as having taken place at Ostia, close by Portus, we may regard this point as finally settled. His mastery of the Greek language would render him peculiarly fit to be a 'bishop of the nations,' who frequented the Harbour of Rome in multitudes. In spite of Jacobi's assertion of the contrary, there seems to be no reason why he should not at the same time have been (what the *Ἐλεγχος* shews him to have been) a presbyter and head of a party at Rome. We know, further, that he was a disciple of Irenæus (*Phot. Cod.* 121), and was engaged in some warm disputes with Callistus on points of doctrine and discipline, which are graphically described in his recovered book, *κατὰ πασῶν αἰρεσῶν ἔλεγχος*. From the confused and sometimes contradictory accounts of the martyrdom, we may glean the following probabilities:—That in the year of the death of Alexander Severus he was banished to Sardinia (*Catal. Liberianus*, sec. iv.), B.C. 235; that he returned the following year, and was martyred at Ostia. The mode of his martyrdom is wholly conjectural, for the story of Prudentius (*Hymn* ix. 123-174) is obviously derived from the painting on the walls of the chapel built in honour of St. Hippolytus at Rome, and can hardly be otherwise than a mere legendary confusion. The day set apart to his memory was Aug. 13. One statement of Prudentius—that before his martyrdom the saint recanted his approval of the Novation schism—is very perplexing, because, on the one hand, such a particular could not have been invented, and, on the other hand, Novation belongs to a later period (A.D. 245). The explanation seems to be that Hippolytus strongly opposed the Noetianism of Callistus, and was therefore in later times considered as a Novation (Bunsen, i. 220).

In 1551 an old and unique statue of Hippolytus was dug up on the site of his chapel; at the back of which was inscribed a list of his works, and among others a book *περὶ τοῦ πάντος*. Now this book is claimed by the author of the *Ἐλεγχος*, and on this and other irrefragable grounds, that remarkable treatise (a confutation of all the heresies) is now universally considered to have been the work of Hippolytus. This book was formerly ascribed to Origen. Having been brought from Mount Athos with other manuscripts in 1842, it attracted the attention of M. Emmanuel Miller, under whose direction it was published at the Oxford Press in 1851, under the title, *Ἀριγέτους φιλοσοφούμενα ἢ κατὰ πασῶν αἰρεσῶν ἔλεγχος*; but all European scholars now admit that it could not have been written by Origen, and that Hippolytus is the only author to whom it can be attributed. It is a work of great value and interest, and although it refutes thirty-two heresies, is mainly directed against Gnosticism. Hippolytus is a calm, acute, and learned writer. Most of his other works have either perished, or only remain to us in fragments. These have been published by J. A. Fabricius (*Sancti Hippolyti, Episcopi et Martyris Opera*, 2 vols.

Hamb. 1718). Among them are parts of various commentaries on books of Scripture. Jerome calls him *Vir disertissimus*, and a Greek author γλυκύτατος καὶ εὐνοίστατος. He was a worthy disciple of Irenæus, and the free use he made of great Pagan authors (e.g., Heraclitus) gives additional value to his writings. Besides this, 'he was the first preacher of note whom the Church of Rome ever produced.' (See Bunsen, *Hippolytus and his Age*, 4 vols. 1852; Gieseler, *Stud. und Krit.*, 1853; Dollinger, *Hippolytus and Callistus*, Ratisb. 1853, etc.)—F. W. F.

HIPPOPOTAMUS. [BEHEMOTH.]

HIRAM or HURAM (חִירָם, חִירָם; Sept. Χειράμ. The name also appears in the form חִירָם, and this was probably the original form, as Menander in Josephus (*C. Apion.* i. 18) gives it *Εἰρωμος*, and in Herodotus (vii. 98) it appears as Σιρωμος). 1. A king of Tyre, whose name appears as that of the friend and ally both of David and Solomon, to the former of whom he sent artificers who built for him a palace (2 Sam. v. 11; 1 Chron. xiv. 1); and to the latter of whom he sent both materials and artificers for the erection of the temple (1 Kings v. 15, ff. [A. V. v. 1, ff.]; 2 Chron. ii. 3, ff.). In return Solomon gave Hiram twenty cities in Galilee; which, however, seemed to Hiram so unworthy a return that he applied to them a term of contempt [CABUL], and restored them to the Jewish king (1 Kings ix. 11; 2 Chron. viii. 2).

It is not easy to determine whether it was the same Hiram who was the friend of both David and Solomon, or whether different princes of the same name had relations with these two monarchs successively. The latter is on the whole the more probable solution. The chronological difficulties of the former supposition seem insuperable. The Hiram who was the friend of Solomon is said by Menander (ap. Joseph. *l. c.*) to have reigned 33 years. Now we know he was alive and on the throne in the twentieth year of Solomon's reign (1 Kings ix. 10-13), so that he could not at the first have been king for more than 13 years before David's death. How, then, could he be the Hiram who assisted David to build his house more than 30 years before? This difficulty is aggravated if we accept the statement of Josephus that the Hiram who assisted Solomon had only been 11 years on the throne when the temple began to be built in the fourth year of Solomon's reign; for this would allow only 7 years for his being king before David's death. It will hardly do with Michaelis to resort to the supposition that though the building of David's house is mentioned in the history of the early part of his reign, it was not really commenced till near the close of it; for not only is this improbable in itself—improbable that David should have been content without a fitting house so long—improbable that had he wanted one so long he would have begun to build one at the close of his life (his sixty-third year if we take the statement of Josephus); but we must deal in the most arbitrary manner with the narrative to make it accord with this supposition; as, *ex. gr.*, we must suppose the 'king's house,' mentioned 2 Sam. xi. 2, to be *not* the house said to have been built for the king in ch. v. 11, unless we would place David's affair with Bethsheba in his extreme old age, and make Solomon little more

than an infant at the time of his father's death. These difficulties may, indeed, be avoided by rejecting the statement of Menander that Hiram reigned 33 years, and supposing that his reign extended from the commencement of David's reign over Israel, to the 15th year of Solomon's reign, a period of nearly 50 years. But so long a reign is in itself improbable, and the testimony of Menander seems, from the minuteness of some of his details, to have rested on authentic documents. On the whole it appears better to suppose two Hirams. But in what relation did they stand to each other? The natural supposition is that they were father and son. But here the testimony of Menander again interposes a difficulty, for he says that Hiram the friend of Solomon was the son of Abibal. This has led some to conjecture that the later Hiram was the grandson of the earlier; while others suggest that Abibal (אַבִּיבָל) was the distinctive honorary name of the former, whose proper name was Hiram. This latter suggestion is rendered probable by the fact that other persons of the name of Hiram occur in the series of kings of Tyre (Joseph. *Cont. Apion.* i. 21). Tatian (*Orat. C. Græc.*, p. 171, ed. Col.) says, on the authority of Phœnician historians, that Solomon married Hiram's daughter. He was succeeded by his son Baecazar (Joseph. *l. c.*)—W. L. A.

2. The son of a widow in the tribe of Dan, and of a Tyrian father. He was sent by the king of the same name to execute the principal works of the interior of the temple, and the various utensils required for the sacred services. We recognise in the enumeration of this man's talents by the king of Tyre a character common in the industrial history of the ancients, namely, a skilful artificer, knowing all the arts, or at least many of those arts which we practise, in their different branches. [HANDICRAFT.] It is probable that he was selected for this purpose by the king from among others equally gifted, in the notion that his half Hebrew blood would render him the more acceptable at Jerusalem.—J. K.

HIRCANUS (LXX. Ἱρκανός; Vulg. *Hircanus*), 'a son of Tobias, a man of great dignity' (Ἱρκανός ὁ Τωβίου σφόδρα ἀνὴρ ἐν ὑπεροχῇ κείμενος, 2 Maccab. iii. 11). At the time when Heliodorus, the treasurer (ὁ ἐν τῶν πραγμάτων) of Seleucus IV. Philopator, was ordered to seize the riches which had been placed in the temple of Jerusalem, Hircanus owned a large treasure there deposited for safety (2 Maccab. iii. 8 *seq.*) Nothing more is mentioned in 2 Maccab. than that he was a 'son of Tobias,' but Josephus gives an account of some 'children of Tobias' (παῖδες Τωβίου) who took part with the high-priest Menelaus (Onias) against Jason (Jesus), who had been deprived of the high-priesthood by Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (*Antiq.* xii. 5. 1). This Tobias had among his children a son named Joseph, who married as a second wife the daughter of his brother Solymius, and by her had a son, whose name was Hircanus (Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 4. 2). Hircanus, from this statement, would not be the *son* but the *grandson* of Tobias. Grotius, Calmet, Prideaux, and others, have supposed that the Hircanus of Josephus is the same person as the Hircanus of 2 Maccab., and that Ἱρκανός ὁ Τωβίου should be translated 'Hircanus, grandson of Tobias.' It is, however, worthy of notice that the story in

2 Maccab. respecting the sending of Heliodorus by Seleucus to rob the treasures at Jerusalem, his miraculous punishment, and his recovery from death at the prayer of Onias, is rendered very suspicious by the silence of Josephus, and that (though Hircanus is represented both in 2 Maccab. and Josephus as being connected by blood with Tobias, yet it is not recorded in Josephus (as it is in 2 Maccab.) that he had any treasure in the temple. It seems hardly probable that the Hircanus whose history is given by Josephus at some length can be identified with the 'son of Tobias' of 2 Maccab. The Hircanus in question may have been one of 'the sons of Tobias' (*παῖδες Τωβίου*) mentioned above as assisting in the sedition of the two high-priests.

The name of Hircanus occurs at a later period under the Maccabees. It has been thought that it was adopted on account of a victory gained by John, the son and successor of Simon Maccabæus, over the Hircanians (Euseb., *Chron.* lib. ii.; Sulp. Severus, *Hist. Sacr.*, lib. ii. c. xxvi.) Josephus informs us that Hircanus accompanied Antiochus VII. Sidetes into Parthia, and Nicolaus of Damascus says that a trophy was erected at the river Lycus to commemorate the victory over the Parthian general (*Antiq.* xiii. 8. 4). The Hircanians were a nation whose territory was bounded on the north by the Caspian Sea, and would thus be at no great distance from Parthia, where John Hircanus had gained the victory. It is remarkable that the different statements agree in the position of the countries, Hircania, Parthia, and the river Lycus (of Assyria) being contiguous. As Josephus, however, does not give any explanation of the name (*Antiq.* xiii. 7. 4; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 3), and the son of Simon is nowhere called Hircanus in 1 Maccab., the reason for its assumption is uncertain [MACCABEES].—F. W. M.

HISTORY. Under this term we here intend to give, not a narrative of the leading events detailed in the Bible, but such general remarks on the Biblical history as may enable the reader to estimate the comparative value, and apply for information to the proper sources, of historical knowledge, as presented in or deduced from the sacred records.

The matter contained in the Biblical history is of a most extensive nature. In its greatest length and fullest meaning it comes down from the creation of the world till near the close of the 1st century of the Christian era, thus covering a space of some 4000 years. The books presenting this long train of historical details are most diverse in age, in kind, in execution, and in worth; nor seldom is it the fact that the modern historian has to construct his narrative as much out of the implications of a letter, the highly coloured materials of poetry, the far-reaching visions of prophecy, and the indirect and allusive information of didactic and moral precepts, as from the immediate and express statements of history strictly so denominated. The history of Herodotus, embracing as it does most of the world known at this time, and passing, under the leading of a certain thread of events, from land to land—this history, with its naive, graphic, gossip, and traveller-like narratives, interweaving in a succession of fine old tapestries many of the great events and moving scenes which had, up to his time, taken place on the theatre of the world, presents to the intelligent reader a continuation of

varied gratifications. But even the history of Herodotus must yield to that contained or implied in the Bible, not merely in extent of compass, but also in variety, in interest, and beyond all comparison, in grandeur, importance, and moral and spiritual significance. The children of the faithful Abraham seem to have had one great work of Providence intrusted to them, namely, the development, transmission, and infusion into the world of the religious element of civilization. Their history, accordingly, is the history of the rise, progress, and diffusion of true religion, considered in its source and its developments. Such a history must possess large and peculiar interest for every student of human nature, and pre-eminently for those who love to study the unfoldings of Providence, and desire to learn that greatest of all arts—the art of living at once for time and for eternity.

The Jewish history contained in the Bible embraces more and less than the history of the Israelites;—*more*, since it begins with the beginning of the earth and narrates with extraordinary brevity events which marked the period terminated by the flood, going on till it introduces us to Abraham, the primogenitor of the Hebrew race; *less*, since, even with the assistance of the poetical books, its narratives do not come down to a later date than some 600 years before the birth of Christ. The historical materials furnished relating to the Hebrew nation may be divided into three great divisions: 1. The books which are consecrated to the antiquity of the Hebrew nation—the period that elapsed before the era of the judges. These works are the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, which, according to Ewald (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. 72), properly constitute only one work, and which may be termed the great book of original documents. 2. The books which describe the times of the judges and the kings up to the first destruction of Jerusalem; that is, Judges, Kings, and Samuel, to which belongs the book of Ruth: 'all these,' says Ewald, 'constitute also, according to their last formation, but one work, which may be called the Great Book of Kings.' 3. The third class comprises the books included under the head of Hagiographa, which are of a much later origin, Chronicles, with Ezra and Nehemiah, forming the great book of general history reaching to the Grecian period. After these books came those which are classed together under the name of Apocrypha, whose use in this country we think unduly neglected. Then the circle of evangelical records begins, which closed within the century that saw it open. Other books found in the O. and N. T., which are not properly of a historical character, connect themselves with one or other of these periods, and give important aid to students of sacred history.

Biblical history was often treated by the older writers as a part of church history in general, as they considered the history given in the Bible as presenting different and successive phases of the church of God (Buddei, *Hist. Eccles.*, 2 vols. 1726-29; Stolberg, *Geschichte der Religion Jesu*, i. 111). Other writers have viewed this subject in a more practical light, presenting the characters found in the Bible for imitation or avoidance; among whom may be enumerated Hess (*Geschichte der Israeliten vor den Zeiten Jesu*). Hess also wrote a history of Jesus (*Geschichte Jesu*; Zürich 1775); but the best work is a more recent, and a

very valuable one, by Niemeyer (*Charakteristik der Bibel*, Halle 1830). Among the more strictly learned writers several have had it in view to supply the gaps left in the succession of events by the Bible, out of sources found in profane writers. Here the chief authors are of English birth, namely, Prideaux, Shuckford, Russell; and for the N. T., the learned, cautious, and fair-dealing Lardner. There is a valuable work by G. Langen: *Versuch einer Harmonie der heiligen und profan scrib. in der Geschichte der Welt*, Bayreuth 1775-80. Jahn, in his *Bib. Archäologie*, has, according to Gesenius (art. 'Bib. Geschichte' in Ersch and Gruber's *Allg. Enc.*), made free use of Prideaux. Other writers have pursued a strictly chronological method, such as Ussher (*Annales Vet. N. T.*, London 1650), and Des Vignoles (*Chronologie de l'Hist. Sainte*, Berlin 1738). Heeren (*Handb. der Geschichte*, p. 50) recommends, as containing many valuable inquiries on the monarchical period, the following work: J. Bernhardi *Commentatio de causis quibus effectum sit ut regnum Juda diutius persisteret quam regnum Israel*, Lovanni 1825. Heeren also declares that Bauer's *Handbuch der Geschichte des H. Volkes*, 1800, is the best introduction both to the history and the antiquities of the Hebrew nation; though Gesenius complains that he is too much given to the construction of hypotheses. The English reader will find a useful but not sufficiently critical compendium in *The History of the Hebrew Commonwealth*, translated from the German of John Jahn, D.D. A more valuable as well as more interesting, yet by no means faultless work, is Milman's *History of the Jews*, published originally in Murray's *Family Library* [a new edition of which is said to be now (1863) in preparation]. A more recent and very valuable work, Kitto's *Pictorial History of Palestine*, 1841, combines, with the Bible history of the Jews, the results of travel and antiquarian research, and is preceded by an elaborate Introduction, which forms the only Natural History of Palestine in our language.

[An impulse has been given to the study of Biblical history of late years in Germany, which has led to important results. The great work of Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, in 7 vols. 8vo, with a supplementary volume, *Allerthümer d. V. Israel*, presents a thorough investigation of the whole subject, from the earliest times to the destruction of the Jewish state by the Romans; a work of great learning, acuteness, and power of construction; but displaying tendencies towards a treatment of the sacred books with which no one who receives them as divine can sympathise. A more orthodox but less able work is Kurz's *Gesch. des Alten Bundes*, 2 vols., with supplement, Berlin 1848-55; translated by Edersheim and Martin, 3 vols. 8vo, Edin. 1859-61. Of great value are the works of the learned Jews: Jost (*Gesch. der Israeliten seit der Maccabäer*, 9 vols.); *Gesch. des Judenthums und Seiner Sekten*, 3 vols., 1857-59); Herzfeld (*Gesch. d. Volkes Israel vom Vollendung des Zweiten Tempels bis zur Einsetzung des Maccabäers Schimon*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1854-57); Graetz (*Gesch. der Juden*, 6 vols. 8vo). Dr. Stanley, in his *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, has presented the results of the most recent research in his usual vivid and graphic style.]

The sources of Biblical history are chiefly the Biblical books themselves. Any attempt to fix the

precise value of these sources in a critical point of view would require a volume instead of an article. Whatever hypothesis, however, may eventually be held touching the exact time when these books, or any of them, were put into their actual shape, as also touching the materials out of which they were formed, one thing appears very certain, that (to take an instance) Genesis, the earliest book (probably), contains most indubitable as well as most interesting historical facts; for though the age, the mode of life, and the state of culture differ so widely from our own, we cannot do otherwise than feel that it is among men and women, parents and children—beings of like passions with ourselves—and not with mere creations of fancy or fraud, that we converse when we peruse the narratives which this composition has so long preserved. The conviction is much strengthened in the minds of those who, by personal acquaintance with the early profane writers, are able to compare their productions with those of the Hebrews, which were long anterior, and must, had they been of an equally earthly origin, have been at least equally deformed by fable. The sole comparison of the account given in Genesis of the creation of the world with the Cosmogonies of heathen writers, whether Hindoo, Greek, or Latin, is enough to assure the impartial reader that a purer, if not a higher influence, presided over the composition of Genesis, than that whence proceeded the legends or the philosophies of heathenism; nor is the conclusion in the slightest degree weakened in the writer's mind by any discrepancy which modern science may seem to shew as between its own discoveries and the statements in Genesis. The Biblical history, as found in its Biblical sources, has a decided peculiarity and a great recommendation in the fact that we can trace in the Bible more clearly and fully than in connection with any other history, the first crude elements and the early materials out of which all history must be constructed. How far the literature supplied in the Bible may be only a relic of a literary cyclüs called into being by the felicitous circumstances and favourable constitution of the great Shemitic family, but which has perished in the lapse of ages, it is now impossible to determine; but had the other portions of this imagined literature been of equal religious value with what the Bible offers, there is little risk in affirming that mankind would scarcely have allowed it to be lost. The Bible, however, bears traces that there were other books current in the time and country to which it relates; for writing, writers, and books are mentioned without the emphasis and distinction which always accompany new discoveries or peculiar local possessions, and as ordinary, well-known, and matter-of-course things. And it is certain that we do not possess all the works which were known in the early periods of Israelite history, since in Num. xxi. 14 we read of 'the book of the wars of the Lord,' and in Josh. x. 13, of 'the book of Jasher.' Without writing, history, properly so called, can have no existence. Under the head Writing we shall trace the early rudiments and progress of that important art: here we merely remark that an acquaintance with it was possessed by the Hebrews at least as early as their Exodus from Egypt—a fact which shews at least the possibility that the age of the Biblical records stands some thousand years or more prior to the earliest Greek historian, Herodotus.

There is another fact which has an important bearing on the worth and credibility of the Biblical narratives, namely, that the people of which they speak were a *commemorative race*, were, in other words, given to create and preserve memorials of important events. Even in the patriarchal times we find monuments set up in order to commemorate events. Jacob (Gen. xxviii. 18) 'set up a pillar' to perpetuate the memory of the divine promise; and that these monuments had a religious import and sanction appears from the statement that 'he poured oil upon the top of the pillar' (see Gen. xxxi. 45; Josh. iv. 9; 1 Sam. vii. 12; Judg. ix. 6). Long-lived trees, such as oak and terebinth, were made use of as remembrancers (Gen. xxxv. 4; Josh. xxiv. 26). Commemorative names, also, were given to persons, places, and things; and from the earliest periods it was usual to substitute a new and descriptive for an old name, which may in its origin have been descriptive too (Exod. ii. 10; Gen. ii. 23; iv. 1). Genealogical tables appear, moreover, to have had a very early existence among the people of whom the Bible speaks, being carefully preserved first memoriter, afterwards by writing, among family treasures, and thus transmitted from age to age. These, indeed, as might be expected, appear to have been the first beginnings of history—a fact which is illustrated and confirmed by the way in which what we should term a narrative or historical sketch is spoken of in the Bible, that is, as 'the book of the generation' ('of Adam,' Gen. v. 1): a mode of speaking which is applied even to the account of the creation (Gen. ii. 4), 'these are the generations of the heavens and the earth when they were created.' The genealogical tables in the Bible (speaking generally) are not only of a very early date, but are free from the mixtures of a theogonical and cosmogonical kind which are found in the early literature of other primitive nations, wearing the appearance of being, so far at least as they go, true and complete lists of individual and family descent (Gen. v. 1). But, perhaps, the most remarkable fact connected with this subject is the employment of poetry at a very early period to perpetuate a knowledge of historical events. Even in Gen. iv. 23, in the case of Lamech, we find poetry thus employed, that is, by the sixth in descent from Adam. Other instances may be found in Exod. xv.; Josh. x. 13; Judg. v.; 2 Sam. i. 18, etc. This early use of poetry, which must be regarded as a considerable step in civilization, implies a still earlier pre-existent culture; confutes the notion that human society began with a period of barbarism; looks favourably on the hypothesis that language had an immediately divine origin; explodes the position that the Hebrews were at first an ignorant, untutored, and unlettered race; and creates a presumption on behalf of their historical literature. Poetry is a good vehicle for the transmission of great leading facts; for, though it may throw over fact a colouring borrowed from the imagination, yet the form in which it appears gives warning that such hues are upon its details, which hues, besides being themselves a species of history, are then easily removed, while the form shuts up and holds in the facts intrusted to the custody of verse, and so transmits them to posterity without addition and without loss. By means of these several forms of commemoration much knowledge would be pre-

served from generation to generation, and to their existence from the first may we ascribe the brief, but still valuable, notices which the Bible presents of the primitive ages and condition of the world.

Other sources for at least the early Biblical history are comparatively of small value. Josephus has gone over the same periods as the Bible treats of, but obviously had no sources of consequence relating to primitive times which are not open to us, and in regard to those times does little more than add here and there a patch of a legendary or traditional hue which could have been well spared. His Greek and Roman predilections and his apologetical aims detract from his value, while in relation to the early history of his country he can be regarded in no other light than a sort of philosophical interpreter; nor is it till he comes to his own age that he has the value of an independent (not even then an impartial) eye-witness or well-informed reporter. In historical criticism and linguistic knowledge he was very insufficiently furnished. The use of both Josephus and Philo is far more safe for the student of the N. T. than for the expounder of the old.

The Talmud and the Rabbins afford very little assistance for the early periods, but might probably be made to render more service in behalf of the times of the Saviour than has been generally allowed. The illustrations which Lightfoot and Weststein have drawn from these sources are of great value; and Gfrörer, in his *Jahrhundert der Heils* (Stuttgart 1838), has made an ample use of the materials they supply in order to draw a picture of the 1st century, a use which the learned author is at no small pains to justify. The compilations of the Jewish doctors, however, require to be employed with the greatest caution, since the Rabbins were the depositaries, the expounders, and the apologists of that corrupt form of the primitive faith and the Mosaic institutions which has been called by the distinctive name of Judaism, which comprised an heterogeneous mass of false and true things, the colluvies of the east as well as light from the Bible, and which, to a great extent, lies under the express condemnation of Christ himself. How easy it is to propagate fables on their authority, and to do a disservice to the Gospel records, may be learnt from the fact that older writers, in their undue trust of Rabbinical authority, went so far as to maintain that no cock was allowed to be kept in Jerusalem because fowls scratched unclean things out of the earth, though the authority of Scripture (which in the case they refused to admit) is most express and decided (Matt. xxvi. 34; Mark xiv. 30, 68, 72). On the credibility of the Rabbins see Ravii *Diss. Phil. Theol. de eo quod Fidei merentur*, etc., in Oelrich's *Collect. Opusc. Hist. Phil. Theol.*; Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.* ii. 1095; Fabricius, *Bibliog. Antiq.* i. 3, 4; Brunsmann, *Diss. de Judaica levitate*, Hafniæ 1705.

The classic authors betray the grossest ignorance almost in all cases where they treat of the origin and history of the Hebrew people; and even the most serious and generally philosophic writers fall into vulgar errors and unaccountable mistakes as soon as they speak on the subject. What, for instance, can be worse than the blunder or prejudice of Tacitus, under the influence of which he declared that the Jews derived their origin from Mount Ida in Crete; that by the advice of an

oracle they had been driven out of Egypt; and that they set up in their temple at Jerusalem as an object of worship the figure of an ass, since an animal of that species had directed them in the wilderness and discovered to them a fountain (Tacit. *Hist.* v. 1, 2). Dion Cassius (xxxv. 17) relates similar fables. Plutarch (*Quaest. Sympos.* iv. 5) makes the Hebrews pay divine honours to swine, as being their instructors in agriculture, and affirms that they kept the Sabbath and the Feast of Tabernacles in honour of Bacchus. A collection of these gross misrepresentations, together with a profound and successful inquiry into their origin, and a full exposure of their falsehood, may be found in a paper by Dr. J. G. Müller, recently published in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (1843, Viertes Heft. p. 893).—J. R. B.

HITTITES, or CHILDREN OF HETH, a nation descended from Heth (חֶת, LXX. *Xét*; gent.

n. חֶתִי; LXX. *Xettaioi*; חֶת, בְּנֵי חֶת, f. בְּנֵי חֶתִי;

LXX. *υἱοὶ Xét*, *Θυγατέρες τῶν υἱῶν Xét*, son of Canaan. The meaning of Heth is supposed to be 'fear' or 'terror,' but it seems more probable that it has a signification like Sidon, 'fishing,' the Amorite, 'the mountaineer,' etc.

In the list of the descendants of Noah, Heth occupies the second place among the children of Canaan. It is to be observed that the first and second names, Sidon and Heth, are not gentile nouns, and that all the names following are gentile nouns in the sing. Sidon is called the first-born of Canaan, though the name of the town is probably put for that of its founder, or eponym, 'the fisherman,' Ἀλιεύς, of Philo of Byblus. It is therefore probable, as we find no city Heth, that this is the name of the ancestor of the nation, and the gentile noun, children of Heth, makes this almost certain. After the enumeration of the nations sprung from Canaan, it is added: 'And afterward were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad' (Gen. x. 18). This passage will be illustrated by the evidence that there were Hittites and Amorites beyond Canaan, and also beyond the wider territory that must be allowed for the placing of the Hamathites, who, it may be added, perhaps had not migrated from Canaan at the date to which the list of Noah's descendants mainly refers (see ver. 19).

In the time of Abraham, the Hittites are mentioned among the inhabitants of the Promised Land (xv. 20). At Kirjath-arba, or Hebron, he purchased the cave of Machpelah of Ephron the Hittite, and it is evident that at this time the people of that city were Hittites (Gen. xxiii. 3-7, 10, 18). The city was, however, founded by one Arba of the Anakim, whence its earlier name, and had inhabitants of that giant race as late as Joshua's time. It is also connected with Zoan in Egypt, where it is said to have been built seven years before that city (Num. xiii. 22). Zoan or Avaris was built or rebuilt, and no doubt received its Hebrew or Semitic name, Zoan, the translation of its Egyptian name HA-AWAR, in the time of the first Shepherd-king of Egypt, who was of Phœnician or kindred race. It is also to be noted that, in Abraham's time, the Amorites, connected with the giant race in the case of the Rephaim whom Chedorlaomer smote in Ashteroth Karnaim (Gen. xiv. 5), where the Rephaim Og after-

wards ruled, dwelt close to Hebron (ver. 13). The Hittites and Amorites we shall see to have been later settled together in the Orontes-valley. Thus at this period there was a settlement of the two nations in the south of Palestine, and the Hittites were mixed with the Rephaim Anakim. Among these Hittites Isaac lived in southernmost Palestine (xxvii. 46), and of their daughters Esau took one, if not two, to wife (xxvi. 34; xxxvi. 2, 3, 20, 24, 25).

In the enumeration of the six or seven nations of Canaan from the time of the Exodus downwards, the first names, in four forms, are the Canaanites, Hittites, and Amorites; in two, which make no mention of the Canaanites, the Hittites, and Amorites; and in three, the former three names with the addition of another nation. In but two forms are these three nations further separated. It is also to be remarked that the Hittites and Amorites are mentioned together in a bare majority of the forms of the enumeration, but in a great majority of passages. The importance thus given to the Hittites is perhaps equally evident in the place of Heth in the list of the descendants of Noah, in the place of the tribe in the list in the promise to Abraham, where it is first of the known descendants of Canaan (xv. 20), and certainly in the term 'all the land of the Hittites,' as a designation of the Promised Land in its full extent, from Euphrates to the Mediterranean, and from Lebanon to the desert (Josh. i. 4). The close relation of the Hittites and Amorites seems to be indicated by the prophet Ezekiel, where he speaks of Jerusalem as daughter of an Amorite father and a Hittite mother (xvi. 3, 45).

When the spies examined Canaan they found 'the Hittites, and the Jebusites, and the Amorites,' dwelling 'in the mountains' (Num. xiii. 29), that is, in the high tracts that afterwards formed the refuges and rallying-points of the Israelites during the troubled period of the judges. There is, however, no distinct statement as to the exact position of the Hittites in Palestine. We may draw an inference from their connection with Jerusalem and the Amorites, and their inhabiting the mountains, and suppose that they were probably chiefly seated in the high region of the tribe of Judah. Of their territory beyond Palestine there are some indications in Scripture. The most important of these is the designation of the Promised Land in its full extent as 'all the land of the Hittites,' already mentioned, with which the notices of Hittite kings out of Canaan must be compared. In Solomon's time 'all the kings of the Hittites' are spoken of with 'the kings of Syria,' in connection with the traffic with Egypt in chariots and horses (1 Kings x. 28, 29). So, too, when the Syrians, who were besieging Samaria in the time of Jehoram, fled, the cause is thus stated:—'For the LORD had made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots, and a noise of horses, the noise of a great host: and they said one to another, Lo, the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of the Egyptians, to come upon us' (2 Kings vii. 6). The latter two passages indicate that, at the periods to which they refer, there was a Hittite settlement beyond Canaan, governed by kings, and powerful from its use of chariots and horses, and the warlike disposition of its people.

The Egyptian monuments give us much information as to a Hittite nation that can only be that

indicated in the two passages just noticed. The kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties made extensive conquests in Syria and Mesopotamia. They were opposed by many small states, which probably always formed one or more confederacies. In the time of Thothmes III. (B.C. *cir.* 1450), the leading nation was that of the RUTEN (or LUTEN), which appears to have once headed a confederacy defeated by that king before Megiddo (De Rouge *Revue Archéolog.*, n. s., iv. p. 346, *seqq.*) The KHETA were conquered by or tributary to Thothmes III. (Birch, *Annals of Thothmes III.*, p. 21); but it is not until the time of Ramesses II. (B.C. *cir.* 1360), second king (according to Manetho) of the 19th dynasty, that we find them occupying the most important place among the eastern enemies of the Egyptians, the place before held by the RUTEN. The name is generally written KHET, and sometimes KHETA, and was probably in both cases pronounced KHAT. It is not easy to determine whether it properly denotes the people or the country; perhaps it denotes the latter, as it rarely has a plural termination; but it is often used for the former. This name is identical in radicals with that of the Hittites, and that it designates them is clear from its being connected with a name equally representing that of the Amorites, and from the correspondence of this warlike people, strong in chariots, with the non-Palestinian Hittites mentioned in the Bible. The chief or strongest city of the KHETA, or at least of the territory subject to, or confederate with, the king of the KHETA, was KETESH, on the river ARNUT, ANURTA, or ARUNATA. KETESH was evidently a Kadesh, 'a sacred city,' *𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷𐎵*, but no city of that name, which could correspond to this, is known to us in Biblical geography. It is represented in the Egyptian sculptures as on or near a lake, which Dr. Brugsch has traced in the modern lake of Kedes, fed by the Orontes, southward of Hems (Emesa). The Orontes, it must be observed, well corresponds to the ARUNATA. The town is also stated to have been in the land of AMAR (or AMARA), that is, of the Amorites. The position of this Amorite territory is further defined by Carchemish being placed in it, as we shall shew in a later part of this article. The territory of these Hittites, therefore, lay in the valley of the Orontes. It probably extended towards the Euphrates, for the KHETA are also connected with NEHARENA, or Mesopotamia, not the NAHIRI of the cuneiform inscriptions, but it is not clear that they ruled that country. Probably they drew confederates thence, as was done by the Syrians in David's time.

The greatest achievement of Ramesses II. was the defeat of the KHETA and their allies near KETESH, in the fifth year of his reign. This event is commemorated in a papyrus and by several inscriptions and sculptures. The nations confederate with the KHETA were the ARATU, Aradus? MAJUSU, Mash? PAATSA or PATASA, KESHKESH, ARUNU, KATAWATANA, KHEERABU, Helbon? AKATERA, KETESH, REKA, Arkites? TENTENEE (or TRATENUEE) and KARAKAMASHA, Carchemish. These names are difficult to identify save the seventh and the last, but it is evident that they do not belong to Palestine. The Hittites are represented as having a regular army, which was strong in chariots, a particular which we should expect from the Biblical notices of them and of the Canaanites, where the latter name seems applied to the

tribe so called. Each chariot was drawn by two horses, and held three men, a charioteer and two warriors. They had also cavalry and disciplined infantry. In the great battle with Ramesses they had 2500 horses, that is, chariots. The representations of the KHETA in the sculptures relating to this campaign probably shew that their forces were composed of men of two different races. Sir Gardner Wilkinson thinks that both belonged to the KHETA nation, and it seems hardly possible to form any other conclusion. 'The nation of Sheta [the initial character is sometimes read 'sh'] seems to have been composed of two distinct tribes, both comprehended under the same name, uniting in one common cause, and probably subject to the same government.' These supposed tribes differed in dress and arms, and one was sometimes bearded, the other was beardless (*Ancient Egyptians*, i. pp. 383-384, woodcut p. 385). They are rather fair than yellow, and the beardless warriors are probably of a different race from the people of Palestine generally. In some cases they remind us of the Tatars, and it is impossible to forget that the Egyptians of the Greek period evidently took the KHETA for Scythians or Bactrians. The name Scythian is not remote, nor is that of the Kittas, or warrior-Tatars in the Chinese garrisons, but mere word-resemblances are dangerous, and the circumstance that the Scythians appear in history when the Hittites have just disappeared is not of much value. But it is worthy of remark that in the time of Moses there was a Rephaite ruling the Amorites in Palestine, as the sons of Anak had apparently long ruled the Hittites in Hebron, so that we need not be surprised to find two races under the same government in the case of the Hittites of Syria.

In the twenty-first year of Ramesses II., the great king of the Hittites, KHETSEERA, came to Egypt to make a treaty of peace. A copy of the treaty is preserved in a hieroglyphic inscription. From this it appears that KHETSEERA had been preceded by his grandfather SAPRARA, his father MAURASARA, and his brother MAUTNURA, and that in the reigns of SAPRARA and MAUTNURA peace had been made upon the same conditions. The information the inscription affords as to the religion of the Hittites will be noticed later. In a tablet of the thirty-fourth year of the same king, one of his wives, a Hittite princess with the Egyptian name RA-MA-UR-NEFRU, is represented as well as her father, the king (or a king) of the KHETA. Solomon also, as Dr. Brugsch remarks, took Hittite women into his harem (1 Kings xi. 1). Ramesses III. (B.C. *cir.* 1280) had a war with the KHETA, mentioned in one of his inscriptions with KETEE (KETESH) KARA[K]JAMSA (Carchemish), ARATU (Aradus?), and ARASA, all described as in the land AMARA.

The religion of the Hittites is only known from the treaty with Ramesses II., though it is probable that additional information may be derived from an examination of proper names. In this act the divinities of both the land of KHETA and of Egypt are mentioned, probably because they were invoked to see that the compact was duly kept. They are described from a Hittite point of view, a circumstance which is curious as shewing how carefully the Egyptian scribe had kept to the document before him. They are the gods of war and the gods of women of the land of KHETA and of Egypt, the SUTEKH of the land of KHETA, the SUTEKH of several forts, the ASHTERAT (written

ANTERAT) of the land of KHETA, several unnamed gods and goddesses of places or countries, and of a fortress, the mountains and rivers of the land of KHETA, and of Egypt, Amen, SUTEKH, and the winds. SUTEKH, or SET, was the chief god of the Shepherd-kings of Egypt, one of whom appears to have abolished all other worship in his dominions, and is also called BAR, or Baal. SUTEKH is perhaps a foreign form, SET seems certainly of foreign origin. ASHTERAT is of course Ashtoreth, the consort of Baal in Palestine. They were the principal divinities of the KHETA, as they are mentioned by name and as worshipped in the whole land. The worship of the mountains and rivers is remarkably indicative of the character of the religion, and the mention of the gods of special cities points in the same direction. The former is low nature-worship, the latter is entirely consistent with it, and indeed is never found but in connection with it.

The following names of Hittites occur in the Bible:—Ephron, Zohar, Adah, daughter of Elon, Bashemath (Basmath), the same? Judith, daughter of Beeri, Ahimelech, Uriah, Sibbechai?

The Egyptian monuments furnish us with the following:—SAPRARA, MAURASARA, MAUTNURA, KHETSEERA, TAKANUNUNASA, KAMAEET, TARKATATASA (an ally?) KHEERAPSARA, scribe of books of the KHETA, PEESA, TEETARA, KRABETUSA, AKMA (an ally?) SA.MARUS, TATARA, MATREEMA, brother of [the king of] the KHETA, RABSUNUNA, (an ally?) TUATASA (an ally?)

The former names are evidently pure Hebrew, though the significations of some (Ephron, Elon, Beeri) may point to primitive nature-worship. If not they are indicative of a strong love of nature, and of the degree of mental refinement which it necessarily implies. Adah is remarkable as being also an antediluvian name.

The latter names are evidently Semitic, but not Hebrew, a circumstance that need not surprise us when we know that Aramaic was separate from Hebrew in Jacob's time. The syllables SEERA in KHET-SEERA, and RAB in RAB-SUNUNA, seem to correspond to the SAR and RAB of Assyrian and Babylonian names. TEETARA may be the same name as the Tidal of Scripture. But the most remarkable of all these names is MATREEMA, which corresponds as closely as possible to Mizraim. The third letter is a hard T, and the final syllable is constantly used for the Hebrew dual. In the Egyptian name of Mesopotamia, NEHARENA, we find the Chaldee and Arabic dual. It would therefore appear that the language of the KHETA was nearer to the Hebrew than to the Chaldee. TARKATATASA probably commences with the name of the goddess Derketo or Atargatis.

The principal source of information on the Egyptian bearings of this subject is Brugsch's *Geographische Inschriften*, ii. p. 20, *seqq.* The documents to which he mainly refers are the inscriptions of Rameses II., the poem of PENTAUR, and the treaty. The first are given by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, *Abth.* iii. bl. 153-161, 164-166, 187, 196; see also 130, 209), and translated by M. Chabas (*Rev. Arch.*, 1859); see also Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte* (i. p. 137, *seqq.*); the second is translated by M. de Rougé (*Revue Contemporaine*, No. 106, p. 389, *seqq.*), Dr. Brugsch (*ll. cc.*), Mr. Goodwin, *Cambridge Essays*, 1858, and in Bunsen's *Egypt's Place* (iv. p. 675, *seqq.*); and the third is translated

by Dr. Brugsch (*ll. cc.*), and Mr. Goodwin (*Parchemon*, 1862).—R. S. P.

HIVITES (חִוִּי, only found in the sing. and with the article; LXX. ὁ Ἰβυαῖος), a nation descended from Canaan. Gesenius suggests that the name may signify 'villagers,' from חָוִי [unused] = חָוִי, 'a village of nomades, a village' (*Lex. s. v.*)

In the list of the descendants of Canaan, 'the Hivite' is followed by tribes most, if not all, of which dwelt to the north of the Israelite territory out of the tract actually conquered. No name of the same region occurs before, save Sidon, if it should be assigned to it, mentioned at the head of the list as the first-born of Canaan (Gen. x. 15-18; 1 Chron. i. 13-16). With this placing agree the mention of 'the Hivite under Hermon in the land of Mizpeh' (Josh. xi. 3), and of 'the Hivite that dwelt in Mount Lebanon, from Mount Baalhermon unto the entering in of Hamath' (Judg. iii. 3). The Hivite prince Hamor in Jacob's time ruled in the heart of Palestine. We also find a Hivite confederacy, at the time of the conquest, consisting of Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim (Josh. xi. 17).

It is remarkable that the Hivites, although mentioned in the list of Gen. x., and afterwards as settled in the Land of Promise, are not found, in the Hebrew text, in the list of nations whose territories were promised to Abraham (Gen. xv. 19-21). In the LXX. and Samaritan they occur (ver. 21). The omission in the Hebrew has led to the startling conjecture that they are the same as the Kadmonites. It is indeed by no means impossible that a Canaanite tribe should be called by different names, when we find such cases of various names as that of Hermon, but we cannot attempt an identification of two names when the significations are neither the same nor similar, and when there seems nothing appropriate in the supposed second name. In this passage, the position of the Hivites, if represented by the Kadmonites, would be at the head of the nations usually assigned to the Land of Promise, and this is most unlikely, unless the order be geographical. A more ingenious conjecture has been put forward by Mr. Grove, who suggests the identity of the Hivites and the Avites, or Avim, on the grounds, (a) that at a later time the Galileans confounded the gutturals; (b) that the LXX. and Jerome do not distinguish the two names; (c) that the town of ha-Avvim ('Avim,' A. V.) was in the same district as the Hivites of Gibeon; (d) and that the Avim disappear before the Hivites appear; (e) to which we may add, that if Gesenius's etymology be sound it is remarkable that the Avim are described as dwelling 'in villages' (see Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, AVIM, HIVITES). On the other hand, (a) it is unlikely that a dialectic difference would be recorded, and it seems too slight to be anything else; (b) the LXX. and Jerome are not very careful as to exact transcriptions of proper names; (c) the presence of Avim in a district does not prove them to be the same as other inhabitants of that district; (d) and the narrative in Deut. ii. speaks only of the overthrow, before the coming of the Israelites, by later settlers, of certain tribes or peoples, not mentioned in the list of Gen. x., which were, as far as stated, Rephaim, or of Rephaite stock. The probability that the Avim were of this stock is strengthened by the circumstance that there was a

remnant of the Rephaim among the Philistines in David's time, as there was among other nations when the Israelites conquered the country. Therefore, it seems to us very unlikely that the Avim were the same as the Hivites.

The Hivites first appear in the history of the Hebrews as a settled race, resembling the Hittites of Hebron. The narrative of the transaction of Jacob, when he bought the 'parcel of a field,' closely resembles that of Abraham's purchase of the field of Machpelah. The people subject to 'Hamor the Hivite, prince of the country,' were dwellers in a city, and given to trade, as well as having flocks and herds. They seem to have been unused to war, and no match for the energy of Simeon and Levi. In the matter that led to the overthrow of this Hivite city we see an indication of the corruption that afterwards became characteristic of the Canaanite tribes (Gen. xxxiii. 18-20; xxxiv.) Jacob's reproof of his sons seems to imply that the more powerful inhabitants of at least this part of the Promised Land were Canaanites and Perizzites, these only being mentioned as likely to attack him in revenge (xxxiv. 30). It is possible, but not certain, that there is a reference to this matter where Jacob speaks of a portion he gave to Joseph as having been taken by him in war from the Amorite (xlviii. 22), for his land at Shechem was given to Joseph, but it had been bought, and what Simeon and Levi seized was probably never claimed by Jacob, unless, indeed, the Hivites, who might possibly be spoken of as Amorites (but comp. xxxiv. 30), attempted to recover it by force. Perhaps the reference is to some other occurrence. It seems clear, however, from the first of the passages just noticed (xxxiv. 30), that the Hivites ruled by Hamor were a small settlement. Soon after this it is mentioned that Esau took to wife a Hivite (xxxvi. 2), but the proposed reading Horite seems preferable (see ver. 25). In the enumerations of the nations of Canaan in the part of the Bible relating to the Exodus and to the conquest, the Hivites are not mentioned in an early position, and seem, therefore, to have been one of the less important tribes. At the time of the conquest, the Hivites of Gibeon, and three other cities in the neighbourhood, Chephirah, Beeroh, and Kirjath-jearim, forming a confederacy, deceived the Israelites by means of travel-worn ambassadors, who feigned to have come from a great distance, and so secured a treaty. For their deceit they were required to become servants for the altar. Their cities seem to have been given for the same service, for the Ark long remained at Kirjath-jearim, and the Tabernacle, after the Ark had been removed to Jerusalem, was raised at Gibeon, where was 'the great high place.' Saul attempted to destroy the Gibeonites, and in consequence David gave up to them seven of his sons and grandsons to be put to death. If we hear of the Hivites again it is only as the Nethinim, or people 'given' to the temple-service. The settlement in the south does not seem to have been large, though Gibeon was an important city (Josh. x. i, 2). It is also to be noticed that this city was apparently not governed by a king (*l. c.*), but by elders (ix. 11), and that the confederacy seems to have been of the nature of a primitive federal republic, such as is not unfrequently found in Arabia (*l. c.*) In Joshua's time the Hivite dwelt under Hermon and in Mount Lebanon (xi. 3; Judg. iii. 3), and when Joab numbered Israel, 'all the cities

of the Hivite' seem to have been situate in the north of Palestine (2 Sam. xxiv. 7). This appears to have been the chief Hivite territory. If we may hazard a conjecture, the Hermonites may perhaps be a later name for the Hivites; we recognize them in the Egyptian REMENEN, and look in vain for any other trace of the Hivites in the conquests of the Pharaohs who passed through this tract.

There are few Hivite names recorded in Scripture. Hamor, 'the he-ass,' was probably an honourable name. Shechem, 'shoulder,' 'back,' may also be indicative of strength. Such names are suitable to a primitive people, but they are not sufficiently numerous or characteristic for us to be able to draw any sure inference. It is, indeed, possible that they may be connected, as the similar Hittite names seem to be, with low nature-worship. [HITTITES.] The names of the Hivite towns do not help us. Gibeon merely indicates lofty position; Kirjath-jearim, 'the city of the woods,' is interesting from the use of the word Kirjah, which we take to be probably a Canaanitish form: the other names present no special indications.

In the worship of Baal-berith, or 'Baal of the covenant,' at Shechem, in the time of the Judges, we more probably see a trace of the head-city of a Hivite confederacy than of an alliance between the Israelites and the Hivites.—R. S. P.

HOBAB. [JETHRO.]

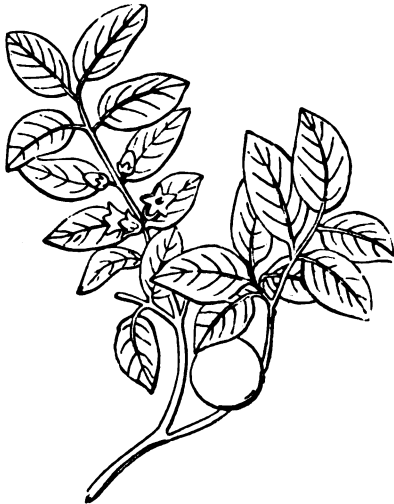
HOBAB (חֹבָב; *Χοβά*; *Hoba*), a place only mentioned in Gen. xiv. 15. Abraham having defeated the kings of the east at Dan, pursued them unto *Hobab*, 'which is on the left hand of Damascus.' The word *חֹבָב* may signify 'left hand' (Vulg. *ad laevam*; Sept. *ἐν ἀριστερῇ*), or 'on the north,' like the Arabic *شمال*, *Shemāl*. Probably the latter is the true meaning here. Eusebius and Jerome describe Hobah as one of the seats of the Ebionites; but they probably confound it with *Cocaba* in Bashan (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Choba*). About three miles north-east of Damascus is a village called *Jobar*, containing a Jewish synagogue dedicated to Elijah; this some have identified with Hobah (Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, iv. 312; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 331). At *Burzeh*, another village a short distance north of Damascus, is a very ancient sanctuary of Abraham, which might perhaps mark the site of Hobah, as is stated by the Arab historian Ibn 'Asāker (see Porter's *Damascus*, i. 82; Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, p. 481, *sq.*)—J. L. P.

HOBNIM (חֹבְנִים) occurs only in one passage of Scripture, where the prophet Ezekiel (xxvii. 15), referring to the commerce of Tyre, says, 'The men of Dedan were thy merchants; many isles were the merchandise of thine hand: they brought thee for a present horns of ivory and ebony (*hobnim*).' The Hebrew word is translated 'Ebony' in all the European versions; but, as Bochart states (*Hierozoicon*, i. 20, pars ii.), the Chaldee version, followed by R. Selomo and other Jews, as well as the Greek and Arabic versions, render *hobnim* by *pavonum* (*pavones*): 'Itaque soli veterum Symmachus et Hieronymus viderunt (חֹבְנִים) *hobnim* esse *hebenum*.' Some of the Hebrew critics, however, as Kimchius, also acknowledge this: '*Hobnim* lignum

interpretantur, quod Arabicè vocatur *abenus*.' Of the correctness of this opinion there can now be no doubt. In the first place, we may allude to Dedan being considered one of the ports of Arabia on the Persian Gulf, or at least to the south of the Red Sea; and secondly, as observed by Bochart, '*hobnim* et *hebenus* sunt voces non absimiles,' the latter word being variously written by ancient authors, as *ἔβην*, *ἔβενος*, *ἔβενος*, *ebenus* and *hebenus*. The last form is used by Jerome in his Latin, and *ἔβενος* by Symmachus, in his Greek version. The Arabs have

ابنوس, which they apply to Ebony, and by that name it is known in northern India at the present day. Forskål mentions *abnoos* as one of the kinds of wood imported in his time from India into Arabia. Whether the Arabic name be a corruption of the Greek, or the Greek a modification, as is most likely, of some Eastern name, we require some other evidence, besides the occurrence of the word in Arabic works on *Materia Medica*, to determine; since in these, Greek words are sometimes employed as the principal terms for substances with which they are not well acquainted. *Bardust* is, however, given by some as the Arabic name; *abnoos* as the Persian. We found the latter applied to ebony in North-west India, as did Forskål in the Red Sea.

Ebony wood was highly esteemed by the ancients, and employed by them for a variety of purposes. It is very appropriately placed in juxta-position with ivory, 'quamvis unum ex animali, alterum ex arbore petatur; quippe, ut notat Fullerus (*Miscell.* vi. 14) utrique est extremus color eodem excellentiæ gradu. Ebori videlicet pulcherrimi candoris, hebeno speciosissimi nigroris. Utrumque politissimum, nitidissimum, et incomparabili lævore conspicuum. Unde est, quod in eosdem usus fere adhibentur, et ex utroque arcus fiunt, pectines, tabulæ lusoriæ, cultroꝝ manubria,' etc. (Bochart, *l. c.*) Ivory and Ebony are probably, however,



265. *Diospyros Ebenum*.

also mentioned together because both were obtained from the same countries—Ethiopia and India; and, among the comparatively few articles of an-

cient commerce, must, from this cause, always have been associated together, while their contrast of colour and joint employment in inlaid work, would contribute as additional reasons for their being adduced as articles characteristic of a distinct commerce.

But it is not in Ezekiel only that ebony and ivory are mentioned together. For Diodorus, as quoted by Bochart, tells us that an ancient king of Egypt imposed on the Ethiopians the payment of a tribute of ebony, gold, and elephants' teeth. So Herodotus (iii. 97), as translated by Bochart, says, 'Æthiopes Persis pro trienniali tributo vehunt duos choenices auri apyri (*id est, ignem nondum experti*), et ducentas *ebeni* phalangas, et magnos elephantentes viginti.' Pliny, referring to this passage, remarks, 'But Herodotus assigneth it rather to Ethiopia, and saith, that every three years the Ethiopians were wont to pay, by way of tribute, unto the kings of Persia, 100 billets of the timber of that tree (that is, Ebene), together with gold and yvorie;' and, again, from Syene (which confineth and boundeth the lands of our empire and dominion) as farre as to the island Meroë, for the space of 996 miles, there is little ebene found: and that in all those parts betweene there be few other trees to be found, but date trees, which peradventure may be a cause that Ebene was counted a rich tribute and deserved the third place, after gold and ivory' (Holland's *Pliny*, xii. 4).

It is sometimes stated that the ancients supposed ebony to come only from India. This arose probably from the passage of Virgil (*Georg.* ii. 116, 17):—

'_____ sola India nigrum
Fert ebenum _____.'

But the term 'India' had often a very wide signification, and included even Ethiopia. Several of the ancients, however, mention both Indian and Ethiopian ebony, as Dioscorides and Pliny; while some mention the Indian, and others the Ethiopian only, as Lucan (*Phars.* x. 304).

—'nigris Meroë fecunda colonis,
Læta comis ebeni.'

The only objection to the above conclusion of any weight is, that *hobnim* is in the plural form. To this Bochart and others have replied, that there were two kinds of ebony, as mentioned by Theophrastus, Dioscorides, etc., one Ethiopian, the other Indian. Fuller and others maintain that the plural form is employed because the ebony was in pieces: 'refert ad ebeni palangas, quæ ex India et Æthiopia magno numero afferebantur. Φάλαγγας vocant Herodotus et Arrianus in Periplo. Plinius *palangas*, aut *phalangas*, variante scriptura, id est, fustes teretes, et qui navibus supponuntur, aut quibus idem onus plures bajulant' (Bochart, *l. c.*) But the names of other valued foreign woods, as SHITTIM and ALMUGGIM, are also used in the plural form. Besides *abnoos*, Arab authors, as stated by Bochart (*l. c.*), mention other woods as similar to and substituted for ebony: one of these is called *shees*, *sheeze*; also *sasem* and *semsem*, in the plural form *semasim*; described as *nigrum lignum ad patinas conficiendas*. Hence in the Koran, 'de iis, qui in gehenna torquentur,' it is said, 'Exibunt ex igne post aliquam in eo moram; exhibunt, inquam, tanquam ligna *semasim*;' that is, black, from being burnt in the fire. That such a wood was known

we have the testimony of Dioscorides—Ἐνιοὶ δὲ τὰ σησάμυνα ἢ ἀκανθίνα ξύλα, ἐμπερὴ ὄντα, ἀντὶ ἐβένου ᾠλοῦσι; 'Nonnulli sesamina aut acanthina ligna, quod consimilia sunt, pro ebeno vendunt.' Some critics, and even Sprengel, in his late edition of Dioscorides, read σηκάμυνα, instead of σησάμυνα, for no reason apparently but because σηκάμυνα denotes a tree with which European scholars are acquainted, while *sesamina* is only known to those who consult Oriental writers, or who are acquainted with the products of the East. Bochart rightly observes, 'Cave igitur ne quidquam mutes. Aliud enim hic *sesamina* quam vulgo. Nempe ligna illius arboris quæ Arabicè *sasim* et *semsem* appellatur, et ita plurali *sesasim*. Itaque Dioscoridis Arabs interpretis hic recte habet, etc. سمسام *sesama*; and

so also 'Arrianus in *Periplo* meminit φαλάγγων σησαμίνων καὶ ἐβενίνων, palangarum sesaminarum et ebeninarum, quæ ex Indiæ urbe Barygasis in Persidem afferuntur' (Bochart, *l. c.*) The above word is by Dr. Vincent translated *sesamum*: but this is an herbaceous oil plant.—J. F. R.

HODGES, WALTER, D.D., a divine of the Hutchinsonian school, provost of Oriel College, Oxford. He is the author of a book entitled *Elihu; or an Inquiry into the principal Scope and Design of the Book of Job*, Lond. 1756, 12mo, 3d edition. In this curious work the author endeavours to shew that Elihu is intended to represent the Son of God. The discovery is one on which he lays great stress, and when the Biblical student is made aware that Hodges has interpreted the whole book in accordance with such a supposition, he will have some notion of the kind of criticism the work contains. Another curious work by the same author is the following, entitled *The Christian Plan*, 2d edit.; with additions, with other theological pieces, 8vo. The whole meaning and extent of the Christian plan, the author represents as embodied, according to his interpretation, in the Hebrew *Elohim*. The other theological pieces consist of remarks on the historical account of the life of David, and on *Sheol*; on the latter, his remarks are described as a dissertation concerning the place of departed souls between the time of their dissolution and the general resurrection. Also, *Oratio habita in domo convocationis*.—W. J. C.

HODGSON, BERNARD, LL.D., principal of Hertford College. He is the author of *Solomon's Song, translated from the Hebrew*, Oxford 1785, 4to. Hodgson's chief design in this translation has been to give as literal a rendering of the original as possible. He has done something also towards illustrating the poetical beauties of this Song of songs. He considers it an epithalamium. In chap. viii. 2 he interprets Talmadin to mean the bride's mother; and the 'chariots of Amminadib' (chap. vi. 12) he renders 'the chariots of my loyal people.' He is the author also of *The Proverbs of Solomon, translated from the Hebrew, with Notes*, Oxford 1788, 4to; *Ecclesiastes, a new translation from the original Hebrew*, Oxford 1791, 4to. Both translations are directed to the literal rendering of the original, and considering the many and great difficulties to be encountered in such an undertaking, more especially when helps were fewer than they are now, Dr. Hodgson's success is deserving of commendation. He rarely deviates from the common version, and when he does, assigns

reasons which in most instances are convincing and satisfactory. The notes, of which there are not many, are principally devoted to verbal criticism.—W. J. C.

HODIAH (הֹדִיָּה). The wife of Ezra (Sept. Ἡδοῖα; Alex. Ἰουδαία) and the mother of Jered, and Heber, and Jekuthiel (1 Chron. iv. 18, 19), the same who is called Jehudijah (הַיְהוּדִיָּה, *the Jewess*, i. e., his Jewish wife, as distinguished from Bithiah, who was an Egyptian) in the preceding verse.—W. L. A.

HODIJAH (הֹדִיָּה), and hence the same as HODIAH; LXX. Ἡδοῖα, Ἰουδαία, Ἰδοῖμ; 1 Esd. Αὐτάλας; Vulg. *Odia, Odaia*.

1. One of the Levites who explained the law to the people on the memorable occasion when Ezra solemnly read it in the congregation (Neh. viii. 7; 1 Esd. ix. 48). It is probably the same who is referred to (Neh. ix. 5; x. 10, Heb. 11).

2. Another Levite mentioned (Neh. x. 13, Heb. 14) in the list of those who sealed the covenant.

3. One of the chiefs of the people mentioned in the same list (Neh. x. 18, Heb. 19).—S. N.

HODY, HUMPHREY, D.D., an eminent English divine was born Jan. 1, 1659, at Oldcombe, Somersetshire. Educated at Oxford University, he took his degree of M.A. there in 1682, and was elected fellow of Wadham College in 1684. He became greatly distinguished in the Nonjuring controversy, in which he published several works on the adverse side. For his services in this cause he was rewarded by being made domestic chaplain to Archbishop Tillotson, presented to a living in London, and appointed regius professor of Greek in the university of Oxford, 1698, and archdeacon of Oxford in 1704. He evinced his liberal and generous spirit by founding ten scholarships in Wadham College to promote the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages. He died Jan. 20, 1706. His principal works are:—1. *Dissertatio contra Historiam Aristæ de LXX. Interpretibus*, 1684, designed to prove that Aristæas' history is a Jewish fable concocted to gain credit for the Septuagint. 2. *De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus, Versionibus Græcis, et Latinâ Vulgata, Libri Quatuor*, Oxonii 1704. The former of these works, published when the author was only twenty-two years of age, was rudely assailed by Isaac Vossius. Hody, instead of replying to his antagonist, applied himself to his great work, *De Textibus*, which occupied him nearly twenty years. It is divided into four books. The first contains his dissertation against Aristæas, with improvements, strengthening his former positions. The second treats of the true authors of the Septuagint version—of the time when, and the reasons why, it was undertaken, and of the manner in which it was performed. The third book contains a history of the original Hebrew text, of the Septuagint, and of the Vulgate Latin version, shewing the authority of each in different ages, and that the Hebrew text has always been most esteemed and valued. The fourth book gives an account of the versions of Symmachus, Aquila, and Theodotion, and of Origin's *Hexapla* and other ancient editions, with lists of the books of the Bible made at different times bearing on the history of the canon. It still maintains its high rank as the 'classical work

on the Septuagint' (see Horne's *Introd.* ii., *Bibliog. App.*, and Jebb's *Account of the Life and Writings of Hody*, prefixed to the author's posthumous work, *De Græcis Illustribus*, etc.)—L. J.

HOFFMANN, IMMANUEL, was born at Tübingen, April 16, 1710. In 1741 he was appointed to the Archidiaconate of Tübingen, and in 1756 professor of Greek in the university of that city. He died in 1772. Of his various dissertations published during his lifetime, the following are the most important: *Diss. in oraculum Ram.* x. 5-8, Tübing. 1752, 4to; *Diss. de stilo Apostoli Pauli*, 1757; *Diss. in loca parallela*, 2 Pet. ii. 4-17, *Jud.* 5-13, 1762, 4to; *Commentatio in 1 Cor. i.* 19-21, 1766, 4to. He was also the author of a posthumous work entitled *Demonstratio Evangelica per ipsum scripturarum consensum in oraculis ex Velere Testamento in Novo allegatis declarata*, Partes iii., Tübing. 1773-82, 4to. Of this work T. G. Hegelmaier was editor, who prefixed to it an excursus on the method of interpreting the quotations made from the O. T. in the New. It is described by Orme as 'full of learning, and in general very judicious.'—S. N.

HOFMANN, KARL GOTTLÖB, D.D., was born at Schneeberg, 1st October 1703, and died at Wittenberg, where he was professor of theology and general superintendent, 19th Sept. 1774. Besides editing and greatly enlarging the *Introductio in Lectionem N. T.* of J. G. Pritius, Lips. 1737, he wrote *Introductio Theol.-Crit. in Lectionem epist. Pauli ad Galat. et Coloss.*, 4to, Lips. 1750, and a volume of Opuscula, under the title of *Varia Sacra*, 4to, Wittenb. et Lips. 1751.—W. L. A.

HOLIDAYS. [FESTIVALS; PASSOVER.]

HOLMES, ROBERT, D.D., a learned divine and elegant scholar, was a native of Hampshire, born 1749, and educated at Winchester School, from which he was chosen to New College, Oxford. In 1790 he succeeded Thomas Warton as professor of poetry in that University. He became rector of Staunton, canon of Salisbury, canon of Christ Church, and in 1804 dean of Winchester. He died in 1805 at Oxford. In addition to the great work on which his reputation depends, he published in 1777 in quarto a very ingenious discourse, entitled 'The resurrection of the body deduced from the resurrection of Christ;' the year after, 'Alfred, an Ode,' etc., in imitation of Gray's style; in 1783 the Bampton Lectures, 'On the prophecies and testimony of John the Baptist, and the parallel prophecies of Jesus Christ;' in 1788 four tracts on the principles of religion as a test of divine authority; on the principles of redemption; on the angelical message of the Virgin Mary, and on the resurrection of the body, with a discourse on humility. In 1793 he composed an ode for the Encænica at the installation of the Duke of Portland as Chancellor of the University of Oxford. In the same year he published, what was in fact the precursor of his great critical work, a Latin letter to Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham, on his collation of the Septuagint, with a specimen of the text and various readings which he was on the point of publishing. As early as 1788 he had published at Oxford proposals for a collation of all the known MSS. of the Septuagint—a labour which had never yet been undertaken on an *extensive scale*, and the want of which had long been felt

among Biblical scholars. Dr. Holmes' undertaking was promoted by the delegates of the Clarendon Press, to the liberality of which body sacred literature owes much, for besides the present instance, Grabe's edition of the Septuagint in four folio volumes, and Dr. Mill's critical Greek Testament, emanated from the press of this University, at different periods in the last century. In addition to the learned editor's own labours, literary men were engaged in different parts of the continent for the business of collation, and Dr. Holmes annually published an account of the progress which was made. In 1798 he published at Oxford the Book of Genesis, which was successively followed by the other books of the Pentateuch, making together one folio volume, with one title page and one general preface. From this preface it appears that 11 Greek MSS. in uncial letters, and more than 100 MSS. in cursive writing (containing either the whole or parts of the Pentateuch) were collated for this edition. The text of this edition being a copy of the Roman edition of 1587 [that of Sixtus V.], the deviations from it which occur in three other cardinal editions (the Complutensian, the Aldine, and Grabe's) are constantly noted. The quotations found in the works of the Greek Fathers are likewise alleged, and finally the various readings of the ancient versions which were made from the Septuagint. The plan of this edition thus bore a close resemblance to what had been already applied by Mill, Wetstein, and Griesbach to the criticism of the Greek Testament, and the execution of it has been highly commended as displaying uncommon industry and apparently great accuracy. The learned editor died in the midst of his honourable labour in the year 1806; but shortly before his death he published the book of Daniel, both according to the LXX. version and that of Theodotion, the latter *only* having been printed in former editions because the Septuagint translation of this book is not contained in the common MSS., and was unknown till it was printed in 1772 from a MS. belonging to Cardinal Chigi. After Dr. Holmes' death the work was continued by the Rev. J. Parsons, B.D., and eventually completed, on the original editor's plan, in five splendid folio volumes, in the year 1827. For favourable notices of this elaborate work the reader is referred to Bishop Marsh's *Lectures on the Criticism of the Bible* [Lecture x.], where Dr. Holmes' portion is described, and Horne's *Introduction* [ed. 9], vol. v. pp. 57, 58, where sundry *Reviews* of the earlier volumes as they appeared are also mentioned. The high opinion, however, which the partiality of contemporary critics induced them to form of this handsome and expensive edition of the Septuagint has not been always endorsed since—Tischendorf, one of the most recent editors of the Alexandrian Version, complains bitterly of the carelessness and inaccuracy of the work—'tam negligenter tamque male factæ sunt [collationes] ut etiam atque etiam dolendum sit tantos numos raro liberalitate per Angliam suppeditatos criticæ sacræ parum profuisse.' (For his entire review and strictures the reader is referred to his edition of the Sept. [1856], *Prolegomena*, pp. lii.-lvi.)—P. H.

HOLOFERNES (Ὁλοφέρνης). This name occurs only in the Apocrypha (Judith ii. 4, & al.) Nebuchadnezzar 'king of Nineveh,' having resolved to 'avenge himself on all the earth,' ap-

pointed Holofernes general of the expedition intended for this purpose, consisting of 120,000 foot and 12,000 horse. Holofernes marched westward and southward, carrying devastation everywhere he came, destroying harvests, and flocks, and cities, as well as men, old and young; making even the 'cities of the sea-coast,' which had submitted to him, feel the weight of his arm. Having reached Esdraelon, he encamped 'between Geba and Scythopolis' a whole month to collect his forces. The Jews, however, resolved to resist him, and fortified all the mountain passes. Dissuaded by Achior, 'captain of the sons of Ammon,' from attacking the Jews, he resented the advice, and delivered Achior into the hands of the Jews in Bethulia, from whom, however, he met with a kind reception. Holofernes proceeded against Bethulia (which see), where he was brought to bay; and, instead of attacking it, seized upon two wells, on which the city depended for water, and sat down before it to take it by siege. While here he fell a victim to the treachery of Judith, a beautiful Jewish widow, who artfully managed to be brought into his presence, and who, by playing the hypocrite, secured his favour and confidence. Having invited her to a banquet, he drank freely, and having fallen asleep, fell beneath the arm of his fair guest, who cut off his head with his own sword, and escaped with her bloody trophy to her own people in Bethulia. The Jews immediately fell on their enemies, who, finding their general dead in his tent, fled in confusion. Such is the story. It is scarcely necessary to add that it is wholly unhistorical (see JUDITH). 'The name (Holofernes) occurs twice in Cappadocian history, as borne by Ariathes I. (cir. B.C. 350), and afterwards by a pretender to the Cappadocian throne, who was at first supported, and afterwards imprisoned, by Demetrius Soter (cir. B.C. 130). The termination (*Tisaphernes*, etc.) points to a Persian origin, but the meaning of the word is uncertain' (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*).—I. J.

HOLON (חֹלֹן; Sept. Χαλού, Χιλουών; Alex. Ὡλῶν), a town, the name of which occurs in the enumeration of the places set apart as 'the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Judah according to their families' (Josh. xv. 20), and one of a number of towns in the mountains of Judah (Josh. xv. 51). In 1 Chron. vi. 58 the name is written *Hilen*. Also (חֹלִין; Sept. Χελών) one of a number of cities in 'the plain country' or level districts of Moab, east of the Jordan. Jeremiah mentions it as one of the cities on which judgment had come (Jer. xlviii. 21). Both localities are now unknown.—W. J. C.

HOLY OF HOLIES. [ADYTUM; TABERNACLE; TEMPLE.]

HOLY SPIRIT and HOLY GHOST. [ADVOCATE; PARACLETUS; SPIRIT.]

HOMAM (חֹמָה; Sept. Ἀμόν), an Edomite chief (1 Chron. i. 39), whose name appears in the form חֹמָה, Hemam, Gen. xxxvi. 22. There is a town bearing the name of *El-Homaimah* south from Petra, and on the hill Sherah, which the Arabic geographers describe as the native place of the Abassides (Robinson, *Bib. Res.*, ii. 572). With this Knobel compares Homam (*Gen.*, in loc.)—W. L. A.

HOMBERGK ZU VACH, JOHANN FRIED-

RICH, a learned jurist, born at Marburg, April 15, 1673. After prosecuting his studies for several years in the University of Utrecht, he visited England, and stayed for some time in London, Oxford, and Cambridge. During this visit he became acquainted with Richard Bentley. He died April 20, 1748. In addition to a large number of works on professional topics, he published in 1708, as the result of his private study of the N. T., a work entitled *Parerga Sacra seu interpretatio succincta et nova quorundam textuum Novi Testamenti*, Ultraj. 1708, 8vo. Of this an enlarged and improved edition was subsequently issued under the title *Parerga Sacra seu observationes quadam ad Novum Testamentum*, Ultraj. 1712, 4to. The criticisms contained in this work were attacked by Elsnor, and defended by the author's son Æmilius Ludwig. Hombergk takes a medium position between the Hebraists and the Purists.—S. N.

HOMER. [WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

HONEY. In the Scripture there are three words denoting different sweet substances, all of which are rendered by 'honey' in the A.V. These it is necessary to distinguish.

1. עֵצַר *yaar*, which only occurs in 1 Sam. xiv. 25, 27, 29; Cant. v. 1; and denotes the honey of bees and that only.

2. נֶפֶחַ *nopheth*, honey that drops, usually associated with the comb, and therefore bee-honey. This occurs in Ps. xix. 10; Prov. v. 3; xxiv. 13; xxvii. 7; Cant. iv. 11.

3. דְּבַשׁ *debesh*. This is the most frequent word. It sometimes denotes bee-honey, as in Judg. xiv. 8, but more commonly a vegetable honey distilled from trees, and called *manna* by chemists; also the syrup of dates, and even dates themselves. It appears also sometimes to stand as a general term for all kinds of honey.

We shall here confine our remarks to honey in general, and that of bees in particular, referring for the vegetable honey to MANNA, and for the date-honey to SHECHAR.

It is very evident that the land of Canaan abounded in honey. It is indeed described as 'a land flowing with milk and honey' (Exod. iii. 8, etc.); which we apprehend to refer to *all* the sweet substances which the different Hebrew words indicate, as the phrase seems too large to be confined to the honey of bees alone. Yet the great number of bees in Palestine has been noticed by many travellers; and they were doubtless still more common in ancient times when the soil was under more general cultivation. A recent traveller, in a sketch of the natural history of Palestine, names bees, beetles, and mosquitoes, as the insects which are most common in the country (Schubert, *Reise ins Morgenlande*, ii. 120).

The natural history of the bee, with illustrations of the passages of Scripture in which its name occurs, has been given under a distinct head [DEBORAH]; and the use of honey in food, under another [FOOD]. The principal use of the present notice is therefore that of an index to the other articles in which the different parts of this large subject are separately investigated.

The 'wild honey' (μέλι ἄγριον) which, with locusts, formed the diet of John the Baptist, was probably the vegetable honey, which we refer to MANNA.

No travellers in the East have given us much information respecting the treatment of bees, or any peculiar modes of preparing the honey.

Honey was not permitted to be offered on the altar (Lev. ii. 11). As it is coupled with leaven in this prohibition, it would seem to amount to an interdiction of things sour and sweet. Aben Ezra and others allege that it was because honey partook of the fermenting nature of leaven, and when burnt yielded an unpleasant smell—qualities incompatible with offerings made by fire of a sweet savour unto the Lord. But Maimonides and others think it was for the purpose of making the difference between the religious customs of the Jews and the heathen, in whose offerings honey was much employed. The first-fruits of honey were, however, to be presented, as these were destined for the support of the priests, and not to be offered upon the altar.

Under the different heads to which we have referred, the passages of Scripture relating to honey are explained. The remarkable incident related in 1 Sam. xiv. 24-32, requires, however, to be here noticed. Jonathan and his party coming to the wood, find honey dropping from the trees to the ground, and the prince extends his rod to the honeycomb to taste the honey. On this the present writer is unable to add anything to what he has stated elsewhere (*Pictorial Bible*, in loc.), which is to the following effect:—First, we are told that the honey was on the ground, then that it dropped, and lastly, that Jonathan put his rod into the honeycomb. From all this it is clear that the honey was bee-honey, and that honey-combs were above in the trees, from which honey dropped upon the ground; but it is not clear whether Jonathan put his rod into a honeycomb that was in the trees or shrubs, or into one that had fallen to the ground, or that had been formed there.

Where wild bees are abundant they form their combs in any convenient place that offers, particularly in cavities or even on the branches of trees; nor are they so nice as is commonly supposed in the choice of situations. In India particularly, and in the Indian islands, the forests often swarm with bees. 'The forests,' says Mr. Roberts, 'literally flow with honey; large combs may be seen hanging on the trees, as you pass along, full of honey' (*Oriental Illustrations*). We have had good reason to conclude, from many allusions in Scripture, that this was also, to a considerable extent, the case formerly in Palestine. Rabbi Ben Gershom and others indeed fancy that there were bee-hives placed 'all of a row' by the wayside. If we must needs have bee-hives, why not suppose that they were placed in the trees, or suspended from the boughs? This is a practice in different parts where bees abound, and the people pay much attention to realise the advantages which their wax and honey offer. The woods on the western coast of Africa, between Cape Blanco and Sierra Leone, and particularly near the Gambia, are full of bees, to which the negroes formerly, if they do not now, paid considerable attention for the sake of the wax. They had bee-hives, like baskets, made of reeds and sedge, and hung on the out-boughs of the trees, which the bees easily appropriated for the purpose of forming their combs in them. In some parts these hives were so thickly placed that at a distance they looked like fruit. There was also much wild honey in the cavities of the trees (Jobson's *Golden Trade*,

p. 30, in Astley's Collection). Moore confirms this account, and adds, that when he was there, the Mandingoes suspended in this way straw bee-hives not unlike our own, boarded at the bottom, and with a hole for the bees to go in and out (*Travels into the inland parts of Africa*, Drake's Collection). As to the other supposition, that the honeycomb had been formed on the ground, we think the context rather bears against it; but the circumstance is not in itself unlikely, or incompatible with the habits of wild bees. For want of a better resource they sometimes form their honey in any tolerably convenient spot they can find in the ground, such as small hollows, or even holes formed by animals. Mr. Burchel, in his *Travels in South Africa*, mentions an instance in which his party (Hottentots) obtained about three pounds of good honey from a hole which had formerly belonged to the weazel kind. The natives treated this as a usual circumstance, and indeed their experience in such affairs was demonstrated by the facility with which they managed to obtain the honey without being injured by the bees.—J. K.

HOOK, HOOKS. The following Hebrew words are so rendered in the A. V.: חֹכָה חֹך, אֶמְנָן, סִיר, צֶנֶה, שְׁפָתַיִם, מִמְרָה, מִלֵּן, וּן. The idea of a *thorn* enters into the etymology of several of them, probably because a thorn, *hooked* or straight, was the earliest instrument of this kind. Tacitus thus describes the dress of the ancient Germans, Sagum, fibula, aut si desit, *spina* consertum; a 'loose mantle, fastened with a clasp, or, when that cannot be had, with a thorn' (*Germ.* 17).

1. חֹך; 2 Kings xix. 28; Sept. τὰ ἀγκίστρα; Vulg. *circulum*. In the parallel passage (Is. xxxvii. 29) the Sept. reads, φμὸν, *muzzle*, halter, or noose, etc. Jehovah here intimates his absolute control over Sennacherib, by an allusion to the practice of leading buffaloes, camels, dromedaries, etc., by means of a cord, or of a cord attached to a *ring*, passed through the nostrils (Shaw's *Travels*, pp. 167-68, 2d ed.); Job xli. 1 [xl. 25], 'Canst thou draw out Leviathan with a hook? (חֹךְ) occurs Is. xix. 8, and Hab. i. 15; ἀγκίστρον, *hamus*) or his tongue with a cord which thou testest down?' Sept. ἀγκίστρον; Vulg. *hamo*. Assuming that by Leviathan the crocodile is intended, Herodotus (ii. 70) is quoted to show that in his time the Egyptians captured the crocodile with a hook (ἀγκίστρον), with which (ἐξελκύσθῃ ἐς γῆν) he was *drawn* ashore; and accounts are certainly given by modern travellers of the continuance of this practice (Maillet, *Descrip. d'Egypte*, tom. ii. p. 127, ed. Hag. 1740). But does not the *entire description* go upon the supposition of the *impossibility* of so treating Leviathan? Supposing the allusions to be correctly interpreted, is it not as much as to say, 'Canst thou treat *him* as thou canst treat the crocodile and other fierce creatures?' Dr. Lee has, indeed, given reasons which render it *doubtful*, at least, whether the leviathan *does* mean the crocodile in this passage; or whether it does not mean some species of *whale*, as was formerly supposed; the Delphinus orca communis, or common grampus, found in the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and also in the Nile. (See his examination of Bochart's reasonings, etc., in *Translation and Notes on Job*, pp. 197 and 529-539, Lond. 1837) [LEVIATHAN]. Ezek. xxix. 4 (חֹחִי; Sept. πᾶγιδας; Vulg. *frantum*), where the pro-

phlet foretells the destruction of Pharaoh king of Egypt, by allusions to the destruction, possibly, of a crocodile, the symbol of Egypt. Thus Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* viii. 25) states, that the Tentyritæ (inhabitants of Egypt) followed the crocodile, swimming after it in the river, sprung upon its back, thrust a bar into its mouth, which, being held by its two extremities, serves—*ut franis in terram agant*—as a bit, enables them to force it on shore (comp. Ezek. xxix. 3, 4). Strabo relates that the Tentyritæ displayed their feats before the Romans (xvii. p. 560, ed. Casaub.) But see Dr. Lee on this passage, *ut supra*.

2. **וִיִּים** (Exod. xxvii. 32, 37; xxxviii. 19), 'hooks,' *αἱ κεφαλίδες, capita, capita columnarum*; where the Sept. and Jerome seem to have understood the *capitals of the pillars*; and it has been urged that this is more likely to be the meaning than *hooks*, especially as 1775 shekels of silver were used in making these **וִיִּים** for the pillars, overlaying the chapters, and filleting them (cli. xxxviii. 28); and that the *hooks* are really the **קְרָסִים**, *taches* (Exod. xxvi. 6, 11, 33, 37; xxxix. 33). Yet the Sept. also renders **וִיִּים**, *κρίκοι*, 'rings,' or 'clasps' (Exod. xxvii. 10, 11, and ἀγκύλαι, Exod. xxxviii. 17, 19); and from a comparison of these two latter passages, it would seem that these *hooks*, or rather *tenters*, rose out of the chapters or heads of the pillars.

3. **סִזְלוֹן** (1 Sam. ii. 13, 14), 'flesh-hook,' *κρέδ-γχα, fuscina*, and the **סִזְלוֹנוֹת**, 'the flesh-hooks' (Exod. xxvii. 3, and elsewhere). This was evidently, in the first passage, a trident, a kind of fork, 'of three teeth,' for turning the sacrifices on the fire, and for collecting fragments, etc.

4. **סִזְמוֹרוֹת** (Is. ii. 4, and elsewhere), 'beat their spears into pruning-hooks' (*δρέπανα, falces*). The Roman poets have the same metaphor (Martial, xiv. 34, 'Falx ex ense'). In Mic. iv. 3, *in ligones*, weeding-hooks, or shovels, spades, etc. Joel reverses the metaphor 'pruning-hooks' into spears (iii. 10, *ligones*); and so Ovid (*Fasti*, i. 697, *in pila ligones*).

5. **שְׁטִיִּים** (Ezek. xl. 43), 'hooks,' which Gesenius explains *stalls* in the courts of the Temple, where the sacrificial victims were fastened: our translators give in the margin 'endirons, or the two hearth-stones.' The Sept. seems equally at a loss, *καὶ παλαιστήν* *ἐξουσι γείσος*; as also Jerome, who renders it *labia*. Schleusner pronounces *γείσος* to be a barbarous word formed from **יָץ**, and understands *epistylum*, a little pillar set on another, and *capitellum*, columned. The Chaldee renders

שְׁנִינְלִין, short posts in the house of the slaughterers on which to suspend the sacrifices. Dr. Lightfoot, in his chapter 'on the altar, the rings, and the laver,' observes, 'On the north side of the altar were six orders of rings, each of which contained six, at which they killed the sacrifices. Near by were *low pillars* set up, upon which were laid overthwart beams of cedar; on these were fastened rows of *hooks*, on which the sacrifices were hung; and they were flayed on marble tables, which were between these pillars' (see vers. 41, 42; *Works*, vol. 11, ch. xxxiv., Lond. 1684-5-6).

6. **צִנֵּה** (Amos iv. 2), 'take you away with hooks,' *σπῆλαι, contis*, 'poles' or 'spears.' In the same verse—

7. **סִירֹת דָּוְנָה**, 'fish-hooks,' *ἐῖς λέβητας ὑποκαίον- VOL. II.*

μένους ἐμβαλοῦσιν, ἑμπυροὶ λομοί, et reliquias ventis in ollis ferventibus, where both Sept. and Vulg. seem to have taken **סִיר** in the sense of a pot or caldron instead of a fish-hook. [CALDRON.]

8. **אֲגֻמִּין**. [AGMON.]—J. F. D.

HOPHNI AND PHINEAS, the sons of Eli, whose misconduct in the priesthood (as described in 1 Sam. ii. 12-17) brought down that doom of ruin and degradation upon the house of Eli which formed the first divine communication through the young Samuel (1 Sam. iii.) Hophni and Phineas were slain in the battle in which the ark of God was taken by the Philistines, B.C. 1141 (1 Sam. iv. 11). [ELL.]—J. K.

HOPHRA (**חֹפְרָא**; Sept. *Ούαφρη*, or PHARAOH-

HOPHRA), king of Egypt in the time of Zedekiah king of Judah, and of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon. He formed alliance with the former against the latter, and his advance with an Egyptian army constrained the Chaldeans to raise the siege of Jerusalem (Jer. xxxvii. 5); but they soon returned and took and destroyed the city. This momentary aid, and the danger of placing reliance on the protection of Hophra, led Ezekiel to compare the Egyptians to a broken reed, which was to pierce the hand of him that leaned upon it (Ezek. xxix. 6, 7). This alliance was disapproved by God; and Jeremiah was authorised to deliver the prophecy contained in his 44th chapter, which concludes with a prediction of Hophra's death and the subjugation of his country by the Chaldeans [comp. EGYPT].

This Pharaoh-hophra is identified with the Apries or Vaphres of ancient authors, and he may be the Psamatik III. of the monuments. Under this identification we may conclude that his wars with the Syrians and Cyrenæans prevented him from affording any great assistance to Zedekiah. Apries is described by Herodotus (ii. 169) as a monarch who, in the zenith of his glory, felt persuaded that it was not in the power even of a deity to dispossess him of his kingdom, or to shake the stability of his sway; and this account of his arrogance fully accords with that contained in the Bible. Ezekiel (xxix. 3) speaks of this king as 'the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself.' His overthrow and subsequent captivity and death are foretold with remarkable precision by Jeremiah (xlii. 30); 'I will give Pharaoh-hophra, king of Egypt, into the hands of his enemies, and into the hands of them that seek his life.' This was brought about by a revolt of the troops, who placed Amasis at their head, and after various conflicts took Apries prisoner. He was for a time kept in easy captivity by Amasis, who wished to spare his life; but he was at length constrained to give him up to the vengeance of his enemies, by whom he was strangled (Herod. ii. 169; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, i. 168-182).

J. K.

HOR (**הֹר**, **הָר**; Sept. *ὄρ*), a mountain of Arabia Petræa, on the confines of Idumæa, and forming part of the mountain of Seir or Edom. It is only mentioned in Scripture in connection with the circumstances recorded in Num. xx. 22-29. The Israelites were encamped before it, when Aaron was summoned to its top to die there, in

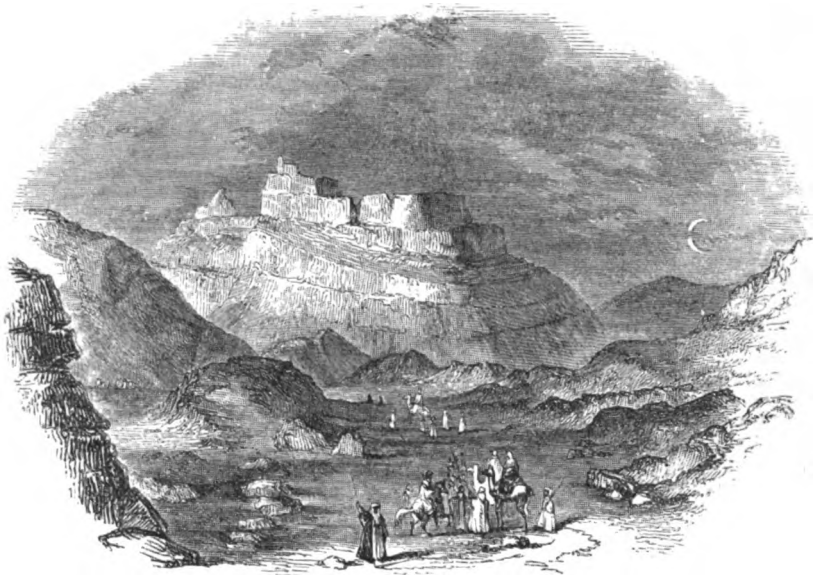
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the presence of his brother and son, who alone witnessed his final departure. [AARON.]

The mountain now identified with Mount Hor is the most conspicuous in the whole range of Mount Seir, and at this day bears the name of Mount Aaron (Jebel Haroun). It is in N. lat. 30° 18' E. long. 35° 33' about mid-way between the Dead Sea and the Ælanitic Gulf. It may be open to question if this is really the Mount Hor on which Aaron died, seeing that the whole range of Seir was anciently called by that name; yet, from its height and the conspicuous manner in which it rises among the surrounding rocks, it seems not unlikely to have been the chosen scene of the high-priest's death (Kinnear, p. 127). To this may be added that Josephus affirms Mount Hor to have been near Petra; and near *that* place there is cer-

tainly no mountain which can contest the distinction with the one now in view. The base of the highest pinnacle of this mountain is in fact but a little removed from the skirts of the city to the westward. The account of it given twenty years since by Captains Irby and Mangles, in their then unpublished volume of Travels, is the best we yet possess, and we therefore present the substance of their description in their own words.

'We engaged an Arab shepherd as our guide, and leaving Abou Raschid with our servants and horses where the steepness of the ascent commences, we began to mount the track, which is extremely steep and toilsome, and affords but an indifferent footing. In some parts the pilgrim must pick his way as he can, and frequently on his hands and knees. Where by nature it would



266. Mount Hor. (Aaron's Tomb.)

have been impassable, there are flights of rude steps or inclined planes, constructed of stones laid together, and here and there are niches to receive the footsteps, cut in the live rock: the impressions of pilgrims' feet are scratched in the rock in many places, but without inscriptions. Much juniper grows on the mountain, almost to the very summit, and many flowering plants which we had not observed elsewhere; some of these are very beautiful; most of them are thorny. On the top there is an overhanging shelf in the rock which forms a sort of cavern: here we found a skin of extremely bad water suspended for drinking, and a pallet of straw, with the pitcher and other poor utensils of the sheikh who resides here. He is a decrepit old man, who has lived here during the space of forty years, and occasionally endured the fatigue of descending and re-ascending the mountain. The tomb itself is enclosed in a small building, differing not at all in external form and appearance from those of Mohammedan saints common throughout every province of Turkey. It has probably been

rebuilt at no remote period: some small columns are bedded in the walls, and some fragments of granite and slabs of white marble are lying about. The door is near the south-west angle, within which a constructed tomb, with a pall thrown over it, presents itself immediately upon entering: it is patched together out of fragments of stone and marble that have made part of other fabrics. Upon one of these are several short lines in the Hebrew character, cut in a slovenly manner: we had them interpreted at Acre, and they proved to be merely the names of a Jew and his family who had scratched this record. It is not probable that any professed Jew has visited the spot for ages past, probably not since the period of the Mohammedan conquest; it may lay claim, therefore, to some antiquity, and in any case is a curious appendage to the testimony of Josephus on the subject. There are rags and shreds of yarn, with glass beads and paras, left as votive offerings by the Arabs.

'Not far from the north-west angle is a passage, descending by steps, to a vault or grotto beneath,

for we were uncertain which of the two to call it, being covered with so thick a coat of whitewash that it is difficult to distinguish whether it is built or hollowed out. It appeared, in great part at least, a grotto; the roof is covered, but the whole is rude, ill-fashioned, and quite dark. The sheikh, who was not informed that we were Christians, furnished us with a lump of butter. Towards the further end of this dark vault lie the two corresponding leaves of an iron grating, which formerly prevented all nearer approach to the tomb; they have, however, been thrown down, and we advanced so as to touch it; it was covered by a ragged pall. We were obliged to descend barefoot, and were not without some apprehension of treading on scorpions or other reptiles in such a place.

It is highly interesting to know what view it was which last greeted the eyes of the dying high-priest from this lofty eminence; and it is the more so from the fact that the region over which the view extends is that in which the Israelites wandered for forty years. Our travellers supply this information:—

‘The view from the summit of the edifice is extremely extensive in every direction, and the eye rests on few objects which it can clearly distinguish to give a name to, although an excellent idea is obtained of the general face and features of the country. The chain of Idumæan mountains, which form the western shore of the Dead Sea, seem to run on to the southward, though losing considerably in their height. They appear in this point of view barren and desolate. Below them is spread out a white sandy plain, seamed with the beds of occasional torrents, and presenting much the same features as the most desert parts of the Ghor. Where this desert expanse approaches the foot of Mount Hor, there arise out of it, like islands, several lower peaks and ridges, of a purple colour, probably composed of the same kind of sandstone as that of Mount Hor itself, which, variegated as it is in its hues, presents in the distance one uniform mass of dark purple. Towards the Egyptian side there is an expanse of country without features or limit, and lost in the distance. The lofty district, which we had quitted in our descent to Wady Mousa, shuts up the prospect on the south-east side; but there is no part of the landscape which the eye wanders over with more curiosity and delight than the crags of Mount Hor itself, which stand up on every side in the most rugged and fantastic forms, sometimes strangely piled one on the other, and sometimes as strangely yawning in cliffs of a frightful depth. . . . An artist who would study rock-scenery in all its wildest and most extravagant forms would find himself rewarded should he resort to Mount Hor for that sole purpose’ [comp. Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.*, p. 86].—J. K.

HOREB. [SINAI.]

HOREM (חֹרֵם; Ὁρέμ, and in Vat. Text Μεγαλαρίμ, by annexing to the previous word). One of the fenced cities of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 38). Van de Velde says that it is ‘possibly the same with Hūrah, a low tell with ruins at the entrance of Wady el-Ain’ (*Memoir*, 322), in the midst of the mountains west of Lake Merom. J. L. P.

IIOR-HAGIDGAD, an encampment of the

Israelites during their wandering (Num. xxxiii. 32, 33) [WANDERING].

HORI (חֹרִי). 1. (Sept. Χορρί; Alex. Χορρί) A son of Lotan the Horite, who received the general designation of his race as his name (Gen. xxxvi. 22, 30; 1 Chron. i. 39). 2. (Sept. Σοφρὶ) A man of the tribe of Simeon, father of Shaphet, who was one of the heads of the children of Israel sent by Moses to search the land of Canaan (Num. xiii. 5).—W. L. A.

HORITES or HORIM (חֹרִי; Sept. Χορρίαι), a people who seem to have been the aboriginal occupants of Mount Seir in Edom (Gen. xiv. 6), and of the stripe of land between the Dead Sea and the Ælantic Gulf. They were subdued and nearly extirpated by Esau and his descendants, who took possession of their territory, and made those that remained of them tributary, as did the Israelites the people of Canaan whom they subdued but did not utterly destroy (Deut. ii. 12, 22; comp. Gen. xxxvi. 20, ff., where the chiefs of the Horites are enumerated along with the Edomites). It is generally supposed that the Horites took their name from חֹרִי, a *hole* or *cave*, and that they were Troglodytes; but they were no more so than the Edomites who succeeded them, and made use of the rock-hewn dwellings of Petra, and they were never regarded as Troglodytes. That the Horites betook themselves to the natural caves of the mountains after their subjugation by Esau and his followers is probable enough (comp. Job xxx. 6, where the writer probably describes what he saw before his eyes in the district where he lived); but they had the name Horites before this, as is evident from the notices in Genesis. Knobel (*Volkerthatel*) holds that they formed part of the great race of the Ludim, to which also the Rephaim, the Emim, and the Amorites belonged. In this case the Horites were of Semitic descent. According to the account in Gen. xxxvi. 20, ff., they were divided into seven tribes.—W. L. A.

HORN (קֶרֶן; Gr. κέρας; Lat. cornu). [The term is used *literally* in Scripture to denote—1. The horn of an animal (Gen. xxii. 13; Deut. xxxiii. 17; Ps. xxii. 22); 2. A trumpet, originally probably a simple horn with the tip cut off, but afterwards composed of metal or other materials (Josh. vi. 4, 5; comp. Lat. *cornu*); 3. The elephant's tusk (Ezek. xxvii. 15); 4. A vessel, made probably of a horn, for holding oil (1 Sam. xvi. 1, 13; 1 Kings i. 39; comp. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2, 61); 5. A vessel for containing the pigment used by women in the East to anoint the eyelashes (Job xlii. 14)]. From its primary use for defence in the case of horned animals it came to acquire several *derivative* meanings, some of which are connected with the illustration and right understanding of holy writ. As horns are hollow and easily polished, they have in ancient and modern times been used for drinking-vessels and for military purposes; and as they are the chief source of strength for attack and defence with the animals to which God has given them, they serve in Scripture as emblems of power, dominion, glory, and fierceness (Dan. viii. 5, 9; 1 Sam. xvi. 1, 13; 1 Kings i. 39; Josh. vi. 4, 5; 1 Sam. ii. 1; Ps. lxxv. 5, 10; Jer. xlviii. 25; Ezek. xxix. 21; Amos vi. 13). Hence to defile the horn in the dust (Job. xvi. 15), is to

lower and degrade oneself, and, on the contrary, to lift up, to exalt the horn (Ps. lxxv. 4; lxxix. 17; cxlviii. 14), is poetically to raise oneself to eminent honour or prosperity, to bear oneself proudly. Something like this is found in classic authors; comp. Hor., *Carm.* iii. 21, 18. In the East, at present, horns are used as an ornament for the head, and as a token of eminent rank (Rosenmüller, *Morg.* iv. 85). The women among the Druses on Mount Lebanon wear on their heads silver horns of native make, 'which are the distinguishing badge of wifehood' (Bowring's *Report on Syria*, p. 8; comp. Thomson, *Land and Book*, i. 101).



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By an easy transition, horn came to denote an elevation or hill (Is. v. 1); in Switzerland mountains still bear this name, thus, Schreckhorn, Buchhorn. The altar of burnt-offerings (Exod. xxvii. 2) and the altar of incense (Exod. xxx. 2) had each at the four corners four horns of shittim-wood, the first being overlaid with brass, the second with gold (Exod. xxxvii. 25; xxxviii. 2; Jer. xvii. 1; Amos iii. 14). Upon the horns of the altar of burnt-offerings was to be smeared with the finger the blood of the slain bullock (Exod. xxix. 12; Lev. iv. 7-18; viii. 15; ix. 9; xvi. 18; Ezek. xliii. 20). By laying hold of these horns of the altar of burnt-offering the criminal found an asylum and safety (1 Kings i. 50; ii. 28). These horns [according to the rendering of the A. V.] served for binding the animal destined for sacrifice (Ps. cxviii. 27); but this use Winer (*Handwörterb.*) denies, asserting that they did not, and could not, answer for such a purpose. [See Hengstenberg, *in loc.*]

The old painters represented the head of Moses as having two horns proceeding from his temples, one on either side. This practice arose from a mistranslation on the part of the Vulgate of the words found in Exod. xxxiv. 29—*cornuta esset facies sua*, where it is said in the Common Version 'the skin of his face shone.' The Septuagint seems to have given a good rendering—*δέδοξασται ἡ ὄψις τοῦ χρώματος τοῦ προσώπου*, 'the appearance of his face wore a glory,' or 'nimbus,' that is, rays parting from his head as from a centre, as the Saviour, and, in the Roman Catholic Church, the saints, are often painted—an appearance derived from Moses' interview with God, and designed to convince the Israelites (Rosenmüller, *in loc.*) In a somewhat similar manner the Deity is said (Habak. iii. 4) to have 'had horns coming out of his hands,' that is to say, he was made manifest by lightning and thunder (fulmina).—J. R. B.

HORNE, GEORGE, D.D., bishop of Norwich, was born at Otham, near Maidstone, Kent, Nov. 1, 1730, and died Jan. 17, 1792, in the 62d year of his age. He was sent to school at Maidstone in his thirteenth year, and in his fifteenth entered University College, Oxford. He was afterwards elected fellow of Magdalen College, of which he was appointed principal in 1768. He became vice-chancellor in 1776, dean of Canterbury in 1781, and bishop of Norwich in 1789. He earnestly devoted himself to the study of Hebrew and sacred literature, adopting and applying the peculiar principles of Hutchinsonianism in his investigations. His works, which are very numerous, consist principally of sermons and pamphlets, many of which have long since lost their interest. His best and most popular work, on which, too, his reputation chiefly rests, is his *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, 2 vols. 4to., Oxford 1776 (often since reprinted in many forms)—a work which, making no pretensions to depth or learning, is a most delightful closet companion, containing a much larger amount of genuine exposition than many a work bristling formidably with Hebrew and Arabic words, and pretending to lofty achievements. His collected works, with a *Memoir*, were published by Jones in 6 vols. 8vo, 1795.—L. J.

HORNE, THOMAS HARTWELL, was born of humble parentage in 1780. He was educated at Christ's Hospital, where he was a contemporary of Coleridge, who taught him his Greek alphabet, and assisted him in his work. He began life as a barrister's clerk on £20 a year, and took to such literary work as he could find, with the view of increasing his income. In 1801 he sketched the first plan of his well-known 'Introduction,' which was published in 1818, after 'seventeen years solitary, prayerful, unassisted labour.' Bishop Howley, satisfied with the fitness for holy orders which this book demonstrated, ordained him in 1819. In 1824 he was appointed to superintend a classed catalogue of the books in the British Museum Library. In 1831, Bishop Blomfield collated him to a prebendal stall worth £11 a year, but did not expect it to be 'quite so small.' In 1833 Dr Howley, then archbishop, gave him the rectories of St. Edmund and St. Nicholas, in the city of London, with £300 a year. In this post he died, Jan. 27, 1862, at the age of 82.

Mr. Horne was a man of immense industry, and the list of his works comprises more than fifty books, sermons, and pamphlets. Of these, the only one of any theological importance is, *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, which has now reached the 11th edition. It consists of a summary of evidences for the genuineness of the Bible; an introduction to the criticism of the O. and N. T., and a summary of Biblical geography and antiquities. It contains a large amount of useful information on the subjects of which it treats, and does the highest credit to Mr. Horne's patient research and wide reading. It must, however, be admitted that the book is defaced by dogmatism and want of liberality, and though it was almost invaluable at the time when it appeared, it is not, as a whole, in any way worthy of the present more advanced position of English theology.—F. W. F.

HORNET, WASP. [TSAR'AH.]

HORONAIM (חֹרֶנַיִם; Ὁρωναιμ and Ὁρωναιμ; *Oronaim*), a place in Moab, mentioned by Isaiah in connection with Nimrim (xv. 5), and by Jeremiah with Heshbon and Luhith (xlviii. 3). It appears to have been situated on a declivity, as Jeremiah speaks of the 'going down of Horonaim' (ver. 5), and beside a noted road (Is. l. c.) The word signifies 'two caves.' The place was probably situated on some one of the great roads which lead down from the plateau of Moab to the Jordan valley.—J. L. P.

HORONITE, THE (חֹרֶנַיִת; Sept. ὁ Ὁρωνίτης), a designation of Sanballat, the enemy of the Jews (Neh. ii. 10, 19; xiii. 28). It is probably derived from the town Beth-Horon, which lay in the district occupied by the Samaritans in the time of Nehemiah.

HORSE. [SUS; PARASH; RAMACH.]

HORSE-LEECH. [ALUKAH.]

HORSLEY, SAMUEL, was born in London 1733, his father being curate of St. Martins-in-the-Fields. From Westminster school he entered Trinity Hall, Cambridge. He took orders in 1759, was, in 1767, elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1768 he obtained the degree of LL.D. during his residence in Christchurch, Oxford. His earliest attention was given to mathematical science, and he edited the works of Sir Isaac Newton. He first held the living of Newington-Butts in Surrey; then, in succession, those of Aldbury, Thorley, and South Weald in Kent. He became archdeacon of St. Albans in 1781; in 1788 bishop of St. David's; was translated to the see of Rochester 1793, and to that of St. Asaph in 1802. He died at Brighton 4th Oct. 1806. Bishop Horsley's contributions to Biblical literature are of no mean order. His volumes of charges, sermons, and tracts bear directly on Biblical topics. The 'Charges' in defence of Trinitarian doctrine are masterly and skilful, though often defiant in tone and impetuous in assault. The sermons are, in thought and style, among the best in the language. The volumes on Biblical criticism, ranging over many of the books of the O. T., contain many ingenious and many unsound notes, and abound with textual conjectures and emendations, unwarranted either by evidence or demanded by any necessities of exegesis. The *Book of the Psalms, translated from the Hebrew, with Notes*, is of a higher order, though it is not a thorough and sustained commentary. His *Hosea* is more elaborate and erudite, and still repays perusal, for it was the product of anxious thought and labour. Bishop Horsley's learning was neither very minute nor profound, but his reasonings are always powerful and trenchant, and now and then haughty and scornful. He throws down difficulties, tears up objections, and arrays arguments with a wonderful force and directness. In his latest charge he avowed his belief in the Calvinism of the articles of the Church of England, and he was the last of her great polemical giants.—J. E.

HOSANNA (הוֹשַׁעְיָה; N. T. Ὡσαννά), a form of acclamatory blessing or wishing well, which signifies, Save now! Succour now! Be now propitious! It occurs in Matt. xxi. 9 (also Mark xi. 9, 10; John xii. 13)—'Hosanna to the Son of David; Blessed is he that cometh in the name of

the Lord; Hosanna in the highest.' This was on the occasion of our Saviour's public entry into Jerusalem, and, fairly construed, would mean, 'Lord, preserve this Son of David; heap favours and blessings on him!' It is further to be observed that Hosanna was a customary form of acclamation at the Feast of Tabernacles. This feast was celebrated in September, just before the commencement of the civil year; on which occasion the people carried in their hands bundles of boughs of palms, myrtles, etc. (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 5; iii. 10. 4; Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, xvi. 2). They then repeated the 25th and 26th verses of Ps. cxviii., which commence with the word Hosanna; and from this circumstance they gave the boughs, and the prayers, and the feast itself, the name of Hosanna. They observed the same forms also at the Encenia (1 Maccab. x. 6, 7; 2 Maccab. xiii. 51; Rev. vii. 9) and the Passover. And as they celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles with great joy and gladness, in like manner, on this occasion, did they hail the coming of the Messiah, whose advent they believed to be represented in all the feasts [HALLEL].

HOSEA (הוֹשֵׁעַ), the first in order of the minor prophets in the common editions of the Hebrew Scriptures, as well as of the Alexandrian and Vulgate translations. The arrangement of the other writers in the *Δωδεκαπρόβητον* of the Greek version differs considerably from that of the Hebrew copies. Jerome (*Præf. in XII. Prophetas*) says, 'Non idem est ordo duodecim prophetarum apud Hebræos qui est apud nos.' Both, however, place Hosea first in the catalogue; yet the reasons often assigned for the priority of place which this prophet enjoys are by no means satisfactory. They are founded on a misinterpretation of the first clause of the second verse of his oracles, חֲתַלְתָּ דְּבַר יְהוָה, 'the beginning of the word of the Lord.' Hengstenberg (*Christologie*, iii. 31, E. T. [Clark] i. 192), taking דְּבַר to be the praeiterate of piel, renders the clause, 'the beginning of the Lord hath spoken'; the status constructus of חֲתַלְתָּ, according to him, being explained by the fact 'that the whole following proposition is treated as one substantive idea.' But the phrase has reference not to priority of time in Hosea's commission as compared with other prophets, but to the period of the predictions to which it is the introduction. It is merely an intimation that they were the first divine communications which the son of Beeri enjoyed. Neither did Hosea flourish earlier than all the other minor prophets: the very early era assigned to him by the Jewish writers and other expositors of former times is altogether extravagant. By the best computation he seems to have been preceded by Joel, Amos, and Jonah. The prophets are thus arranged by De Wette (*Einleitung*, sec. 225):—

Hebrew Text.	Greek Text.
1. Hosea.	1. Hosea.
2. Joel.	2. Amos.
3. Amos.	3. Micah.
4. Obadiah.	4. Joel.

Chronological Order.

1. Joel, about 810 B.C.
2. Jonah „ 810 B.C.
3. Amos „ 790 B.C.
4. Hosea „ 785 B.C.

The table given by Rosenmüller (*Scholia in Min. Proph.*, p. 7) differs from this only in placing Jonah before Joel in chronological order. Compare Newcome (*Preface to Minor Prophets*, p. 45). The probable causes of this location of Hosea may be the thoroughly national character of his oracles, their length, their earnest tone and vivid representations. That his priority of position may be ascribed to the notion that he discharged the duties of his office for a longer period than any of his prophetic associates, is the less natural conjecture of Rosenmüller.

The name of this prophet has been variously interpreted. Jerome renders it 'Salvator.' But it is the infinitive absolute, 'Salvando,' not the imperative, 'Salva' (O Deus). It is ordinarily written in Greek, Ὠσηέ, and once with the rough initial aspirate, Ὠσηέ (Rom. ix. 25). The figments of Jewish writers regarding Hosea's parentage need scarcely be mentioned. His father, Ὠση, has been confounded with Ὠσηר, a prince of the Reubenites, 1 Chron. v. 6. So, too, Beeri has been reckoned a prophet himself, according to the rabbinical notion that the mention of a prophet's father in the introduction to his prophecies is a proof that sire as well as son was endowed with the prophetic spirit.

Whether Hosea was a citizen of Israel or Judah has been disputed. The pseudo-Epiphanius and Dorotheus of Tyre speak of him as being born at Belemoth, in the tribe of Issachar (Epiph. *De Vitis Proph.* cap. xi.; Doroth. *De Proph.* cap. i.). Drusius (*Critici Sacri*, in loc., tom. v.) prefers the reading 'Beth-semes,' and quotes Jerome, who says, 'Osee de tribu Issachar fuit ortus in Beth-semes.' Conflicting traditions are also told of the place of his death and burial (Burckhardt, *Reisen in Syrien*, ii. 206). But Maurer contends strenuously that he belonged to the kingdom of Judah (*Comment. Theol.*, ed. Rosenmüller, vol. ii., p. 391); while Jahn supposes that he exercised his office, not, as Amos did, in Israel, but in the principality of Judah. Maurer appeals to the superscription in Amos as a proof that prophets of Jewish origin were sometimes commissioned to labour in the kingdom of Israel (against the appeal to Amos, see Credner, *Joel*, p. 66, and Hitzig, *Kurz. exeget. Handb. zum A. T.* in loc.) But with the exception of the case recorded in 1 Kings xiii. 1 (a case altogether too singular and mysterious to serve as an argument), the instance of Amos is a solitary one, and seems to have been regarded as anomalous by his contemporaries (Amos vii. 12). Neither can we assent to the other hypothesis of Maurer, that the mention of the Jewish kings Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, by Hosea in his superscription, is a proof that the seer regarded them as his rightful sovereigns, the monarchs of that territory which gave him birth. Hengstenberg has well replied, that Maurer forgets 'the relation in which the pious in Israel generally, and the prophets in particular, stood to the kingdom of Judah. They considered the whole separation, not only the religious, but also the civil, as an apostacy from God. The dominion of the theocracy was promised to be the throne of David.' The lofty Elijah, on a memorable occasion, when a direct and solemn appeal was made to the Head of the theocracy, took twelve stones, one for each tribe—a proof that he regarded the nation as one in religious confederation. It was also necessary, for correct chrono-

logy, that the kings of both nations should be noted. Jeroboam of Israel is mentioned as a means of ascertaining at what period in the long reign of Uzziah Hosea began to prophesy, and Uzziah's successors are named in particular, because the confusion and anarchy of the several interregna in the kingdom of Israel rendered computation by the names of Jeroboam's successors difficult and uncertain. The other argument of Maurer for Hosea's being a Jew, and not an Israelite, viz., because his own people are so severely threatened in his reproofs and denunciations, is evidence of the prophet's patriotic fidelity, but not of his specific nationality. At the same time, the prophetic warnings and promises meant for the southern kingdom of Judah may, along with the Israelitish oracles in which they are embedded, be easily supposed to have reached it, and through such a circulation may have been preserved and placed in the canon after the return from Babylon. But the proofs adduced to shew that Isaiah was acquainted with Hosea's oracles are very precarious. So that we accede to the opinion of De Wette, Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, Eichhorn, Manger, Kuinoel, Hitzig, and Simson, that Hosea was an Israelite, a native of that kingdom with whose sins and fates his book is specially and primarily occupied. Thus he calls, in vii. 5, the king of Israel 'our king.'

There is no reason with De Wette, Maurer, and Hitzig, to doubt the genuineness of the present superscription, or, with Rosenmüller and Jahn, to suppose that it may have been added by a later hand—though the two last writers uphold its authenticity. The first and second verses of the prophecy are so closely connected in structure and style that the second verse itself would become suspicious, if the first were reckoned a spurious addition. The first is a general, and the second a special introduction. The superscription determines the length of time during which Hosea prophesied. That period was both long and eventful, commencing in the later days of Jeroboam, the son of Joash, extending through the lives of Uzziah, Jotham, and Ahaz, and concluding in the reign of Hezekiah. Uzziah and Jeroboam were contemporary sovereigns for a certain length of time. If we compute from the first year of Uzziah to the last of Hezekiah, we find a period of 113 years. Such a period appears evidently to be too long, and the most probable calculation is to reckon from the last years of Jeroboam to the first of Hezekiah.

We have then at least of Uzziah's reign 26 years.

"	"	Jotham	"	16	"
"	"	Ahaz	"	16	"
"	"	Hezekiah	"	2	"
				—	
				60*	

This calculation is as close an approximation as it is now possible to obtain. At some point within the last years of Jeroboam II. Hosea began to prophesy. From the death of Jeroboam to the beginning of Hezekiah, at an ordinary calculation, are fifty-seven or fifty-eight years. Bishop Horsley extends the period considerably longer (*Commentary on Hosea; Works*, vol. iii. p. 234). We do

* Maurer, in the *Comment. Theol.* p. 284, and more lately in his *Comment. Gram. Hist. Crit. in Proph. Min.*, Lipsie 1840.

not understand the principle of Rosenmüller's computation, which reduces the time between Jeroboam's death and Hezekiah's accession to a period of about forty years. We agree with Maurer's remark (*Comment. Gram. Hist. Crit. in Prophetas Minores*, Lipsiæ 1840), 'Alii annos quadraginta numerant nescio quem computandi modum secuti.' This long duration of office is not improbable, and the book itself furnishes strong presumptive evidence in support of this chronology. The first prophecy of Hosea foretells the overthrow of Jehu's house; and the menace was fulfilled on the death of Jeroboam, his great-grandson (2 Kings xv. 12). A prediction of the ruin which was to overthrow Jehu's house at Jeroboam's death must have been uttered during Jeroboam's life. This fact defines the period of Hosea's commencement of his labours, and verifies the inscription, which states that the word of the Lord came to him in the reign of Jeroboam, the son of Joash, king of Israel. Again in ch. x. 14, allusion is made to an expedition of Shalman-ezer against Israel; and if it was the first inroad against king Hoshea, who began to reign in the twelfth year of Ahaz, the event referred to by the prophet as past must have happened close upon the beginning of Hezekiah's reign (2 Kings xvii. 5). The extended duration indicated in the superscription thus seems borne out by the contents of the prophecy.

The years of Hosea's public life were dark and melancholy. The vials of the wrath of heaven were poured out on his apostate people. The nation suffered under the evils of that schism which was effected under him who has been branded with the indelible stigma—'who made Israel to sin.' The obligations of law had been relaxed, and the claims of religion disregarded; Baal became the rival of Jehovah, and in the dark recesses of the groves were practised the impure and murderous rites of heathen deities. Peace and prosperity fled the land which was harassed by foreign invasion and domestic broils. Might and murder became the twin sentinels of the throne; alliances were formed with other nations, which brought with them seductions to paganism; the land was defiled by bloodshed and adultery, falsehood and debauchery—all classes being guilty; and the nation was so thoroughly debased that but a fraction of its population maintained their spiritual allegiance (2 Kings xix. 18). The death of Jeroboam II. was followed by an interregnum of ten years, an interregnum which Ewald and Thénien deny without any just chronological foundation (Bleek, *Einleitung*, p. 520, 1860). At the expiry of this period, his son Zechariah assumed the sovereignty, and was slain by Shallum, after the short space of six months (2 Kings xv. 10). In four weeks Shallum was assassinated by Menahem. The assassin, during a disturbed reign of ten years, became tributary to the Assyrian Pul. His successor, Pekahiah, wore the crown but two years, when he was murdered by Pekah. Pekah, after swaying his bloody sceptre for twenty years, met a similar fate in the conspiracy of Hoshea; Hoshea, the last of the usurpers, after another interregnum of eight years, ascended the throne, and his administration of nine years ended in the overthrow of his kingdom and the expatriation of his people (2 Kings xvii. 18, 23).

The prophecies of Hosea were directed especi-

ally against the country whose sin was bringing upon it such disasters—periodical anarchy and final captivity. Israel, or Ephraim, is the people especially addressed. Their homicides and fornications, their perjury and theft, their idolatry and impiety, are censured with a faithful severity. Judah is sometimes, indeed, introduced, warned, and admonished. Bishop Horsley (*Works*, iii. 236) reckons it a mistake to suppose 'that Hosea's prophecies are almost wholly directed against the kingdom of Israel.' But any one reading Hosea will at once discover that the oracles having relation to Israel are primary, while the references to Judah are only incidental. In ch. i. 7, Judah is mentioned in contrast with Israel, to whose condition the symbolic name of the prophet's son is specially applicable. In ver. 11 the future union of the two nations is predicted. The long oracle in ch. ii. has no relation to Judah, nor the symbolic representation in ch. iii. Ch. iv. is severe upon Ephraim, and ends with a very brief exhortation to Judah not to follow his example. In the succeeding chapters allusions to Judah do indeed occasionally occur, when similar sins can be predicated of both branches of the nation. The prophet's mind was intensely occupied with the destinies of his own people. The nations around him are unheeded: his prophetic eye beholds the crisis approaching his own country, and sees its cantons ravaged, its tribes murdered or enslaved. No wonder that his rebukes are so terrible, and his menaces so alarming; yet invitations replete with tenderness are interspersed with his startling expostulations. Now we have a vision of the throne, at first shrouded in darkness, and sending forth lightnings, thunders, and voices; but while we gaze, it becomes encircled with a rainbow, which gradually expands till it loses itself in the brilliancy which itself had originated (ch. xi. and xiv.).

The peculiar mode of instruction which the prophet details in the first and third chapters has given rise to many theories. We refer to the command expressed in ch. i. 2—'And the Lord said unto Hosea, Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms,' etc.; ch. iii. 1, 'Then said the Lord unto me, Go yet, love a woman beloved of her friend, yet an adulteress,' etc. What was the precise nature of the transactions here recorded? Were they real events, the result of divine injunctions literally understood, and as literally fulfilled? or were these intimations to the prophet only intended to be pictorial illustrations of the apostacy and spiritual folly and unfaithfulness of Israel? The former view, viz., that the prophet actually and literally entered into this revolting connubial alliance, was advocated in ancient times by Cyril, Theodoret, Basil, and Augustine; and more recently has been maintained by Mercer, Grotius, Houbigant, Manger, Horsley, Stuck, Drake, Henderson, Pusey, Hofmann (*Weissag. u. Erfül.* p. 200), and by Kurtz in a separate tractate, *Die Ehe des propheten Hosea, nach Hosea i.-iii.*, Dorpat, 1859. Fanciful theories are also rife on this subject. Luther supposed the prophet to perform a kind of drama in view of the people, giving his lawful wife and children these mystical appellations, and the opinion of Calvin is not very different. Newcome (*Min. Prophets*) thinks that a wife of fornication means merely an Israelite, a woman of apostate and adulterous Israel. So Jac. Capellus (*In Hoseam; Opera*, p. 683). Hengstenberg sup-

poses the prophet to relate actions which happened, indeed, actually, but not outwardly—a needless refinement. Some, with Maimonides (*Moreh Nevochim*, part ii.), imagine it to be a nocturnal vision; while others make it wholly an allegory, as the Chaldee Paraphrast, Jerome, Drusus, Bauer, Witsius, Rosenmüller, Kuinoel, and Lowth. The view of Hengstenberg, and such as have held his theory (Markii *Distributio de uxore fornicationum accipienda*, etc., Lugd. Batav. 1696) is not materially different from the last to which we have referred. Both agree in condemning the first opinion, which Horsley so strenuously maintained. Hengstenberg, at great length and with much force, has argued against this hypothesis (*Christology*), and Stähelin, *Einleitung*, p. 212, 1862. Besides other arguments resting on the impurity and loathsomeness of the supposed nuptial contract, it may be maintained against the external reality of the event, that it must have required several years for its completion, and that the impressiveness of the symbol would therefore be weakened and obliterated. Other prophetic transactions of a similar nature might be referred to. Jerome (*Comment. in loc.*) has referred to Ezek. iv. 4. It is not to be supposed, with Thomas Aquinas, that the prophet was commanded to commit fornication. The divine injunction was to marry—'Scortum aliquis ducere potest sine peccato, scortari non item.' Drusus (*Comm. in loc. ap. Crit. Sac.* tom. v.) Whichever way this question may be solved; whether these occurrences be regarded as a real and external transaction, or as a piece of spiritual scenery, or only (Witsii *Miscell. Sac.* p. 90) as a pictorial description, it is agreed on all hands that the actions are typical; that they are, as Jerome calls them, *sacramenta futurorum*.

Expositors are not at all agreed as to the meaning of the phrase 'wife of whoredoms,' **אִשֶּׁת זְנוּנִים**; whether the phrase refers to harlotry before marriage, or unfaithfulness after it. It may afford a solution of the difficulty if we look at the antitype in its history and character. Adultery is the appellation of idolatrous apostasy. The Jewish nation was espoused to God. The contract was formed at Sinai; but the Jewish people had prior to this period gone a-whoring. Comp. Lev. xvii. 7, in which it is implied that idolatrous propensities had developed themselves during the abode in Egypt: so that **אִשֶּׁת זְנוּנִים** may signify one impure prior to her marriage. **יְלִדֵי זְנוּנִים**, *children of whoredoms*, may either mean children born by the 'wife' before her marriage, or the two sons and daughter afterwards to be born. According to some, they were not the prophet's own, and they followed the pernicious example of the mother. Spiritual adultery was the debasing sin of Israel. 'Non dicitor,' observes Manger, 'cognovit uxorem, sed simpliciter concepit et peperit.' It is said, indeed, in verse 3, 'She bare him a son.' The word **לֹא** is wanting in some MSS. and in some copies of the Septuagint, but may have been omitted to conform the clause to verses 6, 8, and 9. According to Kurtz, the prophet's children born after the marriage are the witnesses and rebuke against the 'children of whoredoms' adopted and brought into the house along with their mother, and also against their mother in her renewed infidelities; while Hosea himself occupies the same position, yet more palpably and

compassionately, towards his unfaithful and incorrigible spouse. Dr. Henderson affirms, on the other hand, that the phrase 'wife of whoredoms' has reference only to adulterous courses after marriage. He says, too, that the words, 'go take unto thee a wife,' are so plain and precise that they must refer to an actual event. Now, the reply is obvious, that prophetic figure or allegory is usually stated in diction implying reality, and that upon this verbal correspondence depend the truth and vividness of the description. In whatever way the transaction be taken, the lesson, at all events, is very apparent. The Israelites, who had been taken into nuptial covenant, very soon fell from their first love, and were characterized by insatiable spiritual wantonness: yet their Maker, their husband, did not at once divorce them, but exhibited a marvellous long-suffering toward them.

The names of the children being symbolical, the name of the mother has probably a similar signifi-

cation. **בְּתִרְבִּלִים** may have the symbolic sense of 'one thoroughly abandoned to sensual delights'; **נֹמֵר**, completion (Ewald, *Gram.* 228);

בְּתִרְבִּלִים, 'daughter of grape-cakes,' the dual form being expressive of the mode in which these dainties were baked in double layers. The Greek form, *παλάθη*, is apparently a corruption of the Hebrew **רְבֵלָה**. The names of the children, **יֶזְרַעֵל**,

יֶזְרַעֵל, **לֹא רַחֲמָה**, **לֹא עַמִּי**, Lo-ruhamah, Lo-ammi, are explained. It is generally supposed that the names refer to three successive generations of the Israelitish people. Hengstenberg, on the other hand, argues that 'wife and children both are the people of Israel: the three names must not be considered separately, but taken together.' But as the marriage is first mentioned, and the births of the children are detailed in order, some time elapsing between the events, we rather adhere to the ordinary exposition.

The first child, Jezreel, may refer to the first dynasty of Jeroboam I. and his successors, which terminated in the blood of Ahab's house which Jehu shed at Jezreel. The name suggests also the cruel and fraudulent possession of the vineyard of Naboth, 'which was in Jezreel,' where, also, Jerebel was slain so ignominiously (1 Kings xvi. 1; 2 Kings ix. 21). But as Jehu and his family had become as corrupt as their predecessors, the scenes of Jezreel were again to be enacted, and Jehu's race must perish. Jezreel, the spot referred to by the prophet, is also, according to Jerome, the place where the Assyrian army routed the Israelites. The name of this child associates the past and future, symbolizes past sins, intermediate punishments, and final overthrow. The name of the second child, Loruhamah, 'not-pitied,' the appellation of a degraded daughter, may refer to the feeble, effeminate period which followed the overthrow of the first dynasty, when Israel became weak and helpless, as well as sunk and abandoned. The favour of God was not exhibited to the nation: they were as abject as impious. But the reign of Jeroboam II. was prosperous; new energy was infused into the government, and gleams of its former prosperity shone upon it. This revival of strength in that generation may be typified by the birth of a third child, a son, Lo-ammi, 'not-my-people' (2 Kings xiv. 25). For prosperity did not bring with it a revival of piety; still, although their vigour was recruited,

the structure of any dwelling was by no means required; much less were regular arrangement and the other requisites of a well-ordered dwelling matters of consideration. Under such circumstances as these, no improvement in the habitation takes place. The tents in which the Arabs now dwell are in all probability the same as those in which the Hebrew patriarchs spent their lives. It is not likely that what the Hebrews observed in Egypt, during their long sojourn in that country, had in this respect any direct influence upon their own subsequent practice in Palestine. The reasons for this have been given under ARCHITECTURE.



Nevertheless, the information which may be derived from the figures of houses and parts of houses in the Egyptian tombs, is not to be overlooked or slighted. We have in them the *only* representations of ancient houses in that part of the world which now exist; and however different may have been the *state* architecture of Egypt and Palestine, we have every reason to conclude that there was considerable resemblance in the private dwellings of these neighbouring countries. Such a resemblance now exists, and the causes which produce it equally existed in ancient times: and, which is more to the purpose, the representations to which we refer have almost the same amount of agreement and of difference with the present houses of Syria as with those of modern Egypt. On these and other grounds we shall not decline to avail ourselves of this interesting source of illustration; but before turning to its details, we shall give a general statement, which may render them more intelligible.

On entering Palestine, the Israelites occupied the dwellings of the dispossessed inhabitants; and for a long time no new buildings would be needed. The generation which began to build new houses must have been born and bred in the country, and would naturally erect buildings like those which already existed in the land. Their mode of building was, therefore, that of the Canaanites, whom they had dispossessed. Of *their* style of building we are not required to form any exalted notions. In all the history of the conquest of the country by the Israelites, there is no account of any large or conspicuous building being taken or destroyed by them. It would seem also as if there had been no temples; for we read not that any were destroyed by the conquerors; and the command that the monuments of idolatry should be overthrown, specifies only altars, groves, and high places—which seems to lead to the same conclusion; since, if there had been temples existing in the land of Canaan, they would doubtless have been included. It is also manifest from the history that the towns which the Hebrews found in Palestine were mostly small, and that the largest were distinguished

rather by their number than by the size or magnificence of their buildings.

It is impossible to say to what extent Solomon's improvements in state architecture operated to the advancement of domestic architecture. He built different palaces, and it is reasonable to conclude that his nobles and great officers followed more or less the models which these palaces presented. In the East, however, the domestic architecture of the bulk of the people is little affected by the improvements in state buildings. Men go on building from age to age as their forefathers built; and in all probability the houses which we now see in Palestine are such as those in which the Jews, and the Canaanites before them, dwelt—the mosques, the Christian churches, and the monasteries, being the only new features in the scene.

There is no reason to suppose that many houses in Palestine were constructed with wood. A great part of that country was always very poor in timber, and the middle part of it had scarcely any wood at all. But of stone there was no want; and it was consequently much used in the building of houses. The law of Moses respecting leprosy in houses (Lev. xiv. 33-40) clearly proves this, as the characteristics there enumerated could only occur in the case of stone walls. Still, when the Hebrews intended to build a house in the most splendid style and in accordance with the taste of the age, as much wood as possible was used. Having premised this, the principal building materials mentioned in Scripture may be enumerated with reference to their place in the three kingdoms of nature.

I. VEGETABLE SUBSTANCES:—

1. *Shittim*, or the timber of the acacia tree, which grows abundantly in the valleys of Arabia Petraea, and was therefore employed in the construction of the tabernacle. Not being, however, a tree of Palestine, the wood was not subsequently used in building.

2. *Shakemim*; that is, the wood of the sycamore fig-tree, mentioned in Is. ix. 10 as a building timber in more common use than cedar, or perhaps than any other wood known in Palestine.

3. *Eres*, or cedar. As this was a wood imported from Lebanon, it would only be used in the higher class of buildings. For its quality as a building timber, and respecting the question of its being really what we call the cedar, see ERES.

4. *Algum-wood*, which, being imported from the Eastern seas, must have been valued at a high price. It was used by Solomon for pillars for his own palace, and for the Temple (1 Kings x. 11, 12).

5. *Berosh*, or cypress-wood. Boards of this were used for the floor of the Temple, which may suggest the use to which it was ordinarily applied (1 Kings vi. 15; 2 Chron. iii. 5).

Particular accounts of all these woods, and of the trees which afforded them, may be seen under the respective words.

II. MINERAL SUBSTANCES:—

1. *Marble*. We find the court of the king of Persia's palace covered with marble of various colours (Esth. i. 6). David is recorded to have possessed abundance of marble (1 Chron. xxx. [xxix.] 2; comp. Cant. v. 15), and it was used by Solomon for his palace, as well as for the Temple.

2. *Porphry* and *Granite* are supposed to be 'the glistering stones, and stones of divers colours,' named in 1 Chron. xxix. 2. If so, the mountains

of Arabia Petraea furnished the nearest source of supply, as these stones do not exist in Palestine or Lebanon.

3. *Bricks*. Bricks hardened by fire were employed in the construction of the tower of Babel (Gen. xi. 3), and the hard bondage of the Israelites in Egypt consisted in the manufacture of sun-dried bricks (Exod. v. 7, 10-13). This important building-material has been noticed under another head [BRICKS]; and it only remains to remark that no subsequent notice of bricks as being used by the Hebrews occurs after they had entered Palestine. Yet, judging from existing analogies, it is more than probable that bricks were to a considerable extent employed in their buildings. From the expense and labour of quarrying and conveying stone, bricks are often extensively used in Eastern countries even where stone is abundant; and it is not unusual to see the foundations and lower parts of the house of stone, while the superstructure is of brick.

4. *Chalk and Gypsum*, which the Hebrews appear to have comprehended under the general name of *שֵׁשׁ* *sid*. That the Hebrews were acquainted with these materials appears from Deut. xxvii. 2: and from Dan. v. 5; Acts xxiii. 3, it further appears that walls were covered with them. A highly instructive and curious account of the plaster used in the East may be seen in tome iv. of Langley's edition of Chardin's *Voyages*.

5. *Mortar*, a cement made of lime, ashes, and chopped straw, or of gypsum and chopped straw. This is probably meant in Jer. xliii. 9; Ezek. xiii. 10-15.

6. *Asphaltum*, or *Bitumen*, which is mentioned as being used for a cement by the builders of Babel. This must have been in the want of lime-mortar, the country being a stoneless plain. But the Israelites, who had no lack of the usual cements, did not employ asphaltum [CHEMAR.]

7. The metals also must be, to a certain extent, regarded as building materials: lead, iron, and copper are mentioned; and even silver and gold were used in combination with wood, for various kinds of solid, plated, and inlaid work (Exod. xxxvi. 34, 36, 38).

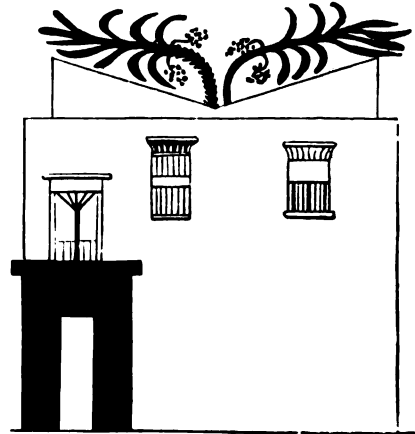
III. ANIMAL SUBSTANCES:—

Such substances can be but in a small degree applicable to building. *Ivory* houses are mentioned in 1 Kings xxii. 39; Amos iii. 15; most likely from certain parts of the wood-work, probably about the doors and windows, being inlaid with this valuable substance. Solomon obtained ivory in great quantities from Tyre (1 Kings x. 22; 2 Chron. ix. 21). [IVORY].

In describing the houses of ancient Palestine, there is no way of arriving at distinct notions but by taking the texts of Scripture and illustrating them by the existing houses of those parts of Western Asia which have been the least exposed to the changes of time, and in which the manners of ancient days have been the best preserved. Writers on the subject have seen this, and have brought together the descriptions of travellers bearing on the subject; but these descriptions have generally been applied with very little judgment, from the want of that distinct knowledge of the matter which only actual observation can give. Travellers have seldom been students of Scripture, and students of Scripture have seldom been travellers. The present writer, having resided for a

considerable time in Turkish Arabia, where the type of Scriptural usages has been better preserved than in Egypt, or even in Palestine itself, is enabled to speak on this matter with somewhat more precision. Of four houses in which he there resided, two were first-rate, and two were second-rate. One of the latter has always seemed to him to suggest a more satisfactory idea of a Scriptural house than any of the others, or than any that he ever saw in other Eastern countries. That one has therefore formed the basis of all his ideas on this subject; and where it seemed to fail, the others have usually supplied the illustration he required. This course he has found so beneficial, that he will endeavour to impart a clear view of the subject to the reader by giving a general notion of the house referred to, explaining any points in which the others differed from it, and producing the passages of Scripture which seem to be illustrated in the process.

We may premise that the houses present little more than a dead wall to the street. The privacy of Oriental domestic habits would render our plan of throwing the front of the houses towards the street most repulsive. On coming to a house, one finds a lofty wall, which would be blank but for the low door of entrance [GATE]; over which is usually the kiosk, or latticed window (sometimes projecting like the huge bay windows of Elizabethan

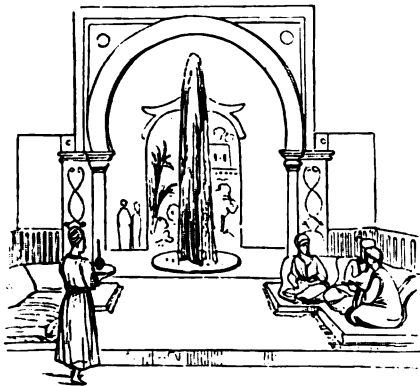


houses), or screened balcony of the 'summer parlour.' Besides this, there may be a small latticed window or two high up the wall, giving light and air to upper chambers. This seems, from the annexed engraving (No. 269), to have been the character of the fronts of ancient Egyptian houses.

The buildings which form the house front towards an inner square or court. Small houses have one of these courts, but superior houses have two, and first-rate houses three, communicating with each other; for the Orientals dislike ascending stairs or steps, and prefer to gain room rather by the extent than height of their habitations. It is only when the building-ground is confined by nature or by fortifications, that they build high houses. None of our four houses had more than one story; but, from the loftiness of the rooms, they were as high as houses of three stories among ourselves. If there are three or more courts, all except the

outer one are much alike in size and appearance; but the outer one, being devoted to the more public life of the occupant, and to his intercourse with society, is materially different from all the others. If there are more than two, the second is devoted chiefly to the use of the master, who is there attended only by his eunuchs, children, and females, and sees only such persons as he calls from the third or interior court in which they reside. In the history of Esther, she incurs danger by going from her interior court to that of the king, to invite him to visit her part of the palace; but she would not on any account have gone to the outermost court, in which the king held his public audiences. When there are only two courts, the innermost is the harem, in which the women and children live, and which is the true domicile of the master, to which he withdraws when the claims of business, of society, and of friends have been satisfied, and where no man but himself ever enters, or could be induced to enter, even by strong persuasions.

Entering at the street-door, a passage, usually sloping downward, conducts to the outer court; the opening from the passage to this is not opposite the gate of entrance, but by a side turn, to preclude any view from the street into the court when the gate is opened. On entering the outer court through this passage, we find opposite to us the public room, in which the master receives and gives audience to his friends and clients. This is entirely open in front, and being richly fitted up, has a splendid appearance when the first view of it is obtained. A refreshing coolness is sometimes given to this apartment by a fountain throwing up a jet of water in front of it. Some idea of the apartment may be formed from the annexed cut (No. 270).

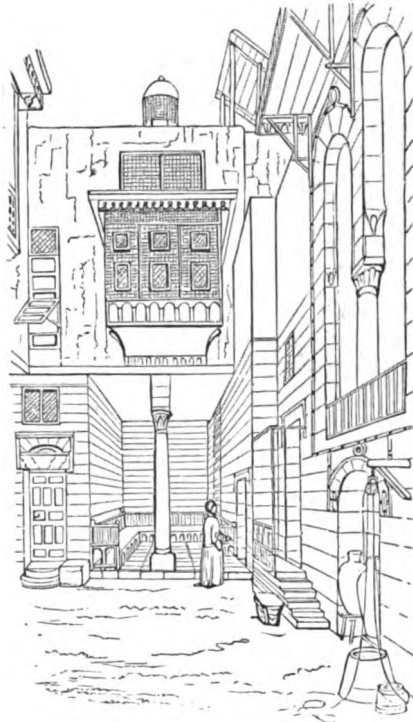


270.

This is the 'guest-chamber' of Luke xxii. 11. A large portion of the other side of the court is occupied with a frontage of lattice-work filled with coloured glass, belonging to a room as large as the guest-chamber, and which in winter is used for the same purpose, or serves as the apartment of any visitor of distinction, who cannot of course be admitted into the interior parts of the house. The other apartments in this outer court are comparatively small, and are used for the accommodation of visitors, retainers, and servants. These various apartments are usually upon what we should call the first floor, or at least upon an elevated terrace.

The ground floor is in that case occupied by various store-rooms and servants' offices. In all cases the upper floor, containing the principal rooms, is fronted by a gallery or terrace, protected from the sun by a sort of penthouse roof supported by pillars of wood.

In houses having but one court, the reception-room is on the ground floor, and the domestic establishment in the upper part of the house. This arrangement is shown in the annexed engraving (No. 271), which is also interesting from



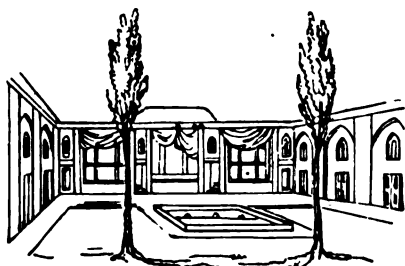
271.

its shewing the use of the 'pillars' so often mentioned in Scripture, particularly 'the pillars on which the house stood, and by which it was borne up' (Judg. xvi. 29). Some other of the cuts which we introduce will exhibit pillars of similar importance to the support of the house.

The kiosk, which has been mentioned above as fronting the street, over the gateway, is connected with one of the larger rooms already described, or forms a separate apartment, which is the summer parlour of Scripture. Here, in the heat of the afternoon, the master lounges or doses listlessly, refreshed by the air which circulates between the openings of the lattice-work; and here he can, if he pleases, notice unobserved what passes in the street. In this we are to seek the summer parlour in which Ehud smote the king of Moab (Judg. iii. 20), and the 'chamber on the wall,' which the Shunamite prepared for the prophet (2 Kings iv. 10). The projecting construction over the reception chamber in No. 271 is, like the kiosk, towards the street of a summer parlour; but there it belongs

to the women's apartments, and looks into the court and not the street.

It is now time to proceed to the inner court, which we enter by a passage and door similar to those by which we entered from the street. This passage and door are usually at one of the inner-most corners of the outer court. Here a much more extended prospect opens to us, the inner court being generally much larger than the former. The annexed cut (No. 272) will convey some notion of it ; but being a Persian house, it somewhat



272.

differs from that which we have more particularly in view. It is lower, the principal apartments standing upon a terrace or bank of earth, and not upon a basement story of offices ; and it also wants the veranda or covered gallery in front, which we find in Syro-Arabian houses. The court is for the most part paved, excepting a portion in the middle, which is planted with trees (usually two) and shrubs, with a basin of water in the midst. In our Arabian house the two trees were palm-trees, in which a number of wild doves built their nests. In the second cut (No. 269), shewing an ancient Egyptian house, we see the same arrangement ; two palm-trees growing in the court extend their tops above, and, as it were, out of the house—a curious effect frequently noticed in the towns of south-western Asia. That the Jews had the like arrangement of trees in the courts of their houses, and that the birds nested in them, appears from Ps. lxxxiv. 2, 3 ; comp. Mic. iv. 4 ; Zech. iii. 10, etc. They had also the basin of water in the inner court, or harem ; and among them it was used for bathing, as is shewn by David's discovering Bathsheba bathing as he walked on the roof of his palace. The use of the reservoir has now been superseded by the establishment of public *warm* baths in every town and in private mansions. Cold bathing has all but ceased in western Asia.

The arrangement of the inner court is very similar to that of the outer ; but the whole is more open and airy. The buildings usually occupy two sides of the square, of which the one opposite the entrance contains the principal apartments. They are upon what we should call the first floor, and open into a wide gallery or verandah, which in good houses is nine or ten feet deep, and covered by a wooden penthouse supported by a row of wooden columns. This terrace, or gallery, is furnished with a strong wooden balustrade, and is usually paved with squared stones, or else floored with boards. In the centre of the principal front is the usual open drawing-room, on which the best art of the Eastern decorator is expended (No. 273). Much of one of the sides of the court front is usu-

ally occupied by the large sitting-room, with the



273.

lattice-front covered with coloured glass, similar to

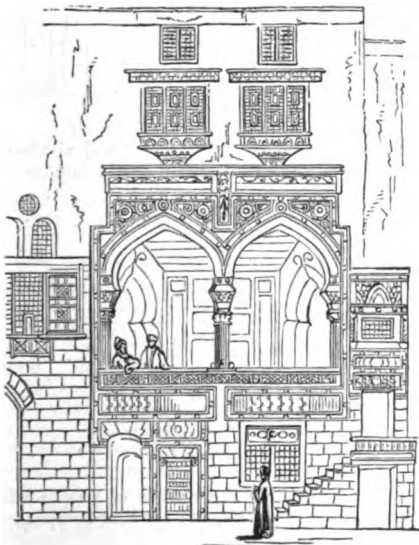


274.

that in the outer court. The other rooms of smaller size, are the more private apartments of

the mansion. The interior of one of these is shewn in the previous cut (No. 274). There are usually no doors to the sitting or drawing-rooms of Eastern houses: they are closed by curtains, at least in summer, the opening and shutting of doors being odious to most Orientals. The same seems to have been the case among the Hebrews, as far as we may judge from the curtains which served instead of doors to the tabernacle, and which separated the inner and outer chambers of the temple. The curtained entrances to our Westminster courts of law supply a familiar example of the same practice.

Some ideas respecting the arrangements and architecture of the interior parts of the dwelling may be formed from the annexed cut (No. 275), although the house in this case, being modern Egyptian, differs in some points of arrangement from those on which our description is chiefly based.



275.

These observations apply to the principal story. The basement is occupied by various offices, stores of corn and fuel, places for the water-jars to stand in, places for grinding corn, baths, kitchens, etc. The kitchens are always in this inner court, as the cooking is performed by women, and the ladies of the family superintend or actually assist in the process. The kitchen, open in front, is on the same side as the entrance from the outer court; and the top of it forms a terrace, which affords a communication between the first floor of both courts by a private door, seldom used but by the master of the house and attendant eunuchs.

The kitchen, of which the annexed cut (No. 276) is the only existing representation, is surrounded by a brick terrace, on the top of which are the fireplaces formed in compartments, and separated by little walls of fire-brick or tile. In these different compartments the various dishes of an Eastern feast may be at once prepared at charcoal fires. This place being wholly open in front, the half-tame doves, which have their nests in the

trees of the court, often visit it, in the absence of the servants, in search of crumbs, etc. As they sometimes blacken themselves, this perhaps explains the obscure passage in Ps. lxxviii. 13, 'Though ye have lien among the pots, ye shall be as the wings of a dove covered with silver,' etc. In Turkish Arabia most of the houses have underground cellars or vaults, to which the inhabitants retreat



276.

during the mid-day heat of summer, and there enjoy a refreshing coolness. We do not discover any notice of this usage in Scripture. But at Acre the substructions of very ancient houses were some years ago discovered, having such cellars, which were very probably subservient to this use. In the rest of the year these cellars, or *serdaubs*, as they are called, are abandoned to the bats, which swarm in them in scarcely credible numbers (Is. ii. 20).

From the court a flight of stone steps, usually at the corner, conducts to the gallery, from which a plainer stair leads to the house-top. If the house be large, there are two or three sets of steps to the different sides of the quadrangle, but seldom more than one flight from the terrace to the house-top, of any one court. There is, however, a separate stair from the outer court to the roof, and it is usually near the entrance. This will bring to mind the case of the paralytic, whose friends, finding they could not get access to Jesus through the people who crowded the court of the house in which he was preaching, took him up to the roof, and let him down in his bed through the tiling, to the place where Jesus stood (Luke v. 17-26). If the house in which our Lord then was had more than one court, he and the auditors were certainly in the outer one; and it is reasonable to conclude that he stood in the veranda addressing the crowd below. The men bearing the paralytic therefore, perhaps went up the steps near the door; and finding they could not even then get near the person of Jesus, the gallery being also crowded, continued their course to the roof of the house,

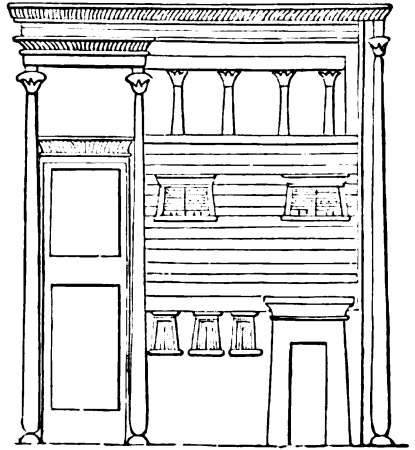
and removing the boards over the covering of the gallery, at the place where Jesus stood, lowered the sick man to his feet. But if they could not get access to the steps near the door, as is likely, from the door being much crowded, their alternative was to take him to the roof of the next house, and there hoist him over the parapet to the roof of the house which they desired to enter.

The roof of the house is, of course, flat. It is formed by layers of branches, twigs, matting, and earth, laid over the rafters and trodden down; after which it is covered with a compost which acquires considerable hardness when dry. Such roofs would not, however, endure the heavy and continuous rains of our climate; and in those parts of Asia where the climate is more than usually moist, a stone roller is usually kept on every roof, and after a shower a great part of the population is engaged in drawing these rollers over the roofs. It is now very common, in countries where timber is scarce, to have domed roofs; but in that case, the flat roof, which is indispensable to Eastern habits, is obtained by filling up the hollow intervals between the several domes, so as to form a flat surface at the top. These flat roofs are often alluded to in Scripture; and the allusions shew that they were made to serve the same uses as at present. In fine weather the inhabitants resorted much to them to breathe the fresh air, to enjoy a fine prospect, or to witness any event that occurred in the neighbourhood (2 Sam. xi. 2; Is. xxii. 1; Matt. xxiv. 17; Mark xiii. 15). The dryness of the summer atmosphere enabled them, without injury to health, to enjoy the bracing coolness of the night-air by sleeping on the house-tops; and in order to have the benefit of the air and prospect in the daytime, without inconvenience from the sun, sheds, booths, and tents, were sometimes erected on the house-tops (2 Sam. xvi. 22).

The roofs of the houses are well protected by walls and parapets. Towards the street and neighbouring houses is a high wall, and towards the interior court-yard usually a parapet or wooden rail. 'Battlements' of this kind, for the prevention of accidents, are strictly enjoined in the Law (Deut. xxii. 8); and the form of the battlements of the Egyptian houses, as shewn in the annexed engravings, suggest some interesting analogies, when we consider how recently the Israelites had quitted Egypt when that law was delivered. These cuts, with the one before given (No. 269), are highly interesting, not only with reference to this particular point, but as elevations of different styles of houses existing in a neighbouring country in the early ages of the Hebrew history. One of them (Nos. 277, 278) exhibits different forms of a peculiarity which we have not observed in any modern example. The top of the house is covered with a roof or awning, supported by columns, whereby the sun was excluded, and a refreshing stream of air passed through. Other Egyptian houses had merely a parapet wall, sometimes surmounted with a row of battlements, as in the cut here given (No. 279).

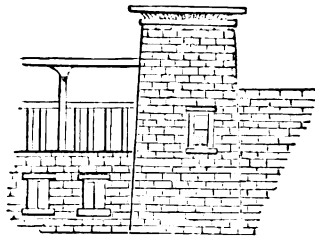
Of the inferior kinds of Oriental dwellings, such as are met with in villages and very small towns, the subjoined is not an unfavourable specimen. In these there is no central court, but there is generally a yard attached, either on one side or at the rear. The shaded platform in front is such as is usually seen attached to coffee-houses, which is, in fact,

the character of the house represented in No. 279. Here the customers sit and smoke their pipes, and



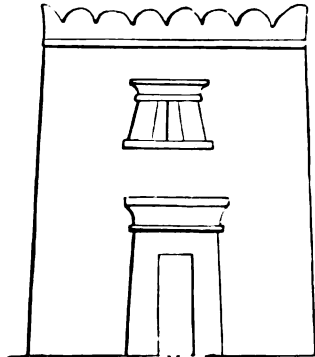
277.

sip their coffee. The village cabins and abodes of the peasantry are, of course, of a still inferior de-



278.

scription; and, being the abodes of people who live much in the open air, will not bear comparison



279.

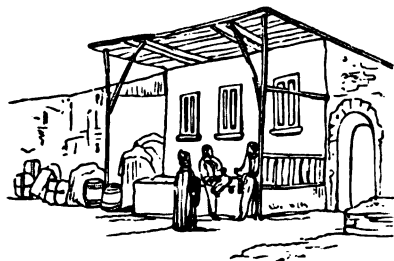
with the houses of the same class in Northern Europe, where the cottage is the *home* of the owner.

No ancient houses had chimneys. The word so translated in Hos. xiii. 3, means a hole through which the smoke escaped; and this existed only

in the lower class of dwellings, where raw wood was employed for fuel or cooking, and where there was an opening immediately over the hearth to let out the smoke. In the better sort of houses the rooms were warmed in winter by charcoal in braziers, as is still the practice (Jer. xxxvi. 22; Mark xiv. 54; John xviii. 18).

The windows had no glass. They were only latticed, and thus gave free passage to the air and admitted light, while birds and bats were excluded. In winter the cold air was kept out by veils over the windows (see cut 274), or by shutters with holes in them sufficient to admit light (1 Kings vii. 17; Cant. ii. 9).

In the East, where the climate allows the people to spend so much of their time out of doors, the articles of furniture and the domestic utensils have



280.

always been few and simple. They are in this work noticed under separate heads [BED; LAMPS; POTTERY; SEATS; TABLES]. The rooms, however, although comparatively vacant of movables, are far from having a naked or unfurnished appearance. This is owing to the high ornament given to the walls and ceilings. The walls are broken up into various recesses, and the ceiling into compartments. The ceiling, if of wood and flat, is of curious and complicated joinery; or, if vaulted, is wrought into numerous coves, and enriched with fret-work in stucco; and the walls are adorned with arabesques, mosaics, mirrors, painting, and gold; which, as set off by the marble-like whiteness of the stucco, has a truly brilliant and rich effect. There is much in this to remind one of such descriptions of splendid interiors as that in Is. liv. 11, 12.—J. K.

HUET, PETER DANIEL, bishop of Avranches, belonged to a family of rank, and was born at Caen in Normandy, Feb. 8, 1630. His parents were originally protestants, but became converts to popery before the birth of their son, who was left an orphan when scarcely six years old. His education began in the Jesuit's College, belonging to his native place, and for eight years he pursued his studies there with an insatiable, illimitable voracity for knowledge that was the ruling passion of a life, extended almost to a century. He cultivated the acquaintance of the most eminent contemporary scholars; one of these was his fellow-townsmen Samuel Bochart [BOCHART], whose work on sacred geography was published when Huet was in his sixteenth year, and excited his taste for Biblical studies. He accompanied Bochart in his visit to Sweden, undertaken at the express desire of Queen Christina. At Stockholm he met in the Royal Library with a manuscript of Origen's commentary

on Matthew and his treatise on Prayer, which suggested to him the publication of the works of that Father, a task he partially accomplished fifteen years afterwards. In 1670 he was appointed tutor of the Dauphin in conjunction with Bossuet, and at the request of the Duke of Montausier superintended the edition of Latin authors so well known under the title of the Delphin classics. In his forty-sixth year he took orders, and was made Abbot of Aulnar; in the same year, 1685, he was nominated to the see of Soissons, which, seven years after, he exchanged for that of Avranches. In 1699, owing to the state of his health, he resigned his bishopric, and received in lieu of it the abbacy of Fontenai, two miles from Caen. He died January 26, 1721, within eleven days of the completion of his ninety-first year. Only three years before his death he wrote and published an interesting but much too brief autobiography, entitled, *P. D. Huetii Commentarii de rebus ad eum pertinentibus, libri sex*, Hagæ 1718. After his connection with the Court as preceptor to the Dauphin had ceased, he renewed his application to the Hebrew language, to which he added the Syriac and Arabic. For the space of thirty-one years, from 1681 to 1712, he suffered no day to pass without devoting two or three hours to Oriental literature, and during that period read through the original text of the O. T. twenty-four times. His literary sympathies were too intense to be confined within the pale of his own communion, and besides Protestant scholars on the continent, he was on terms of friendship with several of our eminent countrymen, such as Gall, Bernard, and Bishop Pearson. Of his various works the following belong to Biblical literature: 1. *Origenis in sacras scripturas quacunq[ue] Græce reperiri potuerunt*, etc., 2 vols. fol., Rothomagi (Rouen) 1688; 2. *Traité de la situation du Paradis terrestre, à Messieurs de l'Académie Française*, 1691; 3. *De navigationibus Salomonis*, 1698; this was published at Amsterdam, with a Latin translation of the essay on Paradise, and both were inserted in the eighth volume of the *Critici Sacri*; 4. *Demonstratio Evangelica*, fol., 1679. This work, which is the great monument of his literary reputation, was the result of various conversations with the eminent Rabbi Manasseh Ben Israel at Amsterdam. It begins with a set of definitions on the genuineness of books, history, prophecy, true religion, the Messiah, and the Christian religion. Then follow two postulates, and four axioms. Ten propositions occupy the rest of the book, and in the discussion of these the Demonstration consists. A second edition appeared at Amsterdam in 1680, with additions by the author, 2 vols. 8vo. A few minor pieces on Biblical subjects are contained in two volumes, edited by the Abbé Tilladet, *Dissertations sur diverses Matières de Religion, et de Philologie*, etc., Paris 1712. A translation of Huet's autobiography was published in 1810 by Dr. Aikin under the title of *Memoirs of the life of Peter Daniel Huet, bishop of Avranches, written by himself, and translated from the original Latin, with copious notes, biographical and critical*, by John Aikin, M.D., 2 vols. 8vo.—J. E. R.

HUFNAGEL, WILHELM FRIEDRICH, a Protestant theologian, was born at Hall, in Swabia, 15th June 1754. Having studied at the Universities of Altorf and Erlangen, he became professor extraordinary of philosophy at the latter place in

1779; and in 1782 ordinary professor of theology. In 1788 he received the pastorate of the Academi- cal Church, and was also appointed overseer of the Seminary for Preachers. In 1791 he was called to Frankfurt-on-the-Main to fill the place of coun- sellor of the Consistory and preacher in one of the old churches there. He died 7th February 1830. Hufnagel was a learned, liberal, acute theologian, versed in the Semitic languages and all branches of theology. Most of his writings are sermons, or bear upon the conduct of life. We can only men- tion here *Variarum lectionum et Bibliis a Nisselio curatis excerptarum specimen*, 1777; *Salomos hohes Lied gepriift, uebersetzt, und erlaeutert*, 1784; *Biblio- theca nova theologica*, vol. i., 1782-83; *Bearbeitung der Schriften des alten Testaments nach ihrem Inhalt und Zweck für Leser aus allen Ständen*, 1784; *Hiob neu uebersetzt mit Anmerkungen*, 1781; *Dis- sertatio de psalmis prophetias Messian. continentibus*, in 2 parts, 1783. Though of great repute in his day, Hufnagel is almost forgotten at the present time. None of his printed works had the element of permanence or immortality.—S. D.

HUG, JOHN LEONHARD, a learned Catholic theologian, was born at Constance, 1st June 1765, and educated at the Gymnasium and Lyceum of his native place; afterwards at the University of Freiburg. In 1789 he became a priest; and in 1791 he was appointed professor of theology at Frei- burg, where he remained till his death, 11th March 1846. He is the author of an *Einleitung in die Schriften des neuen Testaments*, 1808, 2 vols., 1847, 4th edit., a work of great ability, learning, and acuteness, in which there are some liberal senti- ments, but more that are adverse to the recent results of criticism. It was translated both into French and English. He is also the author of *Die Erfindung der Buchstabenschrift*, 1801; *Unter- suchungen ueber den Mythos der berühmtesten Völker der alten Welt*, 1812; *Ueber die ägyptischen Tafeln*, 1835; *Gelächten ueber das Leben Jesu von D. F. Strauss*, 1840-1844, 2 vols. Hug contributed to the criticism of the N. T. especially in the depart- ment of ancient versions, which is his strongest side. In the region of MSS. he was less successful, though always suggestive and ingenious.—S. D.

HUGO, A. S. VICTORE, was born at Ypres in 1097, and educated in the monastery of Hammersle- ben. In 1115 he went to Paris with his uncle Hugo, archdeacon of Halberstadt, where they both entered the monastery of St. Victor. Here he succeeded the Prior Thomas as head of the school, and here he laboured with great success during the remain- ing period of a secluded but useful life. He died in 1141. His writings procured him the name of *Lingua Augustini*, or *alter Augustinus*. The aim of the illustrious school of theology to which he belonged, and of which he, with his scholar Richard and his contemporary Adam, of St. Victor, were the greatest men, was 'to unite and harmoniously to reconcile the scholastic and mystic tendencies, the light and warmth, which had ap- peared more in opposition in Abelard and Bernard . . . nor would it be easy to exaggerate the in- fluence for good which went forth from this institu- tion during the 12th and 13th centuries upon the whole church' (Trench, *Sacred Lat. Poetry*, p. 54).

The first volume of his works (3 vols. fol., 1526, s. l.) consists of notes on Scripture, and in the third is his *Eruditio Didascalica*. The latter

gained him the title of Didascalus, and is intended especially as an introduction to the Scriptures. He gave precedence to the historical sense, but ad- mits, as was usual in his time, the allegorical and tropological. Peter Lombard was his greatest scholar (Maurice, *Medieval Philosophy*, 144-148; Schneider in Herzog's *Encykl.*; Liebner, *Hugo von St. Victor*).—F. W. F.

HUGO DE SANCTO CARO, sometimes called also H. DE S. THEODORICO, was born at St. Cher, near to Vienne in Dauphiny, towards the close of the 12th century. He studied in the uni- versity of Paris, where he subsequently held one of the chairs of theology. In 1225 he was received into the order of the Dominicans, and in 1227 was appointed Provincial of this order in France. He was made Cardinal by Innocent IV. in 1244. He died at Orvieto, March 19, 1263, and was buried at Lyons. At the request of the Chapter-General of the Dominicans, he undertook the compilation of a *Correctorium*, or a correction of the text of the Vulgate. The title of a copy of this work, preserved in the Library of Nuremberg, is *Liber de correctionibus novis super biblia, ad sciendum qua sit verior et communior litera, Reverendissimi patris et domini D. Hugonis, sacre Rom. eccl. presbyteri cardinalis, sacre theologiae professoris et de ordine predicatorum*. The authorities used by Hugo were the exegetical writings of Jerome, Augustine, Rhabanus Maurus, and Bede. He states also in the preface that they are drawn partly ex libris Hebræorum et antiquissimis exemplaribus, quæ etiam ante tempora Caroli Magna inscripta fuerant. It is, however, doubtful whether he were ac- quainted with either Greek or Hebrew, as his various references to Greek versions and the He- brew text are derived from Jerome. This work was the original of which several other correctoria were enlarged and revised editions. Roger Bacon strongly expresses his disapproval of it, and terms it 'pessima corruptio,' and says of it 'destruitur tex- tus Dei' (Hody, *De Bibl. Textibus*, p. 429). Hugo was also the author of a work entitled *Sancorum Bibliorum Concordantie*, or, as it is sometimes called, *Concordantie S. Jacobi*, from the Monastery of St. James, in Paris, wherein Hugo long resided. It is the earliest Scriptural Concordance, under- standing by this term an alphabetical index to the words of Scripture. The earlier work by Antony of Padua [CONCORDANCE] is rather an index of subjects. On this account Hugo is sometimes styled *Pater Concordantiarum*. In its earliest form the references only were given, but in a subsequent edition made three English Dominicans resident in Paris, John of Darlington, Richard of Stavensby, and Hugh of Croydon, the various passages were given in full. Both these forms of the work are called *Conc. S. Jacobi*, although the latter is some- times distinguished as *Conc. Anglicana*. In addi- tion to these works Hugo was the author of a commentary on the entire Scriptures, entitled *Pos- tilla in universa Biblia juxta quadruplicem sen- sum, literalem, allegoricum, morale, anagogicum*, written on the principle of discovering a fourfold sense in every passage. It has been frequently published, the principal editions being Venet. et Basil 1487, 6 vol. fol., Basil 1498, 1504; Paris 1508, 1538; Venet. 1600; Colon. Agripp. 1621; Lugd. 1645, 1669. Two other Biblical works by Hugo exist in MS. in the library of Paris: *Sci-*

mones super epistolas et evangelia, de tempore, Processus in librum Evangelii aterni.—S. N.

HUKKOK (חֻקֹּק; Sept. Ἰκούκ and Ἰακὰνδ). 1.

A city on the southern border of Naphtali, near Aznoth-Tabor (Josh. xix. 34). Eusebius and Jerome place it on the borders of Naphtali and Asher. Robinson and Van de Velde identify it with Yakûk, a small village situated some five miles west of the site of Capernaum, between Wady Kefr 'Anân and Wady Selameh (*Bib. Res.*, iii. 81; *Memoir*, 322). This is probably correct.

2. Another *Hukkôk* (חֻקֹּק; Alex. Ἰακὰκ) is mentioned in 1 Chron. vi. 75 (60), as allotted out of the tribe of Asher to the Gershonites. There is a difficulty in this passage, because the parallel in Josh. xxi. 31 has *Helkath* instead of Hukkôk. The probability is that the two names were given to the same place, a thing not unusual in Syria at the present day (see Keil, *ad loc.*) There is no ground for identifying this Hukkôk with the preceding.

J. L. P.

HUL (חֹל; Sept. Οὐλ), a name which occurs among the generations of the sons of Noah, and is the name of the second of the sons of Aram, the son of Shem (Gen. x. 23). The district of country possessed by his descendants is believed to have been a large flat district in the north of Palestine, known to this day as the land of Hûleh. The river Jordan runs through part of it. The lake Hûleh, anciently *Merom*, is situate in the same district (see Dr. Robinson's *Researches*, iii. 339-357).—W. J. C.

HULDAH (חֻלְדָּה; Sept. Ὀλδα; Vulg. *Olda*), a prophetess who lived in the time of Josiah. She was the wife of Shallum, the keeper of the (probably royal) wardrobe, and dwelt at Jerusalem, in what may be described as the lower or inferior part of the city (חֻלְדָּה, rendered by Gesenius, *The*.

1451, pars urbis secundaria or suburb; in the A. V. it is improperly translated 'college'), the part probably which Josephus designates *the other city*, ἡ ἄλλη πόλις (*Antiq.* xv. 11. 5), and the *lower city*, ἡ κάτω πόλις (*Bell. Jud.* v. 4. 1). It was to this prophetess that Josiah sent a deputation consisting of the high-priest and other distinguished persons of his court, to inquire the Divine will, if by any means he might avert the punishment to which, as he had learnt from the book of the law read to him by Shaphan the scribe, the nation was exposed because of its transgressions (2 Kings xxii. 14-20; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22-28; Joseph. *Antiq.* x. 4. 2). This circumstance shews the high reputation in which Huldah was then held, and especially as Jeremiah had already, five years before, begun to deliver his prophecies (Jer. i. 2).—S. N.

HUMTAH (חֻמְטָה; Sept. Εὐμά; Alex. Χαμμάτ), a town of Judah in the hill country mentioned between Apeka and Hebron (Josh. xv. 54). Eusebius and Jerome simply mention it under the name Ἀμαρά or Ammata, as in the tribe of Judah. It has not been identified.—W. L. A.

HUNT, THOMAS, D.D., F.R.S., F.A.S., was born in 1696, and educated at Hart Hall, Oxford, of which he became a fellow. He was first elected to be Regius professor of Hebrew, next Laudian professor of Arabic, and canon of Christ Church in 1747. He died 1774. He is noticed here for his

work entitled *Observations on several Passages in the Book of Proverbs, with two Sermons*, Oxford 1775, 4to. This work, part of which only was printed before his death, and the rest edited by Dr. Kennicott, embraces, in the observations it contains, some twenty-six passages of the Book of Proverbs. Most of the observations are valuable, and discover the extensive and equally sound learning of their author. His proposed emendations of the translation are generally important, and throw much light on some of the more difficult passages of the book. Dr. Hunt was the author also of two Latin dissertations, the first entitled *De Antiquitate elegantia et utilitate linguae Arabicae Oratio*, 4to, Oxon. 1739; the other, *De usu dialectorum Orientalium*, 4to, Oxon. 1748. Both are treatises of some importance, especially the latter, as showing the use of the Oriental dialects, and in particular the Arabic, in the interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures. Some, however, are of opinion that Dr. Hunt's ideas on this subject are carried sufficiently far (Orme's *Biblioth. Bib.*)—W. J. C.

HUNTING. The pursuit and capture of beasts of the field was the first means of sustenance which the human race had recourse to, this mode of gaining a livelihood having naturally preceded the engagements of agriculture, as it presented food already provided, requiring only to be taken and slaughtered; whereas tillage must have been an afterthought, and a later resource, since it implies accumulated knowledge, skill, and such provision beforehand of subsistence as would enable a clan or a family to wait till the fruits of the earth were matured. Hunting was, therefore, a business long ere it was a sport. And originally, before man had established his empire on the earth, it must have been not only a serious but a dangerous pursuit. In process of time, however, when civilization had made some progress, when cities were built and lands cultivated, hunting was carried on not so much for the food which it brought as for the recreation it gave and its conduciveness to health.

The East—the cradle of civilization—presents us with hunting in both the characters now spoken of, originally as a means of support, then as a manly amusement. In the early records of history we find hunting held in high repute, partly, no doubt, from its costliness, its dangers, its similitude to war, its capability of combining the energies of many, and also from the relief which it afforded to the stagnant monotony of a court, in the high and bounding spirits that it called forth. Hunting has always borne somewhat of a regal character, and down to the present hour has worn an aristocratic air. In Babylon and Persia this attribute is presented in bold relief. Immense parks (παράδεισοι) were enclosed for nurturing and preserving beasts of the chase. The monarch himself led the way to the sport, not only in these preserves, but also over the wide surface of the country, being attended by his nobles, especially by the younger aspirants to fame and warlike renown (Xen., *Cyr.* viii. 1. 38).

In the Bible—our chief storehouse of primitive history and customs—we find hunting connected with royalty so early as in Gen. x. The great founder of Babel was in general repute as 'a mighty hunter before the Lord.' The patriarchs, however, are to be regarded rather as herdsmen

than hunters, if respect is had to their habitual mode of life. The condition of the herdsman ensues next to that of the hunter in the early stages of civilization; and so we find that even Cain was a keeper of sheep. This and the fact that Abel is designated 'a tiller of the ground,' would seem to indicate a very rapid progress in the arts and pursuits of social life. The same contrast and similar hostility we find somewhat later, in the case of Jacob and Esau; the first, 'a plain man dwelling in tents;' the second, 'a cunning hunter, a man of the field' (Gen. xxv. 27). The account given of Esau in connection with his father seems to show that hunting was, conjointly with tillage, pursued at that time as a means of subsistence, and that hunting had not then passed into its secondary state, and become an amusement.

In Egypt the children of Israel would be spectators of hunting carried on extensively and pursued in different manners, but chiefly, as appears probable, with a view rather to recreation than subsistence (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.*, vol. iii.) That the land of promise into which the Hebrews were conducted on leaving Egypt was plentifully supplied with beasts of the chase, appears clear from Exod. xxiii. 29, 'I will not drive them out in one year, lest the land become desolate and the beast of the field multiply against thee' (comp. Deut. vii. 22). And from the regulation given in Lev. xvii. 15, it is manifest that hunting was practised after the settlement in Canaan, and was pursued with the view of obtaining food. Prov. xii. 27 proves that hunting animals for their flesh was an established custom among the Hebrews, though the turn of the passage may serve to show that at the time it was penned sport was the chief aim. If hunting was not forbidden in the 'year of rest,' special provision was made that not only the cattle, but 'the beast of the field' should be allowed to enjoy and flourish on the uncropped spontaneous produce of the land (Exod. xxiii. 11; Lev. xxv. 7). Harmer (iv. 357) says, 'there are various sorts of creatures in the Holy Land proper for hunting; wild boars, antelopes, hares, etc., are in considerable numbers there, and one of the Christian kings of Jerusalem lost his life (*Gesta Dei*, p. 887) in pursuing a hare.' That the lion and other ravenous beasts of prey were not wanting in Palestine, many passages of the Bible make obvious (1 Sam. xvii. 34; 2 Sam. xxiii. 20; 1 Kings xiii. 24; Harris, *Natural History of the Bible*; Kitto's *Pictorial Palestine*). The lion was even made use of to catch other animals (Ezek. xix. 3), and Harmer long ago remarked that as in the vicinity of Gaza, so also in Judæa, leopards were trained and used for the same purpose (Harmer, iv. 358; Hab. i. 8). That lions were taken by pitfalls as well as by nets appears from Ezek. xix. 4, 8 (Shaw, p. 172). In the latter verse the words of the prophet, 'and spread their net over him,' allude to the custom of enclosing a wide extent of country with nets, into which the animals were driven by hunters (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.*, iii. 4). The spots thus enclosed were usually in a hilly country and in the vicinity of water brooks; whence the propriety and force of the language of Ps. xlii. 1, 'As the (hunted) hart panteth after the water brooks.' These places were selected because they were those to which the animals were in the habit of repairing in the morning and evening. Scenes like the one now supposed are found portrayed in the Egyptian

paintings (Wilkinson). Hounds were used for hunting in Egypt, and, if the passage in Josephus (*Antiq.* iv. 8. 9) may be considered decisive, in Palestine as well. From Gen. xxvii. 3, 'Now take thy weapons, thy quiver and thy bow,' we learn what arms were employed at least in capturing game. Bulls, after being taken, were kept at least for a time in a net (Is. li. 20). Various missiles, pitfalls, snares, and gins were made use of in hunting (Ps. xci. 3; Amos iii. 5; 2 Sam. xxiii. 20). That hunting continued to be followed till towards the end of the Jewish state appears from Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* i. 21. 13) [FOWLING; FISHING].—J. R. B.

HUPPIM (חֻפִּים; Sept. Cod. Alex. Ὀφύμιν, Gen. xli. 21; Ἀφύμιν, Alex. Ἀφύμιν, 1 Chron. vii. 12), the head of one of the Benjamite families. In Num. xxvi. 39 he is called HUPHAM (חֻפָּם), and his clan the Huphamites. [BECHER.]—†

HUR (חֹר). 1. (LXX. Ὁρ; Joseph. Ὀρῶν) A man whose name upon two important occasions is associated with those of Moses and Aaron in such a way as to forcibly suggest that he was probably related to them either by birth or marriage. When, during the engagement of Joshua with the Amalekites, Moses stood on the hill with the rod of God in his hand, it was Aaron and Hur who accompanied him, and 'stayed up his hands' (Exod. xvii. 10-12), and again when Moses went up into Mount Sinai, it was to Aaron and Hur that he entrusted the chief authority during his absence (Exod. xxiv. 14). According to Jewish tradition, as preserved by Josephus, he was the husband of Miriam (*Antiq.* iii. 2. 4), and also identical with 3 (*Antiq.* iii. 6. 1).

2. (LXX. Ὁρ; Joseph. Ὀρῶν) One of the princes or petty kings of Midian (מְלִכֵי מִדְיָן), who, along with four other Midianite chieftains, was defeated and slain, shortly before the death of Moses, by the Israelites, under the leadership of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar (Num. xxxi. 8; Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 7. 1). In Josh. xiii. 21 these five Midianites are termed נְסִיכֵי סִיחֹן, 'the princes or vassals of Sihon,' and are also described as יֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ, 'dwellers in the land,' which Keil explains as meaning that they had for a long time dwelt in the land of Canaan with the Moabites, whereas the Amorites had only recently effected an entrance. After the defeat of Sihon, these chieftains appear to have made common cause with Balak the king of Moab (Num. xxii. 4, 7), and to have joined with him in urging Balaam to curse the Israelites. The evil counsel of Balaam having been followed, and the Israelites in consequence seduced into transgression (Num. xxxi. 16), Moses was directed to make war upon the Midianites. The latter were utterly defeated, and 'Balaam also, the son of Beor, they slew with the sword.'

3. (LXX. Ὁρ) The grandfather of Bezaleel, the architect of the tabernacle (Exod. xxxi. 2; xxxv. 30; xxxviii. 22). He was the son of Caleb (or Chelubai), the son of Hezron, the grandson of Judah (1 Chron. ii. 19, 20, cf. 9; iv. 1). His mother's name was Ephrath or Ephrathah, and he was her first-born son (1 Chron. ii. 50). His descendants occupied the towns of Bethlehem, Kirjath-jearim, and Bethgader (1 Chron. ii. 50, 51).

4. The 'son of Hur' is mentioned (1 Kings iv. 8) as one of the twelve officers appointed by Solomon to superintend the supply of provisions for the royal household. Mount Ephraim was the district assigned to him. The Vulgate has Benhur, regarding the two words as forming a compound proper name, and not as a patronymic. The LXX. is ambiguous, reading *Βεὴρ υἱὸς Ὁρ.* Josephus gives *Ὀδρῆς* as the name of the officer, *Antiq.* viii. 2. 3.

5. (LXX. Σοφρ) The father of Rephaiah, one of the builders of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 9).—S. N.

HURAM (הֲרָמ; Sept. *Οὐράμ*; Alex. *Ἰωῤῥα*).

1. A Benjamite first-born of Bela (1 Chron. viii. 5). 2. [HIRAM].

HURD, RICHARD, D.D., who was born at Congreve in Staffordshire, in 1720, rose from a comparatively humble rank in life, his parents being (to use his own words) 'plain, honest, and good people, farmers, but of a turn of mind that might have honoured any rank.' They were wise enough to give their son a good education, first at Brewood Grammar School, and eventually at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, of which society he was elected fellow in 1742. The result of this education was honourable to Hurd, who became one of the most elegant classical scholars of his time. The first public proof of this accomplishment he gave in the year 1749, when he published his *Commentary on Horace's Ars Poetica*; this publication introduced him to Bishop Warburton, on whose recommendation Sherlock, Bishop of London, appointed Hurd, Whitehall preacher, in 1750. Among other results of the sincere friendship which long existed between Warburton and Hurd was the promotion of the latter by his friend to the archdeaconry of Gloucester in 1767. The next year he took his doctor's degree at Cambridge, and was appointed to open the lecture founded by Warburton for the illustration of the prophetic Scriptures; his twelve discourses he published in 1772, under the title of '*An Introduction to the study of the Prophecies concerning the Christian Church, and in particular concerning the church of Papal Rome.*' This was the first of the Warburtonian Lectures. Notwithstanding the polemical cast of some of these sermons, the clear exposition of the general principles of prophecy and of the claims which this portion of the sacred Scriptures has on the serious and unprejudiced attention of thoughtful readers, conveyed in perspicuous and even elegant language, has secured a large amount of popularity for the work even up to recent times. The last edition of these discourses was edited by the Rev. Ed. Bickersteth, who in his 'prefatory remarks' mentions many reasons 'which make this work both seasonable and profitable in the present day.' Hurd, who was promoted to the see of Lichfield and Coventry in 1775, and six years afterwards was translated to the bishopric of Worcester, on the death of Archbishop Cornwallis in 1783, was pressed by the king to accept the primacy; but 'he humbly begged leave to decline, as a charge not suited to his temper and talents, and much too heavy for him to sustain.' He died in the year 1808, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. Besides the productions of his pen which we have already mentioned, Bishop Hurd wrote various

works on the infidelity of the age, including 'Remarks on Hume's Essay on the Natural History of Religion,' in 1759; and some volumes of sermons. He also edited Cowley's select works in 1769; Warburton's works in seven quarto vols. in 1788, with the life of his right reverend friend and patron in 1794; and Addison's works, with notes, in six vols. 8vo. Warburton commended Hurd as 'one of the best scholars in the kingdom, and of parts and genius equal to his learning, and a moral character that adorned both.' Hallam, *Lit. History of Europe* [ed. 4], vol. iii., p. 475, note, with greater discrimination praises Hurd as 'having perhaps the merit of being the first who in this country aimed at philosophic criticism; as having had great ingenuity, a good deal of reading, and great facility in applying it; but [he adds] he did not feel very deeply . . . assumed a dogmatic arrogance, which as it always offends the reader for the most part also stands in the way of the author's own search for truth.' Hurd's works were collected, and, three years after his death, published in eight volumes, 8vo.—P. H.

HURDIS, JAMES, D.D., was more a poet, perhaps, than a divine. He was born at Bishopstone, Sussex, 1763, and entered a commoner of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, 1780. He was elected a fellow of Magdalene College, 1782, and presented to the living of Bishopstone in 1791. In 1793 he was elected to the professorship of poetry in the University of Oxford. He died 1801. His works of Biblical interest are the following:—*Select Critical Remarks upon the English Version of the First Ten Chapters of Genesis*, Lond. 1793, 8vo. These remarks are on the whole judicious, and may be consulted with advantage; also *A short Critical Disquisition upon the true meaning of the word תַּנִּינִים, found in Genesis i. 21*, Lond. 1790, 8vo.

The author contends that the above word, wherever it occurs, signifies crocodile. His remarks on the various passages in which it is found are, to say the least, very ingenious. Dr. Hurdis is the author also of a work entitled *Twelve Dissertations on the Nature and Occasion of Psalm and Prophecy*, 1800, 8vo. He also wrote and published several small volumes of poetry, of which, however, no further mention can be made here.—W. J. C.

HUSHAI. [HUSHATHITE.]

HUSHAI (חֻשַׁי; Sept. *Xowai*; Vulg. *Chusai*) appears as a prominent actor in the history of Absalom's rebellion. When David fled from his capital Hushai joined his mournful train at the top of Mount Olivet, and seems to have been the means of first raising the forlorn monarch from the dejection into which he was thrown by the tidings of the desertion of his ablest counsellor Ahithophel (2 Sam. xv. 32). At his royal master's suggestion Hushai returned to the city for the purpose of serving his cause as occasion might offer (vv. 33-37). One of the prince's first acts was to convene a meeting, which Dr. Kitto mentions as 'the first cabinet council to which history admits us' (*Bible Illustr.* iii. 420): Hushai was invited to attend rather as an *amicus curiæ* than as a recognised member. After Ahithophel had tendered his sage but fiendish counsel, Hushai, called on by Absalom himself to offer his opinion, availed himself of his opportunity with an adroitness which reminds us of

the artfulness of a Ulysses or a Themistocles. In winged words of florid eloquence he portrayed the martial spirit of the king, and, true to his object of defeating Ahithophel's fatal counsel, he urged the prince to delay his pursuit of the 'chafed' monarch until he had effected an ampler preparation (xvii. 7-13). The earnestness of his manner recommended his specious advice to Absalom as preferable to that of the rival counsellor (xvii. 14). The immediate result was the suicide (the first on record, Kitto, *l. c.*) of the vexed and disappointed Ahithophel, and the ultimate consequence was the crushing out of the formidable rebellion. Much curious and vain discussion has been raised as to the *conduct* of Hushai in his service of David; all through he seems to have closely followed the suggestions of his royal master (xv. 34); so that whatever censure is passed on him belongs equally to the king. Peter Martyr combines them both in his extraordinary conclusion (*in loc.*), 'Si ex instinctu Dei hoc fecerunt non peccarunt; si humano impulsu, peccarunt, et non sunt excusandi.' We are not called upon to justify every act in the conduct of the best of men, when we read the simple and unadorned narrative of it in Holy Scripture. In all the excitement of that sad history of filial impiety, human counsel and human passion it was which ordered the means for accomplishing what was an undoubtedly Divine appointment (see 2 Sam. xvii. 14). In justifying the ways of God to men, and admiring the issues of His will, we are in no case obliged to approve actions which have nothing but their success to commend them. Whatever was Hushai's general character (and there is no ground for supposing it to be other than good, and worthy of David's highest friendship) in the cabinet council of the rebellious prince, he seems to have been at least a match for the astutest diplomacy, and by the boldness of his prevarication to have been the means of 'disappointing the devices of the crafty, so that their hands could not perform their enterprise' (Job v. 12). Hushai is called the '*friend*' and '*companion*' of David (2 Sam. xv. 37; 1 Chron. xxvii. 33); but Holy Scripture does not assign him these honourable titles in acknowledgment of his service to his master during the rebellion; he was well known for these valuable characteristics long before Absalom put them to so severe a test (see 2 Sam. xvi. 16, 17, compared with xv. 37). It saw, no doubt, the greater earnestness and devotion of his character, as compared with the cold and calculating Gilonite (comp. the epithets applied to the two men, in 1 Chron.

xxvii. 33; where the *לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ*, the mere genitive of possession, seems to indicate a looser relation to the king than the *רֵעַ הַמֶּלֶךְ*, which, being a phrase of the '*construct state*,' probably expresses the *closest* connection that the words will bear; see also Gesen. *Gram.* [by Rödiger], p. 208) which induced Absalom to pay greater deference to Hushai, as if he felt that in him he had a more trustworthy man to lean on.

But besides his advice at the council, Hushai promoted David's cause by keeping up a communication with him afterwards, and especially by the promptitude with which he despatched messengers to urge the king to flee for his life (2 Sam. xvii. 15-22). Hushai is called '*the Archite*' in five of the fourteen passages where his name occurs. This *gentile*

designation is very probably the same as is mentioned in Josh. xvi. 2, in the description of the southern border of the tribe of Ephraim, where the *בְּנֵי הָאֲרָכִי* (A. V. '*the borders of Archi*,' more properly '*the borders of the Archite*') lay near Bethel or Luz towards Ataroth,* about midway between the Jordan and the Mediterranean. The city which originated this gentile designation was no doubt called *Erech* (אֶרֶךְ), of the same form with the Babylonian city mentioned in Gen. x. 10, with which of course it is not to be confounded. The gentile of this Eastern city is '*Archevites*,' אֲרַכְוִי, mentioned in Ezra iv. 9.

In the next generation and next reign the distinguished honour of being 'the king's friend' was enjoyed by a son of Nathan the prophet (1 Kings iv. 5); contemporary with him was BAANAH, the son of Hushai, who served Solomon as one of his twelve officers or prefects appointed to levy the royal revenues. There is no reason to doubt that this functionary was the son of our Hushai; the absence of the designation 'Archite' is immaterial, for it does not invariably accompany Hushai's name in the passages of his history; it is for instance absent in 2 Sam. xv. 37, though found in ver. 32; in the next chap. it is only once mentioned in the four occurrences of Hushai's name; while in xvii. chap. the name occurs six times, but the gentile epithet only twice.—P. H.

HUSHATHITE, THE, is an epithet applied to SIBBECHAI, one of David's 'mighty men,' in 2 Sam. xxi. 18; 1 Chron. xi. 29; xx. 4, and xxvii. 11; and to MEBUNNAI, in 2 Sam. xxiii. 27. As this latter name is found among David's heroes also, it has been conjectured to be nothing more than another form for Sibbechai—probably by corruption of the text (see Thenius and Houbigant, *in loc.*, the latter of whom juxtaposes מְבַנִּי and מְבַנִּי, as if to exhibit their similarity and liability to be confounded by copyists. Whether '*The Hushathite*' (הַחֻשְׁתִּי, or more correctly הַחֻשְׁתִּי with dagesh, as in the last two places in Chronicles) is a *patronymic*, indicating the family of Sibbechai, or a gentile noun referring to his native city, is uncertain. No doubt either way the reference is to the name HUSHAH (חֻשָּׁה), mentioned in 1 Chron. iv. 4—

* The Sept. renders 'the borders of Archi' by τὰ ὅρια τοῦ Ἀρχιαραῖος, which of course is nothing less than the coalition of 'Archi' and 'Ataroth,' next mentioned. The Vulg. is very like it in its '*Terminum Archi, Ataroth*.' It is curious that the LXX. has, in 2 Sam. xv. 37, and xvi. 16, made another coalition between two adjoining words, by rendering רֵעַ הַחֻשְׁתִּי ('the Archite, friend') by the single compound epithet Ἀρχιαραῖος, '*chief friend*.' Is. Vossius, *de Sept. Intt.* p. 58, defends this, on the ground that the LXX. renders the same phrase in 1 Chron. xxvii. 33 by the equivalent πρῶτος φίλος, 'prime friend'; while Josephus similarly calls Hushai Ἀρχιφίλος [Hudson conjectures Ἀρχαῖος φίλος], *Antiq.* vii. 9. Fuller, however, in *Miscell. Sacr.* ii. 10, supposes that two words have grown, in fact, into one, and is for separating them into ὁ Ἀρχι [it should rather be ὁ Ἀραχί, as the LXX. has it in 2 Sam. xvii. 5, and other places], ἑταῖρος Δαβὶδ, like the original and our A. V.

among the genealogies of the tribe of Judah—thus Ezer, father of Hushah.' The first impression that Hushah must needs be a *man's* name is soon corrected by two phrases of the same verse—'Father of Gedor,' 'Father of Bethlehem,' where the two names in italics designate cities. Hushah, therefore, may reasonably be taken for a city also; a conclusion which is quite confirmed by 1 Chron. xxvii. 11, where the fullest information we have is given respecting Sibbechai in these words סִבְכַּי הַחֻשָּׁתִי לָזָרְחִי, which are well rendered in the Vulgate, *Sobachai Hushathites de stirpe Zarahi* (A. V. 'S. the Hushathite, of the Zarhites'). The second of these epithets undoubtedly marks the man's *family* as belonging to the Zarhite clan of Judah (Num. xxvi. 20, not to be confounded with the Simeonite clan of the same name, in verse 13), leaving 'Hushathite' to indicate his *birth-place*, or else *residence*—somewhere in the territory of the tribe of Judah. The Vulgate gives the name of the city as 'Husati;' and in two of the five passages in which our epithet Hushathite occurs, renders it 'de Husati' (see Dutripon's note, *Concord.* p. 626), the other three passages having 'Husathites.' The LXX. version, in the only passage of Samuel where the word occurs [for 2 Sam. xxiii. 27 does not mention 'Mebunnai the Hushathite'], renders it by ὁ Ἀσραῦσι: in all the passages in Chronicles it has ὁ Οὐσαῖ, for although in the second passage the Vatican text reads Σωσαῖ (which is unintelligible [unless the Σ represent the aspirate]), the Cod. Alex. conforms to the other reading ὁ Οὐσαῖ, which is our very word Hushathite shorn of its aspirate.—P. H.

HUSHIM (חֻשִּׁים; Sept. Ἀσδμ; Ἀσδμ), a name which occurs first in the catalogue of the descendants of Jacob, and is used to designate the children of Dan (Gen. xlv. 23). The form of the word being plural, it is understood to mean, as obviously intended, not an individual member of the family or tribe, but the tribe itself. In the corresponding catalogue in Num. xxvi. 26 the name is *Shuham*. We meet with the same name in the genealogy of Benjamin; first, as above, in the plural form, used to designate the sons of Aher (1 Chron. vii. 12); second, as the name of one of the two wives of Shaharim (1 Chron. viii. 8). The name of the wife was Baara. Hushim was the mother of his two sons Abitub and Elpaul.—W. J. C.

HUSKS. [CERATIA.]

HUTCHESON, GEORGE. Very few facts can be ascertained in regard to the personal history of this able expositor. He was minister of Colmonell, from which he was translated to Edinburgh. In early life he held Arminian views, which he afterwards saw reason to abandon. In 1650 he was one of the Scotch commissioners sent to treat with Charles II. at Breda. He was ejected from his charge in Edinburgh for nonconformity, and, although he was noted for his steady refusal to comply with the Episcopal liturgy, he availed himself of one of the indulgences, and accepted a charge in Irvine in 1669. He married the widow of the celebrated Andrew Gray—sister of Baillie of Jerviswood. His death took place from apoplexy in 1678. He is described in Wodrow's *Analecta* as 'a great and a good man above many,' and, according to the testimony of Principal Violant, was

'of a sweet, amiable, loving, and compassionate disposition.'

The works which he has left behind him are all of an expository character—*A brief exposition of the twelve small prophets*, Lond. 1655; *An Exposition of the Gospel of Jesus Christ according to John*, 1657; *An exposition upon Job, being the sum of three hundred and sixteen lectures*, 1669; and *Forty-five sermons upon the 130th Psalm*, 1691. A treatise on the Confession of Faith was never published.

Hutcheson was one of the divines who laboured in concert to produce expositions extending over the whole of Scripture. Considering his associates in the work, Dickson, Ferguson, Nisbet, and others, it is no small praise if we rank him at the head of them. Perhaps the circumstance that he so far conformed as to accept an indulgence, though he still held to the intrinsic jurisdiction of the church so firmly as to have been summoned before the council for his conduct, may have diminished his popularity as an author. At all events, his works, with the exception of his Commentary on John recently published by Ward, have not been reprinted, though some of them in the author's lifetime ran through three editions. His method is much the same in all his works. He has what he terms 'a resolution of the context,' followed by 'an explication of particular sentences,' after which, when needed, there is a general view of the doctrine or principle urged in the passage, on which he comments. His thinking is invariably clear and definite, with a gracefulness of expression at times quite remarkable for that age. There is no great fervency in his composition, at least in his strictly expository works, probably from his habits of strict adherence to the task of exposition. Edmund Calamy speaks strongly in commendation of his labours, and yet not more strongly than his merits as an expositor warrant, when, in a preface to one of Hutcheson's works, that eminent divine remarks, 'His observations are so excellent and suitable, and sometimes so unexpected and yet so natural, that I verily believe they will be very acceptable not only to private Christians, but also and especially to ministers.' With equal justice Calamy gives him credit for a quality which few authors of that day possessed; his book, while it 'breathes out much of God and godliness,' at the same time '*comprehends much in little*.'—W. H. G.

HUTCHINSON, JOHN, author of 'A Mystical and Cabalistic Interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures,' was born at Spennithorne, Yorkshire, in 1674, and died Aug. 28, 1737. He received a good education, and became, at the age of nineteen, steward to Mr. Bathurst, and afterwards to the Duke of Somerset. Fond of the study of mineralogy and botany, he devoted his leisure to the cultivation of these branches of learning. A valuable collection of fossils made by him, was bequeathed to the university of Cambridge. He is best known as the originator of the peculiar system of Biblical interpretation usually denominated, from its author, *Hutchinsonianism*, which he expounded at large in a series of philosophico-theological works, published from time to time. He maintained that the Hebrew language was formed by God, and is, therefore, perfect; that the Scriptures were 'not writ *ad captum humanum*, but philosophically, beyond imitation;' that Moses

was inspired to reveal a complete system of philosophy as well as theology, beyond which the human mind can never get; that Newton's principles are antiscriptural and false, and Newton himself no philosopher; that each Hebrew word embodies a great theological or philosophical truth, but that the points are a 'corrupt invention of the Rabbis,' and the Arabic language 'a forgery;' that the whole of Christianity is contained in the O. T., so that the Jews understood it as well as we; and that a knowledge of Hebrew is essential to a right understanding of the N. T., because the latter is written in the language of the Gentiles. These and kindred principles parade all his writings.

His works were published in twelve vols. 8vo, in 1749, the principal of which are:—*Moses' Principia*, part i.; *An Essay towards a Natural History of the Bible—Moses' Principia*, part ii. The *Principia* embodies the fundamental principles of the 'inspired' philosophy in opposition to those of Sir I. Newton. *Moses' Sine Principio*, or 'the meaning of the names and titles of God,' with an introduction to shew 'the nature of the fall, of Paradise, and of the body and soul.' *A New Account of the Confusion of Tongues*, etc., with the names and attributes of the Trinity of the Gentiles, treating of the 'origin of idolatry' and the 'loss of philosophy in the Gentile world.' *Glory or Gravity*, etc., in which the hieroglyphical import of the Cherubim is exhibited. *The Covenant in the Cherubim*, etc., setting forth the various ways, by Cherubim, Urim, etc., in which 'it pleased God to reveal himself and the Covenant of grace.' *The Religion of Satan, or Antichrist delineated; the Use of Reason recovered in the data of Christianity* (parts i. and ii.), 'which are shewn to be the only subjects reason can exercise itself upon.'

Hutchinson had many followers, although he formed no sect. His style is loose, rambling, and obscure; his dogmatism unbounded; and his language towards opponents often rude and offensive. He was learned, but not 'truly learned.' His works are worth examining, although the task of reading them is difficult. There is an autobiographical sketch of him in the 5th vol. of his collected works.—L. J.

HUTTER, ELIAS, the editor of several Polyglott Bibles, was born in 1554, and died in 1605. He was a zealous student and teacher of Hebrew and the cognate languages, the former of which he taught to Prince August of Saxony. Having formed the scheme of an edition of the Hebrew text on a peculiar plan, accompanied with a series of translations in different tongues, he procured a printing press for the purpose, and devoted himself to this object. In 1596 he brought out at Hamburg his *Opus quadripartitum Script. Sac.*, in which the Hebrew text of the O. T. appears with three versions. In 1599 he issued at Nurnberg the N. T. in twelve different languages—Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, Bohemian, Italian, Spanish, French, English, Danish, and Polish; and in 1602 appeared his *Nov. Test. Harmonicum Ebr., Gr., Lat. et Germ.* These works are now more curious than useful. Hutter aimed at more than he could accomplish, and ruined himself in the attempt. His idea, however, was noble, and he is entitled at least to Phœthón's eulogy:—*Quem si non tenuit magnis tamen excidit ausis*.—W. L. A.

HUZZAB (חֲזָב), a word of very doubtful interpretation, occurring Nahum ii. 7. Commentators are not agreed as to whether it is a proper name. The Jews appear generally to have understood by it the queen of Nineveh, who was living at the date of this prophecy, an opinion which is followed by the A. V. and by Ewald: otherwise it is the Hophal of חָזַב; if so taken, however, it will perhaps be desirable to alter the punctuation in order to join the word to the former verse, as Dr. Henderson has done, who renders thus, 'And the palace is dissolved, though firmly established.' The LXX. and the Vulgate seem to have translated the word: one has ἡ ὑβέρασις, and the other *miles captivus*. The Peshito also translates it. Mr. Rawlinson would read חֲזָב, and very ingeniously supposes it to be a geographical designation of Assyria, as the country between the Upper and Lower Zab (Herod. i. 570, n. 7, and *Dict. Bib.*, s. v.) It may be questioned, however, if in that case it would be spelt with ז.—S. L.

HYACINTH. [LESHEM.]

HYÆNA. [TSEBOA.]

HYDASPES. A river only once mentioned in the Bible, Judith i. 6. It is doubtful whether we may identify it with the river of the same name mentioned by Arrian, *Ind.* 4, and Strabo, 15. 697, which flowed westwards into the Indus, is now called Jelum, and is one of the *five streams* which give the name of Panjab to the district, Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 558. Some suppose it more probable that the Choaspes or Euleus is meant, which was called Hydaspes by the Romans (*Voss ad Justin.* ii. 14).—S. L.

HYMENÆUS (Ἵμηναιος), a professor of Christianity at Ephesus, who, with Alexander (1 Tim. i. 20) and Philetus (2 Tim. ii. 18), had departed from the truth both in principle and practice, and led others into apostasy. The chief doctrinal error of these persons consisted in maintaining that 'the resurrection was past already.' The precise meaning of this expression is by no means clearly ascertained: the most general and perhaps best founded opinion is, that they understood the resurrection in a figurative sense of the great change produced by the Gospel dispensation. Some have suggested that they attempted to support their views by the Apostle's language in his Epistle to the Ephesians (νεκρῶν—οὐκ ἐσθωλῶν—οὐκ ἔμελλεν, etc., ii. 1-5): but this is very improbable; for if such misconception of his language had arisen, it might easily have been corrected; not to say that one of them appears to have been personally inimical to St. Paul (2 Tim. iv. 14), and would scarcely have appealed to him as an authority. Most critics suppose that the same person is referred to in both the epistles to Timothy by the name of Hymenæus. Dr. Mosheim, however, contends that there were two. He seems to lay great stress on the Apostle's declaration in 1 Tim. i. 20, 'whom I have delivered unto Satan that they may learn not to blaspheme.' But whatever may be the meaning of this expression, the infliction was evidently designed for the benefit and restoration of the parties (comp. 1 Cor. v. 5), and was therefore far from indicating their hopeless and abandoned wickedness. Nor do the terms employed in the second Epistle import a less flagrant violation of the Christian profession than those in

the first. If in the one the individuals alluded to are charged with having 'discarded a good conscience' and 'made shipwreck of faith,' in the other they are described as indulging 'in vain and profane babblings, which would increase to more ungodliness,' as 'having erred concerning the truth,' and 'overthrowing the faith' of others. These can hardly be said to be 'two distinct characters having nothing in common but the name' (Mosheim's *Commentaries*, i. 304-306). For other interpretations of 2 Tim. ii. 18, see Gill's *Commentary*, in loc., and Walchii *Miscellanea Sacra*, i. 4; *de Hymenaeo Phileto*, Amstel. 1774 [ANATHEMA].—J. E. R.

HYMN (ὕμνος). This term as used by the Greeks primarily signified simply a song (comp. Hom. *Od.* viii. 429; Hes. *Op.* *d.* D. 659; Pindar *Ol.* i. 170; xi. 74; *Isthm.* iv. 74; *Pyth.* x. 82; Aesch. *Eum.* 331; Soph. *Antig.* 809; Plat. *Rep.* v. p. 459, E, etc.); we find instances even in which the cognate verb ὑμνεῖν is used in a bad sense (φάλας ἐκλαμβάνεται, Eustath. p. 634, comp. Soph. *Elect.* 382; *Oed. Tyr.* 1275; Eurip. *Med.* 425); but usage ultimately appropriated the term to songs in praise of the gods. We know that among the Greeks, as among most of the nations of antiquity, the chanting of songs in praise of their gods was an approved part of their worship (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. p. 633, ed. Sylburg.; Porphyry. *de Abst.* iv. sec. 8; Phurnutius *de Nat. Deor.* c. 14; Alex. ab Alex. *Gen. Dies* iv. c. 17, s. f.; Spanheim in *not. ad Callimachum*, p. 2; comp. Meiners, *Geschichte aller Religionen*, c. 13); and even at their festive entertainments such songs were sometimes sung (Athen. *Deipnos.* xiv., xv. 14; Polyb. *Hist.* iv. 20, ed. Ernesti). Besides those hymns to different deities which have come down to us as the composition of Callimachus, Orpheus, Homer, Linus, Cleanthes, Sappho, and others, we may with confidence refer to the choral odes of the tragedians as affording specimens of these sacred songs, such of them at least as were of a lyric character (Snedorf, *De Hymnis Vet. Græc.* p. 19). Such songs were properly called *hymns*. Hence Arrian says distinctly (*De Exped. Alex.* iv. 11, 2), ὕμνοι μὲν ἐς τοὺς θεοὺς ποιοῦνται, ᾠαὶ δὲ ἐς ἀνθρώπους. So also Phavorinus; ὕμνος, ἡ πρὸς θεὸν ᾠδή. Augustine (*in Ps. lxxii.*) thus fully states the meaning of the term: 'Hymni laudes sunt Dei cum cantico. Hymni cantus sunt, continenter laudes Dei. Si sit laus, et non sit Dei non est hymnus. Si sit laus et Dei laus, et non cantatur, non est hymnus. Oportet ergo ut si sit hymnus, habeat hæc tria et laudem et Dei et canticum.'

In the LXX. the word ὕμνος and its cognates are used as representing several Hebrew words; but in almost every case the reference is to songs of praise or thanksgiving to God. In the N. T. this is the invariable usage of the terms.

Our Lord and his disciples after the institution of the Supper 'sang an hymn' (ὑμνοῦσαντες) before they went out to the Mount of Olives (Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26). There is every reason to believe that what was sung on this occasion was the latter part of the Hallel, Ps. cxv.-cxviii. [HALLEL]. When Paul and Silas were imprisoned at Philippi 'at midnight they prayed and sang praises unto God' (ὕμνουσαν τὸν θεόν, Acts xvi. 25). Whether they sang were some of the ancient psalms or spontaneous utterances of adoration and worship,

we have no means of determining. In writing to the Ephesians (v. 19), and again to the Colossians (iii. 16), the apostle enjoins the use of hymns in the social worship of Christians, classing them with psalms and spiritual songs (ψαλμοὶ καὶ ὕμνοι καὶ ᾠδαὶ πνευματικαί). In what relation these stood to each other is a question which has occasioned considerable differences of opinion. According to some, the distinction between them was one of *subject*; according to others it was merely one of *form*, having respect to the manner in which they were sung; whilst others contend that the *source* whence they were derived, and the *general character* of the composition, determined the difference between them. Under these leading opinions, endless differences of minor opinion have been advocated. Of those who adopt the first opinion is St. Jerome, who thinks that the hymn was devoted to the celebration of the divine majesty and goodness, that the psalm was occupied with themes of an ethical nature, and that the spiritual ode was occupied with things above, and the subtle discussion of the concert of the world, and the order and concord of creation (*Comment. in Eph.* v. 19). Others, again, who hold the same general view, state the difference thus:—The psalm belongs to ethics; the hymn, as setting forth the praises of God for redemption, to theology; and the ode, as celebrating the works of God in creation and providence, to natural science (Thomasius, *in Praefationibus*, p. 525). All this, however, is purely arbitrary. The second opinion was held by Augustine, Basil, Hilary, and others of the Christian Fathers, and has been adopted by several in more recent times. By some who take this view, the distinction is supposed to lie in this, that the ψαλμοὶ were compositions which were chanted to the accompaniment of an instrument, the ψαλτήριον, the ὕμνοι songs of adoration uttered by the voice alone, and the ᾠδαὶ, short chants uttered also only by the voice (Aug. *Enarrat. in Ps. iii.*; Bas. Mag. *in Ps. xxxix.*; Greg. Nyss, *Tr. ii. in Psalmos*, cli. iii., etc.); while others think that the distinction is to be determined by reference to the Hebrew ter-

minology שְׁמִיחָה, שִׁמְשׁוּרִים, שְׁמִיחָה, which is in fact determining nothing, as the distinction between these is itself entirely uncertain. The third opinion is that of Beza (*Nov. Test.*, in loc.), and Grotius (*Comment. ad Matt.* xxvi. 30, *et h. l.*); they think that by *Psalmos* are designated the sacred songs bearing that name collectively in the O. T. canon; by *hymns* such extemporary songs of praise as we have in the song of Deborah, Hannah, Zachariah, and Mary, and such as the apostle and his companion sang in the prison at Philippi; and by *odes* premeditated compositions of a more elaborate nature and stricter form than hymns. To this in the general most subsequent inquirers have given their consent; only, some think that the term 'psalms' should not be restricted to the compositions bearing that name in the O. T., but should be extended to all of a similar character which might be composed for the use of the Church in later times; and that by 'spiritual odes' are to be understood specifically all sacred songs, of whatever kind, composed by special inspiration of the Holy Ghost (θεοπνευστοί). The former of these modifications is rendered almost imperative by 1 Cor. xiv. 26; and the latter by the general sense of the adjective πνευματικός in the N. T. Not a few

de-pairing of satisfactorily discriminating these three kinds of sacred song, have contended that the Apostle merely accumulates terms for the sake of force, and that no distinction between them is to be sought (Clem. Alex., *Pædag.* ii. 4, p. 565; Clericus, *in not. apud Hammondii annot.*, in loc., etc.); but this otiose method of disposing of the difficulty has been repudiated by most.

As to the *form* in which these early hymns of the Church were composed, we have no means of even approaching a certain conclusion. Among the Jewish Christians the chanting of the Psalms was familiar, and it would be easy for them to compose hymns that could be sung to their accustomed tunes; but with the Gentile converts it would be somewhat different. Among the Greeks and Romans poetry had fixed metrical forms, to which the tunes of the Hebrews could not be adapted. There is no reason, however, to believe that the early Gentile Christians followed these metrical forms in their sacred poetry. The earliest specimens of Christian song extant; the hymn to Christ, preserved by Clemens of Alexandria; the evening hymn, referred to by Basil as in his time very ancient, handed down from the Fathers (*De Spir. Sanct.*, c. 29); and the morning hymn, which has been incorporated with the Liturgy of the Church of England; have no traces of a metrical character, but are, like the Biblical hymns, adapted only for being chanted in recitative with a few and simple cadences.* Such singing would no doubt be new to the Gentile converts, but it would be speedily learned; and as they probably had very little sacred music of their own, they would hail with delight this accession to their sources of enjoyment, which served at the same time as a vehicle of the devotional feeling which had been kindled within them. It has been suggested that in 1 Cor. xiii. we have an apostolic hymn, and in Eph. v. 14; 1 Tim. iii. 16; James i. 17; Rev. i. 5, 6; xv. 3, etc., fragments of hymns sung in the Apostolic churches; but this is mere conjecture, though not without some probability (Deyling, *Hymni a Christianis decantandi*, Obs. Sac. iii. 430; Walch, *De Hymnis Eccl. Apostol.*, 1737; Hilliger, *De Psal. Hymn. atque Odar. sac. discrimine*, Viteb. 1720; Gerbert, *De cantu et musica a primo Eccl. statu usque ad præsens tempus*, Bamb. et Frib. 1774, 2 tom. 4to; Bingham, *Antiquities*, Bk. xiv. ch. 2, *Works*, vol. iv. p. 447, ff.; Rheinwald, *Christl. Archæologie*, p. 262. For collections and specimens of ancient hymns, see *Poeta Græci Christiani, una cum Homericis centonibus ex sanctor. Patr. opp. collecti in usum Gymnasii. Soc. Jesu*, Lutet. Paris. 1609; Maggi, *Sacri Hinni che si leggono in tutto anno nella santa Chiesa*, Venet. 1567; *Hymni Ecclesiæ e Breviario Parisiensis*, Oxon. 1838; [Faber] *Hymns translated from the Parisian Breviary*, Lond. 1839; Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, 3 vols., Hal. et Lips. 1841-55; Burgess, *Select Metrical Hymns and Homilies of Ephraem Syrus*, Lond. 1853; Trench, *Sacred Latin Poetry*, Lond. 1849; Mrs. Barrett Browning, *The Greek Christian Poets*, Lond. 1863).—W. L. A. [SYNAGOGUE, iii. 905.]

HYPERBOLE. Any one who carefully exa-

* 'Primitiva ecclesia ita psallebat ut modico flexu vocis faceret psallentem resonare, ita ut pronuntianti vicinior esset quam canenti.' Isidor. Hispal., *De Eccl. Offic.* i. 5.

mines the Bible must be surprised at the very few hyperbolic expressions which it contains, considering that it is an Oriental book. Some of these few have occasioned so much difficulty to sincere men, that we have reason to bless God that the scene of those great events which comprise the history of man's salvation was laid in Western, and not in Eastern Asia, where the genius of hyperbole reigns without limit or control. In Eastern Asia the tone of composition is pitched so high as to be scarcely intelligible to the sober intellect of Europe; while in Western Asia a medium seems to have been struck between the ultra-extravagance of the far east, and the frigid exactness of the far west.

But even regarded as a book of Western Asia, the Bible is, as compared with almost any other Western Asiatic book, so singularly free from hyperbolic expressions as might well excite our surprise, did not our knowledge of its divine origin permit us to suppose that even the style and mode of expression of the writers were so far controlled as to exclude from their writings what, in other ages and countries, might excite pain and offence, and prove an obstacle to the reception of divine truth. Nor is it to be said that the usage of hyperbole is of modern growth. We find it in the oldest eastern writings which now exist; and the earlier rabbinical writings attest that, in times approaching near to those in which the writers of the N. T. flourished, the Jewish imagination had run riot in this direction, and has left hyperboles as frequent and outrageous as any which Persia or India can produce.

These things being considered, we shall certainly have more cause to admire the rarity of hyperbolic expressions in the Bible than to marvel at those which do occur.

The strongest hyperbole in all Scripture is that with which the Gospel of St. John concludes:—'There are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that the world itself could not contain all the books that should be written.' This has so much pained many commentators, that they have been disposed to regard it as an unauthorized addition to the sacred text, and to reject it accordingly. Now this is always a dangerous process, and not to be adopted but on such overwhelming authority of collated manuscripts as does not exist in the present case. How much more natural and becoming is it to regard the verse simply as a hyperbole, so perfectly conformable to Oriental modes of expression, and to some other hyperboles which may be found interspersed in the sacred books, that the sole wonder really is that this one should be rare enough to afford ground for objection and remark.

This view of the matter might be illustrated by many examples, in which we find sacred and profane authors using hyperboles of the like kind and signification. In Num. xiii. 33, the spies who had returned from searching the land of Canaan, say that they saw 'giants there, of such a prodigious size, that they were in their own sight as grasshoppers.' In Deut. i. 28, cities with high walls about them are said to be 'walled up to heaven.' In Dan. iv. 7, mention is made of a tree whereof 'the height reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof unto the end of all the earth;' and the author of Ecclesiasticus (xlvii. 15), speaking of Solomon's wisdom, says, 'Thy soul covered the whole earth, and thou fillest it with parables.' As the world is here said to be filled with Solomon's

parables; so in John xxi. 25, by one degree more of hyperbole, it is said that the world could not contain all the books that should be written concerning Jesus's miracles, if a particular account of every one of them were given. In Josephus (*Antiq.* xiv. 22) God is mentioned as promising to Jacob that he would give the land of Canaan to him and his seed; and then it is added, 'they shall fill the whole sea and land which the sun shines upon.' Wetstein, in his note on the text in John, and Basnage, in his *Histoire des Juifs* (iii. 1-9; v. 7), have cited from the ancient rabbinical writers such passages as the following:—'If all the seas were ink, and every reed was a pen, and the whole heaven and earth were parchment, and all the sons of men were writers, they would not be sufficient to write all the lessons which Jochanan composed; and concerning one Eliezer it is said, that 'if the heavens were parchment, and all the sons of men writers, and all the trees of the forest pens, they would not be sufficient for writing all the wisdom which he was possessed of.'

Hyperboles not less strong than that under review find their way into our own poetry, without shocking our judgment or offending our taste, thus:—

'And I as rich in having such a jewel
As fifty seas, if all their sands were pearl,
Their rivers nectar, and their rocks pure gold.'

Homer, who if not born in Asia Minor had undoubtedly lived there, has sometimes followed the hyperbolic manner of speaking which prevailed so much in the East: thus, in *Iliad* xx. 246, 247, he makes Æneas say to Achilles, 'Let us have done with reproaching one another; for we may throw out so many reproachful words on one another, that a ship of a hundred oars would not be able to carry the load.' Few instances of this are to be found in Occidental writers; yet it is observed that Cicero (*Phil.* ii. 44) has 'præsertim quum illi eam gloriam consecuti sint, quæ vix cælo capi posse videatur,' and that Livy (vii. 25) says, 'hæ vires populi Romani, quas vix terrarum capit orbis.' See Bishop Pearce's *Commentary on the four Evangelists*, 1777, etc.—J. K.

HYPERIUS, ANDREW GERHARD; the name Hyperius, taken from his birth-place Yperu, was used in his published writings in preference to that of his family. He was born May 16, 1511. In 1528 he commenced his studies in that city under Joachim Ringelberg, an eminent teacher, whose favourite maxim was, *Quicquid dedideris, confestim doccas*. In 1532 he began to attend a course of theology; but dissatisfied with the dry scholasticism of the Sorbonne, he read in private the Fathers, especially Augustine, and made himself well acquainted with church history and the canon law; at the same time he attended the lectures of the classical scholars who had been invited to the new college founded by Francis I. in 1529, some of whom were warm friends of the Reformation, and propagated its principles among their students. During his theological triennium he travelled through all France and north Italy; at the conclusion of his studies in 1535 he went through the Netherlands and the north of Germany; and in 1537 he visited Hesse and Saxony, and made the acquaintance of the Protestant theologians in Marburg, Erfurt, Wittenberg, and Leipsic. Soon

after he openly joined the Reformers, and declined a lucrative post in the Papal Court which his friends, without his knowledge, had obtained for him. He ultimately became professor of theology at Marburg, where he died 1st Feb. 1564. Besides several works in theology, he prepared a commentary on the Epistles of Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews, which was published after his death by Mylius, in 4 vols. fol., Zür. 1582-84. This, though comparatively but little known,* is one of the most valuable of the exegetical remains of the Reformers. Hyperius pursues the grammatico-historical method of interpretation, examining the meaning of the words, carefully tracing the connection of the passage, taking note of the analogy of Scripture, and so arriving at the true sense of the place. Not until he has thus done justice to the exegesis, does he proceed to the dogmatical or practical use of the passage. He also frequently gives citations from the Fathers to shew the agreement of his conclusions with the understanding of the ancient church. In his *Opuscula* are to be found also some exegetical treatises.—J. E. R.

I.

IBHAR (יְבָר); Sept. Vat. 'Εβάρ, 'Εβαρ, Βάρ; Alex. 'Ιεβάρ, 'Ιεβαρ; Vulg. *Iebahar, Jebaar*. A son of David born in Jerusalem whose name occurs in 2 Sam. v. 15; 1 Chron. iii. 6; xiv. 5. His mother's name is not mentioned; but from 1 Chron. iii. 9 it appears that she was one of David's wives of the first order as distinguished from his concubines. [CONCUBINE].—J. E. R.

IBLEAM (יְבֵלֵאם); LXX. 'Ιεβλαάμ; Onom. 'Ιεβλαάμ; Vulg. *Jeblaam*. One of the six towns which, together with their adjoining villages, were assigned to the tribe of Manasseh within the borders of Issachar and Asher (Josh. xvii. 11). It was in the neighbourhood of this town that Ahaziah, king of Judah, received his death wound from the servants, and at the command, of Jehu (2 Kings ix. 27). Its exact position is unknown, but we may infer from the passage just quoted that it was on or near the road from Jezreel to Megiddo. According to Judg. i. 27, Ibleam was one of the towns from which the Manassites failed to expel the Canaanites, and the same thing seems to be affirmed in Josh. xvii. 11. For an explanation of the grammatical difficulty connected with the last-mentioned passage, and a reply to the objection which would find a contradiction between the two passages, the reader is referred to Keil on Joshua, *in loc.* Ibleam, which is mentioned in 1 Chron. vi. 70 as one of the Levitical cities, is perhaps the same as Ibleam. The reading, however, is somewhat doubtful, see Josh. xxi. 25, where the city is termed Gath-Rimmon [GATH-RIMMON].—S. N.

IBN ADONIA. [JACOB B. CHAJEM.]

IBN AKNIN (אֲבִן עֲקִינִי or עֲקִינִי) JOSEPH B. JEHUDAH, called in Arabic by the long name of *Abulhag'ag' Jussuff Ibn Fahja Ibn Shimun Alsabti*

* Bloomfield refers frequently to Hyperius in the notes to his Greek N. T., but with this exception, one hardly ever sees a recognition of him by British scholars.

Almaghribi, a distinguished philosopher, mathematician, astronomer, physician, poet, and commentator, who was born at Ceuta, Arab. *Sebtā* (Septum), about 1160. He fled from his native place about 1185, in consequence of the great sufferings which the Jews had to endure in it, and for a time settled in Alexandria, where he became a disciple and intimate friend of the immortal Maimonides, and, by his sceptical expressions about religion and philosophy, caused this great luminary to write the celebrated *More Nebuchim* (מורה נבוכים) *Doctor perplexorum*. Ibn Aknin then went to Syria (circa 1190) and thence to Bagdad (1192), where he founded a Rabbinic college, and shortly after became physician to the Emir Faris ed Din Meimun el Kasri. Passing by his poetical, ethical, medical, and metaphysical writings, we notice his *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, written in Arabic, which is to be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (*Pococke*, 189). He espouses the notion of the Talmud, that the Song of Songs is the most sacred of all the twenty-four canonical books of the O. T. [SOLOMON'S SONG], and accordingly explains it allegorically as representing the relationship of God to his people Israel. 'There are,' he says, 'three different modes of ex-

plaining this book; 1. *The literal* (על אלפסוט), which is to be found in the philologists or grammarians, *ex. gr.*, Saadia, Abu Sacharia Jahja ben David el Fasi [CHAJUG], Abulwalid Ibn Ganach of Saragossa [IBN GANACH], the Nagid R. Samuel Ha-Levi ben Nagdilah, Abn Ibrahim ben Baran [ISAAC b. JOSEPH], Jehudah ben Balaam [IBN BALAAH], and Moses Ibn Gikatilla Ha-Cohen [GIKATELLA]. 2. *The allegorical*, to be found in the Midrash Chasit, the Talmud, and in some of the ancient interpretations; and 3. *The philosophical* interpretation, which regards this book as referring to the active intellect [*voûs actif*], here worked out for the first time, and which, though the last in point of time, is the first of all in point of merit

(נוטל שכל כנדר כלם). These three different explanations correspond, in reverse order, to the three different natures of man, namely, to his physical (טבעי), vital (חיוני), and spiritual (נפסאני) natures. Ibn Aknin always gives the first and second explanations first, and then the philosophical interpretation. The commentary is invaluable to the history of Biblical literature and exegesis, inasmuch as all the interpreters therein enumerated have, with the exception of Saadia, hitherto not been known as commentators of the Song of Songs. These expositors form an important addition to the history of interpretation given by Ginsburg (*Historical and Critical Commentary of the Song of Songs*, Longman 1857). Ibn Aknin died about 1226. Comp. also the masterly monograph of Munk, *Notice sur Joseph b. Jehuda*, Par. 1842; and the very elaborate article of Steinschneider, in *Ersch und Gruber's Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, s. v. *Joseph Ibn Aknin*.—C. D. G.

IBN ALI. [JESHUAH B. JEHUDAH.]

IBN BALAAH JEHUDAH (יהודה בן בלעם), called in Arabic *Abu-Zakaria Jahja*, and by Ibn Ezra *יהודה המדקדק הראשון*, *R. Jehudah*, the first grammarian, בן בלעם הספרדי, *Ben Balaam the Spaniard*, one of the most distinguished philologists and commentators of the Spanish school,

who lived in Seville between A.D. 1050 and 1090. He wrote (1) ספר טעמי המקרא, a work on the accents of the Bible, which was first edited by Jo. Mercer under the title *De accentibus scripturae pro saicus*, Par., Rob. Stephanus, 1565. Some portions of this book have been incorporated by Heidenheim in his excellent work called משפטי הטעמים [HEIDENHEIM.] (2) שער טעמי נ' ספרים אמ"ח, on the Poetical accents of Job, Proverbs, and the Psalms, first published by Mercer, Paris 1556, and recently re-edited with the remarks of the most ancient grammarians upon these peculiar accents, as well as notes and an introduction, by G. J. Polak,

Amsterdam 1858. (3) ספר הפעלים שנמצאו מנורות, השמות, on the denominative verbs in the Hebrew language. These denominatives are arranged in alphabetical order, and commented upon in Arabic. This work has not yet been published, but specimens of it in Hebrew have been printed by Leopold Dukes in *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1846, No. 42. (4) ספר אותות הענינים, a treatise on the Hebrew particles, in alphabetical order. This work, too, has not as yet been printed, but specimens of it have been published both by Dukes and Fürst in *Literaturblatt des Orients*, Nos. 29 and 42. (5) ספר הוהננים, a treatise on the Hebrew homonyms, in alphabetical order, extracts of which have been published by Dukes in *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1846, No. 4. (6) A Commentary on the Pentateuch, written in Arabic: though this work has long been known through Ibn Ezra, who quotes it in his commentary on Gen. xlix. 6; Exod. v. 19; yet it is only lately (1851) that the indefatigable Dr. Steinschneider has discovered a MS. in the Bodleian Library containing the commentary on Numbers and Deuteronomy. Ibn Balaam always gives the grammatical explanation of the words first, he then enters into a minute disquisition on Saadia's translation and exposition of the Pentateuch, which he generally rejects, then explains the passage according to its context, and finally sets forth the Halachic and the judicial interpretation of the Talmud. A specimen of this commentary, which is extremely important to the Hebrew text and the Massora, has been communicated by Adolph Neubauer in the *Journal Asiatique* of December 1861. It is on Deut. v. 6, upon which Ibn Balaam remarks, 'As to the different readings of the two Decalogue (i.e., Exod. xx. 2-17, and Deut. v. 6-21), Saadia is of opinion that they contain two different revelations. He entertains the same view respecting those Psalms which occur twice with some verbal variations [*ex. gr.*, Ps. xiv. and liii.], and respecting the different readings of the Babylonian and Palestinian codices. Thus, for example, when the Babylonians omit the words ביום ההוא in Zech. xiv. 4, which the Palestinians insert, he takes this as a proof that this prophecy was revealed in two different forms. He, in like manner, adheres to both readings in every other prophecy in which similar verbal variations are found, because both have been revealed. I, however, find it more probable that tradition is the cause of these different readings, inasmuch as some have undoubtedly heard the prophet use such expressions on one occasion, and others heard from him other expressions on another occasion, and both traditions have been followed. This, I am also of opinion, is the cause of the differences between Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali [BEN ASHER; BEN NAPHTALI], each

of them found a copy, according to one such tradition, which he followed without any regard to the deviations. And this is the case with all the difference between the Westerns and the Easterns which the ancients have fixed.' From this important passage we get to know a remarkable variation between the Western and Eastern codices which is not mentioned elsewhere, namely, that the words **בְּיוֹם הַהוּא** (Zech. xiv. 2) are omitted in the latter; we also get to know why the Syriac version has not these words; and we, moreover, see in what light Saadia and others regarded the various readings. (7) *A Commentary on the Psalms*, quoted by Ibn Ezra on Ps. iv. 8; vii. 6, 7; x. 14; xxiv. 2; liv. 7; lxxxi. 17; lxxxiv. 4; lxxxv. 2; lxxxviii. 5; cvii. 28; cxv. 7; cxix. 8; cxliv. 8. (8) *A Commentary on the Song of Songs*, which, according to Ibn Aknin, who quotes it, gives a literal exposition of this book [IBN AKNIN]. (9) *A Commentary on Isaiah*, quoted by Joseph Albo (*Ikarim*, sec. i. 1), from which it appears that Ibn Balaam, contrary to the generally received opinion, explained away the Messianic prophecies, and interprets Is. xi. as referring to Hezekiah. From Ibn Ezra's quotation on Zech. ix. 7 and Dan. x. 1, it seems as if he had also written commentaries on these books. Ibn Balaam is one of the most liberal interpreters, and quotes Christian commentators and the Koran in his expositions. Comp. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 1292-1297; *He-Chaluz*, vol. ii., Lemberg 1853, p. 60, ff.; Leopold Dukes, *Beiträge Zur Geschichte der Aeltesten Auslegung und Spracherklärung des Alten Testaments von Ewald und Dukes*, Stuttgart 1844, vol. ii., p. 186, ff.; Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, vol. i., 1862, p. 292, ff. —C. D. G.

IBN BARUCH, BARUCH, a distinguished Jewish philosopher and commentator, flourished in the 16th century at Venice. He published a twofold commentary on Ecclesiastes, called by the

double name of **קהלת יעקב**, *the Congregation of Jacob*, and **קדוש ישראל**, *Holy Israel* (Venice 1599), the first of which is discursive and diffuse, and the second exegetical and brief. Based upon the first verse, 'the words of Coheleth, son of David, king in Jerusalem,' he maintains that two persons are speaking in its book, a sceptic named *Coheleth*, and a believer called *Ben David*, and accordingly treats the whole as a dialogue, in which these two characters are shown to discuss the most important problems of moral philosophy, and the philosophic systems of Greece and Arabia are made to furnish the two heroes of the dialogue with the necessary philosophic materials. The remarkable part of it is that the *Quæstiones disputatæ de Anima* of Thomas Aquinas, which were translated into Hebrew by Ali Xabillo, are used, both to put objections into the mouth of the sceptic, and to supply the believer with replies. Thus, when the sceptical Coheleth questions the immortality of the soul (*Ecc. ii. 15, a*), he uses the same objections which Thomas Aquinas uses with regard to the soul in question xiv. of his work on the soul; and the believing Ben David, in refuting these objections, employs the arguments of Aquinas (comp. also *Commentary*, 65, a; 71, b; 96, a; 97, c; 117, a; 118, b; 119, a). This commentary is most important to the understanding of the Jewish

philosophy, and must be added to the history of the interpretation of Ecclesiastes given by Ginsburg, *Historical and Critical Commentary on Ecclesiastes*; comp. Jellinek, *Thomas von Aquino in der jüdischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1853, p. ii. 13 and vii.—C. D. G.

IBN CASPI OR CASPE (אִבְנֵי כַסְפִּי), JOSEPH B. ABBA MARI B. JOSEPH B. JACOB. This remarkable philosopher, poet, lexicographer, and commentator, who was born about A.D. 1280, is supposed to have derived his name from his native place L'Argentierre, in Languedoc, now in the department of L'Ardeche, ten miles from Privas, of which **כַּסְפִּי** is a Hebrew translation. His brilliant powers and fondness for Biblical exegesis he evinced at the early age of seventeen, when he published the masterly commentaries upon Ibn Ezra's exposition of the Pentateuch, and upon Ibn Ganach's celebrated grammatical work, called **ספר הרקמה** [IBN GANACH]. In his thirtieth year (*circa* 1310) he devoted himself to the study of logic and the speculative sciences, as well as to the interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures, in accordance with the rules of these sciences. Passing by the philosophical and ethical productions of this voluminous writer, we shall give a list of his grammatical, lexical, and exegetical works, and state the principles of interpretation by which he was guided. He wrote (1) a commentary (**פְּרִישָׁה**) on Ibn Ganach's grammatical work. (2) An etymological work, called **כַּסְפִּי בְּרִחוּקוֹת**, *silver chains*, containing general remarks on the roots (**שְׁרָשִׁים**) of the Hebrew language, in which he shows that in Hebrew more than in any other language things derive their names from certain accidents. (3) A Hebrew lexicon called **כַּסְפִּי בְּשֵׁרָשׁוֹת** or **שְׁרָשׁוֹת**, *small silver chains or roots*, which is one of his most interesting and important works. He starts from the principle that every root has only one general idea as its basis, and logically deduces from it all the other shades of meaning. A copy of this work in MS., 2 vols. 4to, is in the Paris library, and another in the Angelica at Rome. Abravanel frequently quotes it in his commentary on the Pentateuch (comp. p. 7), on Isaiah (comp. xlv. 3; lxvi. 17), etc.; Wolf gives a specimen of it (*Bibliotheca Hebraea* i. 1543); Richard Simon used the Paris MS. (*Hist. Crit.*, lib. i. cap. xxxi.), and Leopold Dukes printed extracts from it (*Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1847, p. 486). (4) A commentary on Ibn Ezra's exposition of the Pentateuch called **פְּרִישָׁה הַכַּסְפִּי**, *the silver summary*. (5) Rules about most of the mysteries of the Pentateuch (**סִתְרֵי תוֹרָה**), and explanations of its apparently superfluous statements, called **טִירַת כַּסְפִּי**, *a silver castle*. (6) A supplement to the preceding work, entitled **עֲמֻדֵי כַּסְפִּי**, *silver pillars*. (7) A commentary on the Pentateuch, entitled **לְכַסְפִּי**, *a refining-pot for silver*, in the introduction to which he gives an analysis of its tendency and parts. Abravanel gives an extract from it in his commentary on the Pentateuch (comp. Levit. xx. 10-21, p. 205, ed. Hanau). (8) A collection of those expositions of the Pentateuch, in which Ibn Caspi differs from Maimonides and Ibn Ezra, called **כַּסְפִּי בְּבַסּוֹן**, *silver basons*. (9) A commentary on eight prophets,

* The word **כַּסְפִּי**, *silver*, which is found in the titles of Ibn Caspi's works, is in allusion to his name **כַּסְפִּי**.

called **מטות כסף**, *silver staves*—on Isaiah (lii. liv.), which is one of these prophets, Ibn Caspi is very severe upon those who explain these prophecies as referring to the Messiah [IBN DANAN]. (10) An exposition of the Psalms, called **מזמורת כסף**, *silver snuffers*, an extract of which has been published by Leopold Dukes (comp. *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1849, pp. 11, 14). (11) A commentary on Proverbs, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes. Of the commentary on Proverbs, which is one of Ibn Caspi's most valuable contributions to Biblical exegesis, the beginning and end have been published by Werblumer (comp. **קבוצת כסף**, 1846, p. 19, etc.); an analysis of the commentary on Ecclesiastes is given by Ginsburg (comp. *Historical and Critical Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, Longman, 1861, p. 60, etc.), and the brief commentary on, or rather introduction to, the Song of Songs, which was published in 1577, but which is rarer than the MSS., has been reprinted with an English translation by Ginsburg (comp. *Historical and Critical Commentary on the Song of Songs*, Longman, 1857, p. 47, etc.). (12) A commentary

on Job, called **שולחן כסף**, *a silver table*. (13) An exposition of Ruth and Lamentations, entitled **כפות כסף**, *silver censers*. (14) A commentary on Esther, called **גלילי כסף**, *silver rings*. (15) A commentary on Daniel, called **קערה כסף**, *silver dishes*. (16) An exposition of Ezra and Chronicles, entitled **חגורת כסף**, *a silver girdle*; (17) A commentary on all the passages found in the Pentateuch and in the Prophets which refer to the creation, called **מזרק כסף**, *a silver vase*. (18) A commentary on the miracles and other mysteries found in the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiography, called **גביע כסף**, *a silver cup*. (19) One hundred profound questions in connection with the Pentateuch and Prophets, called **כסף סינים**, *dross silver*.

As to the principles of interpretation by which Ibn Caspi was guided in explaining the Bible, we cannot do better than give them in his own words. 'The Sacred Scriptures,' says he in his exposition of the Proverbs, 'must be explained according to their plain and literal sense; and a recondite meaning can as little be introduced into them as into Aristotle's writings on logic and natural history. Only where the literal meaning is not sufficient, and reason rejects it, a deeper sense must be resorted to. If we once attempt to allegorise a simple and intelligible passage, then we might just as well do it with the whole contents of the Bible.' . . . 'The logical division of sentences is the most indispensable and best auxiliary to the right understanding of the Bible, and the criterion to the proper order of the words are the *Massora* and the *accents*.' We see from this extract that this writer of the middle ages anticipated the hermeneutical rules of modern criticism at a time when the schoolmen and the depositaries of Christian learning were engaged in hair-splitting and in allegorizing every fact of the Bible. It is greatly to be regretted that nearly all the exegetical works of Ibn Caspi are still unpublished. Comp. Zunz and Delitzsch, *Katalog der Handschr. der Leipziger Rathsbiblioth.* pp. 304, ff., 323, ff.; Kirchheim, *Werblumer's Edition of Ibn Caspi's Commentary on Maimonides More Nebokhim*, Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1848, p. 10, ff.; Leopold Dukes, *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1848; and especially the masterly article of Stein-

schneider, *Erich und Gruber, Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, sect. ii. vol. xxxi., p. 58, ff.; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. vii., Leipzig 1863, p. 361, etc.—C. D. G.

IBN CHAJIM, AARON, was born at Fez about 1570. He wrote (1) a *Commentary on Joshua* and (2) another on *Judges*, giving first the verbal **ביאור** explanation, and then an exposition (**סדרש**) of the text, which were published in Venice 1608-1609. A selection of these commentaries has been published in Frankfurter's Great Rabbinic Bible, under the title of **לב אהרן**, *the heart of Aaron* [FRANKFURTER]. (3) A *Commentary on Sifra* (**ספרא**), or the traditional explanation of Leviticus, which Ibn Chajim published in Venice, 1609-1611, under the title of **קרבן אהרן**, *the oblation of Aaron*. (4) A treatise on R. Ishmael's thirteen rules for interpreting the Scriptures [R. ISHMAEL], called **מדות אהרן**, *the rules of Aaron*, Venice 1609, and Dessau 1712.—C. D. G.

IBN DANAN, SAADIA B. MAIMON, a Jewish poet, lexicographer, and commentator of the Spanish school, born about A.D. 1450. His works which bear upon the interpretation of the Bible and the elucidation of its language, are (1) A *Commentary on Isaiah lii. 13* in MS. (cod. MS. Michael 412), in which he tells us that Ibn Caspi regards those who interpret this of the Messiah to be as greatly in error as those who refer it to Jesus of Nazareth, but Ibn Saadia adds to this remark, 'May God have mercy upon him!' i.e., upon Ibn Caspi. And (2) A Hebrew Lexicon, written in Arabic. This work, too, is still in MS.; but Pinsker has given an extract from it in his *Lickute Kadmonoth*, Vienna 1860, p. 74. Comp. Leopold Dukes, **נחל קדומים**, 1853, vol. i., p. 1; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodlesiana*, col. 2155.—C. D. G.

IBN DAUD, JEHUDAH. [CHAJUG.]

IBN DJANAH. [IBN GANACH.]

IBN EZRA, ABRAHAM B. MEIER, also called by the Jews **ראב"ע** (רא'בע), from the initials of *Rabbi Abraham ben Ezra* (**אברהם בן עזרא**), and by the scholastics *Ebenare* or *Evenare*, one of the most remarkable of the Jewish literati of the middle ages, who commanded the whole cycle of knowledge of his time, was born in Toledo in 1088-1089, and very soon distinguished himself as a mathematician, astronomer, philosopher, poet, physician, traveller, theologian, grammarian, and commentator. It is, however, with his labours as a Biblical commentator and grammarian, to which he consecrated his varied learning, that we have to deal. Upon those labours he first entered in the eternal city, where he published, in his fiftieth year (1140), *Commentaries on the Five Megilloth* (**חמשה מגילות**), viz., *The Song of Songs*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Coheleth*, and *Esther*, which were immediately followed by an *Exposition of Job*, and two grammatical treatises on the language of the Sacred Scriptures, one being a Hebrew translation of Chajug's Arabic work [CHAJUG], and the other an original production called **מאזנים**, *the balance*. These were succeeded by another Hebrew Grammar entitled **צחות**, *on the purity of the Hebrew style*, which he published whilst in Mantua, in 1145.

From Mantua this erratic genius emigrated to Lucca, where he wrote in 1154 and 1155 his masterly commentaries on Isaiah and the Pentateuch, as well as two grammatical treatises—one independent, called *ספר*, and the other polemic, entitled *שפת הטר*, being a rejoinder to Ibn Librat's attack on Saadia [IBN LIBRAT; SAADIA]. We then find him in 1155-1157 issuing commentaries on *Daniel*, the *Psalms*, and the *Minor Prophets*, in Rhodes, then in 1159 publishing an energetic defence of the Sabbath in London, and then again in Rhodes, where he issued in 1166 a second edition of his commentary on the Pentateuch, and another grammatical work called *שפת ברורה*. He now determined to return to Spain, at the advanced age of seventy-eight; but died on his journey when he arrived at Calahorra, on the borders of Navarre and Arragon, in 1166.

2. *His principles of interpretation and the merits of his commentaries.*—The contradictions of which human nature is composed appear more glaringly in the commentaries of Ibn Ezra than in the writings of the majority of great men. His keen and daring researches brought him to the very verge of Pantheism, yet his faith in revelation was at times perfectly fanatical. He questioned the genuineness of many portions of the Pentateuch, as well as the latter part of Isaiah, regarded the history of Jonah as a dream, and charged the chronicles with a blunder (Exod. xxv. 29); yet he anathematized Itzhaki for doing the same thing (comp. Gen. xxxvi. 30), and denounced free inquiry as heretical. His confidence in God, and resignation to the gracious dealings of Providence, were almost unbounded, yet he fully believed in the irresistible influence of the stars on human actions. He traced every phenomenon in the Bible to a natural origin, yet he propounded a mystical theory, according to which all things are wrapped up in profound darkness, and execrated Chavi El Balchi for doing similar things (comp. Exod. xiv. 27; xvi. 3; xxxiv. 29)—he was a rigid literalist yet a great mystic. Notwithstanding these contradictions, Ibn Ezra was born a commentator, and was the first who raised Biblical exegesis to a science, interpreting the text according to the laws of language. In his commentary on the Song of Songs, which, as we have seen, was one of his earliest exegetical productions, he already laid down the principle that in the interpretation of unique expressions in the Hebrew Scriptures we may derive great help from cognate languages: 'As the Bible,' says he, 'is all the Hebrew we possess containing the limited vocabulary used by the inspired men to express their wants, and as the Arabic very much resembles the Hebrew, the conjugations, vowel (אותיות), and servile letters, the Niphal and the Hithpaal, the construct state and the numerals being alike in both languages, and more than half of the Arabic vocabulary being found in the Hebrew, therefore every ἀπαξ λεγόμεν in the Hebrew which occurs in Arabic may be supposed to have the same sense in the former which it has in the latter; still you cannot always rely upon it' (*Comment. on Song of Songs*, viii. 11). Hence we find him constantly illustrating peculiar forms in the Hebrew Bible by examples from the Arabic (comp. on Gen. xi. 3; xx. 16; xxxvi. 20; Exod. ii. 3; iii. 3; ix. 31; xli. 9; xlv. 4; xlii. 17; xv. 2; xvi. 1; xxi. 18; xxiv. 6; xxv. 4; xxxviii. 20; xxix. 2; xxxi. 2; xxxvi. 8; Levit. ii. 1; vi. VOL. II.

26; xi. 12, 15, 21, 44; xii. 2; xiii. 32; xxvii. 19; Num. x. 31; xl. 15, 25; xxxii. 29; Deut. xxviii. 22, 27) and the *Chaldee* (comp. on Gen. ix. 27; xii. 9; xix. 8; xxxvii. 3; xli. 45; Exod. xxvii. 8; xxviii. 20; xxxvi. 8; Deut. i. 37). His ingenious criticisms of the text deserve the greatest attention of the Biblical student and Hebrew grammarian. He denies the existence of *diminutives* in Hebrew (see Comment. on Eccl. xii. 5), which is taken for granted by Gesenius (*Hebrew Grammar*, sec. 86, 2, 4) and Ewald (*Lehrbuch*, sec. 167), and most ingeniously accounts for the four letters אלהי constituting the original vowels (see Comment. on Eccl. vii. 19). Having travelled in Italy, Provence, England, Rhodes, Palestine, Africa, and India, this shrewd observer and profound scholar frequently illustrates the manners and customs mentioned in the Bible by those of other nations with whom he mixed (comp. Comment. on Gen. iii. 20; xxx. 24; xxxviii. 8; Num. xii. 1), and also makes some valuable remarks on Biblical geography, viz., on Egypt (see Comment. on Gen. ii. 11; Exod. vii. 15; xiii. 8, 31; xx. 8; Num. xiii. 8); Gadomes (Exod. xxv. 5); Arabia (Gen. xxxi. 4; Exod. xvi. 3), Palestine (Exod. x. 19); Persia and India (Esther vii. 8). His knowledge of the Hebrew Bible was truly wonderful. Though living at a time when no concordances existed, yet he knew whether a word or a certain form of a word was unique or not (comp. Comment. on Gen. vi. 14; xli. 23; Exod. ix. 27; Levit. i. 15; vi. 14; xl. 20; xiii. 55; Num. xii. 5; xxii. 22; xxiv. 3; Deut. vi. 8). Equal to this marvellous knowledge of the Scriptures was his extensive acquaintance with the best grammatical, lexical, and exegetical works of his predecessors and contemporaries, which he constantly quotes. Aaron Ha-Cohen (Gen. xxxiv. 30; xlix. 6; Levit. xviii. 6); Abraham Ha-Nassi (Dan. xi. 3); Ben Ha-Jotzer (Dan. x. 25); Ibn Sita (Exod. ii. 2; xxi. 24; xxii. 5, 28); Ben Ephraim (Exod. xix. 16); Chajug (Gen. xli. 48; Exod. vii. 5; x. 8; xxi. 8; Num. x. 36; xxxiii. 13; Deut. xxix. 29; Is. xiv. 20; xxvi. 20; xlix. 5; lxxv. 10; Habak. ii. 19; iii. 2; Ps. lxxviii. 14; lxxxvii. 7; cii. 28; cxxxvii. 2; cl. 6; Job xxxviii. 5; Ruth i. 20; Eccl. ix. 12; xii. 5); Chavi El Balchi (Exod. xiv. 27; xvi. 13; xxxiv. 29); Dunash b. Tamim (Exod. xxxviii. 9; Eccl. xii. 5); Dunash Ha-Levi (Ps. ix. 1, 7, 10); Eldad Ha-Dani (Exod. ii. 23); Hai Gaon (Job iv. 10; vi. 10; xiii. 26; xxxi. 32; Ps. lviii. 10; Is. xlvii. 8; Amos v. 23); Hannanel (Levit. xviii. 22); M. Gikatilla (Job iv. 10; v. 5); Ibn Balaam (Gen. xli. 48; xlix. 6; Exod. v. 19, *al.*); Ibn Ganach (Gen. iii. 8; xxviii. 11; xlix. 27; Exod. iii. 3, *al.*); Ibn Gebirol (Gen. iii. 1; Dan. xi. 30, *al.*); Ibn Giath (Deut. x. 7; Ps. cxlvii. 3); Ibn Koreish (Amos vi. 10); R. Isaac (Exod. xlix. 18; Levit. v. 7); Isaac b. Levi (Dan. xi. 30); Isaac b. Saul (Is. xxvii. 3); Itzhaki (Gen. xxxvi. 30, 31; Num. xxiv. 17; Hos. i. 1); R. Ishmael (Gen. xxxviii. 28; Exod. xxxviii. 25); Jepheth b. Eli (Hos. iii. 4; Joel i. 4, *al.*); R. Josi (Ps. xlv. 5); Joseph b. Gorion (Gen. xxxvii. 25; Is. ii. 2; Hos. xiv. 2; Hag. ii. 9; Ps. xlix. 20; cxx. 5; Dan. ii. 39; xi. 3); R. Joshua (Gen. xxxviii. 11; Exod. iii. 3; Levit. xvi. 1, *al.*); Judah Ha-Levi (Exod. iv. 10; Num. xxvii. 3; Deut. xiv. 21, *al.*); R. Levi (Ps. vii. 10; xxxv. 13); Menachem b. Saruk (Exod. vi. 3; Deut. xxii. 9; Is. lix. 16; Hag. ii. 12); Moses b. Amram Ha-

Parsi (Exod. xii. 5; Amos vii. 14); Moses Ha-Nagid (Is. lvii. 9); Saadia (Gen. i. 1; Exod. ii. 8; Levit. ii. 9; Num. xix. 2; Deut. vii. 21, *et.*); Samuel b. Chofni (Gen. iii. 1; xxxviii. 11; Exod. iv. 24, 25; viii. 5; Levit. xvi. 10; Num. xxii. 28), are cited alternately for approbation and disapprobation. Some of the works of these distinguished writers would not have been known but for the quotations preserved by Ibn Ezra. Hence his commentaries may be regarded as furnishing most valuable materials for the construction of a history of O. T. exegesis. No wonder that his commentaries were a complete triumph over the allegorical and trifling manner in which the Bible was expounded both by the synagogue and the church, and that even the great luminary Maimonides charged his son, in his last will and testament, not to study any other commentaries but those of Ibn Ezra, 'which are exceedingly good, and cannot be consulted without profit, and which, for beauty of thought, clearness of wisdom, and clearness of perception, are unlike any other writings.' Ibn Ezra's style is very concise and sometimes very obscure, which is to be ascribed to the fact that he formed a technical phraseology of his own, that the good humour with which he exposes the expositions of his opponents is often expressed in plays upon words, and that he not unfrequently veiled his scepticism about the Mosaic authorship of certain portions of the Pentateuch in ambiguous and laconic phrases. Thus, for instance, upon

Gen. xii. 6 he remarks (יש לו סוד ומשכיל ידום), 'there is a mystery here, but the wise man will be quiet.' Another way in which he expresses his scepticism may be seen in Gen. xxii. 14, where he remarks 'the meaning of the words יראה יראה

is to be found in the section אלה הדברים', *i.e.*, at the beginning of his commentary on Deuteronomy, and on turning to the place we simply find an enumeration of all the post Mosaic passages in the Pentateuch. Or he merely says, 'this passage belongs to the mystery of the twelve verses,' *i.e.*, it is not written by Moses, just as the last twelve verses of the Pentateuch, which narrate the death and burial of Moses, were not written by him.

3. The best editions and translations of his commentaries according to the order of the Hebrew Bible, *etc.* (1) *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, פרש על התורה, the best edition of which is the one edited by Jekuthiel Lasi b. Nachum, Amsterdam 1721,

under the title of מרגליות טובה, the *pearl of great price*, with square letters, and the super commentaries of Joseph b. Eleazar Sefardi (אהל יוסף), Samuel Motot (פ' המוטוט וסגולת סתרים), and Samuel Zarza (ספר מקור חיים). The commentary is also given in the Rabbinic Bibles of Bomberg, Buxtorf, and Frankfurter. The introduction of this valuable commentary has been translated into Latin by Voisin, *Disputa. R. Israelis de Anima*, Paris 1635, p. 151-167, and I. Galle, Upsala 1711. Richard Simon gives an analysis of it in his *Historia Critique*, lib. iii., cap. 5; and the Comment. on the Decalogue was translated into Latin by Seb. Münster, Froben 1527. (2) The Commentary on the Earlier Prophets (*i.e.*, Joshua, Judg., Sam., and Kings) has not as yet been published. (3) Of the Commentary on the Later Prophets (*i.e.*, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel), Isaiah

only is given in the Rabbinic Bibles of Bomberg, Buxtorf, and Frankfurter. (4) The Commentary on the Minor Prophets is given entire in the Rabbinic Bibles. Of these we have a Latin translation of Hosea by Mercer, Leyden 1621; a Latin translation of Joel and Obadaja, by Leusden, Utrecht 1657; of Jonah by Leusden, Utrecht 1656; of Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Haggai, by Don. Lund, Upsala 1705-1708; and of Malachi, by And. Borgwall, Upsala 1707. (5) The Commentary on the Hagiographa (*i.e.*, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, the Five Megilloth, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles) is, with the exception of Chronicles, given in the great Rabbinic Bibles. There are Latin versions of the 119th Psalm by Ph. Aquinas, *Lib. Vetr. Rabb.*, *etc.*, ed. 1620; of the Song of Songs, by Gilbert Gereboard, Paris 1585; an English version of the first chapter is given by Ginsburg, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, Longman, 1857, p. 45. Latin of Ruth by Jo. Carpov, 1722, ed. 3; English of the first chapter of Ecclesiastes by Ginsburg, *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, Longman, 1861, p. 46; and Latin of Lamentations by Fr. Taylor, London 1615. Zedner of the British Museum has published the commentary on Esther after another recension (London 1850). As to his grammatical works the best edition of (1) ספרי, *Rudiments of Hebrew Grammar*, is by Wolf Heidenheim, Offenbach 1794; (2) ספר צומת, *Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language*, by H. Lippman, Fürth 1827; (3) שפה ברורה, *on diverse points of Hebrew Grammar*, by H. Lippmann, Fürth 1839; (4) שפת יתר, *on difficult words in the Old Testament*, in defence of Saadia, by G. H. Lippmann, Frankfurt on Main. 1843; (5) חידה על

חידה על, *Grammatical enigma in poetry on the quiescent letters*, is given at the beginning of Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Pentateuch in the great Rabbinic Bibles, and has been translated into Latin by De Lara, Leyden 1658; (6) חידה על מן, *Grammatical enigma in Prose on the two liquids ו and נ* is given in Lippmann's edition of Ibn Ezra's ספה ברורה. Ibn Ezra's translations of Chajug's grammatical works are noticed in the article CHAJUG. Comp. Hartmann, *Ersch und Gruber's Allgemeine Encyclop.* sec. i., vol. i. 79, ff.; Geiger, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, i. (1835), p. 198, ff.; 308, ff.; ii. (1836), p. 553, ff.; iv. (1839), pp. 261, 436; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica* i. 251, etc.; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bodliciana Bibliotheca*, 680-689; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums* ii. 419, ff., Leipzig 1858; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vi. 198, ff., Leipzig 1861; Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, Breslau 1862, 219; Ben Chananya, v. 146, 210, 372.—C. D. G.

IBN GANACH, or DJANAH JONAH, or ABUL-VALID MERVAN, as he is called in Arabic. This famous grammarian and lexicographer, who is alternately quoted in Jewish writings by the names of ר' יונה, *R. Jonah*; ר' יונה המדקדק, *R. Jonah the Grammarian*; ר' יונה הספרי, *R. Jonah the Spaniard*; ר' יונה הרופא, *R. Jonah the Physician*; ר' יונה הרופא אבן ננאח, *R. Jonah the Physician, Ibn Ganach*; and מרינוס, *R. Merinus* (derived from מרון = *Mervan*),* was born at

* That *Iona Ibn Ganach* and *Merinus* designate the same person has already been remarked by David Kimchi, who most plainly declared in his

Cordova about A.D. 995, and died about 1050. When quite a youth Ibn Ganach evinced his skill in the sacred language by writing Hebrew poetry. This, however, he soon gave up for the more solid and arduous studies of Hebrew grammar and lexicography under the guidance of Isaac Ibn Gikatilla [GIKATILLA], and of medicine, in the academy which was called into existence by the literary tastes of the Caliph Al-Hakem II. But his studies and domestic peace were soon interrupted, as he, like many of his co-religionists, had to quit Cordova in consequence of the sufferings which were inflicted upon the inhabitants of that devoted city in the year 1013, after it was taken by Al-Mostain Suleiman. He went to Saragossa, where he settled down when about twenty years of age (1014-1015), practised medicine for a maintenance, and devoted all his spare time to the prosecution of his researches in sacred philology and hermeneutics, which were the chief aim of his life; and his achievements in these departments are truly marvellous. Independent in his researches, and sincerely believing that whatever tends to evolve the true sense of the inspired text ought to be publicly made known, though it might be contrary to venerated opinions and against one's own interests, Ibn Ganach published (1) the first instalment of his labours in Arabic, in the form of additions to and correction of Chajug's grammatical treatise on *the quiescent letters* [ספר אותיות חנוך] (CHAJUG), under the title of *אמסחלחוק* Hebrew *ספר הדשנה*, *Supplement or Strictures*, which is a very important contribution to Biblical exegesis. But notwithstanding the excellency of his criticisms, and the meek and gentle spirit of their author, and in spite of his acknowledgment 'that he, in common with many others, had sucked at Chajug's breast of wisdom,' but that he must say with Aristotle, 'his love for truth is greater even than his love for Plato'; these strictures upon so celebrated a man provoked the disciples of Chajug, and Samuel Ha-Nagid issued a rejoinder to Ibn Ganach's animadversions [SAMUEL HA-NAGID]. To this Ibn Ganach replied in a treatise, (2) entitled

ספר התכלמה Hebrew *ספר התכמה*, *the book of reproach or correction*, which, like its predecessor, contains very valuable grammatical and exegetical remarks. He then published (3) a polemical work called *ספר רסאלה* Hebrew *ספר רסאלה*, *the book of recollections*; (4) another called *ספר אלתקריב* and *ואלתסחיל* Hebrew *ספר אלתקריב*, *the book of approximation and rectification*; and (5) another entitled *רסאלה אלתסחיל* Hebrew *ספר ההשואה*, *the book of reconciliation*.

Michlol, 'And the teacher Ben Ganach, the same who is constantly called in this book R. Jonah, and whom people generally call R. Marinus' (ed. Venice, 13, a). The celebrated Orientalist, Edward Pococke, also remarks, 'Abu Valid, whom he [i.e., David Kimchi] often cites by the name of Rabbi Jonah, as Aben Ezra doth by the name of R. Marinus, his name at length being Abu Valid Marum Ebn Janachi Cordubensis' (*Preface to the Commentary on Micha*, vol. i., p. 10, ed. Twell's, London 1740). It is, therefore, all the more remarkable that Wolf should make R. Marinus to be the father of R. Jonah (*Bibliotheca Hebraea*, i. p. 486).

He also wrote (6) a Commentary on the Song of Song, which, according to Ibn Akinin, who quotes it, gives a literal exposition of this book [IBN AKININ]. Whilst engaged in these polemical works, all of which are valuable contributions to Hebrew lexicography and Biblical exegesis, Ibn Ganach prepared himself for his *chef d'œuvre*, called *אלתנקיח*, *the critic*, which he finished in his advanced age, and divided into two parts; the one (7) being a treatise on grammar as connected with exegesis, entitled *כתאב אללמע* Hebrew *ספר הרקמה*, *the book of embroidery*; and the other (8) a Lexicon, entitled *כתאב אלאצול* Hebrew *ספר השרשים*, *the book of roots*. This gigantic work is the most important philological production in the Jewish literature of the middle ages. The mastery of the science of the Hebrew language in all its delicate points which Ibn Ganach therein displays, the lucid manner in which he explains every grammatical difficulty, and the sound exegetical rules which he therein propounds, have few parallels up to the present day. He was not only the creator of the Hebrew syntax, but almost brought it to perfection. He was the first who pointed out the ellipses and the transposition of letters, words, and verses in the Hebrew Bible. He explained in a simple and natural manner more than two hundred obscure passages in the Bible, which had up to his time greatly perplexed all interpreters, by showing that the sacred writers used abnormal for normal expressions (comp. his *ספר הרקמה*, chap. xxviii.; Ibn Ezra's *Commentary on Daniel* i. 1, and *ספר צלות*, ed. Lippmann, p. 72, note). Though his faith in the inspiration of the Hebrew Scriptures was absolute, yet he maintained that, being addressed to men, they are subject to the laws of language, and hence urged that the abnormal expressions and forms in the Bible are not to be ascribed to the ignorance of transcribers and punctuators, nor to wilful corruption, but are owing to the fact that the sacred writers being human paid the tribute of humanity. The meek and gentle spirit which he manifested in the midst of his sufferings for his independent researches may be seen from his beautiful and touching combination of the servile letters into the *voces memoriales*, *שלומי אך תבנה*, *O that my peace were established!* But notwithstanding the opposition he met with during his life, no philologist has exercised directly and indirectly such an influence both upon Jewish and Christian grammarians and commentators as Ibn Ganach, as may be seen from Ibn Ezra's numerous references to him, as well as from the fact that the Lexicons of Parchi and David Kimchi are to a great extent translations of his Lexicon [PARCHON; KIMCHI]. All his works were written in Arabic. Analysis of the *first*, *third*, and *fourth* treatises are given in Ewald's *Beiträge*, i. p. 127-140; the *sixth* treatise, i.e., the grammar, entitled *Sefer Ha-Rikma*, which was translated into Hebrew by Ibn Tibbon, was published by Goldberg, Frankfurt on Main, 1856; of the *seventh* treatise, i.e., the Lexicon, a hundred and twenty-three fragments, which were found as marginal glosses in Ibn Ezra's and Ralbag's Commentary on the Pentateuch, have been published by S. D. Luzzatto in the Hebrew annual entitled *Kerem Chemed*, v. p. 34-47, Prag. 1841. Specimens of it have also been published by Gesenius

Jehudah Minz, and after he had finished his education he returned to Imola, where he spent the remainder of his life and wrote his commentaries. At the age of thirty-three (January 20, 1527) he issued his first exegetical work, which is (1) *A Commentary on the Five Megilloth*, viz., the Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. This was followed by (2) *A Commentary on the Psalms*, which he published July 12; and (3) *A Commentary on Proverbs*, published on September 26 of the same year; and (4) *A Commentary on Daniel*, on 7th July 1529. The most important books, especially the Psalms, are preceded by very extensive introductions. Ibn Jachja died at Imola in 1539, having undermined his constitution with excessive literary labour; his remains were conveyed ten years after his death (1549) to Safet, where Joseph Caro had them deposited with great honour. The merits of his commentaries chiefly consist in the fact that they give a digest of the traditional interpretation of the Bible, and that the student of historico-critical exegesis finds in them ready at hand the Midrashic lore for which he would otherwise have to search in many an ancient volume. All the commentaries of Ibn Jachja are given in Frankfurter's *Rabbinic Bible* [FRANKFURTER]. The commentary on Daniel has been translated into Latin by Constantin L'Empereur, and published at Amsterdam, 1633, with the Hebrew text and a refutation of the anti-Christian passages. Comp. Carmoly, in *José's Israelitische Annalen*, ii. p. 393, etc.; Cassel, in *Ersch and Gruber's Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, sect. ii. vol. xxxi., p. 81, etc.; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodliana*, col. 1476.—C. D. G.

IBN JAISH (אִבְנֵי יַעֲשִׁי), BARUCH, b. Issac, b. Salomon, b. Isaac, b. Baruch of Cordova, flourished in the 15th century, wrote commentaries (1)

on the Song of Songs, entitled *מקור ברך על שיר השירים*, the blessed fountain, etc., published at Constantinople 1576; and (2) on Ecclesiastes and Job, called *מקור ברך על איוב וקהלת*, the blessed fountain on Job and Ecclesiastes, Constantinople 1576. He generally gives the literal explanation of every passage according to the context, and tries to solve the grammatical difficulties of the text.—C. D. G.

IBN KASTOR. [ITZCHAKI.]

IBN KOREISH JEHUDAH, one of the earliest Jewish lexicographers, who flourished about A. D. 870 to 900 in Tahart (תַּחֲרִית) or Tahort in Africa, and may be regarded as the first who wrote on comparative philology. So little is known about his life, and so thoroughly have all the endeavours to ascertain his history been baffled, that it still remains a doubtful question whether he was a Karaite or a Rabbinic Jew. He wrote (1) a *Hebrew Lexicon*, to which Ibn Koreish himself refers in his *רמב"ם*, p. 45, and which has not as yet come to light. (2) *ספר דקדוק*, a *Hebrew Grammar*, which has also not been found yet;

and (3) *רמב"ם*, an *Epistle* addressed to the Jewish community at Fez, in which he rebukes his brethren for neglecting to study the Chaldee paraphrases of the O. T., and tries to show that it is impossible to understand some portions of the Bible without the help of the cognate Semitic idioms. The treatise is divided into three parts.

In the first part Ibn Koreish arranges in alphabetical order all the Hebrew words which can only be explained with the help of the Chaldee paraphrases of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uziel; in the second part he explains in alphabetical order those Biblical words which also occur in the Mishna and the Talmud; and in the third part he most minutely and carefully collects all the Hebrew roots, forms of expressions, prefixes, and suffixes, which have their analogy in the Arabic. In his illustrations and parallels Ibn Koreish shews that he had not only an intimate acquaintance with the Targumim and the Talmudic works, but also with the Koran and the Arabian poets (comp. pp. 80, 81, 82), and that he had sound judgment and fine grammatical tact. The work is an important contribution to Hebrew grammar and lexicography, and it is only to be regretted that it has not come down to us entire, since the first part breaks up with letter כ and does not begin again till letter פ. It has lately been published in the Arabic under the title *R. Jehuda ben Koreish Tiharentensis Africani ad Synagogam Judaeorum civitatis Fez epistola de studiis Targum utilitate et de lingua chaldaica, misnica, talmudica, arabica, vocabulorum item nonnullorum barbaricorum convenientia cum hebraea; ediderunt J. J. L. Barges et D. B. Goldberg, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1857*. The introduction, with specimens from the work, have been published in Arabic, with a German translation by Schnur, in *Eichhorn's Allgemeine Bibliothek der Biblischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1790, vol. iii. p. 951-980; the introduction has also been published with a German translation by Wetzstein in *Literaturblatt des Orients* 1845, vol. iii. No. 2; and extracts are given by Ewald and Dukes, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ältesten Auslegung und Sprachklärung des Alten Testaments*, Stuttgart 1844, i. 116-123; ii. 117, 118. The influence which Ibn Koreish exercised upon the development of Biblical exegesis and lexicography must have been very great, judging from the fact that he is quoted by the best grammarians and interpreters, *ex. gr.*, Menachem b. Saruk (Lexicon under אֵלֶּיךָ, אֵינִי, אִכָּח, אִשָּׁה), Dunash (אֵלֶּיךָ), Raschi (comment. on Jer. xii. 10), Ibn Ezra (comment. on Amos vi. 10), Kimchi (Lexicon, art. שָׁנָה), etc. As for the so-called work *אִבְנֵי יַעֲשִׁי*, which Ibn Ezra quotes in the preface to his *מנחת יצחק*, and which has been taken by many to describe a distinct lingual treatise, this is nothing else than the third part of the *רמב"ם*, as has rightly been remarked by Graetz. Comp. Pinsker, *Likutei Kadmonioth*, Vienna 1860, p. 107, etc.; and additions to this work, p. 179, etc.—C. D. G.

IBN LIBRAT. [DUNASH.]

IBN SAKTAR. [ITZCHAKI.]

IBN SARUK. [MENACHEM.]

IBN SERGADAH (אִבְנֵי סֶרְגָּדָה), AARON, also called Aaron Ha-Cohen (אֶהְרֹן כֹּהֵן) b. Joseph, a rich and learned merchant of Bagdad, who was an opponent of Saadia and was elected spiritual head (נָאֵר) of the academy at Pumbadita, A. D. 943. Whilst holding this high office he devoted himself to the exposition of the Hebrew Bible, and published a *Commentary on the Pentateuch* (פֶּרֶשׁ עַל הַתּוֹרָה), which has not as yet come to light.

From the fragments of it preserved by Ibn Ezra we see that Ibn Sergadah, though abiding by the traditional explanation of the Hebrew Scriptures, was by no means a slavish follower of ancient opinions. Fragments of his commentary are given by Ibn Ezra, on Gen. xviii. 28; xxxiv. 30; xlix. 6, 7; Exod. x. 12; Levit. xviii. 6; comp. Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, 1862, p. 297; Zunz, in *Geiger's Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, vol. iv., Stuttgart 1839, p. 389, etc.—C. D. G.

IBN SHOEIB (אִבְנֵי שְׂעִיב), JOEL, flourished about A.D. 1430-1490 at Tudela. He wrote (1) *A Commentary on the Pentateuch*, entitled *עֲלֵת שֶׁבַת*, the holocaust of Sabbath, which he finished in the year 1469, and was published in Venice 1577; (2) *A Commentary on the Psalms*, called *נֹרָא תְהִלָּת*, *fearful in praises*, published at Salonaica 1568-1569; (3) *A Commentary on the Song of Songs*, called *בִּיאוֹר קֶצֶת*, a brief exposition, published together with Abraham Levi's exposition, Sabionneta 1558; and (4) *An Exposition of Lamentation*, called *בִּיאוֹר*, which was published at Venice 1589. His liberality of mind in expounding the Hebrew Scriptures may be judged of from the fact that at the very time when his co-religionists were suffering most bitterly from the Christian nations of those days, Ibn Schreib maintained in his *Commentary on the Psalms* (fol. 12, b) that pious Gentiles will have a portion in the world

to come (*חֵלֶק לְעוֹלָם הַבָּא*), and corroborated his opinion by references to the Tosifta, the Talmud, and the Midrashim. Comp. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, Berlin 1845, p. 384; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 1400.—C. D. G.

IBN SITTA (בֶּן יִצְחָק), a distinguished Karaite Jew who lived at Irak about A.D. 900. His conscientious desire to explain the Scriptures made him exclude from his exposition all the points of controversy between the Rabbinic and Karaite Jews [KARAITES], and restrict his explanation to the grammatical forms and etymological significations of the words, as well as to tracing the logical sequence of every passage. Worthy of notice is his peculiar translation of Exod. xx. 26 by, 'and thou shalt not ascend my altar in sin,' deriving *בַּמַּעֲלָת* from *מַעַל*, to be treacherous, faithless. Other fragments of this commentary, which has not as yet come to light, are given by Ibn Ezra on Exod. xxi. 24, 35; xxii. 28. Saadia Gaon thought Ibn Sitta of sufficient importance to refute his interpretation, whilst Ibn Ezra exercises his withering sarcasm upon him. Comp. Pinsker, *Likkute Kadmoniuth*, Vienna 1860, p. 43; Fürst, *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, Leipzig 1862, pp. 100, 173.—C. D. G.

IBN TIBBON, JEHUDAH. B. SAUL, was born at Lunel about A.D. 1120, and had early to quit his native place for Provence in consequence of persecution. He was chiefly distinguished as a translator into Hebrew of some of the most valuable Jewish works which were written in Arabic, and is therefore denominated *רֹאשׁ הַמַּעֲרָכִים*, the prince of translators. He translated between 1161

duties of heart, of Joseph b. Bechai; (2) *the ethics of Ibn Gebirol*; (3) *the renowned Kusari of Jehudah Ha-Levi*; (4) *the moral philosophy of Saadia Gaon*; and (5) *the famous grammatical and lexicographical work of Ibn Ganach*. He also wrote (6) a work on the purity of the Hebrew language (*סֹד צְהוּת*), which is lost. Ibn Tibbon died about 1190. Comp. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 1374-1376; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Leipzig 1861, vol. vi., p. 241, etc.—C. D. G.

IBN TIBBON, SAMUEL, son of the preceding writer, was born about 1160, and died 1230. Besides the philosophical works both of heathen and Jewish authors which he translated, Samuel Ibn Tibbon wrote—(1) *A Commentary on Ecclesiastes* (*פִּירוּשׁ קְהֵלֶת*), which exists in MS. in several of the European libraries; and (2) *A Commentary on Gen. i. 1-9*, entitled *מֵאֲמַר יְקוֹ הַמַּיִם*, being a dissertation on the creation, published at Presburg 1837.—C. D. G.

IBZAN (אִבְזָן, illustrious; Sept. Ἰβζαν), the tenth 'judge of Israel.' He was of Bethlehem, probably the Bethlehem of Zebulun and not of Judah. He governed seven years. The prosperity of Ibzán is marked by the great number of his children (thirty sons and thirty daughters), and his wealth, by their marriages—for they were all married. Some have held, but without the least probability, that Ibzán was the same with Boaz: B.C. 1182 (Judg. xii. 8).—J. K.

I-CHABOD (אִי־כָבוֹד, where is the glory; Sept. Ὀυαβαχαβώθ, Ὀυαχαβώθ), son of Phinehas and grandson of Eli. He is only known from the unhappy circumstances of his birth, which occasioned this name to be given to him. The pains of labour came upon his mother when she heard that the ark of God was taken, that her husband was slain in battle, and that these tidings had proved fatal to his father Eli. They were death-pains to her; and when those around sought to cheer her, saying, 'Fear not, for thou hast borne a son,' she only answered by giving him the name of I-chabod, adding, 'The glory is departed from Israel' (1 Sam. iv. 19-22): B.C. 1141. The name again occurs in 1 Sam. xiv. 3 [Eli].—J. K.

ICONIUM (Ἰκόνιον), a large inland city of Asia Minor, situated in the province of Lycaonia, on the military road between Antioch of Pisidia and Derbe. Strabo describes it as a small town, well peopled, and encompassed by a fertile region (xii. 6. 1). According to Cicero, it was the capital of Lycaonia (*ad Fam.* iii. 6. 8); but Xenophon places it on the eastern border of Phrygia (*Anab.* i. 2. 19), Ammianus Marcellinus reckoned it to Pisidia (xiv. 2), and Pliny states that in his time it was the capital of a distinct territory, governed by a tetrarch (*H. N.* v. 25). This may be the reason why the sacred writers do not speak of it as belonging to any of the great provinces of Asia Minor. Paul and Barnabas went from Antioch of Pisidia to Iconium, thus approaching it from the west by the military road which crosses the mountain chain (Acts xiii. 51). The population, like that of the other great cities of Asia Minor, was then mixed, consisting of play-loving and novelty-seeking Greeks, an old established and influential

colony of Jews, who exercised their trades during the week, and met in their synagogue to read the Law on the Sabbath, some dignified Roman officials and soldiers, and probably a few of the ancient inhabitants of the country (Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, i. 196, 1st ed.) This explains the nature of the apostles' reception, and the cause of the events which followed. They went first to the synagogue as was their custom. Their preaching was successful, for 'a great multitude both of Jews and also of the Greeks believed' (Acts xiv. 1). The unbelieving Jews stirred up opposition, and a riot followed—part of the people holding with the Jews, and part with the apostles. This became at length so serious, that the lives of Paul and Barnabas were endangered, and they retired to Lystra, about twenty miles southward (ver. 6). The bitter hostility of the Jews followed them thither; they were attacked and stoned, and Paul was left for dead. Restored by a miracle, he soon returned to Iconium, 'confirming the souls of the disciples' (verses 7-21). Some years afterwards it appears that Paul paid another visit to Iconium, accompanied by Silas, travelling from Cilicia through Derbe and Lystra (xvi. 1-3). No particulars are given, and we cannot tell whether the 'persecutions and afflictions' of which he writes to Timothy came upon him partly in this latter tour or altogether during the former (2 Tim. iii. 11).

Iconium was the scene of the apocryphal story of Paul and Thecla, so often mentioned by Jerome, Augustine, and others of the early Fathers (see Jones *On the Canon*, where the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* are given in Greek and English, ii. 299, *seq.*; an abridgment of the legend is given in a note in Conybeare and Howson, i. 197). The church planted by the apostles continued to flourish, and the city itself to increase in importance under the Byzantine monarchs (Hierocles, p. 675). Iconium having been captured by the Seljukian Turks, became the capital of one of their dynasties, and may be regarded as the cradle of the Ottoman empire. It is one of the few towns of Asia Minor which have retained to the present day something of their ancient prosperity. *Konieh*, as it is now called, is a large city, the residence of a pasha, and head of a province. It is surrounded by a wall said to have been erected by the Seljukian sultans, but out of the ruins of older structures, as pieces of marble columns, capitals, and carved cornices appear everywhere in the masonry. Some of its mosques, minarets, palaces, and gateways, are beautiful specimens of Saracenic architecture. There are few remains of the Greek and Roman Iconium, besides the fragments of columns, and Greek inscriptions in the walls.

The situation of Konieh is very fine. It stands on a fertile plain, which towards the east stretches away to the horizon, while immediately behind the city, on the west, it is shut in by a semicircle of snow-capped mountains. Rich gardens and orchards, abundantly stocked with fruit trees, and watered by numerous streams from the neighbouring mountains, encircle the old city. The suburbs extend far beyond the walls, and, like those of Damascus, have a gay and picturesque appearance at a distance, but do not bear close inspection. The population is still mixed; and as it contains the tomb of one of the most venerated of Mohammedan saints, it is swarming with fanatical Der-

vishes. (Descriptions of Konieh are given by Kinneir, *Travels in Asia Minor*; Leake, *Geog. of Asia Minor*; Hamilton, *Researches*; Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*.)—J. L. P.

IDALAH (יְדֻלָּה, *Yia'alah*; Sept. Ἰερύχῳ; Alex. Ἰαδῆλα), a town of Zebulun, apparently lying between Shimron and Bethlehem (Josh. xix. 15). It is only once mentioned in Scripture, and does not occur in any other writer. Bethlehem is situated about six miles west of Nazareth, and Idalah could not have been far distant from it. Its site is unknown.—J. L. P.

IDDO. 1. (יִדְדוֹ; Sept. Σαδδῶ; Alex. Σαδῶκ) The father of one of Solomon's purveyors.

2. (יִדְדוֹ; Sept. Ἀδδῖ) A descendant of Gershom

(1 Chron. vi. 21), called Adaiah, and placed among the ancestors of Asaph (ver. 41).

3. (יִדְדוֹ; Sept. Ἰαδαῖ; Alex. Ἰαδδαῖ) Son of Zechariah, prince of east Manasseh in the time of David (1 Chron. xxvii. 21).

4. (יִדְדוֹ, K'ri יִדְדוֹ; Sept. Ἀδδῶ, Ἰωῆλ) A seer who wrote visions against Jeroboam, in which the deeds of Solomon were noticed (2 Chron. ix. 29); he also wrote the history of Rehoboam and Abijah; or rather perhaps, in conjunction with Seraiah, kept the public rolls during their reigns. It seems from 2 Chron. xiii. 22 that he named his book מִדְרָשׁ, *Midrash*, or 'Exposition.' Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 9. 1) states that this Iddo was the prophet who was sent to Jeroboam at Bethel, and consequently the same that was slain by a lion for disobedience to his instructions (1 Kings xiii.); and many commentators have followed this statement.

5. (יִדְדוֹ, יִדְדוֹ; Sept. Ἀδδῶ, Ἀδαδαῖ, Ἀδδαῖ) Grandfather of the prophet Zechariah (Zech. i. 1; Ezra v. 1; vi. 14; Neh. xii. 26).

6. (יִדְדוֹ; Sept.) Chief of the Jews of the captivity established at Casiphia, a place of which it is difficult to determine the position. It was to him that Ezra sent a requisition for Levites and Nethinim, none of whom had yet joined his caravan. Thirty-eight Levites and 220 Nethinim responded to his call (Ezra viii. 17-20), B.C. 457. It would seem from this that Iddo was a chief person of the Nethinim, descended from those Gibeonites who were charged with the servile labours of the tabernacle and temple. This is one of several circumstances which indicate that the Jews in their several colonies under the Exile were still ruled by the heads of their nation, and allowed the free exercise of their worship.

IDOLATRY. *Introduction*.—Idolatry is the worship of anything instead of God. The term, therefore, includes all the kinds of false and corrupt worship mentioned in the Bible. There is no exactly-corresponding general term in Hebrew, but there are some general terms that seem to have the same range but a less precise signification, such as תִּפְלוּת, 'vanity' in the N. T. εἰδωλολατρεία, idolatry, appears to be employed in its widest sense, as we may judge from the tropical use in Col. iii. 5, 'covetousness, which is idolatry.' It is to be remarked that the corruption of true religion is

spoken of in the Bible in the same terms as paganism, as a sin of the same kind if not of the same degree.

The main subjects to be considered in this article are the origin of idolatry, the classification of different kinds of idolatry, the history of idolatry, so far as it is necessary for the illustration of the passages in the Bible relating to this matter, an examination of which will be interwoven with this historical outline, and the Hebrew terms for idolatry and idols.

i. *Origin of Idolatry.*—In the primæval period man appears to have had not alone a revelation but also an implanted natural law. Adam and some of his descendants, as late as the time of the Flood, certainly lived under a revealed system, now usually spoken of as the patriarchal dispensation, and St. Paul tells us that the nations were under a natural law. 'Man in his natural state must always have had a knowledge of God sufficient for the condition in which he had been placed. Although God 'in times past suffered all nations [or rather 'all the Gentiles,' *παντα τα εθνη*] to walk in their own ways, nevertheless He left not Himself without witness, in that He did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness.' 'For the invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, [even] his eternal power and godhead.' But the people of whom we are speaking 'changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things,' 'and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever.' Thus arose that strange superstition which is known by the term *Fetichism* [or low nature-worship], consisting in the worship of animals, trees, rivers, hills, and stones' (*Genesis of the Earth and of Man*, 2d ed., pp. 160, 161). St. Paul speaks of those who invented this idolatry as therefore forsaken of God and suffered to sink into the deepest moral corruption. It is remarkable that among highly-civilized nations the converse obtains; moral corruption being very frequently the cause of the abandoning of true religion for infidelity.

St. Paul thus shews us what was the earliest kind of idolatry, but he does not state what mental condition gave rise to it. We can only trace this condition by examining those nations which still practice this lowest system, but we shall not enter upon this subject in the present article, and it is probable that it cannot be satisfactorily exhausted, as we can scarcely understand, however we may define, the mental condition of the races which practise fetichism.

ii. *Classification of Idolatry.*—All unmixed systems of idolatry may be classified under the following heads; all mixed systems may be resolved into two or more of them.

1. Low nature-worship or fetichism, the worship of animals, trees, rivers, hills, and stones. The fetichism of the Negroes is thought to admit of a belief in a supreme intelligence: if this be true such a belief is either a relic of a higher religion or else is derived from the Muslim tribes of Africa. Fetichism is closely connected with magic, and the Nigritian priests are universally magicians.

2. Shamanism, or the magical side of fetichism, the religion of the Mongolian tribes, and apparently the primitive religion of China.

3. High nature-worship, the worship of the sun, moon, and stars, and of the supposed powers of nature.

4. Hero-worship, the worship of deceased ancestors or leaders of a nation.

5. Idealism, the worship of abstractions or mental qualities, such as justice, a system never found unmixed.

Fetichism and Shamanism appear to be the only systems of idolatry which certainly have obtained and still obtain unmixed with any other. But it is easy to detect and detach the other systems, as will be seen in the next section.

iii. *History of Idolatry.*—Nothing is distinctly stated in the Bible as to any antediluvian idolatry. It is, however, a reasonable supposition that in the general corruption before the Flood idolatry was practised. And that such was the case may indeed be inferred on other evidence. There is no trace of the names of heathen divinities in the names of the antediluvians; but there are indications of ancestral worship in the postdiluvian worship of some of the antediluvian patriarchs. It can scarcely be doubted that the SET or SUTEKH of the Egyptian Pantheon is the Hebrew Seth. The Cainite Enoch was probably commemorated as Annacus or Nannacus at Iconium, though, this name being identified with Enoch, the reference may be to Enoch of the line of Seth [ARK, NOAH'S]. It is reasonable to suppose that the worship of these antediluvians originated before the Flood, for it is unlikely that it would have been instituted after it.

The earliest idolatry mentioned in the Bible is noticed in the last address of Joshua to the assembled tribes, where he says, speaking by Divine commission, 'Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time, [even] Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor: and they served other gods' (xxiv. 2). Was this idolatry a worship of false gods, or a corruption of true religion? The passage seems to necessitate the former supposition. We must, therefore, inquire what the idolatry of the Babylonians and Chaldees of that period is likely to have been, and whether there are any traces of it among the Hebrews.

It will be best to give a summary of the main facts of Sir Henry Rawlinson's 'Essay' on the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians in the Rev. George Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, as the most authoritative statement of the results of recent research. The Pantheons of Babylon and Nineveh, though originally dissimilar in the names of the divinities, cannot as yet be treated separately. The principal god of the Assyrians was Asshur, replaced in Babylonia by a god whose name is read Il or Ra. The special attributes of Asshur were sovereignty and power, and he was regarded as the especial patron of the Assyrians and their kings. It is the Semitic equivalent of the Hamitic or Scythic Ra, which suggests a connection with Egypt, although it is to be noticed that the same root may perhaps be traced in the probably Canaanite Heres. Next to Asshur or Il was a triad, consisting of Anu, who appears to have corresponded to Pluto, a divinity whose name is doubtful, corresponding to Jupiter, and Hea or Hoa, corresponding in position and partly in character to Neptune. The supreme goddess Mulita or Bilita (Mylitta or Beltis) was the wife of the Babylonian Jupiter. This triad was followed by another, consisting of

Æther (Iva?), the sun, and the moon. Next in order, are 'the five minor gods, who, if not of astronomical origin, were at any rate identified with the five planets of the Chaldean system.' In addition, Sir H. Rawlinson enumerates several other divinities of less importance, and mentions that there are 'a vast number of other names,' adding this remarkable observation: 'Every town and village indeed throughout Babylonia and Assyria appears to have had its own particular deity, many of these no doubt being the great gods of the Pantheon disguised under rustic names, but others being distinct local divinities.' Sir H. Rawlinson contents himself with stating the facts discoverable from the inscriptions, and does not theorize upon the subject further than to point out the strong resemblances between this Oriental system and that of Greece and Rome, not indeed in the Aryan ground-work of the latter, but in its general superstructure. If we analyze the Babylonian and Assyrian system, we discover that in its present form it is mainly cosmic, or a system of high nature-worship. The supreme divinity appears to have been regarded as the ruler of the universe, the first triad was of powers of nature, the second triad and the remaining chief divinities were distinctly cosmic. But beneath this system were two others, evidently distinct in origin, and too deep-seated to be obliterated, the worship of ancestors and low nature-worship. Asshur, at the very head of the Pantheon, is the deified ancestor of the Assyrian race; and, notwithstanding a system of great gods, each city had its own special idolatry, either openly reverencing its primitive idol, or concealing a deviation from the fixed belief by making that idol another form of one of the national divinities. In this separation into its first elements of this ancient religion, we discover the superstitions of those races which, mixed but never completely fused, formed the population of Babylonia and Assyria, three races whose three languages were yet distinct in the inscribed records as late as the time of Darius Hystaspis. These races were the primitive Chaldeans, called Hamites by Sir H. Rawlinson, who undoubtedly had strong affinities with the ancient Egyptians, the Shemite Assyrians, and the Aryan Persians. It is not difficult to assign to these races their respective shares in the composition of the mythology of the countries in which they successively ruled. The ancestral worship is here distinctly Semitic: the name of Asshur proves this. It may be objected that such worship never characterized any other Semitic stock: that we find it among Turanians and Aryans: but we reply, that the Shemites borrowed their idolatry, and a Turanian or Aryan influence may have given it this peculiar form. The low nature-worship must be due to the Turanians. It is never discerned except where there is a strong Turanian or Nigritian element, and when once established it seems always to have been very hard to remove. The high nature-worship, as the last element, remains for the Aryan race. The primitive Aryan belief in its different forms was a reverence for the sun, moon, and stars, and the powers of nature, combined with a belief in one supreme being, a religion that, though varying at different times, and deeply influenced by ethnic causes, was never deprived of its essentially-cosmic characteristics.

The family of Abraham, as Shemites, would

have naturally followed the ancestral worship of their people in Babylonia, were it still separately practised, unless the influence of neighbouring idolaters of another race had imbued them with a tendency to some other system. In the family-names there is no trace of any idolatry, nor does their later history furnish any clue but that of Laban's teraphim, for the time of Job is too distant and his position too different to afford us any aid. Laban's idolatry being the next mentioned in Scripture, we may pass on to consider it for the illustration of our present subject.

When Jacob left Padan-aram, Rachel stole and carried away her father Laban's teraphim. These teraphim Laban greatly valued, as we may judge from his determined search. He called them his gods (Gen. xxxi. 30, 32), though he was not without a belief in the true God (24, 49-53). It has indeed been thought that the passage rendered 'The God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor, the God of their fathers, judge betwixt us. And Jacob sware by the fear of his father Isaac' (53)—might be read so as to illustrate Laban's idolatry; but the seeming difference between Laban's oath and Jacob's disappears if we compare the passage with that earlier one, where Jacob says, 'Except the God of my father, the God of Abraham, and the fear of Isaac, had been with me, surely thou hadst sent me away now empty' (42). There is, therefore, no warrant for reading the word rendered God in any occurrence or all occurrences in the passage first cited as a plural. Evidently, therefore, Laban's teraphim were not images of false gods, but were idols corruptly used by believers in the patriarchal religion. Yet it is probable on other grounds than any theories advanced in this article that these images were connected with ancestral worship: if so, they may have been relics of the Shemite idolatry from the midst of which Abraham was called away. And here it may be remarked that these corruptions clung to the families or retainers of the Hebrew patriarchs, for Jacob, at a later time, commanded his household, and those that were with him, to put away strange gods (xxxv. 2).

We purposely reserve the discussion of the idolatry of Canaan for that later period when the iniquity of its people was full, and when the Divine warnings, as well as the sacred history, give us a more complete view of the idol-worship of the seven doomed nations. But it must be here observed, that already in Abraham's time such a name as Ashteroth Karnaim (Ashteroth of the two horns) shows the existence of pagan worship. On the other hand, the mysterious Melchizedek, seemingly a Canaanite, if not a Rephaite (like Adonizedek of Joshua's time), is a witness that the true patriarchal belief was not yet overwhelmed by the corruptions of Canaan.

The sojourn in Egypt brings us again in contact with one of the great idolatrous systems of antiquity. There is some little evidence, but that little very curious and valuable, as to the adoption of a false religion by many of the Israelites in Egypt. At that time Egypt was not wholly in the hands of the Egyptians, not wholly even Egyptian. The Shepherd-strangers, if they did not rule the country for the whole period of their stay, were certainly long firmly planted in its north-eastern provinces. From the Pathmetic, now the Damietta, branch to the eastern border, dwelt a Shemite or quasi-Shemite population. The marshes that skirt the Mediter-

anean and the great lakes that feed them, afterwards the last homes of Egyptian freedom, were then the haunts of the eastern enemies of Egypt, whose traits of person and character are still to be discerned, as they were long ago by Achilles Tatius, in the sturdy fishermen of Lake Menzeleh. Southward, the pasture-lands of a long valley, the land of Goshen, through which a prudent ruler, whose name has perished through the lapse of ages, had cut a canal, more to water this fertile tract than to open a way from the Nile to the Erythrean Sea, this long valley was the home of settled Arabs, the Israelites, and the mixed multitude, or Erebs, spoken of in Scripture. The names of several of the towns of north-eastern Egypt are either Hebrew, or known to us both in Hebrew and Egyptian forms of the same signification. So marked is the distinction between true Egypt and Shemite Egypt, that the monuments of the great Shepherd-city Zoan, executed under the foreign rule, though Egyptian, have a distinctive character of their own. Thus we may expect to find two pagan religions prevailing in Egypt, one the religion of the Egyptians, the other that of such of the Shemite colonists as were idolaters. We would not deny that constant waves of Shemite immigration had produced their effect on the religion and physical characteristics of the Egyptians from that very first which gave the strong Shemite side to their moral and physical nature, but in the Shepherd-period foreign influence could no longer affect the essential part of the native religion, and any distinct system must have had a separate growth.

When we come to speak of the ancient Egyptian religion, we are at last on safe ground. The interpretation of hieroglyphics has laid before us a mass of documents, acquainting us almost as fully with its tenets as do the classical writings with those of pagan Greece and Rome. The result is, that we are compelled to discard, at least for the present, the philosophical theories which we had been accustomed to regard as the very mainsprings of Egyptian belief, but which are probably for the most part fabrications constructed in the attempt to fortify the ancient religion against the shocks of a new and vital faith. We are indeed compelled finally to put aside all ideas that the Egyptian religion formed one philosophical whole, and to admit that it consists of several distinct elements, which were never fused, because their nature forbade so complete a union.

The strongest and most remarkable peculiarity of the Egyptian religion is the worship of animals, trees, and like objects, which was universal in the country, and was even connected with the belief in the future state. No theory of the usefulness of certain animals can explain the worship of others that were utterly useless, nor can a theory of some strange analogy find even as wide an application. The explanation is to be discovered in every town, every village, every hut, of the Negroes, whose fetishism corresponds perfectly with this low nature-worship of the ancient Egyptians.

Connected with fetishism, was the local character of the religion. Each nome, city, town, and probably village, had its divinities, and the position of many gods in the Pantheon was due rather to the importance of their cities than any powers or qualities they were supposed to have.

The Egyptian Pantheon shows three distinct elements. Certain of the gods are only per-

sonifications connected with low nature-worship. Others, the great gods, are of Shemite origin, and are connected with high nature-worship, though showing traces of the worship of ancestors. In addition, there are certain personifications of abstract ideas. The first of these classes is evidently the result of an attempt to connect the old low nature-worship with some higher system. The second is no doubt the religion of the Shemite settlers. It is essentially the same in character as the Babylonian and Assyrian religion, and as the belief of a dominant race took the most important place in the intricate system of which it ultimately formed a part. The last class appears to be of later invention, and to have had its origin in an endeavour to construct a philosophical system.

In addition to these particulars of the Egyptian religion, it is important to notice that it comprised very remarkable doctrines. Man was held to be a responsible being, whose future after death depended upon his actions done while on earth. He was to be judged by Osiris, ruler of the West, or unseen world, and either rewarded with felicity or punished with torment. Whether these future states of happiness and misery were held to be of eternal duration is not certain, but there is little doubt that the Egyptians believed in the immortality of the soul.

The religion of the Shepherds is not as distinctly known to us. It is, however, clear from the monuments that their chief god was SET or SUTEKH, and we learn from a papyrus that one of the Shepherd-kings, APEEE, probably Manetho's 'Apophis,' established the worship of SET in his dominions, and revered no other god, raising a great temple to him in Zoan, or Avaris. SET continued to be worshipped by the Egyptians until the time of the 22d dynasty, when we first find no trace of him on the monuments. At this period or afterwards his figure was effaced in the inscriptions. The change took place long after the expulsion of the Shepherds, and was effected by the 22d dynasty, which was probably of Assyrian or Babylonian origin: it is, therefore, rather to be considered as a result of the influence of the Median doctrine of Ormazd and Ahriman, than as due to the Egyptian hatred of the foreigners and all that concerned them. Besides SET, other foreign divinities were worshipped in Egypt, the god KENPU, the goddesses KEN or KETESH, ANTA, and ASTARTA. All these divinities, except ASTARTA, as to whom we have no particular information, are treated by the Egyptians as powers of destruction and war, as SET was considered the personification of physical evil. SET was always identified by the Egyptians with Baal: we do not know whether he was worshipped in Egypt before the Shepherd-period, but this is almost certain.

This foreign worship in Egypt was probably never reduced to a system. What we know of it shews no regularity, and it is not unlike the imitations of the Egyptian idols made by Phœnician artists, probably as representations of Phœnician divinities. The gods of the Hycsos are foreign objects of worship in an Egyptian dress.

Before speaking of the partial or general falling away of the Israelites in Egypt, we may notice the other kinds of idolatry which influenced them at the same period, or that immediately succeeding it, the idolatry of the Abrahamite tribes, of Canaan, of Phœnicia, of the Philistines, and of Syria, which

they encountered on their journey, or after they reached the Land of Promise.

The centre of the idolatry of the Palestinian races is to be sought for in the religion of the Rephaites and the Canaanites. We can distinctly connect the worship of Baal and Ashtoreth with the earliest kind of idolatry, and having thus established a centre, we can understand how, for instance, the same infernal rites were celebrated to the Ammonite Molech and the Carthaginian Baal. The most important document for the idolatry of the Hittites is the treaty concluded between the branch of that people seated on the Orontes and Rameses II. From this we learn that SUTEKH (or SET) and ASTERAT were the chief divinities of these Hittites, and that they also worshipped the mountains and rivers, and the winds. The SUTEKHS of several forts are also specified [HITTITES]. SET is known from the Egyptian inscriptions to have corresponded to Baal, so that in the two chief divinities we discover Baal and Ashtoreth, the only Canaanite divinities known to be mentioned in Scripture. The local worship of different forms of Baal well agrees with the low nature-worship with which it is found to have prevailed. Both are equally mentioned in the Bible history. Thus the people of Shechem worshipped Baal-berith, and Mount Hermon itself seems to have been worshipped as Baal-Hermon, while the low nature-worship may be traced in the reverence for groves, and the connection of the Canaanite religion with hills and trees. The worst feature of this system was the sacrifice of children by their parents; a feature that shews the origin of at least two of its offshoots.

The Bible does not give a very clear description of Canaanite idolatry. As an abominable thing to be rooted out and cast into oblivion nothing is needlessly said of it. The appellation Baal, ruler, or possessor, implies supremacy, and connects the chief Canaanite divinity with the Syrian Adonis. He was the god of the Canaanite city Zidon or Sidon, where 'Ashtoreth, the abomination of the Zidonians,' was also specially worshipped. In the Judge-period we read of Baalim and Ashteroth in the plural, probably indicating various local forms of these divinities, but perhaps merely the worship of many images. The worship of Baal was connected with that of the groves, which we take to have been representations of trees or other vegetable products [HIGH PLACES AND GROVES]. In Ahab's time a temple was built for Baal, where there was an image. His worshippers sacrificed in garments provided by the priests; and his prophets, seeking to propitiate him, were wont to cry and cut themselves with swords and lances. Respecting Ashtoreth we know less from Scripture. Her name is not derivable from any Semitic root. It is equivalent to the Ishtar of the cuneiform inscriptions, the name of the Assyrian or Babylonian Venus, the goddess of the planet. The identity of the Canaanite, and the Assyrian or Babylonian goddess, is further shown by the connection of the former with star-worship. In the Iranian languages we find a close radical resemblance to Ashtoreth and Ishtar in the Pers.

ستاره, Zend *stara*, Sansk. *stra*, *stāra*, *stern*, all equivalent to our 'star.' This derivation confirms our opinion that the high nature-worship of the Babylonians and Assyrians was of Aryan origin.

As no other Canaanite divinities are noticed in Scripture, it seems probable that Baal and Ashtoreth were alone worshipped by the nations of Canaan. Among the neighbouring tribes we find, besides these, other names of idols, and we have to inquire whether they apply to different idols or are merely different appellations.

Beginning with the Abrahamite tribes, we find Molech, Malcham, or Milcom (מלכם, מלכ, מלחם), spoken of as the idol of the Ammonites. This name, in the first form, always has the article, and undoubtedly signifies the 'king' (המלך), equivalent to (המלך), for it is indifferently used as a proper name and as an appellative with a suffix (comp. Jer. xlix. 1, 3, with Amos i. 15). Milcom is from Molech or its root, with מ formative, and Malcham is probably a dialectic variation, if the points are to be relied upon. Molech was regarded by the Ammonites as their king. When David captured Rabbah we are told that 'he took Malcham's crown from off his head, the weight whereof [was] a talent of gold with the precious stones: and it was [set] on David's head' (2 Sam. xii. 30, comp. 1 Chron. xx. 2).^{*} The prophets speak of this idol as ruler of the children of Ammon, and to go into captivity with his priests and princes (Jer. xlix. 1, 3; Amos i. 15). The worship of Molech was performed at high places, and children were sacrificed to him by their parents, being cast into fires. This horrible practice prevailed at Carthage, where children were sacrificed to the chief divinity Baal, called at Tyre 'Melcarth, lord (Baal) of Tyre' מלקרת בעל צר (Inscr. Melit. Biling., ap. Gesen., *Lex. s.v.* בעל), the first of which words signifies 'king of the city,' מלך קרת. There can therefore be no doubt that Molech was a local form of the chief idol of Canaan, and it is by no means certain that this name was limited to the Ammonite worship, as we shall see in speaking of the idolatry of the Israelites in the Desert.

We know for certain of but one Moabite divinity as of but one Ammonite. Chemosh appears to have held the same place as Molech, although our information respecting him is less full. Moab was the 'people of Chemosh' (Num. xxi. 29; Jer. xlviii. 46), and Chemosh was doomed to captivity with his priests and princes (Jer. xlviii. 7). In one place Chemosh is spoken of as the god of the king of the children of Ammon, whom Jephthah conquered (Judg. xi. 24); but it is to be remarked that the cities held by this king, which Jephthah took, were not originally Ammonite, and were apparently claimed as once held by the Moabites (21-26; comp. Num. xxi. 23-30), so that at this time Moab and Ammon were probably united, or the Ammonites ruled by a Moabite chief. The etymology of Chemosh is doubtful, but it is clear that he was distinct from Molech. There is no positive trace of the cruel rites of the idol of the Ammonites, and it is unlikely that the settled Moabites should have had the same savage disposition as their wild brethren

^{*} The probable weight of a talent of gold, upwards of 200 lbs. troy, is so great that we can only suppose that the crown was held on David's head.

on the north. There is, however, a general resemblance in the regal character assigned to both idols and their solitary position. Chemosh, therefore, like Molech, was probably a form of Baal. Both tribes appear to have had other idols, for we read of the worship, by the Israelites, of 'the gods of Moab, and the gods of the children of Ammon' (Judg. x. 6); but as there are other plurals in the passage, it is possible that this may be a general expression. Yet in saying this we do not mean to suggest that there was any monotheistic form of Canaanite idolatry. There is some difficulty in ascertaining whether Baal-Peor, or Peor, was a Moabite idol. The Israelites, while encamped at Shittim, were seduced by the women of Moab and Midian, and joined them in the worship of Baal-Peor. There is no notice of any later instance of this idolatry. It seems, therefore, not to have been national to Moab, and if so, it may have been borrowed, and Midianite, or else local, and Canaanite. The former idea is supported by the apparent connection of prostitution, even of women of rank, with the worship of Baal-Peor, which would not have been repugnant to the pagan Arabs; the latter finds some support in the name Shittim, 'the acacias,' as though the place had its name from some acacias sacred to Baal, and, moreover, we have no certain instance of the application of the name of Baal to any non-Canaanite divinity. Had such vile worship as was probably that of Baal-Peor been national in Moab, it is most unlikely that David would have been on very friendly terms with a Moabite king.

The Philistine idolatry is connected with that of Canaan, although it has peculiarities of its own, which are indeed so strong that it may be questioned whether it is entirely or even mainly derived from the Canaanite source. At Ekron, Baal-zebub was worshipped, and had a temple, to which Ahaziah, the wicked son of Ahab, sent to inquire. This name means either 'the lord of the fly,' or 'Baal the fly.' It is generally held that he was worshipped as a driver away of flies, but we think it more probable that some venomous fly was sacred to him. The use of the term Baal is indicative of a connection with the Canaanite system. The national divinity of the Philistines seems, however, to have been Dagon, to whom there were temples at Gaza and at Ashdod, and the general character of whose worship is evident in such traces as we observe in the names Caphar-Dagon, near Jamnia, and Beth-Dagon, the latter applied to two places, one in Judah and the other in Asher. The derivation of the name Dagon, דָּגוֹן, as that of a fish-god, is from דָּג, 'a fish.' Gesenius considers it a diminutive, 'little fish,' used by way of endearment and honour (*Thes.* s. v.), but this is surely hazardous. Dagon was represented as a man with the tail of a fish. There can be no doubt that he was connected with the Canaanite system, as Derceto or Atargatis, the same as Ashtoreth, was worshipped under a like mixed shape at Ashkelon (*αὐτὴ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον ἔχει γυναικὸς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶν ἰχθύος*, Diod. Sic. ii. 4). In form he is the same as the Assyrian god supposed to correspond to the planet Saturn. The house of Dagon at Gaza, which Samson overthrew, must have been very large, for about 3000 men and women then assembled on its roof. It had two principal, if not only, pillars, in the midst, between which Samson was placed

and was seen by the people on the roof. The inner portion of some of the ancient Egyptian temples consisted of a hypæthral hall, supported by two or more pillars, and inner chambers. The overthrow of these pillars would bring down the stone roof of the hall, and destroy all persons beneath or upon it, without necessarily overthrowing the side-walls.

The idolatry of the Phœnicians is not spoken of in the Bible. From their inscriptions and the statements of profane authors, we learn that this nation worshipped Baal and Ashtoreth. The details of their worship will be spoken of in the art. PHœNICIA.

Syrian idols are mentioned in a few places in Scripture. Tammuz, whom the women of Israel lamented, is no doubt Adonis, whose worship implies that of Astarte or Ashtoreth. Rimmon, who appears to have been the chief divinity of the Syrian kings ruling at Damascus, may, if his name signifies 'high' (from מַרְמָר), be a local form of Baal, who, as the sun-god, had a temple at the great Syrian city Heliopolis, now called Baalabekk.

The book of Job, which, whatever its date, represents a primitive state of society, speaks of cosmic worship as though it was practised in his country, Idumæa or northern Arabia. 'If I beheld a sun when it shined, or a splendid moon progressing, and my heart were secretly enticed, and my hand touched my mouth, surely this [were] a depravity of judgment, for I should have denied God above' (xxx. 26-28). See the *Genesis of the Earth and of Man*, 2d ed., p. 184. This evidence is important in connection with that of the ancient prevalence of cosmic worship in Arabia, and that of its practice by some of the later kings of Judah.

If we take a retrospect of this evidence as to the ancient idolatries of the Canaanites and the nations immediately surrounding them, we perceive the correctness of the principle with which we commenced this part of the inquiry, that the centre of Palestinian idolatry is to be sought for in the religion of the Rephaite and Canaanite races. Local influences may have affected the varieties of this system; the Philistines, as a people of the sea-coast, may have preferred an inferior sea-god for their chief divinity, the softer races may have chosen the corrupt rites of the consort of Baal for their main worship, the more savage may have sought only to please Baal with the cruel sacrifice of children, yet throughout the region we find nothing distinctly separate and different, neither bare fetishism on the one hand, nor unmixed cosmic worship on the other. If we might venture to resolve this religion into its primitive elements, we should assign the fetishism to the Rephaite races, and the other element, mainly high nature-worship, to the Canaanites. This may seem fatal to our theory that high nature-worship in the religion of Babylonia and Assyria is the Aryan element, but it must be recollected that we do not know at what time and through what conflict or mixture of races, the second element of Palestinian idolatry was introduced. There are points of resemblance between the idolatry of Palestine and that of Assyria and Babylonia, which prove a common origin in their cosmic element; but, on the other hand, there are differences, which show either that the contact was extremely remote, or that in Palestine a complex system was greatly modified.

We may now speak of the idolatrous practices

into which the Israelites fell at various times from the period of the sojourn in Egypt downwards.

The Israelites in Egypt yielded to the temptations of the polytheistic population among which they dwelt. In Joshua's last address he counselled the people to put away the gods which their fathers served beyond Euphrates and in Egypt (Josh. xxiv. 14), that is, if we compare the context, not to return to these forms of idolatry (15, 16). The same is stated (Ezek. xx. 6, 7, 8) and alluded to (xxiii. 3) by Ezekiel. The only other notices of this idolatry are the account of the golden calf, and the passage in Amos, cited by St. Stephen in the Acts, respecting the worship of Chiun or Remphan.

Let us take a glance at the condition of the Israelites in Egypt. We have seen that they were in a country where two pagan religions obtained, the Egyptian and that of the Shepherd-strangers. The Israelites, as dwellers in the most outlying and separate tract of the Shemite part of Lower Egypt are more likely to have followed the corruptions of the strangers than those of the Egyptians, more especially as, saving Joseph, Moses, and not improbably Aaron and Miriam, they seem to have almost universally preserved the manners of their former wandering life. There is scarcely a trace of Egyptian influence beyond that seen in the names of Moses and Miriam, and perhaps of Aaron also, for the only other name besides the former two that is certainly Egyptian, and may be reasonably referred to this period, that of Harnepher, evidently the Egyptian HAR-NEFRU, 'Horus the good,' in the genealogies of Asher (1 Chron. vii. 36), probably marks an Egyptian taken by marriage into the tribe of Asher, whether a proselyte or not we cannot attempt to decide.

The only glimpse we have of the manners of the tribes after their settlement in Goshen shows us that they led a pastoral if not a freebooting life. The calamity that deprived Ephraim of his sons was, however we read the passage, an event of wild desert-warfare (1 Chron. vii. 21). If the Israelites left Egypt tainted with idolatry, they certainly left it uncorrupted by the evils of civilized and settled life. It is to be supposed, therefore, that whatever false worship they practised would have been adopted rather from the Shepherds than the Egyptians. The little evidence we have precisely confirms this supposition. The Hebrew idolatry in the Desert was like that of the Shepherds, partly borrowed from the Egyptian system, partly showing a separate source.

The golden calf, or, more accurately, 'bull-calf,' was, we suppose, not a representation of any Egyptian god, but made to represent God Himself. There has been a difference of opinion as to the golden calf, some holding the view we have expressed, others maintaining that it was only an imitation of an Egyptian idol. We first observe that this and Jeroboam's golden calves are shown to have been identical in the intention with which they were made, by the circumstance that the Israelites addressed the former as the God who had brought them out of Egypt (Exod. xxxii. 4, 8), and that Jeroboam proclaimed the same of his idols (1 Kings xii. 28). We next remark, that Aaron called the calf not only god but the LORD (Exod. xxxii. 5), that in the Psalms it is said 'they changed their glory into the similitude of an ox that eateth hay' (cvi. 20), that no one of the calf-worshipping kings and princes of Israel

bears any name connected with idolatry, while many have names compounded with the most sacred name of God, and that in no place is any foreign divinity connected with calf-worship in the slightest degree.

The adoption of such an image as the golden calf shows the strength of Egyptian associations, else how would Aaron have fixed upon so ignoble a form as that of the God who had brought Israel out of Egypt? Only a mind thoroughly accustomed to the profound respect paid in Egypt to the sacred bulls, and especially to Apis and Mnevis, could have hit upon so strange a representation; nor could any people who had not witnessed the Egyptian practices have found, as readily as did the Israelites, the fulfilment of their wishes in such an image. The feast that Aaron celebrated, when, after eating and drinking, the people arose, sang, and danced naked before the idol, is strikingly like the festival of the finding of Apis, which was celebrated with feasting and dancing, and also, apparently, though this custom does not seem to have been part of the public festivity, with indecent gestures. [MOSCHOIATRY.]

The golden calf was not the only idol which the Israelites worshipped in the Desert. The prophet Amos speaks of others. In the Masoretic text the passage is as follows, 'But ye bare the tent [or 'tabernacle'] of your king and Chiun your images, the star of your gods [or 'your god'], which ye made for yourselves' (v. 26). The LXX. has Μολόχ for 'your king,' as though their original Heb. had been מלכֶם, instead of מלִכְכֶם, and Παῖφον for Chiun, besides a transposition. In the Acts the reading is almost the same as that of the LXX., 'Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Remphan, figures which ye made to worship them' (vii. 43). We cannot here discuss the probable causes of these differences except of the more important ones, the substitution of Moloch for 'your king,' and Raiphan or Remphan for Chiun. It should be observed, that if the passage related to Ammonite worship, nothing would be more likely than that Molech should have been spoken of by an appellative, in which case a strict rendering of the Masoretic text would read as does the A. V.; a freer could follow the LXX. and Acts; but, as there is no reference to the Ammonites or even the Canaanites, it is more reasonable to suppose that the LXX. followed a text in which, as above suggested, the reading was מלִכְכֶם,

Malcham, or 'your king.' The likelihood of this being the true reading must depend upon the rest of the passage. Remphan and Chiun are at once recognised as two foreign divinities worshipped together in Egypt, RENPU, probably pronounced REMPU, and KEN, the former a god represented as of the type of the Shemites and apparently connected with war, the latter a goddess represented naked standing upon a lion. They were worshipped with KHEM, the Egyptian god of productivity, and the foreign war-goddess ANATA. Excluding KHEM, who is probably associated with KEN from her being connected, as we shall see, with productivity, these names, RENPU,* KEN,

* The name RENPU is in sound very near RENP, 'the year,' Copt. ροεπϣ, etc.; but RENPU is a god of war, not of time.

and ANATA, are clearly not, except in orthography, Egyptian. We can suggest no origin for the name of RENPU. The goddess KEN, as naked, would be connected with the Babylonian Mylitta, and as standing on a lion, with a goddess so represented in rock-sculptures at Malthaiyyeh near Nineveh. The former similarity connects her with generation; the latter perhaps does so likewise. If we adopt this supposition, the name KEN may be traced to a root connected with generation found in many varieties in the Iranian family, and not out of that family. It may be sufficient to cite the Greek *γεν-ουαι*, *γεν-η*: she would thus be the goddess of productiveness. ANATA is the Persian Anaitis. We have shown earlier that the Babylonian high nature-worship seems to have been of Aryan origin. In the present case we trace an Aryan idolatry connected, from the mention of a star, with high nature-worship. If we accept this explanation, it becomes doubtful that Molech is mentioned in the passage, and we may rather suppose that some other idol, to whom a kingly character was attributed, is intended. Here we must leave this difficult point of our inquiry, only summing up that this false worship was evidently derived from the Shepherds in Egypt, and may possibly indicate the Aryan origin of at least one of these tribes, almost certainly its own origin, directly or indirectly, from an Aryan source. The worship of Baal-Peor was next followed; but this was a temporary apostasy: we have already spoken of it.

It is probable that during the wanderings, and under the strong rule of Joshua, the idolatry learnt in Egypt was so destroyed as to be afterwards utterly forgotten by the people. But in entering Palestine they found themselves among the monuments and associations of another false religion, less attractive indeed to the reason than that of Egypt, which still taught, notwithstanding the wretched fetishism that it supported, some great truths of man's present and future, but of a religion which, in its deification of nature, had a strong hold on the imagination. The genial sun, the refreshing moon, the stars, at whose risings or settings fell the longed-for rains, were naturally revered in that land of green hills and valleys, which were fed by the water of heaven. A nation thrown in the scene of such a religion and mixed with those who professed it, at that period of national life when impressions are most readily made, such a nation, albeit living while the recollection of the deliverance from Egypt and the wonders with which the Law was given was yet fresh, soon fell away into the practices that it was strictly enjoined to root out. In the first and second laws of the Decalogue, the Israelites were commanded to worship but one God, and not to make any image whatever to worship it, lest they and their children should fall under God's heavy displeasure. The commands were explicit enough. But not alone was idolatry thus clearly condemned: the Israelites were charged to destroy all objects connected with the religion of the inhabitants of Canaan. They were to destroy utterly all the heathen places of worship, 'upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree.' They were to 'overthrow' the 'altars' of the heathen, 'break their pillars,' 'burn their groves, hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of that place' (Deut. xii. 2, 3), a passage we cite on account of the fulness of the enumeration. Had the con-

quered nations been utterly extirpated their idolatry might have been annihilated at once. But soon after the lands had been apportioned, that separate life of the tribes began which was never interrupted, as far as history tells us, until the time of the kings. Divided, the tribes were unable to cope with the remnant of the Canaanites, and either dwelt with them on equal terms, reduced them to tribute, or became tributaries themselves. The Israelites were thus surrounded by the idolatry of Canaan; and since they were for the most part confined to the mountain and hilly districts, where its associations were strongest, they had but to learn from their neighbours how they had worshipped upon the high hills and under every green tree. It is related how, by the generation that followed Joshua and those who outlived him, true religion was forgotten, and the people fell into the worship of Baalim, Ashtaroah, and the groves. From the use of plural forms in the case of the first and second idols, it is probable that the Baals and Ashtoreths of several towns or tribes were worshipped by the Israelites, as Baal-Peor had been, and Baal-berith afterwards was. It does not seem, however, that the people at once fell into heathen worship: the first step appears to have been adopting a corruption of the true religion. Practices like the worship of the golden calf are again mentioned as obtaining at this time, and we are astonished to read in the history of Micah that this spurious worship was already systematized. 'In those days [there was] no king in Israel, every man did [that which was] right in his own eyes' (Judg. xvii. 6). Thus Micah, a man of Mount Ephraim, having first stolen the large sum of 1100 shekels of silver from his mother (42 lbs. 80 grs. troy, taking the shekel at 220 grs.), restored it to her, and she, although professing to have dedicated the whole of it to the Lord, yet gave but 200 shekels of silver (7 lbs. 7 oz. 320 grs.), to a founder, who made 'a graven image and a molten image,' which, unless merely overlaid with precious metal, must have been small. Not content with these, Micah had a house of god or of gods, an ephod, and teraphim, here, as in Laban's case, associated with spurious worship, and made one of his sons priest, consecrating him by some old patriarchal, perhaps heathenish, right of the master of the house. But still greater good fortune befell Micah, when a young Levite, coming from Bethlehem-Judah in search of a place where he might settle, was persuaded by him to stay, and be to him 'a father and a priest.' So he hired the Levite for 'ten [shekels] of silver by the year, and a suit of apparel,' and his food. Micah exercised his right of consecration, and in full satisfaction exclaimed, 'Now know I that the LORD will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to [my] priest.' But the priest speedily gave a fresh instance of his mercenary character. Certain Danites, from the two warlike cities Zorah and Eshtaol, six hundred armed men, seeking an inheritance, heard of Micah's 'house of gods,' and coming as friends, stole the contents of the place, and carried away, he nothing loth, the priest to be 'a father and a priest' to them, asking him, '[Is it] better for thee to be a priest unto the house of one man, or that thou be a priest unto a tribe and a family in Israel.' The Danites smote Laish, and called it Dan, and there set up the graven image: the priest and his sons continued to be priests to the tribe of Dan until the captivity: the graven image remained

at Dan 'all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh,' being probably suppressed for a time under Saul, David, and Solomon, and superseded by Jeroboam's golden calf. The priest was Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, a wonderful instance of the rapid corruption of those days (Judg. xvii., xviii.) It is noteworthy that throughout this remarkable narrative, which is told with a simplicity that would vouch for its antiquity and authenticity were there no other evidence, idolatrous practices are associated with deceit and dishonesty. Wealthy and at ease, the tribes would not be at the trouble of going to Shiloh to worship, but, like their ancestors two or three generations before, who demanded a calf of Aaron because they knew not what had become of Moses, each man would have his house of gods, with images, a priest, and, perhaps, for teraphim are mentioned, magical practices also. This declension would have easily led the way to the adoption not only of the forms, but of the realities of the heathenism around. An illegal worship of the true God would soon give place to the flexible religion of the heathen.

The history contained in the Book of Judges and the early part of the First Book of Samuel is a narrative of the successive declensions and reformations of the Israelites in the period of the Judges. It is noticeable that they do not seem during this period to have generally adopted the religions of any but the Canaanites, although in one remarkable passage they are said, between the time of Jair and that of Jephthah, to have forsaken the Lord, and served Baalim, and Ashtaroth, and the gods of Syria, Zidon, Moab, the children of Ammon, and the Philistines (Judg. x. 6), as though there had then been an utter and profligate apostasy. The cause no doubt was that the Canaanite worship was borrowed in a time of amity, and that but one Canaanite oppressor is spoken of, whereas the Abrahamites of the east of Palestine, and the Philistines, were almost always enemies of the Israelites. Each time of idolatry was punished by a servitude, each reformation followed by a deliverance. Speedily as the nation returned to idolatry its heart was fresher than that of the ten tribes which followed Jeroboam, and never seem to have had one thorough national repentance. There are some curious traces of the special customs of this time. Gideon, though he commenced his judgeship by casting down Joash his father's altar of Baal and grove, which seem to have been set up more for custom than from a belief in this false god (Judg. vi. 30-32), yet after his defeat of the confederate Arabs, and pious refusal to be made king, was a cause of idolatry to his people. He asked of the Israelites the golden earrings (?) or rings (?) they had taken, of which the weight was 1700 shekels of gold, according to our calculation 38 lbs. 11 oz. 240 grs. troy, and made of them an ephod in his city Ophrah, to the idolatrous worship of which all Israel was attracted, 'a which thing became a snare unto Gideon and to his house' (viii. 24-27). An ephod was a priestly and Levitical vestment. The ephod of the Law was the high-priest's garment, to which was attached the breast-plate, and, even including the breast-plate, cannot have contained anything like the amount of gold used by Gideon (Exod. xxviii. 4-35). It has, therefore, been supposed that an idol covered with an ephod was made by the judge. This idea involves a great improbability; we cannot suppose

Gideon to have been guilty of more than some mistaken following of corrupt religion, not of its extreme or of heathen worship. Perhaps he made the ephod for the priest of the altar he had built at his town, and it came to be treated with superstitious reverence, or else he may have framed the gold into the form of an ephod as a kind of trophy, and the same may have occurred. It is needless to cite the sacred veil of Carthage, which, did we think Gideon had gone back to Baal-worship, would be an apt illustration.

In the next generation, the Israelites, led no doubt by Abimelech, the son of Gideon and a concubine of Shechem, probably a Hivite, adopted the worship of Baal-berith, or Baal of the covenant (that is, probably, god of the head-city of a Hivite confederation rather than of an alliance between the Hivites and the Israelites [HIVITES]), who had at Shechem a temple either fortified or in a fort like the Atargation at Ashteroth Karnaim in the Maccabæan period. But Abimelech seems only to have adopted this idol for his own purposes, as he had no scruple in burning the hold when the revolted Shechemites took refuge there.

The notices of their great wars show that the enmity between the Philistines and the Israelites was too great for any idolatry to be then borrowed of the former by the latter, though at an earlier time this was not the case. Once more under Samuel there was a reformation, and Baalim and Ashtaroth were put away, probably for more than a century. Saul's family were, however, tainted as it seems with idolatry, for the names of Ishbosheth or Eshbaal, and Mephibosheth or Merib-baal, can scarcely have been given but in honour of Baal. From the circumstances of Michal's stratagem to save David, it seems not only that Saul's family kept teraphim, but, apparently, that they used them for purposes of divination, the LXX. having 'liver' for 'pillow,' as if the Hebr. had been פֶּכֶל instead of the present פֶּכֶר. The circumstance of having teraphim, more especially if they were used for divination, lends especial force to Samuel's reproof of Saul (1 Sam. xv. 23). During the reign of David and the earlier part of that of Solomon, idolatry in Israel is unmentioned, and no doubt was almost unknown.

The earlier days of Solomon were the happiest of the kingdom of Israel. The temple-worship was fully established, with the highest magnificence, and there was no excuse for that worship of God at high places, which seems to have been before permitted on account of the constant distractions of the country. But the close of that reign was marked by an apostasy of which we read with wonder. Hitherto the people had been the sinners, their leaders, reformers; this time the king, led astray by his many strange wives, perverted the people, and raised high places on the mount of Corruption, opposite God's temple. He worshipped Ashteroth, goddess of the Zidonians, Chemosh, the god of the Moabites, and Milcom, the abomination of the Ammonites, for the latter two building high places, as well as for all the gods of his strange wives. Solomon no doubt was very tolerant, and would not prevent these women from following their native superstitions, even if they felt it a duty to burn their and his children before Molech. Calamity speedily followed this great apostasy: the latter years of Solomon were troubled,

and ten tribes were wrenched from the weak hands of his half-Ammonite son.

Jeroboam, newly come from the court of Shishak, as soon as he had been made king by the turbulent house of Joseph, set himself to devise some national religion that should keep his subjects from going to worship at Jerusalem, and so returning to their allegiance to the house of David. He could hit upon nothing better than the golden calf, and after the lapse of centuries restored Aaron's idol, calling it as before a symbol of the God that brought Israel out of Egypt. He made two calves: the one he set up at Dan, on the northern boundary of his kingdom, where there was already an idolatrous priesthood, the other at the ancient high place of Bethel, as though to lead aside journeyers to the temple at Jerusalem. He established a spurious priesthood of the lowest of the people, and himself ministered at the altar at Bethel. He fixed an annual feast on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, in imitation rather of the passover than, as usually supposed, of the feast of tabernacles.*

From the time of Jeroboam to that of Ahab no further progress in idolatry seems to have been made. The system set up by the Israelite king, notwithstanding the warning miracle wrought by the prophet that came out of Judah, does not appear to have been abandoned by Jeroboam or his successors. There were, no doubt, many true believers in the Israelite kingdom, and as their going to Jerusalem even in time of peace was probably forbidden by the kings, it seems likely that worship at high places was not unlawful to them. In Judah the temple-worship was maintained, but an unlawful worship at high places, perhaps sometimes or at some places connected with idolatrous rites, seems to have generally continued.

Ahab, making a worldly-wise marriage with Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Zidonians, introduced the worship of Baal, the god of Zidon, as the national religion. Jeroboam's sin naturally paved the way for this worse apostasy, as the worship of the golden calf was followed by that of Baal-Peor, and the corruptions that were practised after the death of those who outlived Joshua immediately led to the adoption of the paganism of Canaan. But never had there been such a national apostasy. A temple of Baal was raised, apparently near Samaria, and an image and a grove there set up; there were four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal, and

four hundred of the groves, all of whom, it seems, sat at Jezebel's table. For the first time we read that a persecution of true religion was raised, and Jezebel attempted to slay all the prophets of the Lord. Although Baal-worship received a signal check when, at Carmel, before Ahab and all Israel, the false prophets were miraculously shown to be impostors, and were slain by Elijah, yet that only remaining true prophet who had dared to show himself in the Israelite kingdom fled for his life from Jezebel, and lamenting the forsaken covenant, overthrown altars, and slain prophets of the Lord, complained that he alone was left. But God made known to him that there were still left in Israel seven thousand that had neither bowed to Baal nor kissed his image. The miracle at Carmel had no lasting effect on Ahab's mind. Not only did he allow his wife to seek the life of Elijah, but a staff of four hundred false prophets was formed, by whose prediction he was led to the fatal battle of Ramoth-gilead. Ahab's son Ahaziah followed his parents' iniquities, and sent to inquire of Baal-zebub; but his brother and successor, Jehoram, put away the image of Baal, and was contented with Jeroboam's sin, though the image was afterwards restored, no doubt through Jezebel's influence.

Jehu aimed at the destruction of the house of Ahab and the overthrow of the worship of Baal: both objects he thoroughly accomplished, so far as the northern kingdom was concerned, perhaps with some selfish ambition, and probably with some needless bloodshed, but certainly with a vigour that marks him as one of the most resolute of the Israelite kings. The worshippers of Baal were collected and slain, the house of Baal overthrown, his image and other images broken and burnt, and the house permanently polluted. It is to be observed that a city of the house of Baal is mentioned, as though a city, probably a suburb of Samaria, had grown up around the idol temple. Yet Jehu, with a foolish policy, was afraid to abandon the corruptions of Jeroboam, and thenceforward the golden calves at Bethel and Dan were worshipped by the ten tribes until the overthrow of the kingdom.

Baal-worship, though destroyed in Israel, was untouched in Judah. The good king Jehoshaphat had allied himself with the powerful house of Ahab, and this piece of political wisdom nearly extinguished the line of David. Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, had become the wife of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat. Jehoram, and Ahaziah his son, under the strong influence of Athaliah, had walked in the way of the house of Ahab. When Ahaziah had been slain by Jehu, Athaliah outdid Jezebel, and slew all the male seed royal, but one child, Jehoash, being saved. During the six years' reign of Athaliah, he remained hidden in the temple, until a priestly revolution overthrew at once the usurper and her religion. The wicked queen was slain, the house of Baal broken down, the altars and images broken in pieces thoroughly, and Mattan the priest slain before the altars. We thus learn in this history of its overthrow how completely Baal-worship had been set up in Jerusalem.

From the time of the second Jeroboam, the prophets furnish us with most interesting details of idol-worship in both kingdoms. The use of the word Israel is not in every case to be undoubtedly restricted to the northern kingdom, but there is no difficulty in the most important pas-

* The difference of time is suggestive of a curious chronological computation. We suppose that at the time of the Exodus, Moses fixed the Egyptian movable Vague year by making the first day of its seventh month the first of the Hebrew year, and, therefore, the fifteenth day the first of the Feast of Unleavened Bread; and, from the characteristics of the Hebrew year, we suppose this one to have been commenced B.C. 1652. If Jeroboam had taken the same day of the seventh Egyptian month as that of his feast, it would have almost fallen on the fifteenth day of the Hebrew eighth month; for during the interval from the Exodus to Jeroboam, if the long period be the true one, the Egyptian Vague year must have fallen back in the Hebrew year about the number of days indicated. Five months imply a difference of 620 years, but as the Hebrew months commenced on the days of new moons, the period may have been somewhat greater or less.

sages. In the time of Amos, Jeroboam, notwithstanding his prosperity, gave the same support as his namesake to the calf-worship. Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, complained to the king of the prophesying of Amos, and told him not to prophesy again at that place, 'it [is] the king's sanctuary, and it [is] the house of the kingdom' (vii. 10-13). It must be noticed that Amos was accused by Amaziah of predicting the king's death by the sword, but it does not follow that he did so, and his prediction against the Israelite line as preserved is, 'I will rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword' (ver. 9), a passage immediately followed by the account of Amaziah's complaint: 'Then Amaziah,' etc. (ver. 10). We are, therefore, surprised that Canon Stanley should say, 'The prediction of Amos was not fulfilled as regarded the king himself' (Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, i., p. 981, a). Amos speaks of oaths by the gods of Samaria, Dan, and Beersheba (viii. 14), and of worship or sacrifice at Bethel, Gilgal, and Beersheba (iv. 4; v. 5). Hosea warns Judah against the Israelite sin in these remarkable words: 'Though thou, Israel, play the harlot, [yet] let not Judah offend; and come not ye unto Gilgal, neither go ye up to Beth-aven, nor swear, the LORD liveth' (iv.-15): whence it seems, if the Masoretic text be correct, that the Israelites dared to apply God's most sacred revealed name to their idols. This prophet speaks of worship not only at Bethel, but also at Gilgal, and Gilead, the latter probably Jacob's stone at Mizpah (xii. 11; ix. 15; vi. 8; v. 1). Amos speaks of 'the high places of Isaac,' and 'the sanctuaries of Israel' (vii. 9), no doubt intending Beersheba and Bethel. From these passages it is evident that the Israelites sought to fortify their spurious worship by paying especial honour to the early high places. Hosea mentions the 'calf of Samaria' (viii. 5, 6), but the reference is probably to the calf-worship of the kingdom generally. It seems to have been customary for sacrificers to 'kiss the calves' (xiii. 2). The mention of 'the calves of Beth-aven' (x. 5), a name of reproach for Bethel, probably shows that there were small images there besides the chief one set up by Jeroboam, for 'the high places' 'of Aven' (ver. 8) are similarly spoken of, and we know there was one principal high place there. The abundance of high places is shown by the remarkable expression, after mention of Gilead and Gilgal, 'yea, their altars [are] as heaps in the furrows of the field' (xii. 11, Heb. 12). The Danite worship in the north seems meant in the prediction—'the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod and teraphim: afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the LORD their God, and David their king' (iii. 4, 5). The spurious worship and separate royal line were alike to be taken from the Israelites, and afterwards they were to repent, a prophecy perhaps fulfilled after the capture of Samaria. A modern writer has most uncritically suggested that the meaning is, that the people were to be deprived even of 'their mild household superstitions.' How does he know that these corruptions were either mild or household? The worship of Baal and Baalim seems to be spoken of as a thing of the past (ii. 8, 16, 17; xi. 2; esp. xiii. 1, 2), at last exceeded by the calf-worship (see last citation); but sacrificing and

burning incense 'upon the tops of the mountains,' 'upon the hills,' under shadowing trees, was still prevalent (iv. 13). With the overthrow of the northern kingdom the calf-worship evidently ended: the costly golden calves were no doubt carried away, according to the custom of the Assyrians, as had been predicted, but the idolatrous high places were not yet destroyed. The priesthood of Dan came to an end at this time (Judg. xviii. 30): that of Bethel seems to have been overthrown by Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 15-20). There is no evidence of any subsequent practice of calf-worship: it may have been adopted by the people transported to the Israelite cities by the king of Assyria, but it had no attraction for the people of Judah, whose idolatry was the adoption of wholly foreign systems, not the corruption of true religion.

Under many of the later kings of Judah apostasy was carried to an astonishing extent. Not content with a single kind of idolatry, they borrowed the abominations of all the nations around. It is scarcely possible to ascertain the dates and occasions of the various introductions of pagan religions or practices, but some main particulars may be reasonably inferred. It is, however, observable that Baal-worship after its great overthrow never seems to have risen to any prominence in Judah, and that star-worship appears to have been the chief form of idolatry during the subsequent period. It might be supposed that Solomon's high places were the origin of this various idolatry, but much of it is unmentioned before the time of the later kings of Judah. Were the supposed later idolatry alone spoken of in the writings of the prophets, we might conjecture that it was earlier practised, but in the historical books it is only noticed in the later period.

Ahaz seems to have been, before Manasseh, the chief innovator who led Judah astray. Amaziah had, indeed, after a successful campaign in Edom, 'brought the gods of the children of Seir,' apparently here the Edomites, and worshipped them (2 Chron. xxv. 14, 15); but it is probable that this idolatry was abolished by Uzziah: the mention of it is important, as indicating that Arab paganism was at least once introduced into Judah. Ahaz ordered a fresh altar to be made, after the pattern of some idol-altar at Damascus, and to be placed in the temple, and offered upon it, otherwise also usurping the priestly office (2 Kings xvi. 10-16). He introduced the worship of the gods of Damascus, raised altars throughout Jerusalem, idol high places in every city of Judah, made his son pass through the fire, and closed the temple (2 Chron. xxviii. 22-25; 2 Kings xvi. 3, 4).

Under the subsequent kings there were two great reforms; and between them a long period, which appears to have been mainly of apostasy. Hezekiah suppressed idolatry, which did not break out afresh during his reign. Manasseh introduced Baal-worship again, caused his son or children to pass through the fire, used witchcraft, and set up an idol and altars for the host of heaven in the temple itself (2 Kings xxi. 3-7; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3-7). Manasseh's repentance did not lead to an effectual removal of idolatry, and Amon returned to his father's sins. But Josiah set himself to overthrow false worship throughout his dominions, and by defiling the idol altars prevented their after-use. The main varieties of the idolatry of this period we now notice.

a. Sun-worship, though mentioned with other

kinds of high nature-worship, as in the enumeration of those suppressed by Josiah, seems to have been practised alone as well as with the adoration of other heavenly bodies. In Ezekiel's remarkable vision of the idolatries of Jerusalem, he saw about four and twenty men between the porch and the altar of the temple, with their backs to the temple and their faces to the east, worshipping the sun (Ezek. viii. 16). Josiah had before this taken away 'the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun, at the entering in of the house of the LORD,' and had 'burned the chariots of the sun with fire' (2 Kings xxiii. 11). The same part of the temple is perhaps here meant. There is nothing to show whether these were images or living horses. The horse was sacred to the sun among the Carthaginians, but the worship of the visible sun instead of an image looks rather like a Persian or an Arab custom.

6. In the account of Josiah's reform we read of the abolition of the worship of Baal, the sun, the moon, Mazzaloth, also called Mazzaroth (Job xxxviii. 32), which we hold to be the mansions of the moon (ASTRONOMY), and all the host of heaven (2 Kings xxiii. 5). Manasseh is related to have served 'all the host of heaven' (xxi. 3). Jeremiah speaks of 'the houses of Jerusalem, and the houses of the kings of Judah,' as to be defiled, 'because of all the houses upon whose roofs they have burned incense unto all the host of heaven, and have poured out drink-offerings unto other gods' (Jer. xix. 13). In this prophet's time the people of Judah and Jerusalem, among other abominations, made cakes for 'the queen of heaven,' or 'the worship of heaven;' a different form justifying the latter reading. The usual reading is מַלְכֵּת, 'queen,' which the LXX. once follows, the Vulg. always; some copies give מַלְאָכֵת, 'worship,' that is 'a deity or goddess.' The former reading seems preferable, and the context in two passages in Jeremiah shows that an abstract sense is not admissible (xliv. 17, 18, 19, 25). In Egypt, the remnant that fled after the murder of Gedaliah were warned by this prophet to abandon those idolatrous practices for which their country and cities had been desolated. The men, conscious that their wives had burned incense to false gods in Egypt, declared that they would certainly burn incense and pour out drink-offerings to the queen of heaven, as they, their fathers, their kings, and their princes had done in a time of plenty, asserting that since they had left off these practices they had been consumed by the sword and by famine: for this a fresh doom was pronounced upon them (xliv.). It is very difficult to conjecture what goddess can be here meant: Ashtoreth would suit, but is never mentioned interchangeably; the moon must be rejected for the same reason.—Here we certainly see a strong resemblance to Arab idolatry, which was wholly composed of cosmic worship and of fetishism, and in which the mansions of the moon were revered on account of their connection with seasons of rain. This system of cosmic worship may have been introduced from the Nabathæans or Edomites of Petra, from the Sabians, or from other Arabs or Chaldæans.

c. Two idols, Gad גַּד or Fortune, and Menee מְנֵי or Fate, from מָנָה, 'he or it divided, assigned, numbered,' are spoken of in a single passage in the

later part of Isaiah (lxv. 11). Gesenius, depending upon the theory of the post-Isaian authorship of the later chapters of the prophet, makes these idols worshipped by the Jews in Babylonia, but it must be remarked that their names are not traceable in Babylonian and Assyrian mythology. Gesenius has, however, following Pococke (*Syr. Hist. Arabum*, p. 93), compared Menee with

Manāḥ מְנָה, a goddess of the pagan Arabs, worshipped in the form of a stone between Mekkeh and El-Medeeneh by the tribes of Hudheyl and Khuza'ah. But El-Beydāwee, though deriving the name of this idol from the root manā

מָנָה, 'he cut,' supposes it was thus called because victims were slain upon it (*Com. in Coran.* ed. Fleischer, p. 293). This meaning certainly seems to disturb the idea that the two idols were identical, but the mention of the sword and slaughter as punishments of the idolaters who worshipped Gad and Menee is not to be forgotten. Gad may have been a Canaanite form of Baal, if we are to judge from the geographical name Baalgad of a place at the foot of Mount Hermon (Josh. xi. 17; xii. 7; xiii. 5). Perhaps the grammatical form of Menee may throw some light upon the origin of this idolatry. The worship of both idols resembles that of the cosmic divinities of the later kings of Judah.

d. In Ezekiel's vision of the idolatries of Jerusalem, he beheld a chamber of imagery in the temple itself, having 'every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and [or 'even'] all the idols of the house of Israel, portrayed upon the wall round about, and seventy Israelite elders offering incense (Ezek. viii. 7-12). This is so exact a description of an Egyptian sanctuary, with the idols depicted upon its walls, dimly-lighted, and filled with incense-offering priests, that we cannot for a moment doubt that these Jews derived from Egypt their fetishism, for such this special worship appears mainly if not wholly to have been.

e. In the same vision the prophet saw women weeping for Tammuz (ver. 13, 14), known to be the same as Adonis, and from whom the fourth month of the Syrian year was named. This worship was probably introduced by Ahaz from Syria.

f. The 'image of jealousy,' כְּסֵל הַקִּנְיָה, spoken of in the same passage, which was placed in the temple, has not been satisfactorily explained. The meaning may only be that it was an image of a false god, or there may be a play in the second part of the appellation upon the proper name. We cannot, however, suggest any name that might be thus intended.

g. The brazen serpent, having become an object of idolatrous worship, was destroyed by Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 4).

h. Molech-worship was not only celebrated at the high place Solomon had made, but at Topheth, in the Valley of the sons of Hinnom, where children were made to pass through the fire to the Ammonite abomination. This place, as well as Solomon's altars, Josiah defiled, and we read of no later worship of Molech, Chemosh, and Ashtoreth.

The new population placed by the king of Assyria in the cities of Samaria adopted a strange

mixture of religions. Terrified at the destruction by lions of some of their number, they petitioned the king of Assyria, and an Israelite priest was sent to them. They then adopted the old worship at high places, and still served their own idols. The people of Babylon made Succoth-benoth, the Cuthites, Nergal, the Hamathites, Ashima, the Avites, Nibhaz and Tartak, and the people of Sepharvaim burnt their children to their native gods, Adrammelech and Anammelech. Nergal is a well-known Babylonian idol, and the occurrence of the element 'melech' (king) in the names of the Molechs of Sepharvaim is very remarkable (2 Kings xvii. 24-41).

The Babylonian Exile seems to have purified the Jews from their idolatrous tendencies. The people that returned did indeed in many cases marry strange wives, and so were in danger of falling into idolatry. The post-exilian prophets speak of it as an evil of the past, Zechariah foretelling the time when the very names of the false gods will be forgotten (xiii. 2). In Malachi we see that a cold formalism was already the national sin. How this great change was wrought does not appear. Partly no doubt it was due to the pious examples of Ezra and Nehemiah, partly perhaps to the Persian contempt for the lower kinds of idolatry, which insured a respect for the Hebrew religion on the part of the government, partly to the sight of the fulfilment of God's predicted judgments upon the idolatrous nations which the Jews had either sought as allies or feared as enemies.

Years passed by and the names of the idols of Canaan had been forgotten, when the Hebrews were assailed by a new danger. Greek idolatry under Alexander and his successors was practised throughout the civilized world. Some place-hunting Jews were base enough to adopt it. At first the Greek princes who ruled Palestine wisely forbore to interfere with the Hebrew religion. The politic earlier Ptolemies even encouraged it, but when the country had fallen into the hands of the Seleucidae, Antiochus Epiphanes, reversing his father's policy of toleration, seized Jerusalem, set up an idol-altar to Jupiter in the Temple itself, and forbade the observance of the Law. Weakly supported by a miserable faction, he had to depend wholly upon his military power. The Maccabæan revolt, small in its beginning, had the national heart on its side, and after a long and varied struggle achieved more than the nation had ever before effected since the days of the Judges. Thenceforward idolatry was to the Jew the religion of his enemies, and naturally made no perversers.

The early Christians were brought into contact with idolaters when the Gospel was preached among the Gentiles, and it became necessary to enact regulations for preventing scandal by their being involved in Pagan practices, when joining in the private meals and festivities of the heathen. But the Gentile converts do not seem to have been in any danger of reverting to idolatry, and the cruel persecutions they underwent did not tend to lead them back to a religion which its more refined votaries despised. It is, however, not impossible that many who had been originally educated as idolaters did not, on professing Christianity, really abandon all their former superstitions, and that we may thus explain the very early outbreak of many customs and opinions not sanctioned in the N. T.

Two subjects remain to be noticed; the different Hebrew terms used for idols, and the idolatrous practices mentioned in the O. T. which cannot certainly be restricted to a single kind of false worship.

It would be unsuitable to the present article to give a lexicographical examination of every separate term connected with idolatry. Our main objects are to show how these terms indicate the feeling of the believing Hebrews towards idolaters, and what particulars they afford as to the forms and materials of idols.

1. General terms of doubtful signification :—

a. *עליל*, *eelel*, derived from the unused root *עלל*, and so meaning vain or empty; or from the negative *אל*, but this is very doubtful; or else as a diminutive, a meaning we are disposed to prefer, from *אל*, 'god.' The difference between *אלהים*

and *אלילים* suggests that the Hebrews may have adopted the latter term in place of the former when speaking of false gods. The Arabs have formed the name Allah for the true God by a slight change from the general term *Ilâh*, 'a god' or 'idol' (Lane's *Arabic Lexicon*, bk. i. pp. 82, 83).

b. *גללים*, comes from a root *גלל*, signifying 'he or it rolled,' from which are derived words meaning anything circular, dung, etc. The Vulg. renders it *sordes*, *sordes idolorum*. It occurs in the Pentateuch, there and elsewhere with words expressing contempt. In Ezekiel it is thus used of the idols of Egypt: 'Thus saith the Lord God; I will also destroy the idols (*גללים*), and cause the little idols (*גללים*) to cease out of Noph' (xxx.

13). May not *גללים* mean scarabæi, the commonest of Egyptian idols? The sense of dung is appropriate to the dung-beetle; that of rolling is doubtful, for, if the meaning of the verb be retained, we should, in this form, rather expect a passive sense, 'a thing rolled;' but it may be observed that these grammatical rules of the sense of derivatives are not always to be strictly insisted on, for *צידון*, though held to signify 'the place of fishing,' is, in the list of the Noachians, the name of a man, 'the fisherman,' *Ἀλλεύς*, of Philo of Byblus. That a specially-applicable word is used, may perhaps be conjectured from the occurrence of *אלילים*, which, if meaning little gods, would aptly describe the pigmy PTEH-SEKER-HESAR, Pth-Sokari-Osiris, of Memphis. Ezekiel uses the term *גללים* of the idols of Egypt which the Israelites were commanded to put away at or about the time of the Exodus, but did not, and seem to have carried into the Desert, for the same word is used, unqualified by the mention of any country, of those worshipped by them in the Desert (xx. 7, 8, 16, 18, 24); it is, however, apparently, employed also for all the idols worshipped in Canaan by the Israelites (ver. 31; xxiii. 37). Scarabæi were so abundant among the Egyptians and Phœnicians, that there is no reason why they may not have been employed also in the worship of the Canaanite false gods; but it cannot be safely supposed, without further evidence, that the idols of Canaan were virtually termed scarabæi.

2. General terms of known signification:—

a. **אָן**, 'emptiness,' or 'vanity,' used with other terms of like signification for idols and idolatry in general. Heliopolis in Egypt, or On, **אֹן**, is punctuated **אָן** in Ezek. xxx. 17, if we may depend upon the Masoretic pointing, on account of its idolatry, and Beth-el is called Beth-aven in Hosea (iv. 15; x. 5), which passages could not be cited by those who derive the golden calves from Heliopolis, as that city, though called in Egyptian **AN**, for its civil name, has as its sacred name, derived as usual from that of the local idol, 'the abode of the sun,' **HA-RA**, or, as some read, **PA-RA**.

b. **שָׁקֶר**, 'an abomination,' used of idols in both sing. and pl. The form is the same as that of **גִּלְגָל**.

c. **בִּשְׁת**, 'shame,' hence 'an idol,' as a shameful thing, or as making the worshippers ashamed, or as connected with shameful worship.

d. **מַפְלֵצַת**, probably meaning a fearful or horrible thing, is a term by which the idol of Maachah, Asa's grandmother, or mother, is designated (1 Kings xv. 13; 2 Chron. xv. 16). It was made for 'a grove,' and there is therefore some reason in the idea that it was a Priapic image [HIGH PLACES AND GROVES]; but it is not impossible that the Vulg. translation, in the second place, simulacrum Priapi, was influenced by the sound of the Hebrew.

e. **אִימָה**, 'a terror,' is a like term, used in the pl. **אִימִים**, for idols (Jer. l. 38), and it is noticeable that, in the pl., it is also the name of a primitive Palestinian people destroyed by the Moabites (Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. ii. 11). As idols are apparently spoken of as 'the dead' (Ps. cvi. 28), this connection is worth noticing.

3. Terms indicating the form of idols:—

a. **מַסְכָּל**, or **מַסְכָּל**, 'an image' or 'idol,' of unknown derivation. Gesenius compares **מַסְכָּל**; it may be cognate to **נָלַם**. It is impossible to assign any more special signification to it.

b. **צֶלֶם**, literally 'a shadow,' signifies 'a likeness,' 'an image,' and hence an 'idol.' It is probably represented in Arabic by **صَمَم**, 'an idol,' unless this is related to **מַסְכָּל**.

c. **עֲצָב**, **עֲצָב**, **עֲצָב**, the second in pl. only, 'an idol' or 'idols,' from the root **עֲצָב**, 'he or it laboured, formed, fashioned, toiled with pain.' Gesenius supposes these appellations to indicate that idols were cut or carved.

d. **צִיר**, 'an idol,' from the root **צִיר**, in its sense of forming, or possibly from **צִיר**, 'a stone,' but we have found no evidence in favour of the idea that sacred stones were thus designated.

e. **מַצֵּבָה**, 'a pillar' or 'statue,' from **נָצַב**, 'he or it set, placed,' used of the stone Jacob set up at Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 18, 22), of the twelve pillars set up by Moses at Sinai (Exod. xxiv. 4), but also used of idolatrous statues, as, for instance, of the

image of Baal (2 Kings iii. 2, cf. x. 26). In Jer. xliii. 13, 'the pillars [or 'statues'] of Bethshemesh,' or Heliopolis, in Egypt, which were to be broken by Nebuchadnezzar, have been not unreasonably conjectured to be the obelisks which were numerous at that ancient city. As obelisks, though not representing any divinity, were worshipped, this, in the sense of an idolatrous pillar, is a very fit appellation, but it might as well designate the statues of Heliopolis. It must be observed that, though originally applied to stone pillars, the term is afterwards used for wooden images, as images thus called are said to have been burnt (2 Kings x. 26).—**מַצֵּבָה** is applied to the sacrificial stone set up by Jacob at Bethel on his return (Gen. xxxv. 14), as well as to Absalom's memorial-pillar (2 Sam. xviii. 18).

f. **הַמָּוֶן**, pl. of a lost sing. **הָמוֹן**, images, connected with the groves, and which stood upon the altar of Baal (2 Chron. xxxiv. 4). Gesenius (*Theol. s.v.*) explains them to be statues of the sun, citing the Phœnician name of Baal, **בעל־הַמָּוֶן**; but this explanation is unsatisfactory, as we find in Hebrew geography the name **הָמוֹן**, which Gesenius himself considers the same as 'sacred to Jupiter Ammon,' whose name is written **אֱמֹן** in **אֱמֹן**, the name of Thebes, and referred to where (Jer. xli. 25) and **הָמוֹן** (Ezek. xxx. 15) are used for the 'multitude' of that city: we should, therefore, expect to find **הַמָּוֶן**, or **אֱמֹנִים**, rather than **הַמָּוֶן**. All that can be certainly said is that these images or upright objects were set up like 'the groves,' but it may be conjectured that their name is connected with that of **KHEM**, the Egyptian god of productivity, which is related to the root **חָמָה**, from which the word under consideration is held to be derived.

g. **מַשְׁבֵּית** is the term rendered 'imagery' in the A. V. in the description by Ezekiel of the **חֲדָרֵי מַשְׁבֵּית**, or 'chambers of imagery' (viii. 7-12). The root is unused, but found in the Chaldee **שָׁבַת**, 'he or it looked at,' and is traceable in related words. The exact meaning may be reasonably inferred from the description of the idols portrayed upon the walls of these chambers, and from the expression **אֲבֵן מַשְׁבֵּית**, Lev. xxvi. 1, 'a stone pictured,' that is, bearing idolatrous pictures. Comp. also the use of the term in Prov. xxv. 11, 'apples of gold in chased work [?] of silver,' like the inlaid silver in brazen vessels of this period (that of Hezekiah, ver. 1), brought from Nineveh, and now in the British Museum.

h. **תְּרָפִים**, teraphim, idolatrous images connected with magic, but not known to have been worshipped, used in the patriarchal period by those, as Laban, who, without being ignorant of true religion, yet practised corruptions, afterwards by the same class in the time of the judges and kings, and by the Babylonians in the case of Nebuchadnezzar. The derivation is doubtful, but we are disposed to think the name is not Hebrew or Semitic, but, in origin, Egyptian or so-called Turanian of Bablylonia, or both.

4. Terms indicating the workmanship of idols:—

a. **סֶלֶב**, and **סֶלֶבִּי**, or **סֶלֶבִּי**, the latter only found in the pl., 'a graven image,' from **סֶלֶב**, 'he or it cut or carved.' It properly signifies a carved wooden image, but as such images were overlaid with plates or a molten coat of precious metal, it is sometimes used for a molten image.

b. **הִשָּׁךְ**, **הִשָּׁכָה**, and **הִשָּׁכָה**, 'a molten image,' from **הִשָּׁךְ**, 'he or it poured, poured out, cast.' Undoubtedly these images were made of molten metal, and they must have been very small when of gold or silver, unless the metal were a mere coating, as suggested under the last head, or the idol were hollow. As the graven and molten images are constantly mentioned together, it may be reasonably supposed that they were usually of about the same size. This subject of the terms connected with idolatry has been carefully treated by Mr. Aldis Wright in Dr. Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. IDOL, IMAGE.

We may now speak of the idolatrous practices mentioned in the Bible which cannot be certainly restricted to any one kind of false worship.

We have no minute account in the Bible of idolatrous temples. The high places were indifferently used for all kinds of false worship, except that of the stars, practised under the later kings of Judah. They were originally Canaanite, and were upon mountains and hills, and under the shade of trees. The star-worship mentioned above was rather a city-idolatry, practised upon the flat roofs of houses.

Servants or slaves of temples or idols are mentioned under the term **קִרְיָה**, **קִרְיָה**, and there can be no doubt that their service consisted in such practices as those usual in Babylonia, in honour of Mylitta, at Aphaca in the Lebanon, and at Corinth. The ancient Egyptians were apparently not guilty of this very evil phase of idolatry. The Theban priestesses who bore among the Greeks the suspicious name of concubines of Ammon, were women of royal blood, sought in marriage by kings.

The Canaanite sacrifices seem to have been mainly of living things, though libations were also customary (Jer. vii. 18; xlv. 19). The star-worshippers made cakes and poured libations, and are not known to have offered sacrifices of living things.

Some personal customs of idolaters are distinctly mentioned: others are probably referred to in prohibitory laws. The latter are, however, to be very cautiously examined, as the wide range of our information on ancient idolatry furnishes examples of almost all supposed customs: we should not, therefore, infer that any one is forbidden which we do not recognise as anciently practised in Palestine or the neighbouring countries.

The Caucasian TEMHU, apparently a Libyan nation, to the west of Egypt, are represented on the Egyptian monuments as tattooed with at least one idolatrous symbol, the spindle of Neith, the goddess of Sais. Cuttings and tattooed marks were forbidden in the Law (Lev. xix. 28), in one place as superstitions of mourning (xxi. 5). Among the Egyptians such practices were not connected with funerals, though they may have been among the Shepherds. Partial shaving of the head and beard (*l. c.*) was also prohibited. The Egyptians shaved the head in mourning, but as their heads were always shaven it is difficult to understand

what was meant by this custom unless it was a relic of an earlier condition of society. It has been thought that the separation of clean and unclean animals was to prevent the eating of heathen sacrifices, but although unclean animals were sacrificed and eaten by idolaters (Is. lxvi. 17), clean animals were also thus sacrificed and eaten in Egypt and Palestine.

In conclusion, we may remark that idolatry, so far as it was practised by the Hebrews, seems to separate itself into three main divisions: the old corrupt worship of ancestors, connected with magical rites; the Canaanite worship of Baal and Ashtoreth, in various forms; and, apparently, star-worship, derived either from Arabia or Chaldaea, besides many systems or practices less generally followed, as that of the chambers of imagery.

The most moderate view of the various kinds of idolatry of Canaan and the neighbouring countries shows the wisdom of the strict prohibitions we read in the Law, and the strong terms of reprobation used by the prophets, who liken it to the deepest moral corruption. The debasing superstitions of the Hindoos, and the savage rites of the Dahomans and Ashantees, were outdone in the homes of ancient civilization, in Egypt and Babylonia, the parents of science, in Tyre and Sidon, the queens of primitive commerce. No wonder that the imitation of these abominations, for which so many fair cities now lie in ruins, was forbidden under penalty of God's heaviest displeasure, and that the corrupt Israelites suffered almost the doom which they had been commanded to execute upon the nations of Canaan.

The lesson taught by the Biblical condemnation of idolatry seems to be that all worship of what is not God is to be strictly avoided, and anything tending thereto unflinchingly put away. The commentary of history is that true religion cannot exist when overlaid with corruptions, and that the perversions of heathenism are surely followed by its fierce persecutions.—R. S. P.

IDUMÆA or IDUMEA (*Ἰδουμαία*), the Greek form of the Hebrew name **אֶדֹם**, EDOM, as found in the Septuagint, the N. T., and Josephus.

1. *Origin of the Name.*—The meaning and origin of the name *Edom* are given in Gen. xxv. 30: 'And Esau said to Jacob, Feed me. I pray thee, with that red *red* (**הָאָדָם הַהוּא**), for I am faint; therefore was his name called *Red*' (EDOM; **אֶדֹם**). In the East it has always been usual for a chief either to give his name to the country which he conquers, or over which he rules, or to take a name from it. Esau, during the life of his father, seized the mountainous region occupied by the Horites. He had two names; but one of them was peculiarly applicable to the newly acquired territory. The mountains of Seir were remarkable for their reddish colour; hence, doubtless, the name *Edom* 'red,' was given to them. Esau is called 'the father of Edom' (**אָבִי אֶדֹם**), giving to it his name and ruling over it (Gen. xxxvi. 43); and the country is termed **שׂרָה אֶדֹם**, 'the field of Edom' (Gen. xxxii. 3; Judg. v. 4); and more commonly **אֶרֶץ אֶדֹם**, 'the land of Edom' (Gen. xxxvi. 16, etc.). In a very few cases it is also called 'the mount of Esau,' **הַר עֵשָׂו** (Obad. 8, 9, 19). In the Septuagint the Hebrew phrase *Ereth-Edom* is commonly rendered *Ἰδου-*

malā; and this is the word uniformly used in the Apocrypha and in classic authors, and it is likewise the name found in Mark iii. 8, the only place in which Idumæa is mentioned in the N. T. The Septuagint has occasionally 'Εδωμ instead of 'Ιδουμαία. The Gentile noun is *Edomi*, אֲדוֹמִי, 'an Edomite' (Deut. xxiii. 8 [7]); but the inhabitants as a whole are called *Edom* (Num. xx. 20), which is perhaps a figurative expression, as we say 'England conquered.' The Edomites were also called אֲדוֹמִי בְנֵי, 'children of Edom' (Ps. cxxxvii. 7), and בְּתוֹרָא, 'daughter of Edom' (Lam. iv. 21).

The original name of the country was *Mount Seir*, הַר שֵׁעִיר; and it was probably so called from *Seir*, the progenitor of the Horites (Gen. xiv. 6; xxxvi. 20-22); though the signification of this name, 'rugged,' may have been the cause of its adoption, as the mountains are singularly rough and rugged. The name *Seir* continued to be applied to Edom after its occupation by the descendants of Esau, and even down to the close of the O. T. history (see Josh. xi. 17; 2 Chron. xx. 10; Ezek. xxv. 8, etc.). The aborigines were called Horites (חֹרִי; Sept. *Xorðaios*; Gen. xiv. 6); that is, 'Troglodytes' or 'cave-dwellers,' from the nature of their habitations [HORITES]. The mountains of Edom, as all travellers know, are filled with caves and grottos hewn in the soft sandstone strata.

2. *Situation and boundaries.*—Edom proper, or Idumæa, is situated on the south-eastern border of Palestine, extending from it to the northern extremity of the Elanitic Gulf. It was bounded on the west by the great valley of Arabah; on the south by a line drawn due east from the modern fortress of Akabah; on the east by the desert of Arabia; and on the north by the ancient kingdom of Moab. Its length from north to south was about 100 miles, and its breadth averaged 20. These boundaries are nowhere directly defined, but we can ascertain them from various incidental references in Scripture. When the Israelites encamped at Kadesh-barnea they were close to the border of Edom (Num. xx.), and Mount Hor is said to be within its border (xxxiii. 37). Hence, as Kadesh was situated in the valley of Arabah, and as Mount Hor is a few miles to the east of it, we conclude that the Arabah is the western boundary. The Israelites asked, but were refused, a passage through either Edom or Moab, so as to get direct from Kadesh to the east side of the Jordan (Num. xx. 14-20; Judg. xi. 17, 18). In consequence of this refusal they were obliged to march south along the Arabah to Ezion-geber and thence eastward by the wilderness round the territories of Edom and Moab (Id. with Num. xxi. 4). Hence we conclude that Edom and Moab occupied the entire region along the east side of the valley of Arabah, from the Dead Sea to the Elanitic Gulf. Edom was wholly a mountainous country, as may be inferred from the names given to it in the Bible and by ancient writers (Deut. i. 2; ii. 5; Joseph. *Antiq.* ii. 1, 2; Euseb. *Onomast.* s. v. *Idumæa*). The foot of the mountain range therefore may be regarded as marking its eastern border. On the north it appears to have been separated from Moab by the 'brook Zered' (Deut. ii. 13, 14, 18; Num. xxi. 12), which is probably identical with the modern Wady el-Ahshy. These views are corroborated by other and independent testimony. In the Samaritan Pentateuch the word *Gabla* is substituted for *Seir* in Deut. xxxiii. 2;

and Eusebius and Jerome state that Idumæa was in their time called *Gebaleu*, which is a Greek corruption of the Hebrew *Gebal*, 'mountains' (*Onomast.* id. et s. v. *Seir*), and is retained to this day in the Arabic form *Jebdl*, جبال. The modern province of Jebâl is bounded on the west by the Arabah, and on the north by Wady el-Ahshy (Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 154; Burckhardt, *Trav. in Syria*, p. 410). We may safely conclude from this that the ancient province had the same boundaries as it had the same name.

The Idumæa of Josephus and the classic authors was sometimes made to include a much more extensive region, for reasons which will appear in the historical sketch. Josephus divides Idumæa into two provinces, *Gobollitis* and *Amalekitis* (*Antiq.* ii. 1, 2). The former embraced Idumæa proper, being identical, as the name would indicate, with 'Mount Seir'; the other embraced a portion of southern Palestine with the desert plain south of it, which was originally occupied by the Amalekites (Num. xiii. 29), and subsequently, as we shall see, by the Edomites. Pliny places Idumæa to the south of Palestine, bordering upon Egypt (*H. N.* v. 14). Strabo (xvi. 2. 36, p. 760) states that the Idumæans were originally Nabatheans, but being driven out thence, they joined themselves to the Jews.

3. *History.*—The first mention of Mount Seir is in Gen. xiv. 6, where the confederate kings are said to have smitten the 'Horites in their Mount Seir.' These Horites appear to have been a tribe of the gigantic aborigines of Western Asia, so called from their dwelling in caves (Gen. xxxvi. 20-30). They were a pastoral people, divided into tribes like the modern Bedawin, having independent

chiefs called Allûf (אֱלֹף, ver. 29). Esau's marriage with the daughters of Canaan alienated him from his parents, and he then obtained a settlement among the Horites, where he had already acquired power and wealth at the time of Jacob's return from Padan-aram (Gen. xxvii. 46). Probably his close alliance with Ishmael tended to increase his influence in his adopted country (xxviii. 9; xxxii. 3, seq.). Though then established in Edom, Esau had still some part of his flocks in Western Palestine in connection with those of his father; but on the return of Jacob he removed all his property from Canaan and dwelt in Mount Seir (xxxvi. 6-8). He gradually subdued and finally exterminated the Horites (Deut. ii. 12, 22), and a distinct tribe of his descendants, the Amalekites, leaving Edom, took possession of the desert plateaus south of Canaan (Gen. xxxvi. 12; Exod. viii. 14, seq.). The earliest form of government among the Edomites was, like that of the Horites, by chiefs (in the A. V. rendered 'Dukes,' but manifestly the same as the modern Arab *sheikhs*), exercising independent authority over distinct tribes (Gen. xxxvi. 15-19). It appears, however, that the various tribes were, at least in times of general war, united under one leader, to whom the

title of king (מֶלֶךְ) was given. The names of eight of these kings are mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 31-39, who are said to have reigned in Edom 'before there reigned any king over the children of Israel,' that is apparently before the time of Moses (see Deut. xxxiii. 5; Exod. xviii. 16-19). Most of the large nomad tribes of Arabia have

now an acknowledged chief, who is styled *Emir*, and who takes the lead in any great emergency; while each division of the tribe enjoys independence under its own *sheikh* on all ordinary occasions. Such would seem to have been the case with the Edomites, and this affords an easy solution of the apparent confusion in the account given by Moses, Gen. xxxvi. 31-43; and again in Exod. xv. 15, where it is said 'The dukes of Edom shall be amazed,' and Judg. xi. 17, where Moses is represented as having sent 'messengers from Kadesh unto the king of Edom.'

Though the Israelites and Edomites were closely related, and though the former were commanded 'not to abhor an Edomite for he is thy brother' (Deut. xxiii. 7), yet the bitterest enmity appears to have existed between them at every period of their history. When the Israelites asked permission to pass through the territory of Edom on their way to Canaan, they were rudely refused. For 400 years after that event the history of Edom is a blank. The country was attacked by Saul with partial success (1 Sam. xiv. 47). A few years later David overthrew the Edomites in the 'valley of Salt,' at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea (Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 109), and put garrisons in their cities (2 Sam. viii. 14). Solomon created a naval station at Ezion-geber on the Elanitic Gulf, from whence his ships went to India and Eastern Africa (1 Kings ix. 26; 2 Chron. viii. 18). An attempt was made by a native prince called Hadad to regain the independence of Edom in the time of Solomon, but it was unsuccessful (1 Kings xi. 14, *seq.*) The Edomites were subject to Israel until the time of Jehoshaphat, when they joined Ammon and Moab in a warlike expedition, but were miraculously defeated in the valley of Berachah (2 Chron. xx. 21). They subsequently revolted, elected a king, and asserted their independence; and though they were defeated with terrible slaughter by Amaziah (2 Kings xiv. 7; 2 Chron. xxv. 11, 12), the Israelites were never able afterwards completely to subdue them (xxviii. 17). Rezin, king of Syria, expelled the Jews from Elath, which was thenceforth occupied by the Edomites (2 Kings xvi. 6, where for *Syrians*, אֲדוֹמִים, we ought to read *Edomites* אֲדוֹמִים, De Rossi, *Varie Lectiones*, ii. 247). During the decline of the Jewish power and wars of Judah and Israel the Edomites gradually enlarged their possessions. When Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem the Edomites joined him and took an active part in the plunder and slaughter which followed. Their cruelty at that time is specially referred to in Ps. cxxvii., and was the chief cause of those dreadful prophetic curses which have since been executed upon their country (Jer. xlix. 17; Lam. iv. 21; Ezek. xxv. 13, 14; Obad. 10-21). Probably as a reward for the assistance afforded by them to the Chaldeans, the Edomites were permitted to settle in southern Palestine and in the country lying between it and the borders of Egypt. The name Idumæa was now given to the whole country, from the valley of Arabah to the Mediterranean (Joseph. *Antiq.* v. 1, 22; Strabo xvi. 2), and from Eleutheropolis to Elath (Jerome, *Comment. in Obad.*) Hence arose the mistakes of Roman writers, who sometimes give the name Idumæa to all Palestine, and even call the Jews Idumæans (Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 12; Juven. viii. 160).

While the Edomites thus extended their conquests

westward they were driven out of their own country by the Nabatheans [NABATHEANS], who, leaving the nomad habits of their ancestors, settled down amid the mountains of Edom, engaged in commerce, and founded the little kingdom of *Arabia Petraea*. Some of their monarchs took the name Aretas (2 Maccab. v. 8; Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 1. 2). One of them was that Aretas whose daughter Herod Antipas married (Matt. xiv. 3, 4); and it was the same king of Arabia who captured Damascus, and held it at the time of Paul's conversion (Acts ix. 25; 2 Cor. xi. 32). Idumæa was taken by the Romans in A.D. 105; and under their paternal government the enterprising inhabitants increased greatly in wealth and power. A lucrative transport trade between India, Persia, and the Levant, was in their hands. Roads were constructed across the desert of Arabia, through the defiles of Edom, and westward and northward to the Mediterranean and Palestine. The magnificent rock-temples, palaces, and tombs of Petra were then constructed, which still continue to be the wonder and admiration of Eastern travellers. They are not the works of the Edomites, but of the descendants of *Nebaioth*, Ishmael's oldest son and Esau's brother-in-law (Gen. xxv. 13; xxxvi. 3; Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 12. 4; Diodor. Sic. 19).

On the revival of Jewish power under the Asmoneans, that part of southern Palestine to which the name Idumæa had been given by classic writers was seized, and the inhabitants compelled to conform to Jewish law. The country was governed by Jewish prefects, and one of these, an Idumæan by birth, became procurator of Judea, and his son was Herod the Great, 'king of the Jews' (Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 8. 6; xiii. 9. 2; xiv. 1. 3 and 8; xv. 7. 9; xvii. 11. 4).

In the first centuries of the Christian era Edom was included in the province of *Palestina Tertia*, of which Petra was metropolis (S. Paulo, *Geogr. Sac.* p. 307; Reland, *Pal.* 218). After the Mohammedan conquest its commercial importance declined, its flourishing port and inland cities fell to ruin. The Mohammedans were the instruments by which the fearful predictions of Scripture were fulfilled. The Crusaders made several expeditions to Edom, penetrating it as far as to Petra, to which they gave the name 'Valley of Moses' (*Gesta Dei per Francos*, pp. 518, 555, etc.), a name still existing in the Arabic form, *Wady Musa*. On a commanding hill, some twelve miles north of Petra, they built a fortress, and called it *Mons Regalis*; its modern name is Shobek (*Id.* p. 611). The Crusaders occupied and fortified Kerak, the ancient Kir Moab, and raised it to the dignity of an episcopal see, under the impression that it was Petra (*Id.* pp. 812, 885, 1119). From the age of the crusaders until the present century nothing was known of Idumæa. No traveller had passed through it, and as a country it had disappeared from history. Volney heard some vague reports of its wonders from Arabs. Seetzen also heard much of it in the year 1806, but he was unable to enter it. Burckhardt was the first to traverse the country. In 1812 he travelled from Kerak south by Shobek to Petra (*Trav. in Syria*, pp. 377, *sq.*; Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 165).

4. *Physical Geography.*—Idumæa embraces a section of a broad mountain range, extending in breadth from the valley of Arabah to the desert plateau of Arabia. 'Along the base of the range on the side of the Arabah, are low calcareous hills.

To these succeed lofty masses of igneous rock, chiefly porphyry; over which lies the red and variegated sandstone in irregular ridges and abrupt cliffs, broken by deep and wild ravines. The latter strata give the mountains their most striking features' (*Handbook for S. and P.*, i. 44). 'The first thing that struck me,' says Stanley, 'in turning out of the Arabah up the defiles that lead to Petra was, that we had suddenly left the Desert. Instead of the absolute nakedness of the Sinaitic valleys, we found ourselves walking on grass, sprinkled with flowers, and the level platforms on each side were filled with sprouting corn; and this continues through the whole descent to Petra, and in Petra itself. The next peculiarity was when, after having left the summit of the pass, or after descending from Mount Hor, we found ourselves insensibly encircled with rocks of deepening and deepening red. Red, indeed, even from a distance, the mountains of 'red' Edom appear, but not more so than the granite of Sinai; and it is not till one is actually in the midst of them that this red becomes crimson, and that the wonder of the Petra colours fully displays itself' (*S. and P.*, p. 88). The ravines which intersect these sandstone mountains are very remarkable. Take them as a whole, there is nothing like them in the world, especially those near Petra. 'You descend from wide downs . . . and before you opens a deep



281. Ravine in Idumæa.

cleft between rocks of red sandstone rising perpendicularly to the height of one, two, or three hundred feet. This is the *Sik*. . . Follow me then down this magnificent gorge—the most magnificent, beyond all doubt, which I have ever beheld. The rocks are almost precipitous, or rather they would be, if they did not, like their brethren in all this region, overlap, and crumble, and crack, as if they would crash over you' (*Id.* p. 90). Such are the ravines of Idumæa, and the dark openings of the numerous tombs and grottos which dot their sides; and the sculptured façades here and there

hewn out in their gorgeously coloured cliffs, add vastly to their picturesque grandeur. The average elevation of the sandstone range is about 2000 feet. Immediately on its eastern side, and indeed so close to it as to make up part of one great range, is a parallel ridge of limestone, attaining a somewhat higher elevation, and extending unbroken far to the north and south. The latter sinks with a gentle slope into the desert of Arabia. The deep valleys, and the little terraces along the mountain sides, and the broad downs upon their summits, are covered with rich soil, in which trees, shrubs, and flowers grow luxuriantly. All this proves how minutely accurate were the statements contained in Isaac's blessing to Esau—'Thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above' (*Gen.* xxvii. 39).

5. *Present State of the Country.*—Idumæa, once so rich in its flocks, so strong in its fortresses and rock-hewn cities, so extensive in its commercial relations, so renowned for the architectural splendour of its temples and palaces—is now a deserted and desolate wilderness. Its whole population is contained in some three or four miserable villages, no merchant would now dare to enter its borders, its highways are untrodden, its cities are all in ruins. The predictions of God's word have been fulfilled to the very letter, 'Thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles, and brambles in the fortresses thereof. . . . When the whole earth rejoiceth I will make thee desolate. . . . Thou shalt be desolate, O Mount Seir, and all Idumæa, even all of it. . . . Edom shall be a desolation; every one that goeth by it shall be astonished' (*Is.* xxxiv. 13; *Exek.* xxxv. 14; *Jer.* xlix. 17). Idumæa is now divided into two districts, *Jebel*, including the northern section as far as Wady el-Ghuweir, and *Esh-sheerah*, embracing the southern part (*Burckhardt, Travels in Syria*, p. 410; *Robinson, B. R.* ii. 154). The site of the ancient capital Bozrah is now marked by the small village of Busaireh, and Petra, the Nabathean capital, is well known as Wady Musa.

The following works may be consulted on Idumæa. For its ancient geography—*Reland's Palestina*; *Michaelis, Dissert. de Ant. Idumæor. Hist.*; *Forster's Geography of Arabia*; *Ritter's Palästina und Syrien*. For its history and commerce—*Vincent's Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, vol. ii. For modern geography—the travels of *Burckhardt*, *Laborde*, *Wilson*, *Robinson*, *Stanley*, and *Handbook for S. and P.*—*J. L. P.*

IGAL (יגל); Sept. Vat. 'Igal; Alex. 'Iγδλ).

1. One of the twelve spies sent by Moses to explore the land of Canaan. He is described as the son of Joseph, of the tribe of Issachar, *Num.* xiii. 7.

2. One of David's 'mighty men,' said in 2 Sam. xxiii. 36 to be the son of Nathan of Zobah (Γδάλυδς *Nabard*); in the parallel passage, 1 Chron. xi. 38, we find 'Joel the brother of Nathan'; Sept. Alex. 'Iωηλ δδελφός Νάβαρ; Vat. υἱός.—*J. E. R.*

IGDALIAH (יגדליה); Sept. Γοδολίας), the son of Hanan, into whose chamber in the temple Jeremiah took the Rechabites (*Jer.* xxxv. 4). It is not quite certain whether the phrase 'man of God' in this verse applies to Hanan or Igdaliah; but analogy would lead us to assign it to the former (*comp. Jer.* i. 1; xxviii. 1; *Zech.* i. 1, etc.)—*W. L. A.*

IGEAL (יְגֵאֵל; 'Iwāḡ, *Jegaal*). The same name in the original as Igal, but belonging to a remote descendant of David, the son of Shemaiah, 1 Chron. iii. 22.—J. E. R.

IHRE, JOHANN VON, professor of rhetoric at Upsala, was born 3d March 1707 at Lund, and died at Upsala 26th November 1780. He is chiefly remarkable for his labours on the Gothic version of Ulphilas. The results of these are given in a work entitled *Scripta Versionem Ulphilanam et ling. Moesogothicam illustrantia*, collected and edited with the author's corrections and additions by Ant. Fr. Büsching, Berl. 1773, 4to. This collection contains the following tracts: 1. *Ulphilas illustratus*, a series of critical observations on the readings of the Codex argenteus, to which is prefixed a preface, in which, among other things, the author endeavours to prove that the letters of the Codex were produced by an encaustic process, the surface of the parchment having been covered with wax, on which silver-leaf was laid and the form of the letter stamped thereon with a hot iron; 2. *Fragmenta versionis Ulphilanae*, containing the portions of the Epistle to the Romans published by Knittel, with annotations; 3. *Dissertatio de originibus Ling. Lat. et Gr. inter Moesogothos reperiundis*; 4. *De verbis Moesogothorum*; *Analecta Ulphilana*, i. de Cod. Argent. et litteratura Gothica, ii. de nominibus subst. et adjunct. Moesogothorum; 5. *De Lingua Cod. Arg.*; 6. *Specimen Glossarii Ulphilani, cum praefationibus*. An Appendix contains some tracts by other writers, viz., Heupelii *Diss. de Ulphila*; Oelrichsii *Animadu. in hanc Diss.*; Esbergii et Soedermanni *Diss. de Ulphila*; Jo. Gordonii *Specim. animadvers. critt. in priscam Evangg. vers. Gothicam*; Wachteri *Diss. de ling. Cod. Arg.* As only 131 copies of this collection were printed for subscribers, it is now extremely rare; which has induced us to give the above list of its contents from a copy in our own possession. Besides the tracts contained in this volume, Ihre wrote several others devoted to the same department of inquiry, the titles of which are given by Zahn in the preface to his edition of Ulphilas, p. 70. Ihre's contributions to the Gothic literature are of the highest importance and value.—W. L. A.

IIM (יִימ; Sept. Βακώκ, Alex. Ἀβελμ; *Yim*), a town on the southern border of Judah, between Baalah and Azem, and not far from Beersheba (Josh. xv. 29). It is only once mentioned, and its site is unknown.

2. (Sept. Γατ; *Ijeabarim*), a name given in Num. xxxiii. 45 as a contraction of *Ijeabarim*.—J. L. P.

IJEABARIM (יְיַעְבָּרִים; Sept. Ἀχαλα, and Γατ; *Ijeabarim*), a place on the eastern frontier of Moab, where the Israelites encamped before crossing the valley of Zared (Num. xxi. 11; xxxiii. 44). The word signifies 'the heaps of Abarim,' and Abarim was the name of that mountain range which runs along the eastern side of the Dead Sea [ABARIM]. These 'heaps' of Abarim were some noted mounds, perhaps covered with ruins, which served to give a distinctive name to this spot on the edge of the wilderness. The site is unknown; and, indeed, the region in which it is situated has not as yet been explored. In Num. xxxiii. 45 the place is called simply *Iim*, 'the heaps.'—J. L. P.

IJON (יִזְוֹן; 'Aḡ, Alex. Ναβ and Ἀϊών; *Ahion* and *Aion*), a town of northern Palestine, mentioned in connection with Dan and Abel as taken by Benhadad, king of Syria, at the instigation of Asa (1 Kings xv. 20). At a subsequent period, when Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, invaded Israel, Ijon was the first place captured (2 Kings xv. 29). It was thus situated on the northern border of the land. Between the great ranges of Lebanon and Hermon, a few miles north-west of the site of Dan, is a little plain called *Merj Aiyān*, 'the meadow of the fountains,' and at its northern extremity is a large tell covered with ruins called Dibbīn. Of this Dr. Robinson says:—'Tell Dibbīn is a noble site for a city; overlooking, as it does, the whole plain of Merj, and commanding one of the great roads between the sea-coast and the interior. Unmistakeable traces likewise show that in very ancient times the place was occupied by a city. Shall we perhaps be wrong in regarding it as the site of the ancient *Ijon*, the name of which has been perpetuated in the Arabic 'Ayūn?' (The

words יִזְוֹן and عيون, though radically the same, are different in meaning.) There can be no doubt that Tell Dibbīn is the site of the ancient border city of Ijon (Robinson, *B. R.* iii. 375; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.* ii. 241; *Handbook for S. and P.* ii. 445).—J. L. P.

IKEN, KONRAD, D.D., born at Bremen 25th December 1689, and died 30th June 1753. He was professor of theology at the Gymnasium, and first minister of St. Stephen's Church at Bremen. He wrote *Antiquitates Hebraicae* 1730, 4th ed. 1764; *Thesaurus Nov. Theol. Philol.*, 2 vols. 1732; *Dissert. Philol.-Theol. in diversa Sac. Cod. loca*, Lug. Bat. 1749, 2d ed. by Schacht, 2 vols., Utr. 1770.—W. L. A.

IKRITI, SHEMARJA B. ELIAH (שְׁמַרְיָה אִיקְרִיטִי; אִיקְרִיטִי), a distinguished Jewish philosopher, philologist, and most voluminous commentator, originally from the island of Crete, whence he derived his name (אִיקְרִיטִי), flourished about A.D. 1290-1320 at Negroponte. He was at the court of Robert king of Naples, who studied Hebrew under R. Jehudah b. Moses b. Daniel, and for whom Ikriti wrote commentaries on the whole of the O. T. with the exception of Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, which the death of his son prevented him from interpreting. The first instalments of this exposition were finished in 1328, and despatched to the king, to whom they were dedicated. The chief aim of Ikriti was to reconcile in his expositions the conflicting opinions of the Rabbinic and the Karaite Jews [KARAITES], as well as to allay the contest of the followers of Maimonides with the old orthodox school [MAIMONIDES]. His commentaries are very diffuse, and contain much valuable criticism. It is to be regretted that they have not as yet been published. Comp. Carmoly in *Jost's Annalen*, 1839, pp. 63, 155; Geiger in *He-Chaluz*, Lemberg 1853, vol. ii., pp. 25, 158; *Ozar Nechmad*, Vienna 1857, vol. ii., p. 90, etc.; Duke's *Shire Shalomo*, Hanover 1858, ii., p. 4; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Leipzig 1863, vol. vii., p. 318, etc.—C. D. G.

ILAI (יְלַי; Sept. Ἰλαί). An Ahohite, one of the valiant men of David's army (1 Chron. xi. 29).

In 2 Sam. xxiii. 28, the name given is *Zalmon* (זלמן), which Thenius (*Exeget. Hdb.*, in loc.) thinks passed through clerical error and obliteration into עזלי. Kennicott on the other hand decides as עזלי as the original name (*Dissertation*, p. 187, ff.)—W. L. A.

ILGEN, KARL DAVID, D.D., born at Burgholzhausen in 1768, died at Berlin 17th Sept. 1834; was successively rector of the burgh school at Naumberg (1790), professor of Oriental literature at Jena (1794), rector at Schulpforte and Ober-consistorial-rath (1802). In consequence of failing health he resigned this office in 1830 and retired to Berlin, where he died. Besides numerous contributions to classical literature he wrote a treatise *De Jobi antiquissimi Carminis natura atque virtutibus*, Leipzig 1789; *Die Urkunden des I. Buch von Moses in ihrer urgestalt, etc.*, Halle 1798; *Die Gesch. Tobis nach drey verschied. originalen, dem Griech. dem Lat. des Hieronymi, und einer Syrisch. Uebersetzung, mit Anmerk. Einleit. u. s. w.*, Jena 1800.—W. L. A.

ILLESCAS, JACOB DE (יעקב דלסקאס), flourished in the 14th century at Illecas, not far from Madrid, whence his family derived their name. He wrote allegorical, Kabbalistic, and grammatical commentaries on the Pentateuch, entitled *אמרי נעים*, pleasant words. He also explains in it the obscure passages of Rashi and Ibn Ezra's expositions on this portion of the Hebrew Scriptures, and quotes Lekach Tob, Joseph, Tam, Bechor Shor, Jehudah the Pious, Isaac of Vienna, Moses de Coney, Aaron, Eljakim, the Tosafoth, etc. This commentary is given in Frankfurter's Great Rabbinic Bible [FRANKFURTER].—C. D. G.

ILLYRICUM (Ἰλλυρικόν), a country lying along the eastern shore of the Adriatic Gulf, north of Epirus. The Apostle Paul, in his third great missionary journey, after traversing Asia Minor and Macedonia, tells the church of Rome, 'that round about unto Illyricum (κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ) I have fully preached the Gospel of Christ' (Rom. xv. 19). The exact meaning of the passage is somewhat doubtful. The κύκλος may be joined with Jerusalem, and signify its 'neighbourhood' (as Alford, *in loc.*); or it may be joined with the μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ, and denote the 'circuit' of the apostle's journey 'as far as Illyricum.' The extent and boundaries of Illyricum were different at different periods. The earliest notices state that certain tribes called Ἰλλύριοι inhabited the mountainous region along the coast between Epirus and Liburnia (Scylax, ch. xix., seq.). On the invasion of the country by the Goths, these tribes were scattered eastward and northward, and gave their name to a wider region. According to Strabo, Illyria was bounded on the north by the Alps, on the south by Epirus, and on the east by the provinces of Macedonia and Moesia, and the rivers Save and Drave (vii. 5); and this was probably the geographical import of the name as used by Paul. At a later period Illyricum became one of the four great divisions of the Roman Empire, and embraced the whole country lying between the Adriatic, the Danube, the Black Sea, and Macedonia (Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, chap. i.) Through the southern part of Illyria proper ran the great road called *Via Egnatia*, which con-

nected Italy and the East, beginning at Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, passing through Thessalonica and Philippi, and terminating at the Hellespont (*Antonini Itinerarium*, ed. Wessel., p. 317). Along this road Paul may have travelled on his third journey till he reached that region on the shore of the Adriatic which was called Illyricum. From Dyrrhachium he may have turned north into that district of Illyricum then called Dalmatia, and may have founded the churches subsequently visited by Titus (2 Tim. iv. 10; DALMATIA). Afterwards he may have gone southward by Nicopolis to Corinth. (But see Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, i. 389, ii. 128, 1st ed.)

Illyricum is a wild and bare mountainous region, affording a fitting home for a number of wild tribes, who now, as in ancient times, inhabit the country. The coast-line is deeply indented, and possesses some excellent harbours (Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iv.; Wilkinson, *Dalmatia and Montenegro*).—J. L. P.

IMAGE. [See IDOLATRY.]

IMMANUEL (אֱמָנוּעֵל; Sept. Ἐμμανουήλ), occurring in forty-three MSS., and thirty-nine printed editions, as Dr. Henderson informs us, as two words, אֱמָנוּעֵל, is literally translated 'God with us.' As, however, the precise character and significance of the name is closely bound up with the interpretation of the principal passage in which it occurs—viz., Is. vii. 14, cited by Matthew in his Gospel, ch. i. vers. 22, 23—the latter demands our first consideration.

Perhaps there is no other portion of O. T. prophecy on which so much has been written, and in regard to which there has been, and still exists, so great a diversity of opinion, as the one we have now to do with. Following Dr. Henderson's arrangement, there are—1st, The Jewish interpreters, who of course ignore altogether the authority of the N. T., and are yet divided among themselves; the earlier rabbins explaining the passage of the queen of Ahaz, the later, as Jarchi and Aben-Ezra, of the wife of the prophet, but others, as Kimchi and Abarbanel, of a second spouse of the king. 2dly, 'The great body of Christian interpreters, who have held it to be directly and exclusively a prophecy of our Saviour, and have considered themselves fully borne out by the inspired authority of the evangelist Matthew.' 3dly, Those scholars who, not content to stop short here, have applied themselves to the study of the passage taken in its connection, in other words, to its historical exegesis, and have perceived the difficulties which in this view attach to the use made of it in the N. T. Of these (1), 'Grotius, Faber, Isenbiehl, Hezel, Bolten, Fitsche, Pluschke, Gesenius, Hitzig, suppose either the then present or a future wife of Isaiah to be meant by the עַמָּה referred to. (2) Eichhorn, Paulus, Hensler, Ammon,' to whom may be added J. D. Michaelis, 'are of opinion that the prophet had nothing more in view than an ideal virgin, and that both she and her son were purely imaginary persons, introduced for the purpose of prophetic illustration. (3) Bauer, Cube, Steudel, and some others,' including E. F. Rosenmüller in the 1st edition of his *Scholia*, 'think that the prophet pointed to a young woman in the presence of the king and his courtiers.'

'Richard Simon, Le Clerc, Koppe, Lowth, Oathe, Williams, Von Meyer, Olshausen, Dr. J. Fye Smith,' with Dr. S. Davidson, 'adopt the hypothesis of a double sense; one, in which the words apply primarily to some female living in the time of the prophet, and giving birth to a son according to the ordinary laws of nature, or, as Dathe holds, to some virgin who should miraculously conceive; and the other, in which they received a secondary and plenary fulfilment in the miraculous conception and birth of Christ.' *Lastly*, there are those who, with much learning and ability, have striven to vindicate what Gesenius calls 'the Messianic interpretation,' or the exclusive reference of the prediction to Christ; among whom may be mentioned, in addition to Dr. Henderson himself, Vitrina, Crusius, Dereser, Rosenmüller (in his *Scholia in Comp. redacta*), Hengstenberg, apparently Ewald, Dr. W. L. Alexander, and Dr. P. Fairbairn, who, however, are by no means agreed among themselves as to the way in which Matthew and Isaiah are to be reconciled.

One cannot avoid the suspicion that such a diversity, even among those who are at one as to fundamental principles, and most fully recognise the canon that the N. T. is to be considered as the key to the Old, has its source in something more than the idiosyncracies of different minds, and that, to use a familiar phrase, interpreters may have set out on the wrong scent. Now it is observable that it has been almost universally assumed at the outset, that the immediate and direct object of the prophet, speaking as the messenger of Jehovah, was to convince Ahaz by a striking sign that God would shortly deliver him from the enemies by whom he was threatened. 'The design of the prophet (they say) was to show to the distressed and distrustful king, that, in the extremity of his affairs, there was no reason to despair, and that the country should not be subdued' (Doederlein, *in loc.*) 'It seems to be as clear as words can make it,' says Dr. J. P. Smith, 'that the son promised was born within a year after the giving of the prediction; that his being so born, at the assigned period, was the sign or pledge that the political deliverance announced to Ahaz should certainly take place; and that such deliverance would arrive before this child should have reached the age in which children are commonly able to discriminate the different kinds of food' (*Script. Test.*, vol. i. p. 237). In like manner Gesenius complains that the defenders of the immediate application of the prediction to Christ 'do not meet the numerous objections which arise out of the context, especially this, that it was necessary to give to the incredulous Ahaz a sign that was speedily fulfilled, and that lay as it were before his eyes' (*Commentar über Jesaja, sur stelle*). And so, some maintain that the promised child was Hezekiah; others a son of the prophet, called Immanuel; Dr. Davidson that Maher-shalal-hash-baz was primarily intended; while others, as Dr. Kennicott, refer the first part of the prediction to Messiah, and the latter (ver. 16) to Shear-Jashub: some will have it that the 'Almah was really present, and her son born shortly afterwards; others, as Hengstenberg, that the whole scene was merely beheld in vision, 'the child being ideally present, in his birth and growth to manhood, before the spiritual eye of the prophet, and constituting, as so present, the sign of a speedy deliverance of Judah from Israel and Syria;' while

Rosenmüller, after an able defence of the Messianic interpretation, is constrained to admit that the prophet was mistaken about the period of the child's nativity: Dathe and others hold that the Evangelist quotes the passage as a typical prophecy; Isenbiehl, that he cites it by way of accommodation (for which sentiment the professor was cruelly subjected to chains and a dungeon); while Dr. Williams of Sydenham goes so far as to question the authenticity of the first two chapters of his gospel altogether.

But if this preliminary assumption be unfounded, there will be no room for such variety of opinion, nor any need of having resource to such desperate expedients to get over the difficulty—to which, in fact, that supposition gives rise—how Isaiah's intention in delivering the prediction and that of Matthew in quoting it are to be brought into mutual harmony. That it is so, we think, will be apparent from the following considerations: 1st, That it is inconsistent with the temper of Ahaz on the occasion. Not to insist on his habitual ungodliness, it is clear, as Dr. Fairbairn well shews, that at the time referred to he was in no mood to listen to assurances of divine protection. The whole compass of nature is, as it were, placed at his disposal, that he may exact from it a pledge of the faithfulness of Jehovah. But his earthly mind craves a more tangible dependence, his reliance must be on an arm of flesh, and his thoughts secretly turn to the King of Assyria, if indeed he was not already on terms with him (2 Kings xvi. 7; 2 Chron. xxviii. 16). His carnality and unbelief seem to have been anticipated by the prophet in the concluding words of the preceding oracle (ver. 9), and are distinctly brought out by his hypocritical reply to this second message. He 'will not tempt the Lord,' forsooth, by 'asking' what is freely offered. Would it have been, we ask, either a dignified or a salutary course, to have vouchsafed what was thus scornfully and impiously refused? Must the incredulous monarch be convinced against his will? It may indeed be doubted whether, in the circumstances, any miracle, however surprising, would have induced him to renounce 'the broken reed on which he trusted,' and rely simply on the word of God. And as we find that a disposition to question the divine veracity was always reprov'd, and often severely punished, we should rather expect, *a priori*, that, while the promise *already* given (ver. 7) would be performed, Ahaz would yet be made to feel the consequences of his unbelief, and be 'filled with his own devices;' which leads us to remark, 2dly, That this assumption is at variance with the language of the prophet in the preceding and following context. The strain of the prophet's address to the king is that of threatening rather than of encouragement. 'Hear ye now' (a formula most frequently used in menace and reproof) 'O house of David! Is it too little for you to weary men, that ye [proceed to] weary my God also?' (ver. 13); and from ver. 17 he goes on to denounce against the sovereign and his people a severe chastisement at the hands of the very power on whose aid he relied, even 'days such as had not come from the day that Ephraim departed from Judah.' 3dly, The position referred to hardly comports with what is recorded in the following chapter. We are there informed that a son, conceived about the date of the previous announcement, to be named Maher-shalal-hash-baz, was to be born

to the prophet, concerning whom it is intimated that 'before the child should have knowledge to cry 'my father!' and 'my mother!' the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria should be taken away before the King of Assyria.' But, according to the view commonly taken of the prediction in chap. vii., the two signs must refer to one and the same event, viz., the invasion of Israel and Syria by Tiglath-pileser, and the contemporary destruction of their reigning sovereigns (narrated 2 Kings xv. 29, 30; xvi. 9). They are also precisely analogous in character. In both cases a child is to be born; each is to receive a significant name; and the promised deliverance is to happen when each attains a certain age. Moreover, unless we adopt the hypothesis that both children were sons of the same parents (according to Gesenius, of Isaiah, by the 'Almah of chap. vii. 14), there is nothing to indicate the lapse of any interval of moment between the two oracles, which would not equally support the idea that they refer to different future events; if therefore they refer to the *same* event, the births must have been as nearly as possible contemporary, and the children coetaneous. Such a tautological reiteration, if we may so speak, in the matter of signs (unless we homologate Dr. Davidson's conclusion, that the same child is spoken of under different names) would not only be without a parallel in the sacred volume, but is in itself highly improbable. The improbability will be greater if, as Dathe supposes, the first child was born miraculously, and the second in the ordinary course of nature; and still more if, as Dr. Fairbairn plausibly argues, Maher-shalal-hash-baz was conceived and brought forth in vision merely; for in either case the additional sign would be less remarkable, and therefore less convincing than that which preceded it, which is certainly reversing the natural order of things, and unlike the usual method of the divine procedure. *Lastly*, as the rendering in the common version of the last clause of ver. 16, which is very generally adopted by commentators, has gone a great way to foster the supposition in question, it is proper here to remark that it is unconformable to the genius and usage of the original language. The preposition מִן, 'from before,' or 'because of,' is regularly employed as the link between verbs of 'fearing'—such as יָרָא, חָתַת, and קָרַן, here translated 'abhorrest,' but which also signifies 'to fear,'—and the object dreaded (see Exod. i. 12; Numb. xxii. 3; and comp. ver. 2 of this chap.) But our translators have anomalously connected it with the verb יָנֹכַח, 'shall be forsaken,' and assigned to it a *privative* sense, such as it never bears. Dr. Henderson indeed refers, in support of this construction, to ch. xvii. 9, where certainly the preposition in question follows the verb יָנֹכַח, adding, that 'it appears, in such connection, to have no more force than מִן in Lev. xxvi. 43.' On turning, however, to his comment on the former passage, we find that he there explains the juxtaposition by a *constructio pragnans*, or by an ellipsis, which, being supplied, he renders the clause thus: 'which they left (when they fled) before the children of Israel' (comp. a like use of the preposition in Judg. ix. 21). On his own shewing, therefore, the passage quoted is not a case in point. The only sense, in fact, which

could be elicited from such an arrangement of the words would be: 'the land, which thou abhorrest, shall be forsaken before,' or 'on account of its two kings.' This construction is therefore justly rejected by the most eminent scholars, as Schulzens, Gesenius, Rosenmüller, etc., who translate: 'the land, of whose two kings thou art afraid,' or, according to Schulzens, comparing ver. 6, where the same verb occurs, 'by whose two kings thou art vexed (*i.e.*, besieged) shall be forsaken.' The idea of an express reference in these words to the slaughter of Pekah and Rezin, about two years after the delivery of the prophecy, is thus seen to be illusory.

This hypothesis then, regarding the primary intention of the oracle, being discarded, there will remain no valid excuse for either ignoring or depreciating the authority of the evangelic record, or undervaluing the *explicitness* of the declaration τοῦτο δὲ 'ΟΑΟΝ γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ρηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, κ. τ. λ.: to those who admit the inspiration of the Evangelist, the question, 'Of whom speaketh the prophet this?' will, in that case, allow of but *one* answer, whatever may be the difficulties that present themselves on a closer examination; and the utmost that can reasonably be demanded is, that it can be shewn that the prophecy (vers. 14-16) admits of being applied to Christ throughout, and that, when so understood, it has an intelligible and appropriate bearing on the circumstances of those to whom it was originally addressed. We translate the verses thus:—

'Therefore Jehovah *himself* shall give you a sign:
Behold the Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son,
And shall call his name Immanuel.
Milk and honey shall he eat
Till he know to refuse the evil, and choose the good;
For before the child (or youth) shall know
To refuse the evil and choose the good,
The land shall be forsaken,
Of whose two kings thou art afraid.'

Now, in the whole of this passage, there is at least nothing which does not tally with the Gospel history of our Saviour's infancy. (a) He was *miraculously born*, as we are there informed, of a virgin, betrothed, but not married. (b) He was *named by his mother*, according to divine direction. (c) Nor is there any real discrepancy in the *names*, as might at first sight appear; for 1st, there is no necessity that 'Immanuel' should be taken as an appellative, any more than 'Wonderful,' 'Counsellor,' 'Mighty God,' etc., in ch. ix. 6, which were never used as proper names of our Lord; and, 2dly, there is a close approximation in significance between the two designations (as pointed out under the article 'JESUS'), to which the Evangelist himself seems to refer: *Immanuel*, = 'God with us,' conveying the sense 'God is on our side,' and *Jesus* or *Joshua*, contracted for *Jehoshua* (Num. xiii. 16) = 'the salvation of Jehovah' (Gesen.), being apparently tantamount, as in the case of the Israelitish leader, to 'he by whom Jehovah shall save.' (d) Although we have no historical notice of the *diet* of the infant Saviour, there is no presumption against its having been identical with that here mentioned, but the contrary, if we consider, 1st, that 'milk and honey are frequently mentioned by ancient writers as the food of tender children,' as in Callimachus' hymn to Jupiter (48):

σὺ δ' ἐθήσαστο πικρὰ μαζόν,
 Αἰγυπτοῖ Ἀμαλθεΐης, ἐπὶ δὲ γάλακός κρητὸν ἐβρωσ,

(comp. 1 Cor. iii. 1, 2; 1 Pet. ii. 1, etc.), and 'were recommended by the Greek physicians for this purpose' (Gesen.); and, 2dly, that as the land of our Saviour's birth was celebrated for the abundance of these productions, they would be easily accessible even to persons in such humble circumstances as Joseph and Mary. (c) It is scarcely necessary to add, that, in conformity with the prediction, the *calamity denounced* against Ephraim and Syria—that 'the land should be forsaken' of its inhabitants (the two countries being spoken of as one, on account of the alliance between them, as in ch. xvii. 1-3)—took place long before the child Jesus attained the years of discretion.

Let us next see how the passage thus translated and interpreted fits in to the connection in which it occurs. As all classes alike had been filled with alarm at the threatened invasion (ver. 2), and as the king had treated with contempt the gracious offer of Jehovah, we conceive that the direct and immediate design of the prophet in these verses was—to speak comfort to those who alone were prepared to receive it, by a sign which they at least would be able to appreciate, and which, taken in connection with what follows (ver. 17-end), might at the same time convey a *tacit rebuke* to the *ungodly monarch*. It is true the prophet was originally sent to Ahaz (ver. 3), and continues *ostensibly* to address him, not personally, however, so much as officially, viz., as the lineal representative of the house of David, and vicarious head of the Jewish people (whose real sovereign was Jehovah). God's long-suffering with the king was due to his regard for David, just as his forbearance towards the nation is to be explained by his promise to Abraham. Considering the character of Ahaz, it may indeed be doubted whether, apart from his adventitious position, he would have been acknowledged at all on the occasion. On the other hand, the undeniable fact that the grand aim of God's providence and the chief burden of his promises have ever been the advancement of his spiritual kingdom in the earth, and the happiness of his loyal subjects, sufficiently accounts both for the virtual change of parties addressed, and for the peculiar character of the prediction itself.

The exordium of the oracle is highly significant: 'therefore,' *i. e.*, 'since you thus perversely refuse to make choice of a sign,' 'Jehovah shall give you a sign *himself*,' *i. e.*, 'one of his own selection'; thus preparing the minds of the hearers for something different from what might have been expected, had Ahaz shewn a better spirit. Accordingly, the prophet, taking high ground, proceeds to assure the faithful that God had not forgotten his promises to the fathers, but that the predicted 'seed of the woman' should certainly be born in due time; which was *primarily*, and on the very face of it, an earnest of all those *spiritual* blessings discernible to the eye of faith through the symbols of the law, and the figurative language of prophecy, as attendant upon his coming. Moreover, there were certain advantages of an *outward and temporal* kind to the Jewish nation, as such, necessarily bound up with the appearance of such a Deliverer among them, and of these also this renewed assurance of his advent was *secondarily*, and by inference, a pledge. 1st, It is manifest that if the promised Saviour was to come out of Judah (Gen.

xlix. 10) that tribe should at least not be *exterminated*, and disappear from among the nations like the ten which had separated from it. 2dly, So far from this, it was distinctly foretold by Jacob himself, in the passage referred to, that the tribe of Judah should continue to enjoy that *pre-eminence* which was accorded to its head in consequence of the misconduct of Reuben, 'until Shiloh,' the 'peace bringer,' *i. e.*, the Messiah (comp. Is. ix. 6; Micah v. 5; Eph. ii. 14) 'should come.' Now it is clear that the hostile kings sought, if not the annihilation of Judah, which on a former occasion they were very near effecting (2 Chron. xxviii. 5-8), at least to humble it by the destruction of its independence. This is intimated in the preceding oracle, vers. 8, 9: 'For Damascus shall be (as formerly) the head of Syria (but no more), and Rezin the head of Damascus; and Samaria shall be the head of Ephraim, and Remaliah's son the head of Samaria,' *i. e.*, 'neither Rezin nor Pekah shall succeed in adding Judæa to his dominions, and making Damascus or Samaria its capital instead of Jerusalem.' So that we have here an important connection between the sign and the circumstances of those to whom it was vouchsafed. This, however, is not all. For, 3dly, it was already known from God's covenant with David (2 Sam. vii. 12-16; xx. ii. 2-5; compared with Acts ii. 30), that the Messiah was to be in the direct line of that prince; a promise which could not be redeemed *if his family should become extinct*. And, 4thly, as in that covenant it is expressly affirmed that David's 'throne,' as well as 'house,' should be 'established for ever' (comp. Ps. lxxxix. 34-37) it follows that his posterity should reign in his stead in *uninterrupted succession*, unless by their own misconduct they forfeited the privilege, which was held immediately and conditionally from God as the real Head of the Theocracy (1 Kings ii. 4; viii. 25; Ps. lxxxix. 30, 31, 32; cxxxii. 11, 12); while the Messiah, although about to inaugurate an entirely new order of things, appears, according to this representation, as the *last of the series*, who should sit down on the throne of his father David, never to rise from it (see Dr. Alexander's *Connection of O. and N. T.*, p. 220). But the confederacy of Rezin and Pekah (whether or not they meant to *extirpate* the royal family) was, as Dr. Fairbairn points out, a direct contravention of this divine decree; and, although on a less important occasion, as much an instance of the 'kings of the earth setting themselves, and the rulers taking counsel together, against the Lord and against his anointed,' as was the later confederacy of Pilate and Herod. For, as we are informed in vers. 5, 6, their 'counsel' was not only to 'go up against Judah, and make it afraid' by beleaguering its capital, but to displace the existing dynasty, and 'set a king' of their own nomination 'in the midst of it, even the son of Tabeal,' who should of course hold sway as their satrap or viceroy, ready at all times to do their bidding. The promise now given, however, taken in connection with the emphatic declaration of ver. 7, was a token that 'the Lord held them in derision,' and that their attempt should prove abortive; while in ver. 16 'he speaks to them,' as it were, 'in his wrath,' and threatens them with merited punishment for their presumption. However remote such considerations might be from the thoughts of the worldly-minded king and his courtiers, they would readily suggest themselves to those whose 'hope

was in the Lord their God,' and who 'made his testimonies their meditation.'

To Ahaz, on the other hand, the prophetic announcement wore a very different aspect. Unlike the promises to the patriarchs and to David, no mention is made of any bond of union betwixt him and his illustrious successor. 'In this divine purpose and provision for a better state of things, the existing royal house is entirely overleapt; silently passed by on account of their unfaithfulness and corruption' (Dr. Fairbairn's *Hermeneutical Manual*, p. 423). And if we take into view the entire communication, which is continuous to the end of the chapter, there is evidently, as the same writer observes, an intended contrast between the child Immanuel and the degenerate king. The very name of the former was a tower of strength, and a beacon of hope. He was to be born in a time of peace, if not of prosperity, which we consider to be indicated by the allusion to his being fed on 'milk and honey;' because the supply of these articles, common as they were, depended on freedom of access to the fields and forests from which they were respectively procured. Accordingly, ere he attained the years of discretion (*διακρίσεως*) expressed by the phrase, 'Know to refuse the evil, and choose the good' (the proper parallel to which is to be found in Heb. v. 13, 14), and so should be of an age to think and act for himself, and to take an interest in public affairs, these deadly foes of his nation and throne should have utterly disappeared, both king and people. Ahaz, on the contrary, is specially marked out (ver. 17) as an object of divine displeasure. He had already been sorely harassed by the kings of Syria and Israel, and might still, for anything that is here said, suffer from them. But no sooner should he escape from one enemy than he should fall into the hands of another (comp. 2 Chron. xxviii. 20). And, as a necessary consequence, the people of his rule would suffer with him (*quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi*); and so great should be the devastation of the country, and its inhabitants so reduced in number, that at the return of peace, for want of hands to cultivate the fields, men would be glad to subsist on the food of children: 'for milk and honey shall every one eat that is left in the land' (vers. 21, 22; comp. 2 Chron. xxviii. 19).

We have hitherto looked at the prediction chiefly as a pledge of certain things which its fulfilment necessarily ensured and presupposed. Besides this, however, the event was a 'sign' in the more usual sense of the term, not only on account of the child's miraculous birth, but also by reason of his significant name. This latter circumstance, which we think has not received the attention it deserves, might be inferred from the parallel instances in ch. viii. 1-4; Hosea i. 4, 6, 9; and is clearly established by the use made of the designation in the following chapter (vers. 8, 10), where it is employed, like many of the watchwords of the Greeks and Romans, as well as of modern nations (comp. in particular that of Cyrus' army at the battle of Cunaxa, *Ζεὺς Σωτήρ καὶ Νίκη*, and that of the Lutherans in the Thirty Years' War, *Gott mit uns*) as an incentive to courage in the hour of danger; and, as given by Jehovah himself, was an attestation to his people that, whatever mischief their enemies might do, their fury would be restrained within due bounds.

It will be seen that the view we have given of the passage, which is mainly that of Dr. Fairbairn, though differing from his in some minor particulars, is in a great measure free from the difficulty arising from 'the circumstance of time,' which has been so unduly magnified by many. Still, as the desolation of Syria and Ephraim actually took place some seven centuries before the birth of Christ (the inhabitants of Damascus having been carried captive by Tiglath-pileser about two years after the date of the prediction (2 Kings xvi. 9), and the removal of the Israelites completed by Esarhaddon sixty-three years later (see v. 8, and comp. 2 Kings xvii. 23, 24)), it may be thought strange that Isaiah should seem to connect the two events chronologically together (ver. 16). The anachronism, however, is only inferential and apparent; for what is said was strictly true. And so far as there is any ambiguity, it is quite in accordance with the enigmatical character and studied obscurity of prophecy in general. The prophet might have been commissioned to say '700 years before,' or 'long before.' For wise reasons, however, it was not deemed expedient that the precise period of Messiah's coming should yet be made known; the language on this point, therefore, is purposely vague. As Dr. Henderson has well observed, 'the uncertainty in regard to time was calculated to exert a salutary influence upon the minds of believers, by keeping up in them a constant expectation of the event; just as the uncertainty of the time of our Lord's second advent has always been found to operate favourably upon the minds of his people.' We meet with the same commingling of times indeed in reference to the second coming of Christ, which is connected in a similar manner in the N. T. with events that were to precede it by even much greater intervals. Thus our Lord himself (Matt. xxiv. 29) speaks of his coming to judgment as if it were shortly to follow (*εὐθὺς μετὰ*) the destruction of Jerusalem. So the Apostle Paul, correcting the error into which the Thessalonians had been led as to 'the day of Christ' being then 'at hand,' assures them that that day should not come 'except there should come a falling away first, and the man of sin be revealed;' yet (assuming with the majority of expositors that the reference is to the Papacy) fifteen centuries have already elapsed since 'he that let' was 'taken out of the way,' and not less than eight centuries since 'the mystery of iniquity' was fully 'revealed,' and the pretensions of its head reached their climax.

The limits of this article preclude a more minute criticism of the passage, and refutation of the various opinions from which we dissent. We can only remark upon one or two words in conclusion:—

That one future event was sometimes made the 'sign' (σημεῖον) of another anterior to it in point of time, is shown by Dr. Henderson from Exod. iii. 12; Jer. xlv. 29, 30. An example still more appropriate, as occurring in the same author, and relating to a parallel case, will be found in chap. xxxvii. of this prophet, ver. 30, 31 (compared with 2 Kings xix. 29), where the promise, that for two years the people should subsist on the spontaneous produce of the seed of the previous harvest, is constituted a 'sign' that the kingdom of Judah should recover from the effects of the Assyrian invasion, and by inference, that the designs of Sennacherib against

Jerusalem should be frustrated, of which a positive assurance is subjoined in ver. 33 and following; just as the sign of Immanuel, which is indirect, and indefinite as to time, is supplemented, ch. viii., by a special and definite token of the downfall of Samaria and Damascus within the space of two years.

In regard to עִמָּנוּאֵל, we are perfectly willing to accept the derivation of Gesenius (from the Arab.

عَمَل, *pubes fuit*), and the etymological sense thence derived, *puella nubilis*, 'a marriageable maid,' along with the admission of its advocates regarding the *usus loquendi*, which is what, after all, fixes the meaning of a term, 'that in all the places of the O. T. in which the word occurs, it undoubtedly denotes a young woman who is properly and strictly a virgin' (Dr. P. Smith's *Test. to Mess.*, sec. 19, note A); for in that case it is the most apposite designation that could have been selected for the virgin mother of our Lord.

In fine, with respect to עִמָּנוּאֵל we hold, in accordance with the views above exhibited—(1) That it is an expressive epithet or *title*, and not a proper name. (2) That it denotes *that the presence of God should be with his people, to defend and deliver them*; the same expression, or others of precisely similar import, being of frequent occurrence in the sacred writers, from Moses downwards, of which it may be sufficient to adduce as examples Gen. xxvi. 24, 28; xxxix. 2, 21; xlviii. 21; 1 Sam. xvi. 18; 1 Kings viii. 57; Ps. xlv. 7, 11; Zech. viii. 23, and especially the repetition of the phrase in the immediate context of this passage (ch. viii. 10), compared with its like use on a similar occasion, 2 Chron. xxxii. 7, 8. (Compare also the use of *σύν-εμν* and *adsum* in the classics, as—*οὐ θεὸς σὺν ἡμῖν ἔσονται*, Xen. *Anab.* iii. 1, 21; *Adsis O! placidusque juves*, Virg. *Æn.* iv. 578.) (3) That it is of analogous significance to the name (Jesus) actually conferred on our Lord in conformity with the directions of the angel. (4) That the former, no more than the latter, can fairly be considered as implying the *divinity* of our Lord. In this, as in many other such cases, we have insensibly brought to the term, from independent sources of information, an idea which is not in it, and which does not harmonize with the context and occasion. All that can be said is, that, as applied to Christ, the title has a *peculiar appropriateness*. Let it be enough that divine attributes are explicitly ascribed to him in a prophecy which must have been delivered almost immediately after (ch. ix. 6).—W. S.

IMMANUEL B. SALOMON ROMI. This distinguished poet and commentator, also called אֱלֹהֵי הָדָעַת בִּמְנִיָּאֵל, *the prince of science in Rome*, was born in the eternal city about A.D. 1265, of a highly respectable Roman family denominated (אִפְרוֹנִים) *Ziphronim*, and by diligent study and his natural endowments soon became master of the whole cycle of Biblical and Talmudic literature, as well as of the productions of ancient and modern Greece and Rome. His brilliant talents, his charming poetry, and his delightful company, made him a general favourite, and attracted the notice of the immortal Dante, so that the two

spirits, *kindred*, and yet different in many respects, formed a mutual and intimate attachment. Immanuel wrote commentaries on the whole O. T., with the exception of the minor Prophets and Ezra, giving not only a grammatical and archaeological explanation of the text, but making also some of the most valuable remarks upon the nature and spirit of the poetical books. It is greatly to be regretted that of all his exegetical works which are in different public libraries of Europe, the *Commentary on Proverbs* (פֶּרֶשׁ עַל מִשְׁלֵי), and some glosses on the *Psalms* (לְקוּטִים מִפֶּרֶשׁ הַתְּהִלִּים), are the only ones as yet published, the former in Naples 1486, and the latter in Parma 1806. The introduction of his commentary on the Song of Songs has been published with an English translation by Ginsburg, *Historical and Critical Commentary on the Song of Songs*, Longman 1857, p. 49-55. Immanuel died about 1330. Comp. Zunz, in Geiger's *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, Stuttgart 1839, iv. 194, etc.; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Leipzig 1863, vol. vii. p. 307, etc.—C. D. G.

IMMER (אִמֶּר; Sept. Ἐμμήρ). 1. The father of Pashur, who was chief governor of the Temple in the time of Jeremiah, and the head of a priestly family (Ezra ii. 37; Neh. vii. 40; Ezra x. 20; Neh. iii. 29; xi. 13; 1 Chron. ix. 12); from which the sixteenth order or course was formed, 1 Chron. xxiv. 14. 2. The name of a place in Babylonia, Ezra ii. 59 (Ἐμμήρ); Neh. vii. 61 (Ἰεμμήρ), from which several persons returned with Zerubbabel to Jerusalem who could not prove their nationality.—J. E. R.

INCENSE, קְטֹרֶת, once קְטֹרֶת, LXX. θυμίαμα, *συνθετός*; Vulg. *thymiamia*, is to be distinguished from לֶבְנָה, *lebannah*, or *frankincense*, with which, however, it is confounded by Calmet, as it sometimes also is in the A. V.; the former being a confection of several sweet spices; the latter, a distinct precious gum, forming one of the ingredients of the incense. The components of incense, as given in Exod. xxx., are Stacte, Onycha, Galbanum, and pure Frankincense,* tempered together, or rather, salted, מֶלַח. Salt, the symbol of incorruptness, was added to all sacrifices and offerings, except the wine of the drink offerings, the blood, and the wood (Lev. ii. 13, where see Bp. Patrick). These four ingredients were mingled together 'in equal proportions,' בֶּרֶךְ בֶּרֶךְ, according to the A. V., LXX., Vulg., 'Targ. et Arabs uterque,' although 'Ebenesra et Abarbanel: *singula aromata scorsim*, atque ita hac formula utuntur in Talm. Sebach 2 (Ges. *Thes.* 178). What weight of each ingredient was compounded at a time is unknown; for, says Bp. Patrick, 'I see no authority for what the Hebrew doctors say, that there were 70 pounds of each of the four spices; and they add (which makes all they say of this matter questionable), that there were also several pounds of Cinnamon, and Cassia, and Crocus, in short, of 13 several spices, which Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* v. 5) affirms were in this composition—of which Moses, they

* See AHALIM, ALGUM, CHELBENAH, LEBONAH, and NATAF; and Kalisch on Exod. xxx. 34.

say, made in the whole 368 lbs.; that is, one pound for every day in the year, and three for the day of Expiation. And accordingly *R. Levi Barzelonita* saith, the priests made every year as much as would suffice for every day of it; and that the ordinary priests might make it as well as the high-priest, *Præcept. ci.* (Com. on Exod. xxx. 34).

Incense compounded in any other way than that prescribed by Moses was called 'strange incense,' and was forbidden to be offered (Exod. xxx. 9); this law, as well as the requisition in ver. 36, that it should be 'pure,' excludes all those additional ingredients mentioned by Josephus and the Rabbins; and if they were introduced in later times, as seems to have been the case, it was done in direct violation of the law.

This incense is called 'most holy,' *קֹדֶשׁ קֹדֶשׁ* (ver. 36), because it was to be used in the service of Jehovah only, and was pre-eminently sacred to him. The preparation of a similar kind by any one for private use was forbidden under a severe penalty—the penalty of excision from among his people (Exod. xxx. 38); but that this includes the excision not only of the transgressor himself but of his 'whole race' is far from 'probable,' as Bp. Patrick says.

Aaron at first performed the duty of burning incense, but it does not appear to have been made an exclusive part of the functions of the high-priest; for afterwards the sons of Aaron in their courses performed this service, as appears from Luke i. 8, 9, when Zacharias, who was not an high-priest, offered incense when it fell to his lot. The offering of incense was considered the most honourable part of the priest's duty; a peculiar blessing was supposed to attach to it; but surely Alford is wrong when he says that, 'the same person could not serve in it more than once' (N. T. on L. i. 9), since the parts of the priests' duty were distributed by lot (*ἐλαχε*, Lightfoot, *Ministerium Templi*, ix. 1, *Hor. Heb. Tal.* on L. i. 9); but that all might share the honour, those of the family who ministered on any particular day, who had not hitherto obtained the incense, cast lots for it among themselves (Lightfoot, *Minist. Temp.* ix. 5). Uzziah, attempting to invade this sacred function of the priesthood, was smitten with 'leprosy' which 'clave to him till the day of his death' (2 Chron. xxvi. 16-21). [OFFERING.]

The times for offering incense are distinctly specified. First, it was to be burned every morning and every evening in the holy place, on the 'altar of incense' provided for the purpose. This altar was made of 'Shittim,' or acacia wood, a cubit in length and breadth, covered with gold, encircled with a golden crown or wreath, having horns at the corners, and rings beneath the crown, through which the acacia gold-covered staves passed for carrying it. It stood before the vail which separated the holy from the most holy place. On this altar, then, the priests burned incense every evening when they lighted, and every morning when they trimmed, the lamps in the sanctuary. '*Mane, inter sanguinem et membra suffiebat, vesperi, inter membra et libamina*' (Talm. in Lightfoot M. T. ix. 5). When the priest entered to burn incense, the people, at the sound of a bell,* were removed from the temple and stood without, and the priests

and Levites hastened to take their stations. The most profound silence prevailed (Rev. viii. 5) while prayer ascended to God from the assembled worshippers. At a signal from the *Præfectus Ministerii* the priest cast incense upon the fire on the altar and then departed. 'When the incense and the prayers were finished the parts of the victim were laid on the altar, and then the Levites applied themselves to psalmody, and the priests to the blowing of trumpets' (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb. a Tal.* on L. i. 9, 10; M. T. cix. 5). [ALTAR.]

On the great day of Atonement it is enjoined the high-priest 'that he shall take a censer full of burning coals of fire from off the altar before the Lord, and his hand full of sweet incense beaten small, and bring it within the vail, and he shall put the incense on the fire before the Lord, that the cloud of incense may cover the mercy-seat that is upon the testimony, that he die not' (Lev. xvi. 12, 13). Before he entered with the incense, the Jewish doctors tell us, that the elders of the Sanhedrim brought him into the house of *Abtine*, where the incense was kept, that he might learn how it was to be handled. Then they adjured him thus: 'Lord high-priest, we, the delegates of the Sanhedrim, . . . adjure thee by Him who has caused His name to dwell in this temple, that thou make no change in those things we have said unto you. Then they parted in tears.' The reason of this solemn adjuration was, that the Sadducees taught that he might kindle the incense without the vail, and then carry it smoking into the most holy place, contrary to the express command of the Lord. The high-priest then took a censer full of live coals from the altar and placed it on a bench in the temple, and from a vase brought to him he took a handful of incense and threw it upon a plate. He took the censer of coals in his right hand, and the plate with the incense in his left. Thus he entered the most holy place and approached the Ark, on which place he deposited his coals, and poured incense into his hands, and placed it on the coals, and waited until the whole apartment was filled with smoke, then he retired backward from the Adytum with his face turned towards the Ark. Having come forth, he offered this short prayer: 'O Lord God, may it please thee that this year may have timely rains; nor suffer thy sceptre to depart from Judah; nor thy people Israel to want food; nor the prayers of transgressors to come before thee' (Lightfoot, M. T. c. xv.) Presently he went forth out of the sanctuary and showed himself to the people, that 'they might not suspect he had done amiss and miscarried in his office'—(Patrick). [ATONEMENT, DAY OF.]

Incense was also offered on extraordinary occasions, as in the case of the plague which broke out among the murmuring people after the destruction of Korah and his company, when Aaron, by command of Moses, took a censer and put fire therein, and incense upon the fire, and ran into the midst of the congregation and 'stood between the living and the dead,' and made atonement for the people, so that the 'plague was stayed' (Num. xvi. 46-50). Thus atonement, usually made by blood, was made by incense, '*Currens ira Dei, sacerdotii voce prohibebatur*' (Jerome)—a notable type of the power with God of our great High-priest and Intercessor, the Lord Jesus—(Patrick). [TABERNACLE, iii. 926.]

The offering of incense formed a part of the worship of almost all nations. How ancient the

* The *Migrepha*.

practice is we have no means of knowing. By the Egyptians 'incense was presented to all the gods, and introduced on every grand occasion when a complete oblation was made (Wilkinson's *Pop. Acc. of the Auct. Egyptians*, i. 265).

As might be expected, the Jews in their fits of idolatry offered incense to their idols (Hos. xi. 2; Jer. xlviii. 35).

The incense burnt in the Temple is called 'a perpetual incense' (Exod. xxx. 8), 'in the same sense that the morning and evening sacrifice is called a perpetual burnt-offering (Exod. xxxix. 38, 42), because it was never intermitted twice a day. And one reason why it was thus continually burnt was because of the vast number of beasts that were slain and cut to pieces, and washed, and burnt every day in the sanctuary, which would have made it smell like shambles (as *Maimonides* speaks), if this sweet odour had not perfumed it and the garments of the priests who there ministered.

Whence, saith he, that speech of the Rabbins: *This sweet odour might be smelt as far as Jericho*; whereby the reverence due to God's house was preserved, which would have been contemptible if there had been an ill smell constantly in it, as he truly observes, *More Nevoch*. p. iii. c. 45' (Pat. on Exod. xxx. 8). There need be little difficulty in admitting this. The incense was, most likely, disinfectant and corrective, purifying and sweetening the atmosphere of the sacred house. But this view does not interfere in the least with the higher and nobler object contemplated by the appointment of the incense offering. There can be little doubt that it was intended, *more humano*, in the honour of Jehovah, the Great King, whose palace the tabernacle, as also the temple, was. In this way it served its purpose directly and at once; but as God is truly worshipped in a spiritual manner only ('God is a spirit'), the incense in the symbolism of the Hebrews was intended to represent some spiritual truth. What was that? *Josephus* thinks that the spices gathered from sea and all lands inhabited and uninhabited were designed to teach that 'all things are of God and for God' (*Jewish War*, Traill's Trans., B. v., sec. 5). *Philo* indulges in his accustomed vagaries of the imagination. Bahr in his *Symbolik* regards the incense as the symbol of the name of God, each ingredient representing some divine perfection. Fairbairn, in his admirable *Typology*, following Hengstenberg, takes what appears the most natural and Scriptural view. In the language of the latter, 'the smoking, sweet-smelling incense, is in Scripture the standing symbol of the prayer of believers, which is precious before God (comp. Apoc. v. 8; viii. 3, 4; Luke i. 10). The Psalmist comes forth here [Ps. cxli. 2] as an expositor of the Mosaic law, in which the offering of incense every morning and evening (Exod. xxx. 77, 95) symbolised prayer, and reminded the faithful of their obligation to present it, and the blessing which arises from it. He who prayed brought to the Lord the substance of the incense-offering' (*Com. on Ps. cxli.*) Nor is it a conclusive objection to this view, that, if the incense is a symbol of prayer, the evening sacrifice must have the same symbolic meaning; for the evening sacrifice is rather the meat-offering, *קרבן*, which,

according to Hengstenberg, 'is in the law the symbolical representation of good works.' Hence the Psalmist prays, that his prayer might be set
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forth as incense before the Lord, and the lifting up of his hands as the evening meat-offering; prayer and good works being inseparably connected in the true worship of God. It might, indeed, appear at first view, that the incense was not symbolical of the prayers of the saints, but rather of that which renders those prayers acceptable before God—the merits of the Lord Jesus. But in Rev. v. 8 the representatives of the Church have golden vials full of odours (lit. *incenses*, *Θυμαμύδρων*), which are said to be 'the prayers of the saints,' where the logical connection of the relative is with 'odours,' not with 'vials,' which in no proper sense could be called the 'prayers of the saints.' And in Rev. viii., although the incense is 'given' to the angel to be offered *with* the prayers of the saints, all that we are compelled by the symbolism to understand is the *acceptability* of the prayers of the saints of God, long unanswered, but now at length about to be accomplished. It is, however, perfectly true that the prayers of the saints are a sweet incense unto God, chiefly because they came up before Him 'through Jesus Christ.'—I. J.

INCHANTMENTS. [WITCHCRAFT.]

INDIA (Ἰνδία; Sept. Ἰνδική). This name occurs only in Esther i. 1; viii. 9, where the Persian king is described as reigning 'from India unto Ethiopia, over a hundred and seven and twenty provinces.' It is found again, however, in the Apocrypha, where India is mentioned among the countries which the Romans took from Antiochus and gave to Eumenes (1 Maccab. viii. 8). It is also with some reason conceived that in Acts ii. 9 we should read Ἰνδία, India, and not Ἰουδαία, Judæa. If this could be admitted, an interesting subject of inquiry would arise; for these dwellers in India—that is, Jews of India—are described as being present in Jerusalem at the Passover. There is much to say in favour of this reading, but more in favour of Idumæa; for the name of that country, Ἰδουμαία, might, much more easily than that of India, Ἰνδία, have been accidentally, or rather carelessly, corrupted into Ἰουδαία: and, at the same time, the name of Idumæa would come better into the list than that of India, seeing that the enumeration is manifestly taken from east to west; which allows Idumæa with great propriety to follow Mesopotamia, but forbids India to do so. Whichever may be preferred of the other two, the reading 'Judæa' cannot but be wrong; for, on the face of the list, we cannot but see the superfluity of the information, that the people of Judæa were present in their own city at the Passover.

It is evident on the face of the above intimations, and indeed from all ancient history, that the country known as India in ancient times extended more to the west, and did not reach so far to the east—that is, was not known so far to the east—as the India of the moderns. When we read of ancient India, we must clearly not understand the whole of Hindostan, but chiefly the northern parts of it, or the countries between the Indus and the Ganges; although it is not necessary to assert that the rest of that peninsula, particularly its western coast, was then altogether unknown. It was from this quarter that the Persians and Greeks (to whom we are indebted for the earliest accounts of India) invaded the country; and this was consequently the region which first became generally known. The countries bordering on the Ganges constituted

to be involved in obscurity, the great kingdom of the Prasians excepted, which, situated nearly above the modern Bengal, was dimly discernible. The nearer we approach the Indus, the more clear becomes our knowledge of the ancient geography of the country; and it follows that the districts of which at the present day we know the least were anciently best known. Besides, the western and northern boundaries were not the same as at present. To the west, India was not then bounded by the river Indus, but by a chain of mountains which, under the name of Koh (whence the Grecian appellation of the Caucasus), extended from Bactria to Makran, or Gedrosia, enclosing the kingdoms of Candahar and Cabul, the modern kingdom of Eastern Persia, or Afghanistan. These districts anciently formed part of India, as well as, further to the south, the less perfectly known countries of the Arabi and Hauri (the Arabiæ and Oriæ of Arrian, vi. 21), bordering on Gedrosia. This western boundary continued at all times the same, and was removed to the Indus only in consequence of the victories of Nadir Shah.

Towards the north, ancient India overpassed not less its present limit. It comprehended the whole of the mountainous region above Cashmir, Badakshan, Belur Land, the western boundary mountains of Little Bucharía, or Little Thibet, and even the desert of Cobi, so far as it was known. The discovery of a passage by sea to the coasts of India has contributed to withdraw from these regions the attention of Europeans, and left them in an obscurity which hitherto has been little disturbed, although the current of events seems likely ere long to lead to our better knowledge.

From this it appears that the India of Scripture included no part of the present India, seeing that it was confined to the territories possessed by the Persians and the Syrian Greeks, that never extended beyond the Indus, which, since the time of Nadir Shah, has been regarded as the western boundary of India. Something of India beyond the Indus became known through the conquering march of Alexander, and still more through that of Seleucus Nicator, who penetrated to the banks of the Ganges; but the notions thus obtained are not embraced in the Scriptural notices, which, both in the canonical and the Apocryphal text, are confined to Persian India. (See Heeren's *Historical Researches*, i. c. 1, sec. 3, on *Persian India*; and Rennel's *Geog. of Herodotus*.)

INHERITANCE. The laws and observances which determine the acquisition and regulate the devolution of property, are among the influences which affect the vital interests of states; and it is therefore of high consequence to ascertain the nature and bearing of the laws and observances relating to this subject, which come to us with the sanction of the Bible. We may also premise that, in a condition of society such as that in which we now live, wherein the two diverging tendencies which favour immense accumulations on the one hand, and lead to poverty and pauperism on the other, are daily becoming more and more decided, disturbing, and baneful, there seems to be required, on the part of those who take Scripture as their guide, a careful study of the foundations of human society, and of the laws of property, as they are developed in the divine records which contain the revealed will of God.

That will, in truth, as it is the source of all created things, and specially of the earth and its intelligent denizen, man, so is it the original foundation of property, and of the laws by which its inheritance should be regulated. God, as the Creator of the earth, gave it to man to be held, cultivated, and enjoyed (Gen. i. 28, *sg.*; Ps. cxv. 16; Eccles. v. 9). The primitive records are too brief and fragmentary to supply us with any details respecting the earliest distribution or transmission of landed property; but from the passages to which reference has been made, the important fact appears to be established beyond a question, that the origin of property is to be found, not in the achievements of violence, the success of the sword, or any imaginary implied contract, but in the will and the gift of the common Creator and bountiful Father of the human race. It is equally clear that the gift was made, not to any favoured portion of our race, but to the race itself—to man as represented by our great primogenitor, to whom the use of the divine gift was first graciously vouchsafed. The individual appropriation of portions of the earth, and the transmission of the parts thus appropriated—in other words, the consuetudinary laws of property—would be determined in each instance by the peculiar circumstances in which an individual, a family, or a clan, might find itself placed in relation to the world and its other inhabitants; nor is it now, in the absence of written evidence, possible to ascertain, and it is useless, if not worse, to attempt to conjecture, what these laws were. This, however, is certain, that if in any case they inflicted injury, if they aided the aggrandisement of the few, and tended to the depression of the many, they thereby became unjust, and not only lost their divine sanction, but, by opposing the very purposes for which the earth was given to man, and operating in contravention of the divine will, they were disowned and condemned of God, the tenure of the property was forfeited, and a recurrence to first principles and a re-distribution became due alike to the original donor, and to those whom he had intended impartially to benefit.

The enforcement of these principles has, in different periods of human history, been made by the seen hand of God, in those terrible providential visitations which upturn the very foundations of society and reconstruct the social frame. The Deluge was a kind of revocation of the Divine gift; the Creator took back into his own hands the earth which men had filled with injustice and violence. The trust, however, was, after that terrible punishment, once more committed to man, to be held, not for himself, but for God; and to be so used and improved as to further the divine will by furthering human good. And, whatever conduct may have been pursued, at any period, at variance with the divine purpose, yet it is in trust, not in absolute possession, it is for God's purposes, not our own, that the earth at large, and every portion of the earth, has been and is still held. In truth, man is the tenant, not the proprietor, of the earth. It is the temporary use, not the permanent possession of it that he enjoys. The lord of ten thousand broad acres, equally with the poor penniless squatter, is a sojourner and pilgrim in the land, as all his fathers were, and is bound, not less than the other, to remember, not only that property has its duties as well as its rights, but also that its best titles are held by a momentary tenure, revocable at

the will of an omnipotent power, and subject to unerring scrutiny, in regard both to their origin and their use, in a court where the persons of men are not respected, where justice is laid to the line, and judgment to the plummet (Is. xxiii. 17).

The impression which the original gift of the earth was calculated to make on men, the Great Donor was pleased, in the case of Palestine, to render, for his own wise purposes, more decided and emphatic by an express re-donation to the patriarch Abraham (Gen. xiii. 14, *sq.*). Many years, however, elapsed before the promise was fulfilled. Meanwhile the notices which we have regarding the state of property in the patriarchal ages, are few and not very definite. The products of the earth, however, were at an early period accumulated and held as property. Violence invaded the possession; opposing violence recovered the goods. War soon sprang out of the passions of the human heart. The necessity of civil government was felt. Consuetudinary laws accordingly developed themselves. The head of the family was supreme. His will was law. The physical superiority which he possessed gave him this dominion. The same influence would secure its transmission in the male rather than the female line. Hence too the rise of the rights of primogeniture. In the early condition of society which is called patriarchal, landed property had its origin, indeed, but could not be held of first importance by those who led a wandering life, shifting continually, as convenience suggested, from one spot to another. Cattle were then the chief property (Gen. xxiv. 35). But land, if held, was held on a freehold tenure; nor could any other tenure have come into existence till more complex and artificial relations arose, resulting, in all probability, from the increase of population and the relative insufficiency of food. When Joseph went down into Egypt, he appears to have found the freehold tenure prevailing, which, however, he converted into a tenancy at will, or, at any rate, into a conditional tenancy. Other intimations are found in Genesis which confirm the general statements which have just been made. Daughters do not appear to have had any inheritance. If there are any exceptions to this rule, they only serve to prove it. Thus Job (the book so called is undoubtedly very old, so that there is no impropriety in citing it in this connection) is recorded (xlii. 15) to have given his daughters an inheritance conjointly with their brothers—a record which of itself proves the singularity of the proceeding, and establishes our position that inheritance generally followed the male line. How highly the privileges conferred by primogeniture were valued, may be learnt from the history of Jacob and Esau. In the patriarchal age doubtless these rights were very great. The eldest son, as being by nature the first fitted for command, assumed influence and control, under his father, over the family and its dependents; and when the father was removed by death, he readily, and as if by an act of Providence, took his father's place. Thus he succeeded to the property in succeeding to the headship of the family, the clan, or the tribe. At first the eldest son most probably took exclusive possession of his father's property and power; and when, subsequently, a division became customary, he would still retain the largest share—a double portion, if not more (Gen. xxvii. 25, 29, 40). That in the days of Abraham other

sons partook with the eldest, and that too though they were sons of concubines, is clear from the story of Hagar's expulsion:—'Cast out (said Sarah) this bondwoman and her son; for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son, even with Isaac' (Gen. xxi. 10). The few notices left us in Genesis of the transfer of property from hand to hand are interesting, and bear a remarkable similarity to what takes place in Eastern countries even at this day (Gen. xxi. 22, *sq.*; xxiii. 9, *sq.*). The purchase of the Cave of Machpelah as a family burying-place for Abraham, detailed in the last passage, serves to shew the safety of property at that early period, and the facility with which an inheritance was transmitted even to sons' sons (comp. Gen. xlix. 29). That it was customary, during the father's lifetime, to make a disposition of property, is evident from Gen. xxiv. 35, where it is said that Abraham had given all he had to Isaac. This statement is further confirmed by ch. xxv. 5, 6, where it is added that Abraham gave to the sons of his concubines 'gifts, sending them away from Isaac his son, while he yet lived, eastward unto the east country.' Sometimes, however, so far were the children of unmarried females from being dismissed with a gift, that they shared, with what we should term the legitimate children, in the father's property and rights. Thus Dan and Naphtali were sons of Bilhah, Rachel's maid, whom she gave to her husband, failing to bear children herself. So Gad and Asher were, under similar circumstances, sons of Zilpah, Leah's maid (Gen. xxx. 2-14). In the event of the eldest son's dying in the father's lifetime, the next son took his place; and if the eldest son left a widow, the next son made her his wife (Gen. xxxvii. 7, *sq.*), the offspring of which union was reckoned to the first-born and deceased son. Should the second likewise die, the third son took his place (Gen. xxxviii. 11). While the rights of the first-born were generally established and recognised, yet were they sometimes set aside in favour of a younger child. The blessing of the father or the grandsire seems to have been an act essential in the devolution of power and property—in its effects not unlike wills and testaments with us; and instances are not wanting in which this (so to term it) testamentary bequest set aside consuetudinary laws, and gave precedence to a younger son (Gen. xlviii. 15, *sq.*). Special claims on the parental regards were acknowledged and rewarded by special gifts, as in the case of Jacob's donation of Joseph (Gen. xlviii. 22). In a similar manner, bad conduct on the part of the eldest son (as well as of others) subjected him, if not to the loss of his rights of property, yet to the evil influence of his father's dying malediction (Gen. xlix. 3); while the good and favoured, though younger, son was led by the paternal blessing to anticipate, and probably also to reap, the richest inheritance of individual and social happiness (Gen. xlix. 8-22).

The original promise made to Abraham of the land of Palestine was solemnly repeated to Isaac (Gen. xxvi. 3), the reason assigned being, because 'Abraham obeyed my voice and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws;' while it is expressly declared that the earlier inhabitants of the country were dispossessed and destined to extermination for the greatness of their iniquity. The possession of the promised land was embraced by Isaac in his dying benediction to Jacob (Gen.

xxviii. 3, 4), to whom God vouchsafed (Gen. xxviii. 15; see also xxxv. 10, 11) to give a renewed assurance of the destined inheritance. That this donation, however, was held to be dependent for the time and manner of its fulfilment on the divine will, appears from Gen. xxxiii. 18, where Jacob, on coming into the land of Canaan, bought for an hundred pieces of money 'a parcel of a field, at the hand of the children of Hamor.' Delayed though the execution of the promise was, confidence never deserted the family of Abraham, so that Joseph, dying in the land of Egypt, assured his brothers that they would be visited of God and placed in possession of Canaan, enjoining on them, in this conviction, that, when conducted to their possession, they should carry his bones with them out of Egypt (Gen. I. 25).

A promise thus given, thus repeated, and thus believed, easily, and indeed unavoidably, became the fundamental principle of that settlement of property which Moses made when at length he had effected the divine will in the redemption of the children of Israel. The observances and practices, too, which we have noticed as prevailing among the patriarchs would, no doubt, have great influence on the laws which the Jewish legislator originated or sanctioned. The land of Canaan was divided among the twelve tribes descended through Isaac and Jacob from Abraham. The division was made by lot for an inheritance among the families of the sons of Israel, according to the tribes and to the number and size of families in each tribe. The tribe of Levi, however, had no inheritance; but forty-eight cities with their suburbs were assigned to the Levites, each tribe giving according to the number of cities that fell to its share (Num. xxxiii. 50; xxxiv. 1; xxxv. 1). The inheritance thus acquired was never to leave the tribe to which it belonged; every tribe was to keep strictly to its own inheritance. An heiress, in consequence, was not allowed to marry out of her own tribe, lest property should pass by her marriage into another tribe (Num. xxxvi. 6-9). This restriction led to the marriage of heiresses with their near relations: thus the daughters of Zelophehad 'were married unto their father's brother's sons,' 'and their inheritance remained in the tribe of the family of their father' (ver. 11, 12; comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 7. 5). In general cases the inheritance went to sons, the first-born receiving a double portion, 'for he is the beginning of his father's strength.' If a man had two wives, one beloved, the other hated, and if the first-born were the son of her who was hated, he nevertheless was to enjoy 'the right of the first-born' (Deut. xxi. 15). If a man left no sons, the inheritance passed to his daughters; if there was no daughter, it went to his brothers; in case there were no brothers, it was given to his father's brothers; if his father had no brothers, it came into possession of the nearest kinsman (Num. xxvii. 8). The land was Jehovah's, and could not therefore be permanently alienated. Every fiftieth year, whatever land had been sold returned to its former owner. The value and price of land naturally rose or fell in proportion to the number of years there were to elapse prior to the ensuing fiftieth or jubilee-year. If he who sold the land, or a kinsman, could redeem the land before the year of jubilee, it was to be restored to him on his paying to the purchaser the value of the produce of the years remaining till the jubilee. Houses in vil-

lages or unwall'd towns might not be sold for ever: they were restored at the jubilee, and might at any time be redeemed. If a man sold a dwelling-house situated in a walled city, he had the option of redeeming it within the space of a full year after it had been sold; but if it remained unredeemed, it belonged to the purchaser, and did not return to him who sold it even at the jubilee (Lev. xxv. 8, 23). The Levites were not allowed to sell the land in the suburbs of their cities, though they might dispose of the cities themselves, which, however, were redeemable at any time, and must return at the jubilee to their original possessors (Lev. xxvii. 16).

The regulations which the laws of Moses established rendered wills, or a testamentary disposition of (at least) landed property, almost, if not quite, unnecessary; we accordingly find no provision for anything of the kind. Some difficulty may have been now and then occasioned when near relations failed; but this was met by the traditional law, which furnished minute directions on the point (Misch. *Baba Bathra*, iv. 3, c. 8, 9). Personal property would naturally follow the land, or might be bequeathed by word of mouth. At a later period of the Jewish polity the mention of wills is found, but the idea seems to have been taken from foreign nations. In princely families they appear to have been used, as we learn from Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 16. 1; xvii. 3. 2; *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 2. 3); but such a practice can hardly suffice to establish the general use of wills among the people. In the N. T., however, wills are expressly mentioned (Gal. iii. 15; Heb. ix. 17). Michaelis (*Commentaries*, i. 431) asserts that the phrase (2 Sam. xvii. 23; 2 Kings xx. 1; צוה לוֹבֵיתוֹ 'set thine house in order' has reference to a will or testament. But his grounds are by no means sufficient, the literal rendering of the words being, 'give commands to thy house.' The utmost which such an expression could inferentially be held to comprise in regard to property, is a dying and final distribution of personal property; and we know that it was not unusual for fathers to make, while yet alive, a division of their goods among their children (Luke xv. 12; Rosenmüller, *Morgent.* v. 197).—J. R. B.

INK, INKHORN. [WRITING.]

INN. [CARAVANSERAI.]

INSPIRATION. This word is sometimes used to denote the excitement and action of a fervent imagination in the poet or orator. But even in this case there is generally a reference to some supposed divine influence, to which the excited action is owing. It is once used in Scripture to denote that divine agency by which man is endued with the faculties of an intelligent being, when it is said, 'the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding.' But the inspiration now to be considered is that which belonged to those who wrote the Scriptures, and which is particularly spoken of in 2 Tim. iii. 16, and in 2 Pet. i. 21: 'All Scripture is given by inspiration of God;' 'Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' These passages relate specially to the O. T.; but there is at least equal reason to predicate divine inspiration of the N. T.

The definition which Dr. Knapp gives of inspiration is the one we shall adopt. He says, 'It

may be best defined, according to the representations of the Scriptures themselves, as an *extraordinary divine agency upon teachers while giving instruction, whether oral or written, by which they were taught what and how they should write or speak.* Or we may say more briefly, that the sacred penmen were completely under the direction of the Holy Spirit, or that they wrote under a plenary inspiration. Dr. Calamy's definition agrees substantially with that of Dr. Knapp.

To prove that the Scriptures are divinely inspired we might with propriety refer to the excellence of the doctrines, precepts, and promises, and other instructions, which they contain; to the simplicity and majesty of their style; to the agreement of the different parts, and the scope of the whole; especially to the full discovery they make of man's fallen and ruined state, and the way of salvation through a Redeemer; together with their power to enlighten and sanctify the heart, and the accompanying witness of the spirit in believers. These are circumstances of real importance, and the discerning advocates of inspiration have not overlooked them. But the more direct and conclusive evidence that the Scriptures were divinely inspired, is found in the *testimony of the writers themselves.* And as the writers did, by working miracles, and in other ways, sufficiently authenticate their divine commission, and establish their authority and infallibility as teachers of divine truth, their testimony, in regard to their own inspiration, is entitled to our full confidence. For who can doubt that they were as competent to judge of, and as much disposed to speak the truth on this subject as on any other? If then we admit their divine commission and authority, why should we not rely upon the plain testimony which they give concerning the divine assistance afforded them in their work? To reject their testimony in this case would be to impeach their veracity, and thus to take away the foundation of the Christian religion. And it is well known that those who deny the justice of the claim which they set up to divine inspiration, do, in fact, give up the infallible truth and authority of the Scriptures, and adopt the principles of deism.

It is, then, of the first importance to inquire what representations are made by the prophets, and by Christ and his apostles, respecting the inspiration, and the consequent authority, of the sacred Scriptures.

The prophets generally professed to speak *the word of God.* What they taught was introduced and confirmed by a 'Thus saith the Lord;' or 'The Lord spake to me, saying.' And, in one way or another, they gave clear proof that they were divinely commissioned, and spoke in the name of God, or as it is expressed in the N. T., *that God spake by them.*

But the strongest and most satisfactory proof of the inspiration and divine authority of the O. T. writings is found in the testimony of Christ and the apostles.

The Lord Jesus Christ possessed the spirit of wisdom without measure, and came to bear witness to the truth. His works proved that he was what he declared himself to be—the Messiah, the great Prophet, the infallible Teacher. The faith which rests on him rests on a rock. As soon then as we learn how he regarded the Scriptures, we have reached the end of our inquiries. His word is truth. Now every one who carefully attends

to the four Gospels will find, that Christ everywhere spoke of that collection of writings called the Scripture, as the word of God; that he regarded the whole in this light; that he treated the Scripture, and every part of it, as infallibly true, and as clothed with divine authority,—thus distinguishing it from every mere human production. Nothing written by man can be entitled to the respect which Christ showed to the Scriptures. This, to all Christians, is direct and incontrovertible evidence of the divine origin of the Scriptures, and is, by itself, perfectly conclusive.

But there is clear concurrent evidence, and evidence still more specific, in the writings of the apostles. In two texts in particular, divine inspiration is positively asserted. In the first (2 Tim. iii. 16), Paul lays it down as the characteristic of 'all Scripture,' that it 'is given by inspiration of God' (*θεοπνευστος*, 'divinely inspired'); and from this results its profitableness. Some writers think that the passage should be rendered thus: *All divinely inspired Scripture, or, all Scripture, being divinely inspired, is profitable.* According to the common rendering, inspiration is predicated of all Scripture. According to the other, it is presupposed, as the attribute of the subject. But this rendering is liable to insuperable objections. For *θεοπνευστος* and *ωφέλιμος* are connected by the conjunction *καί*, and must both be predicates, if either of them is; and unless one of them is a predicate there is no complete sentence. Henderson remarks, that the mode of construction referred to 'is at variance with a common rule of Greek syntax, which requires, that when two adjectives are closely joined, as *θεοπνευστος* and *ωφέλιμος* here are, if there be an ellipsis of the substantive verb *ἔστι*, this verb must be supplied after the former of the two, and regarded as repeated after the latter. Now there exists precisely such an ellipsis in the case before us; and as there is nothing in the context which would lead to any exception to the rule, we are bound to yield to its force.' And he adds, that 'the evidence in favour of the common rendering, derived from the Fathers, and almost all the versions, is most decided.' It cannot for a moment be admitted, that the apostle meant to signify that divine inspiration belongs to a part of Scripture, but not to the whole; or that he meant, as Semler supposes, to furnish a criterion by which to judge whether any work is inspired or not, namely, its *utility.* 'That author proceeds fearlessly to apply this criterion to the books of the O. T., and to lop off eight of them, as not possessing the requisite marks of legitimacy. Most of the German divines adopt Semler's hypothesis.' But it is very manifest that such a sense is not by any means suggested by the passage itself, and that it is utterly precluded by other parts of the N. T. For neither Christ nor any one of his apostles ever intimates a distinction between some parts of Scripture which are inspired and other parts which are not inspired. The doctrine which is plainly asserted in the text under consideration, and which is fully sustained by the current language of the N. T., is, that *all the writings denominated the Scriptures are divinely inspired.*

The other text (2 Pet. i. 21) teaches that 'prophecy came not by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' This passage, which the apostle Peter applied particularly to the subject of which he was

speaking, may be considered as explanatory of what is intended by inspiration. For to say that all Scripture is divinely inspired, and that men of God wrote it as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, is one and the same thing.

The various texts in which Christ and the apostles speak of Scripture as *the word of God*, and as invested with authority to decide all questions of truth and duty, fully correspond with the texts above considered.

From this view of the subject it follows, that the attempt which has been made by a certain class of writers, to account for the production of the whole or any part of the Scriptures by the will or agency, the ingenuity, diligence or fidelity of men, in the use of the means within their reach, without the supernatural influence of the Spirit, is utterly at variance with the teachings of Christ and the apostles as to the origin of the sacred writings.

As the Christian dispensation surpasses the former in all spiritual privileges and gifts, it is reasonable to presume that the N. T. was written under at least an equal degree of divine influence with the Old, and that it comes recommended to us by equal characteristics of infallible truth. But of this there is clear positive evidence from the N. T. itself.

In the first place, *Jesus Christ*, whose works proved him to be the great unerring Teacher, and to be possessed of all power in Heaven and earth, gave commission to his apostles to act in his stead, and to carry out the work of instruction which he had begun, confirming their authority by investing them with power to perform miracles. But how could such a commission have answered the end proposed, had not the Divine Spirit so guided the apostles as to render them infallible and perfect teachers of divine truth?

But, secondly, in addition to this, *Jesus expressly promised to give them the Holy Spirit, to abide with them continually, and to guide them into all the truth.* He said to them, 'When they shall deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in the same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you.' Storr and Flatt think this is the idea intended: 'The instructions which ye in general give are derived not so much from yourselves as from the Holy Spirit. Hence, when ye are called on to defend your doctrines, ye need feel no anxiety, but may confidently rely on the Holy Spirit to vindicate his own doctrines, by suggesting to you the very words of your defence.' If these promises were not fulfilled, then Jesus was not a true prophet. If they were fulfilled, as they certainly were, then the apostles had the constant assistance of the Holy Spirit, and, whether engaged in speaking or writing, were under divine guidance, and, of course, were liable to no mistakes either as to the matter or manner of their instructions.

In the third place, *the writers of the N. T. manifestly considered themselves to be under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and their instructions, whether oral or written, to be clothed with divine authority, as the word of God.*

'We speak,' they say, 'as of God.' Again, 'Which things we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but in words which the Holy Ghost teacheth.' They declared what they taught to be *the word of God*, and the things they wrote to be *the commandments of God*. Now the

apostles, being honest, unassuming, humble men, would never have spoken of themselves and their writings in such a manner, had they not known themselves to be under the unerring guidance of the Holy Spirit, and their instructions perfectly in accordance with the mind of God.

From several passages in Paul's epistles to the Corinthians, it has been supposed that, in the cases referred to, he meant to disclaim inspiration. But that those passages will bear another construction, and ought to be understood in another manner, has been satisfactorily argued by several writers, particularly by Haldane and Gausson in their treatises on inspiration, and by Henderson in his lectures. And the writer of this article would take the liberty to refer also to his lectures on the same subject.

It is perfectly consistent with the plenary inspiration here maintained, that God operated on the minds of inspired men in a variety of ways, sometimes by audible words, sometimes by direct inward suggestions, sometimes by outward visible signs, sometimes by the Urim and Thummim, and sometimes by dreams and visions. This variety in the mode of divine influence detracted nothing from its certainty. God made known his will equally in different ways; and, whatever the mode of his operation, he made it manifest to his servants that the things revealed were from him.

But inspiration was concerned not only in making known the will of God to prophets and apostles, but also in giving them direction in writing the sacred books. They wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. And in this, also, there was a diversity in the mode of divine influence. Sometimes the Spirit of God moved and guided his servants to write things which they could not know by natural means, such as new doctrines or precepts, or predictions of future events. Sometimes he moved and guided them to write the history of events which were wholly or partly known to them by tradition, or by the testimony of their contemporaries, or by their own observation or experience. In all these cases the Divine Spirit effectually preserved them from all error, and influenced them to write just so much and in such a manner as God saw to be best. Sometimes he moved and guided them to write a summary record of larger histories, containing what his infinite wisdom saw to be adapted to the end in view, that is, the benefit of his people in all ages. Sometimes he influenced them to make a record of important maxims in common use, or to write new ones, derived either from their own reason or experience, or from special divine teaching. Sometimes he influenced them to write parables or allegories, particularly suited to make a salutary impression of divine things on the minds of men; and sometimes to record supernatural visions. In these and all other kinds of writing the sacred penman manifestly needed special divine guidance, as no man could of himself attain to infallibility, and no wisdom, except that of God, was sufficient to determine what things ought to be written for permanent use in the church, and what manner of writing would be best fitted to promote the great ends of revelation.

Some writers speak of different modes and different kinds, and even different degrees, of inspiration. And if their meaning is that God influenced the minds of inspired men in different ways; that he

adopted a variety of modes in revealing divine things to their minds; that he guided them to give instruction in prose and in poetry, and in all the different forms of composition; that he moved and guided them to write history, prophecy, doctrines, commands, promises, reproofs, and exhortations, and that he adapted his mode of operation to each of these cases—against this no objection can be made. It is a fact, that the Scriptures exhibit specimens of all these different kinds of writing and these different modes of divine instruction. Still each and every part of what was written was divinely inspired, and equally so. It is all the word of God, and clothed with divine authority, as much as if it had all been made known and written in one way.

Dr. Henderson, who labours perhaps with too much zeal against carrying inspiration to extreme lengths, still says that if those who hold to different modifications of inspiration intend that there are different modifications and degrees of authority given to Scripture, their opinion must meet with unqualified reprobation from every sincere believer. He insists that a diversity in the modes and degrees of divine operation did exist in the work of inspiration, and that this diversity was the result of infinite wisdom adapting itself to different circumstances. He thinks that, unless we admit such a diversity, we cannot form correct ideas of the subject. But he is confident that the distinction which he endeavours to establish is not in the slightest degree hostile to the divine authority of Scripture. He affirms that *no part of that holy book was written without miraculous influence; that all parts were equally inspired*; that in regard to the whole volume the great end was infallibly attained, namely, the commitment to writing of precisely such matters as God designed for the religious instruction of mankind; that the sacred penman wrote what had for its object not merely the immediate benefit of individual persons or churches, but what would be useful to Christians in all future times; and that in regard to the most minute and inconsiderable things which the Scripture contains we are compelled to say, *this also cometh from the Lord*.

The controversy among orthodox divines respecting what is called *verbal inspiration*, appears to arise, in a great measure, from the different senses affixed to the phrase. Dr. Henderson, who is among the most candid and able writers opposed to the doctrine of *verbal inspiration*, seems to understand the doctrine as denoting the *immediate communication* to the writers of *every word*, and *syllable*, and *letter* of what they wrote, independently of their intelligent agency and without any regard to their peculiar mental faculties or habits:—while those who most earnestly and successfully contend for the higher views of inspiration, particularly Calamy, Haldane, and Gausson, consider the doctrine they maintain as entirely consistent with the greatest diversity of mental endowments, culture, and taste in the writers, and with the most perfect exercise of their intelligent agency,—consistent with their using their own memory, their own reason, their own manner of thinking, and their own language,—consistent, too, with their making what they were to write the subject of diligent and laborious study,—*only insisting that it was all under the unerring guidance of the Divine Spirit*.

In a controversy of such a character as this, we may often succeed in removing difficulties, and in presenting the subject in a light which will be satisfactory to all concerned, by laying aside an ambiguous word or phrase, and making use of one which will express the idea intended with clearness and certainty. The word *verbal*, in its most common senses, is not well suited to the present subject. According to the best philologists its first signification is, 'spoken, expressed to the ear in words, not written.' But no one supposes that when God inspired the sacred writers he generally spoke to them in audible words. It is, indeed, true, that he sometimes uttered articulate words in making known his will, as at Sinai, at the baptism of Christ, and on some other occasions. In such cases he did, properly speaking, make *verbal communications*, or give *verbal instruction*. But we should hardly call this *verbal inspiration*. Who can suppose that this was commonly, if ever, the way, in which God inspired holy men of old while engaged in writing the Scriptures? Who can suppose that he taught them what to write by speaking words in their ears, as a man teaches his amanuensis? His influence was doubtless *inward*. He guided them in writing by an operation in *their minds*.

The next meaning of *verbal* is 'oral, uttered by the mouth;' and this agrees no better with our subject. Other significations of *verbal* are, 'consisting in *mere words*; respecting words *only*; *literal*,' as in a translation, 'having word answering to word.' Neither of these senses is adapted to the subject. Now it would be nothing strange, if applying this word to inspiration, and thus giving it an unusual sense, should occasion needless perplexity and confusion. For the sake of avoiding this evil why would it not be expedient to employ such words as will convey the idea intended clearly and definitely; and, if necessary, to incur the inconvenience of using an exact explanation, instead of the word or phrase which causes the difficulty?

The real question, and the whole question at issue, may be stated thus: *did the work of the Divine Spirit in the sacred penmen relate to the language they used, or their manner of expressing their ideas; and if so, how far, and in what way?*

All those with whom we are concerned in the discussion of this question, hold that divine inspiration had some respect to the language employed by the inspired writers, at least in the way of general *supervision*. And Dr. Henderson shows, in various passages of his excellent lectures, that there is no material difference between him and those who profess to maintain higher ground. He allows that, to a certain extent, what is called *verbal inspiration*, or the *inspiration of words*, took place. 'In recording what was immediately spoken with an audible voice by Jehovah, or by an angel interpreter; in giving expression to points of revelation which entirely surpassed the comprehension of the writers; in recording prophecies, the minute bearings of which they did not perceive; in short, in committing to writing any of the dictates of the Spirit, which they could not have otherwise accurately expressed, the writers,' he alleges, 'were supplied with the words as well as the matter.' He says, that even when Biblical writers made use of their own faculties, and wrote each one in his own manner, without having their mental constitution at all disturbed, they were yet 'always

secured by celestial influence against the adoption of any forms of speech, or collocation of words, that would have injured the exhibition of divine truth, or that did not adequately give it expression ;' that the characteristic differences of style, so apparent among the sacred writers, were employed by the Holy Spirit for the purposes of inspiration, and 'were called forth in a rational way ;' that the writers, 'being acted upon by the Divine Spirit, expressed themselves naturally ; that while the divine influence adapted itself to whatever was peculiar in the minds of inspired men, it constantly guided them in writing the sacred volume.' He declares his belief that the Scriptures were written not under a partial or imperfect, but under a plenary and infallible inspiration ; that they were entirely the result of divine intervention, and are to be regarded as the oracles of Jehovah. Referring to 2 Tim. iii. 16, he says, 'We are here expressly taught the divine inspiration of the whole O. T. Codex, that the Scriptures are inspired as *written documents* ; that they are the result of the special and extraordinary influence of the Spirit, and contain whatever the Spirit caused to be written for our instruction.' Referring to 1 Cor. ii. 13, he says, 'It is past all dispute that the apostle here unequivocally ascribes both the doctrines which he and his fellow-labourers taught, and their *manner of propounding* them, to the influence of the same divine agent ;' that the passage conveys the idea 'that *the style, or mode of expression* which they used, was such as they were instructed by the Spirit to employ ;' that 'in delivering their doctrines they were under the constant guidance of the Great Instructor, and clothed them in that garb which he directed them to use ;' that, in the passage alluded to, the apostle refers 'to the *entire character of the style* which the first teachers of Christianity were taught to use in announcing its all important doctrines.' The passage in Matt. x. 19, 20, he says, implies, 'that the subject-matter of apology was to be supplied to the apostles ; and they might be well assured that if this, which was the most important, was secured by divine instruction, the mere expression would not be wanting.' 'To remove all ground of hesitation from their minds, our Lord says, *it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you*. By his teaching and superintending influence, they would always be enabled to express themselves in a manner worthy of the divine cause which they were called to defend—a manner which they could never have attained by the exertion of their unassisted powers ; so that, although these powers were not to be superseded, but employed, it was to be as the organs of the divine agency by which they were employed.' And he concedes that, as to all practical purposes, they were favoured with divine influence in *composing their writings*, as well as in their public speaking.

Our author says that on the day of Pentecost, when the apostles were filled with the Holy Ghost, and spake with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance, 'verbal inspiration in the strictest sense of the term took place.' 'The immediate supply of words,' he holds, 'was in this and every similar instance absolutely necessary.' And he thinks that direct verbal inspiration was indispensably requisite in all instances in which prophets and apostles were employed to write what they did not clearly comprehend. The passages in which such

terms as *the word of God, the Lord spake, etc.*, occur, are, in this view, descriptive of immediate verbal communications. He supposes that, in all such cases, *words* were literally spoken, or audibly pronounced by God himself, or by an angel in his name. In this opinion, however, I think he is mistaken. For unquestionably the word of the Lord often, if not generally, came to the prophets in the way of dreams, or other modes of inward suggestion.

The doctrine of a plenary inspiration of all Scripture in regard to the language employed, as well as the thoughts communicated, ought not to be rejected without valid reasons. The doctrine is so obviously important, and so consonant to the feelings of sincere piety, that those evangelical Christians who are pressed with speculative objections against it, frequently, in the honesty of their hearts, advance opinions which fairly imply it. This is the case, as we have seen, with Dr. Henderson, who says, that the Divine Spirit guided the sacred penmen in *writing* the Scriptures ; that their *mode of expression* was such as they were instructed by the Spirit to employ ; that Paul ascribes not only the doctrines which the apostles taught, but *the entire character of their style*, to the influence of the Spirit. He indeed says, that this does not always imply the *immediate communication of the words* of Scripture ; and he says it with good reason. For *immediate* properly signifies, *acting without a medium, or without the intervention of another cause or means, not acting by second causes*. Now, those who hold the highest views of inspiration do not suppose that the Divine Spirit, except in a few instances, so influenced the writers of Scripture as to interfere with the use of their rational faculties or their peculiar mental habits and tastes, or in any way to supersede secondary causes as the medium through which his agency produced the desired effect.

In regard to this point, therefore, there appears to be little or no ground for controversy. For, if God so influenced the sacred writers that, either with or without the use of secondary causes, they wrote just *what* he intended, and in the *manner* he intended, the end is secured ; and what they wrote is as truly *his word*, as though he had written it with his own hand on tables of stone, without any human instrumentality. The very words of the decalogue were all such as God chose. And they would have been equally so if Moses had been moved by the Divine Spirit to write them with *his* hand. The expression, that God *immediately imparted or communicated* to the writers the very words which they wrote, is evidently not well chosen. The exact truth is that *the writers themselves* were the subjects of the divine influence. The Spirit employed them as active instruments, and directed them in writing, both as to matter and manner. They wrote 'as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' The matter, in many cases, was what they before knew, and the manner was entirely conformed to their habits ; it was *their own*. But what was written was none the less inspired on that account. God may have influenced and guided an apostle as infallibly in writing what he had before known, and that guidance may have been as really necessary, as in writing a new revelation. And God may have influenced Paul or John to write a book in *his own peculiar style*, and that influence may have been as real and as necessary

as if the style had been what some would call a *divine style*. It was a divine style, if the writer used it under divine direction. It was a *divine style*, and it was, at the same time, a *human style*, and the *writer's own style*, all in one. Just as the believer's exercises, faith and love, are his own acts, and at the same time are the effects of divine influence. 'In efficacious grace,' says Edwards, 'we are not merely passive, nor yet does God do some and we do the rest. But God does all, and we do all. God produces all, and we act all. For that is what he produces, namely our own acts. God is the only proper author and foundation: we only are the proper actors. We are, in different respects, wholly passive and wholly active. In the Scriptures, the same things are represented as from God and from us. God is said to convert men, and men are said to convert and turn. God makes a new heart, and we are commanded to make us a new heart—not merely because we must use the means in order to the effect, but the effect itself is our act and our duty. These things are agreeable to that text, 'God worketh in you both to will and to do.' The mental exercises of Paul and of John had their own characteristic peculiarities, as much as their style. God was the author of John's mind and all that was peculiar to his mental faculties and habits, as really as of Paul's mind and what was peculiar to him. And in the work of inspiration he used and directed, for his own purposes, what was peculiar to each. When God inspired different men he did not make their minds and tastes all alike, nor did he make their language alike. Nor had he any occasion for this; for while they had different mental faculties and habits, they were as capable of being infallibly directed by the Divine Spirit, and infallibly speaking and writing divine truth, as though their mental faculties and habits had been all exactly alike. And it is manifest that the Scriptures written by such a variety of inspired men, and each part agreeably to the peculiar talents and style of the writer, are not only equally from God, but, taken together, are far better adapted to the purposes of general instruction, and all the objects to be accomplished by revelation, than if they had been written by one man, and in one and the same manner.

This view of plenary inspiration is fitted to relieve the difficulties and objections which have arisen in the minds of men from the variety of talent and taste which the writers exhibited, and the variety of style which they used. See, it is said, how each writer expresses himself naturally, in his own way, just as he was accustomed to do when not inspired. And see too, we might say in reply, how each apostle, Peter, Paul, or John, when speaking before rulers, with the promised aid of the Holy Spirit, spoke naturally, *with his own voice*, and in his own way, as he had been accustomed to do on other occasions when not inspired. There is no more objection to plenary inspiration in the one case than in the other. The mental faculties and habits of the apostles, their style, their voice, their mode of speech, all remained as they were. What, then, had the divine Spirit to do? What was the work which appertained to him? We reply, his work was so to direct the apostles in the use of their own talents and habits, their style, their voice, and all their peculiar endowments, that they should speak or write, each in his own way, just what God would have them

speak or write, for the good of the Church in all ages.

The fact that the individual peculiarities of the sacred penmen are everywhere so plainly impressed on their writings, is often mentioned as an objection to the doctrine, that inspiration extended to their *language* as well as their thoughts. This is, indeed, one of the most common objections, and one which has obtained a very deep lodgment in the minds of some intelligent Christians. It may, therefore, be necessary to take some further pains completely to remove it. And in our additional remarks relative to this and other objections, it will come in our way to shew that such a writer as Gausson, who contends with great earnestness and ability for the highest views of inspiration, does still, on all important points, agree with those who advocate lower views of the subject.

Gausson says, 'Although the title of each book should not indicate to us that we are passing from one author to another; yet we could quickly discover, by the change of their characters, that a new hand has taken the pen. It is perfectly easy to recognise each one of them, although they speak of the same master, teach the same doctrines, and relate the same incidents.' But how does this prove that Scripture is not, in all respects, inspired? 'So far are we,' says this author, 'from overlooking human individuality everywhere impressed on our sacred books, that, on the contrary, it is with profound gratitude, and with an ever-increasing admiration, that we regard this living, real, human character infused so charmingly into every part of the Word of God. We admit the fact, and we see in it clear proof of the divine wisdom which dictated the Scriptures.'

Those who urge the objection above mentioned are plainly inconsistent with themselves. For while they deny the plenary inspiration of some parts of Scripture, *because they have these marks of individuality*, they acknowledge inspiration in the fullest sense in other parts, particularly in the prophecies, where this individuality of the writers is equally apparent.

In truth, what can be more consonant with our best views of the wisdom of God, or with the general analogy of his works, than that he should make use of the thoughts, the memories, the peculiar talents, tastes, and feelings of his servants in recording his Word for the instruction of men? Why should he not associate the peculiarities of their personal character with what they write under his personal guidance? But, independently of our reasoning, this matter is decided by the Bible itself. 'All Scripture is divinely-inspired,' and it is all the word of God. And it is none the less the Word of God, and none the less inspired, because it comes to us in the language of Moses, and David, and Paul, and the other sacred writers. 'It is God who speaks to us, but it is also man; it is man, but it is also God.' The word of God, in order to be intelligible and profitable to us, 'must be uttered by mortal tongues, and be written by mortal hands, and must put on the features of human thoughts. This blending of humanity and divinity in the Scriptures reminds us of the majesty and the condescension of God. Viewed in this light, the Word of God has unequalled beauties, and exerts an unequalled power over our hearts.'

The objection to the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, from the inaccuracy of the translations

and the various readings of the ancient manuscript copies, is totally irrelevant. For what we assert is, the inspiration of the *original* Scriptures, not of the translations or the ancient copies. The fact that the Scriptures were divinely inspired, cannot be expunged or altered by any subsequent event. The very words of the decalogue were written by the finger of God, and none the less so because the manuscripts which transmit it to us contain some variations. The integrity of the copies has nothing to do with the inspiration of the original. It is, however, well known that the variations are hardly worthy to be mentioned.

But if the copies of the Scriptures which we have are not inspired, then how can the inspiration of the original writings avail to our benefit? The answer is, that according to the best evidence, the original writings have been transmitted to us with remarkable fidelity, and that our present copies, so far as anything of consequence is concerned, agree with the writings as they came from inspired men; so that, through the gracious care of divine providence, the Scriptures now in use are, in all important respects, the Scriptures which were given by inspiration of God, and are stamped with divine authority. In this matter, we stand on the same footing with the apostles. For when they spoke of the Scriptures, they doubtless referred to the copies which had been made and preserved among the Jews, not to the original manuscripts written by Moses and the prophets.

It has been made an objection to the plenary inspiration of the writers of the N. T., that they generally quote from the Septuagint version, and that their quotations are frequently wanting in exactness. Our reply is, that their quotations are made in the usual manner, according to the dictates of common sense, and always in such a way as to subserve the cause of truth; and therefore, that the objection is without force. And as to the Septuagint version, the apostles never follow it so as to interfere with the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures. Their references to the O. T. are just such as the case required. There is a noble freedom in their quotations, but that freedom never violates truth or propriety.

If any one, like Priestley and others of the same school, alleges, that there are in the Scriptures errors in reasoning and in matters of fact, he opens the door to the most dangerous consequences. Indeed he takes the ground of infidelity. And if any one holds that some parts are inspired, while other parts are not inspired, then we ask, who shall make the distinction? And if we begin this work, where will it end? But our present concern is with those who deny that inspiration respected the language of Scripture.

There are some who maintain that all which was necessary to secure the desired results, was an infallible guidance of the *thoughts* of the sacred writers; that with such a guidance they might be safely left to express their thoughts in their own way, without any special influence from above.

Now, if those who take this view of the subject mean that God not only gives the sacred penmen the very ideas which they are to write, but, in some way, secures an infallible connection between those ideas and a just expression of them in words; then, indeed, we have the desired result—an infallible revelation from God, made in the proper language of the writers. But if any one supposes

that there is naturally such an infallible connection between right thoughts and a just expression of them in language, without an effective divine superintendence, he contradicts the lessons of daily experience. But those to whom we refer evidently do not themselves believe in such an infallible connection. For when they assign their reason for denying that inspiration related to the language of the Scriptures, they speak of the different, and, as they regard them, the contradictory statements of facts by different writers—for example, the different accounts of the crucifixion and the resurrection, and the different accounts of the numbers of the slain in Num. xxv. 9 and 1 Cor. x. 8. Who, they say, can believe that the *language* was inspired, when one writer says that 24,000 were slain, and the other 23,000? But it is easy to see that the difficulty presses with all its force upon those who assert the inspiration of the *thoughts*. For surely they will not say that the sacred writers had *true thoughts* in their minds, and yet uttered them in the language of falsehood. This would contradict their own idea of a sure connection between the conceptions of the mind and the utterance of them in suitable words, and would clearly shew that they themselves feel it to be necessary that the divine guidance should extend to the *words* of inspired men as well as their thoughts. But if Paul, through inadvertence, committed a real mistake in saying that 23,000 fell in one day, it must have been a mistake in his *thoughts* as well as in his words. For when he said 23,000, had he not the idea of that number in his mind? If, then, there was a mistake, it lay in his *thoughts*. But if there was no mistake in either of the writers, then there is nothing to prove that inspiration did not extend to the language. If, however, there was a real mistake, then the question is not, what becomes of *verbal* inspiration, but what becomes of inspiration *in any sense*.

As to the way of reconciling the two statements above mentioned, but a few words can be offered here. Some writers attempt to remove the difficulty in this manner. The first writer says, 24,000 were slain, meaning to include in that number all who died in consequence of that rebellion. The other writer says, 23,000 fell *in one day*, leaving us to conclude that an addition of 1000 fell the next day. But it may perhaps be more satisfactory to suppose, that neither of the writers intended to state the exact number, this being of no consequence to their objects. The real number might be between 23,000 and 24,000, and it might be sufficient for them to express it in general terms, one of them calling it 24,000, and the other 23,000, that is, *about so many*, either of the numbers being accurate enough to make the impression designed. Suppose that the exact number was 23,579, and that both the writers knew it to be so. It was not at all necessary, in order to maintain their character as men of veracity, that they should, when writing for *such a purpose*, mention the particular number. The particularity and length of the expression would have been inconvenient, and might have made a less desirable impression of the evil of sin and the justice of God, than expressing it more briefly in a round number; as we often say, with a view merely to make a strong impression, that in such a battle 10,000, or 50,000, or 500,000 were slain, no one supposing that we mean to state the number with arithmetical exactness, as our

object does not require this. And who can doubt that the Divine Spirit might lead the sacred penmen to make use of this principle of rhetoric, and to speak of those who were slain, according to the common practice in such a case, in round numbers?

It is sometimes said that the sacred writers were of themselves generally competent to express their ideas in *proper language*, and in this respect had *no need* of supernatural assistance. But there is just as much reason for saying that they were of themselves generally competent to form their own *conceptions*, and so had no need of supernatural aid in this respect. It is just as reasonable to say that Moses could recollect what took place at the Red Sea, and that Paul could recollect that he was once a persecutor, and Peter what took place on the mount of transfiguration, without supernatural aid, as to say that they could, without such aid, make a proper record of these recollections. We believe a real and infallible guidance of the Spirit in both respects, because this is taught in the Scriptures. And it is obvious that the Bible could not be what Christ and the apostles considered it to be, unless they were divinely inspired.

The diversity in the narratives of the Evangelists is sometimes urged as an objection against the position we maintain in regard to inspiration, but evidently without reason, and contrary to reason. For what is more reasonable than to expect that a work of divine origin will have marks of consummate wisdom, and will be suited to accomplish the end in view. Now it will not be denied that God determined that there should be four narratives of the life and death of Jesus from four historians. If the narratives were all alike, three of them would be useless. Indeed such a circumstance would create suspicion, and would bring discredit upon the whole concern. The narratives must then be different. And if, besides this useful diversity, it is found that the seeming contradictions can be satisfactorily reconciled, and if each of the narratives is given in the peculiar style and manner of the writers, then all is natural and unexceptionable, and we have the highest evidence of the credibility and truth of the narratives.

We shall advert to one more objection. It is alleged that writers who were constantly under a plenary divine inspiration would not descend to the unimportant details, the trifling incidents, which are found in the Scriptures. To this it may be replied that the details alluded to must be admitted to be according to truth, and that those things which, at first view, seem to be trifles, may, when taken in their connections, prove to be of serious moment. And it is moreover manifest that, considering what human beings and human affairs really are, if all those things which are called trifling and unimportant were excluded, the Scriptures would fail of being conformed to fact; they would not be faithful histories of human life: so that the very circumstance which is demanded as proof of inspiration would become an argument against it. And herein we cannot but admire the perfect wisdom which guided the sacred writers, while we mark the weakness and shallowness of the objections which are urged against their inspiration.

On the whole, after carefully investigating the subject of inspiration, we are conducted to the important conclusion that 'all Scripture is divinely inspired;' that the sacred penmen wrote 'as they

were moved by the Holy Ghost;' and that these representations are to be understood as implying that the writers had, in all respects, the effectual guidance of the divine Spirit. And we are still more confirmed in this conclusion because we find that it begets, in those who seriously adopt it, an acknowledgment of the divine origin of Scripture, a reverence for its teachings, and a practical regard to its requirements, like what appeared in Christ and his apostles. Being convinced that the Bible has, in all parts and in all respects, the seal of the Almighty, and that it is truly and entirely from God, we are led by reason, conscience, and piety, to bow submissively to its high authority, implicitly to believe its doctrines, however incomprehensible, and cordially to obey its precepts, however contrary to our natural inclinations. We come to it from day to day, not as judges, but as learners, never questioning the propriety or utility of any of its contents. This precious Word of God is the perfect standard of our faith, and the rule of our life, our comfort in affliction, and our sure guide to heaven.—L. W.

[LITERATURE:—Klemm, *Theopneustia Sacrorum litt. asserta*, Tüb. 1743; Stosch, *De duplici Apostoli. theopneustia, tum generali tum speciali*, Guelpherb. 1754; Teller, *De inspir. divina Vatum Sacrorum*, Helmst. 1762; ejusd. *Diss. de Inspir. Script. Sac. judicio formando*, Helmst. 1764; Töllner, *Die Göttliche Eingebung der heiligen Schrift untersucht*, Mittau und Leipzig, 1772; Hegelmaier, *De Theopneustia ejusque statu in viris sanctis Libb. Sac. auctoribus*, Tüb. 1784; Findlay, *The Divine Inspiration of the Jewish Scriptures*, etc., Lond. 1803; Dick, *Essay on the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*, Glasg. 1800, 3d ed. 1813; Sontag, *Doctr. inspirationis ejusque ratio, hist. et usus popularis*, Heidelb. 1810; Parry, *Inquiry into the nature and extent of the Inspiration of the writers of the N. T.*, 2d ed., Lond. 1822; Haldane, *The Books of the O. and N. T. proved to be canonical, and their Verbal Inspiration maintained and established*, etc., 3d ed., Edin. 1830; Fraser, *Essay on the Plenary and Verbal Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*, in New Family Library, vol. ii., Edin. 1834; Henderson, *Divine Inspiration*, Lond. 1836, 4th ed., 1852; Gaussen, *Theopneustie*, 2d ed., 1842, translated into English, Edin. 1850; Jahn, *Ad quosdam pertinentes promiss. Sp. S. sec. N. T.*, Bas. 1841; Leblois, *Sur l'inspiration des premiers Chrétiens*, Strassb. 1850. See also Horne, *Introduction*, i.; Witsius, *Miscell. Sac. i.*, p. 262, ff.; Twisten, *Dogmatik*, i., sec. 23-28; Hill, *Lectures on Divinity*, bk. ii. ch. i; Tholuck in Herzog's *Encyc.* vi. 39.]

INTERPRETATION (BIBLICAL), AND HERMENEUTICS. There is a very ancient and wide-spread belief that the knowledge of divine things in general, and of the divine will in particular, is by no means a common property of the whole human race, but only a prerogative of a few specially-gifted and privileged individuals. It has been considered that this higher degree of knowledge has its source in light and instruction proceeding directly from God, and that it can be imparted to others by communicating to them a key to the signs of the divine will. Since, however, persons who in this manner have been indirectly taught, are initiated into divine secrets, and consequently appear as the confidants of deity,

they also enjoy, although instructed only through the medium of others, a more intimate communion with God, a more distinct perception of his thoughts, and consequently a mediate consciousness of deity itself. It therefore follows that persons thus either immediately or mediately instructed are supposed to be capable, by means of their divine illumination and their knowledge of the signs of the divine will, to impart to mankind the ardently-desired knowledge of divine things and of the will of deity. They are considered to be interpreters or explainers of the signs of the divine will, and, consequently, to be mediators between God and man. Divine illumination and a communicable knowledge of the signs and expressions of the divine will, are thus supposed to be combined in one and the same person.

This idea is the basis of the Hebrew מַנְבִּי, *prophet*. The prophet is a divinely-inspired seer, and, as such, he is an interpreter and preacher of the divine will. He may either be directly called by God, or have been prepared for his office in the schools of the prophets (comp. Knobel, *Der Prophetismus der Hebräer vollständig dargestellt*, Breslau 1837, pt. i. p. 102, sq.; pt. ii. p. 45, sq.)

However, the being filled with the Holy Ghost was the most prominent feature in the Hebrew idea of a prophet. This is even implied in the usual appellation מַנְבִּי, which means a person in the state of divine inspiration (not a predictor of future events). Prophetism ceased altogether as soon as Jehovah, according to the popular opinion, ceased to communicate his Spirit.

The ancient Greeks and Romans kept the idea of divine inspiration more distinct from the idea of interpretation of the divine will. They, according to a more natural manner of viewing the subject, recognised generally, in the mediator between God and man, more of an experienced and skilful interpreter than of a divinely-inspired seer. They distinguished the interpreter and the seer by different names, of which we will speak hereafter. It was the combination of the power of interpretation with inspiration, which distinguished the Hebrew prophets or seers from those of other ancient nations. The Hebrew notion of a מַנְבִּי appears, among the Greeks, to have been split into its two constituent parts of *mάντις*, from *μαίνεσθαι*, to rave (Platonis *Phaedrus*, sec. 48, ed. Steph. p. 244, a. b.), and of *ἐξηγητής*, from *ἐξηγεῖσθαι*, to expound. However, the ideas of *mάντις* and of *ἐξηγητής* could be combined in the same person. Comp. Boissonnade, *Anecdota Græca*, i. 96, Ἀάμπων οὐξἐξηγητής *mάντις* γὰρ ἦν καὶ χρησμούς ἐξηγεῖτο (comp. Scholia in Aristophanis *Nubes*, 336), and Arriani *Epictetus*, ii. 7, τὸν μάντιν τὸν ἐξηγούμενον τὰ σημεῖα; Plato, *De Legibus*, ix. p. 871, c., μετ' ἐξηγητῶν καὶ μάντεων; Euripidis *Phænisæ*, v. 1018, ὁ μάντις ἐξηγήσατο, and *Iphigenia in Aulide*, l. 529. Plutarch (*Vita Numæ*, cap. xi.) places ἐξηγητής and προφήτης together; so also does Dionysius Halicarnassensis, ii. 73. The first two of these examples prove that ἐξηγηταὶ were, according to the Greeks, persons who possessed the gift of discovering the will of the Deity from certain appearances, and of interpreting signs. Jul. Pollux, viii. 124, ἐξηγηταὶ δὲ ἐκαλοῦντο, οἱ τὰ περὶ τῶν διοσμειῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν διδάσκοντες. Harpocration says, and Suidas repeats after him, ἐξηγητής ὁ ἐξηγούμενος τὰ ἱερὰ. Comp. Bekker, *Anecdota Græca*, i. 185, ἐξηγούνται οἱ ἐμπειροί. Creuzer

defines the ἐξηγηταί, in his *Symbolik und Mythologie der Alten Völker*, i. 15, as 'persons whose high vocation it was to bring laymen into harmony with divine things.' These ἐξηγηταὶ moved in a religious sphere (comp. Herod. i. 78, and Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, viii. 3, 11). Even the Delphic Apollo, replying to those who sought his oracles, is called by Plato ἐξηγητής (*Polit.* iv. 448, b.) Plutarch mentions, in *Vita Thesei*, c. 25, ὁσίων καὶ ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταί; comp. also the above-quoted passage of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, and especially Ruhnken (*ad Timæi Lexicon*, ed. Lugd. Bat. 1789, p. 189, sq.) The Scholiast on Sophocles (*Ajax*, l. 320) has ἐξήγησις ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν, and the Scholiast on Electra, 426, has the definition ἐξήγησις διασάφησις θεῶν. It is in connection with this original signification of the word ἐξηγητής that the expounders of the law are styled ἐξηγηταί; because the ancient law was derived from the gods, and the law-language had become unintelligible to the multitude. (Comp. Lysias, vi. 10; Diodorus Siculus, xiii. 35; Ruhnken, as quoted above; the annotators on Pollux and Harpocration; and K. Fr. Hermann, *Lehrbuch der Griechischen Staatsalterthümer*, Marburg 1836, sec. 104, note 4.) In Athenæus and Plutarch there are mentioned books under the title ἐξηγητικά, which contained introductions to the right understanding of sacred signs. (Comp. Valesius, *ad Harpocrationis Lexicon*, Lipsiæ 1824, ii. 462.)

Like the Greeks, the Romans also distinguished between *vates* and *interpretes* (Cicero, *Frugm.*; Hortens.) :—'Sive vates sive in sacris initiisque tradendis divinæ mentis interpretes.' Servius (*ad Virgilii Æn.*, iii. 359) quotes a passage from Cicero thus :—ut ait Cicero, omnis divinandi peritia in duas partes dividitur. Nam aut furor est, ut in vaticinantibus; aut ars, ut in aruspiciibus, fulguritis sive fulguratoribus, et auguribus. The *aruspices*, *fulguriti*, *fulguratores*, and *augures*, belong to the idea of the *interpretes deorum*. Comp. Cicero, *Pro domo sua*, c. 41 :—Equidem sic accēpi, in religionibus suscipiendis caput esse interpretari quæ voluntas deorum immortalium esse videatur. Cicero (*De Divinatione*, l. 41) says :—Etruria interpretatur quid quibusque ostendatur monstris atque portentis. Hence, in Cicero (*De Legibus*, ii. 27), the expression, 'interpretes religionum.'

An example of this distinction, usual among the Greeks, is found in 1 Cor. xii. 4, 30. The Corinthians filled with the Holy Ghost were γλωσσαι λαλοῦντες, *speaking in tongues*, consequently they were in the state of a *mάντις*; but frequently they did not comprehend the sense of their own inspiration, and did not understand how to interpret it because they had not the ἐρμηνεῖα γλωσσῶν, *interpretation of tongues*: consequently they were not ἐξηγηταί.

The Romans obtained the *interpretatio* from the Etruscans (Cicero, *De Divinatione*, i. 2, and Otfried Müller, *Die Etrusker*, ii. 8, sq.); but the above distinction was the cause that the *interpretatio* degenerated into a common art, which was exercised without inspiration, like a contemptible soothsaying, the rules of which were contained in writings. Cicero (*De Divinatione*, i. 2) says :—Furoris divinationem Sibyllinis maxime versibus contineri arbitrati, eorum decem interpretes delectos e civitate esse voluerunt.

The ideas of *interpretes* and of *interpretatio* were not confined among the Romans to sacred sub

jects ; which, as we have seen, was the case among the Greeks with the corresponding Greek terms. The words *interpretes* and *interpretatio* were not only, as among the Greeks, applied to the explanation of the laws, but also, in general, to the explanation of whatever was obscure, and even to a mere intervention in the settlement of affairs ; for instance, we find in Livy (xxi. 12) *pacis interpretes*, denoting Alorcius, by whose instrumentality peace was offered. At an earlier period *interpretes* meant only those persons by means of whom affairs between God and man were settled (comp. Virgilii *Æneis*, x. 175, and Servius on this passage). The words *interpretes* and *conjectores* became convertible terms — unde etiam somniorum atque omnium interpretes conjectores vocantur (Quintil. *Instit.* iii. 6).

From what we have stated it follows that ἐξηγῆσθαι and *interpretatio* were originally terms confined to the unfolding of supernatural subjects, although in Latin, at an early period, these terms were also applied to profane matters. The Christians also early felt the want of an interpretation of their sacred writings, which they deemed to be of divine origin ; consequently they wanted interpreters and instruction, by the aid of which the true sense of the sacred Scriptures might be discovered. The right understanding of the nature and will of God seemed, among the Christians, as well as at an early period among the heathen, to depend upon a right understanding of certain external signs ; however, there was a progress from the unintelligible signs of nature to more intelligible written signs, which was certainly an important progress.

The Christians retained, in respect of the interpretation of their sacred writings, the same expressions which had been current in reference to the interpretation of sacred subjects among the heathen. Hence arose the fact that the Greek Christians employed with predilection the words ἐξηγῆσθαι and ἐξηγητής in reference to the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. But the circumstance that St. Paul employs the term ἐρμηνεία γλωσσῶν for the interpretation of the γλώσσαις λαλῶν (1 Cor. xii. 10, xiv. 26), greatly contributed to establish the usage of words belonging to the root ἐρμηνεύειν. According to Eusebius (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii. 9), Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, wrote, as early as about A.D. 100, a work under the title of λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις, which means an interpretation of the discourses of Jesus. Papias explained the religious contents of these discourses, which he had collected from oral and written traditions. He distinguished between the meaning of ἐξηγεῖσθαι and ἐρμηνεύειν, as appears from his observation (preserved by Eusebius in the place quoted above), in which he says, concerning the λόγια of St. Matthew, written in Hebrew, ἐρμήνευσε δὲ αὐτὰ ὡς ἐδύνατο ἕκαστος, 'but every one interpreted them according to his ability.' In the Greek Church ὁ ἐξηγητής and ἐξηγηταὶ τοῦ λόγου were the usual terms for teachers of Christianity. (See Eusebii *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vii. 30, and Heinichen on this passage, note 21 ; Photii *Biblioth. Eccl.* 105 ; Cave, *Hist. Liter.* i. 146.) Origen called his commentary on the Holy Scriptures ἐξηγητικὴ ; and Procopius of Gaza wrote a work on several books of the Bible, entitled σχολαὶ ἐξηγητικαί. However, we find the word ἐρμηνεία employed as a synonym of ἐξηγήσεις, especially among the inhabitants of Antioch. For instance, Gregorius Nyssenus says,

concerning Ephraim Syrus, γραφὴν διην ἀκριβῶς πρὸς λέξιν ἡρμήνευσεν (See Gregorii Nysseni *Vita Ephraimi Syri* ; Opera, Paris, ii. p. 1033). Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, and others, wrote commentaries on the sacred Scriptures under the title of ἐρμηνεῖα (compare A. H. Niemeyer, *de Isidori Pelusiote Vita, Scriptis, et Doctrina*, Halae 1825, p. 207).

Among the Latin Christians the word *interpretes* had a wider range than the corresponding Greek term, and the Latins had no precise term for the exposition of the Bible which exactly corresponded with the Greek. The word *interpretatio* was applied only in the sense of OCCUPATION or ACT of an *expositor of the Bible*, but not in the sense of CONTENTS elicited from Biblical passages. The words *tractare*, *tractator*, and *tractatus*, were in preference employed with respect to Biblical exposition, and the sense which it elicited. Together with these words there occur *commentarius* and *expositio*. In reference to the exegetical work of St. Hilary on St. Matthew, the codices fluctuate between *commentarius* and *tractatus*. St. Augustine's *tractatus* are well known ; and this father frequently mentions the *divinorum scripturarum tractatores*. For instance, *Retractiones* l. 23. *divinorum tractatores eloquiorum*. Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* i. 6. *originis . . . qui tractator sacrorum peritissimus habebatur*. Vincentius Lirinensis observes in his *Commonitorium* on 1 Cor. xii. 28 :—tertio doctores qui tractatores nunc appellantur ; quos hic idem apostolus etiam prophetas interdu nuncupat, eo quod per eos prophetarum mysteria populis aperiantur (compare Dufresne, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, sub TRACTATOR et TRACTATUS ; and Baluze, *ad Servat. Lupum*, p. 479).

However, the occupation of *interpretes*, in the nobler sense of this word, was not unknown to St. Jerome ; as may be seen from his *Præfatio in libros Samuelis* (Opera, ed. Vallarsi, ix. p. 459) :—Quicquid enim crebrius vertendo et emendando sollicitius et didicimus et tenemus, nostrum est. Et quum intellexeris, quod antea nesciebas, vel interpretem me estimato si gratus es, vel παραφραστήν si ingratus.

In modern times the word *interpretatio* has again come into repute in the sense of scriptural exposition, for which, indeed, *interpretation* is now the standing technical term.

The German language also distinguishes between the words *auslegen* and *erklären* in such a manner that the former corresponds to ἐξηγεῖσθαι and *interpretari*. The word *auslegen* is always used in the sense of rendering perceptible what is contained under signs and symbols. Compare Dionysii Halicarnassensis *Antiq. Rom.* ii. 73 : τοῖς τε ἰδιωταῖς, ὅποσοι μὴ ἴσασιν τοὺς περὶ τὰ θεῖα σεβασμῶς, ἐξηγηταὶ γίνονται καὶ προφῆται.

The word *erklären*, on the contrary, means to *clear up by arguments what has been indistinctly understood*, so that what was incomprehensible is comprehended.

The *Erklärer* does not develope what is hidden and concealed, but explains what is unclear and obscure (see Weigand, *Wörterbuch der Deutschen Synonymen*, 1, Mainz 1840, p. 140, seq.) Hence it follows that the *Ausleger* of the Bible occupies a position different from that of the *Erklärer*, although these terms are frequently employed as if they were synonymous. The *Ausleger*, ἐξηγητής, opens what is concealed under the words of the

Bible. He unveils mysteries, while the *Erklärer*, ἐρμηνεύς, sees in the words of the Bible not merely signs for something concealed and hidden, but words the sense of which is to be cleared up whenever it is obscure. The *Erklärer* stands on NATURAL ground, but the *Ausleger* on SUPERNATURAL.

From ancient times the church, or rather ecclesiastical bodies and religious denominations, have taken the supernatural position with reference to the Bible, as, before the Church, the Jews did in respect of the O. T. The church and denominations have demanded *Ausleger*, not *Erklärer*. They have supposed that in the authors of Biblical books there did not exist a literary activity of the same kind which induces men to write down what they have thought, but have always required from their followers the belief that the Biblical authors wrote in a state of inspiration, that is to say, under a peculiar and direct influence of the Divine Spirit. Sometimes the Biblical authors were described to be merely external and mechanical instruments of God's revelation. But however wide, or however narrow the boundaries were, within which the operation of God upon the writers was confined by ecclesiastical supposition, the origin of the Biblical books was always supposed to be essentially different from the origin of human compositions; and this difference demanded the application of peculiar rules in order to understand the Bible. There were required peculiar arts and kinds of information in order to discover the sense and contents of books which, on account of their extraordinary origin, were inaccessible by the ordinary way of logical rules, and whose written words were only outward signs, behind which a higher and divine meaning was concealed. Consequently, the church and denominations required *Deuter*, *Ausleger*, ἐξηγηταί, or interpreters, of the signs by means of which God had revealed his will. Thus necessarily arose again in the Christian church the art of opening or interpreting the supernatural; which art had an existence in earlier religions, but with this essential difference, that the signs, by the opening of which supernatural truth was obtained, were now more simple, and of a more intelligible kind, than in earlier religions. They were now written signs, which belonged to the sphere of speech and language, through which alone all modes of thinking obtain clearness, and can be readily communicated to others. But the Holy Scriptures in which divine revelation was preserved, differ, by conveying divine thoughts, from common language and writing, which convey only human thoughts. Hence it followed that its sense was much deeper, and far exceeded the usual sphere of human thoughts, so that the usual requisites for the right understanding of written documents appeared to be insufficient. According to this opinion a LOWER and a higher sense of the Bible were distinguished. The lower sense was that which could be elicited according to the rules of grammar; the higher sense was considered to consist of deeper thoughts concealed under the grammatical meaning of the words. These deeper thoughts they endeavoured to obtain in various ways, but not by grammatical research.

The Jews, in the days of Jesus, employed for this purpose especially the typico-allegorical interpretation. The Jews of Palestine endeavoured by means of this mode of interpretation especially to elicit the secrets of futurity, which were said to be

fully contained in the O. T. (See Wähner, *Antiquitates Hebraeorum*, vol. i., Göttingæ 1743, p. 341, sq.; Döpke, *Hermeneutik der neutestamentlichen Schriftsteller*, Leipzig 1829, p. 88, sq., 164, sq.; Hirschfeld, *der Geist der Talmudischen Auslegung der Bibel*, Berlin 1840; comp. Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 103; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. pp. 52, 61; Bretschneider, *Historisch-dogmatische Auslegung des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig 1806, p. 35, sq.)

The Alexandrine Jews, on the contrary, endeavoured to raise themselves from the simple sense of the words, τὸ ψυχικόν, to a higher, more general, and spiritual sense, τὸ πνευματικόν (see Dähne, *Geschichtliche Darstellung der jüdisch-Alexandrinischen Religions-Philosophie*, Halle 1834, i. p. 52, sq.; ii. 17, 195, sq., 209, 228, 241). Similar principles were adopted by the authors of the N. T. (see De Wette, *Ueber die Symbolisch-Typische Lehrart in Briefen an die Hebräer*, in der *Theologischen Zeitschrift*, von Schleiermacher und De Wette, part iii.; Tholuck, *Beilage zum Commentar über den Brief an die Hebräer*, 1840).

These two modes of interpretation, the ALLEGORICO-TYPICAL and the ALLEGORICO-MYSTICAL, are found in the Christian writers as early as the 1st and 2d centuries; the latter as γνώσις, the former as a demonstration that all and everything, both what had happened, and what would come to pass, was somehow contained in the sacred Scriptures (see Justin Martyr, as quoted above, and Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, iv. 2, Prædicatio discipulorum suspecta fieri posset si non assistat auctoritas).

To these allegorical modes of interpretation was added a third mode, which necessarily sprung up after the rise of the Catholico-apostolical church, namely, the DOGMATICAL, or THEOLOGICO-ECCLESIASTICAL. The followers of the Catholico-apostolical church agreed that all apostles and all apostolical writings had an equal authority, because they were all under an equal guidance of the Holy Ghost. Hence it followed that they could not set forth either contradictory or different doctrines. A twofold expedient was adopted in order to effect harmony of interpretation. The one was of the apparent and relative kind, because it referred to subjects which appear incomprehensible only to the confined human understanding, but which are in perfect harmony in the divine thoughts. Justin (*Dialogus cum Tryphone*, c. 65) says:—ἐκ παντὸς πεπεισμένοι οὐτι οὐδεμία γραφή τῇ ἑτέρᾳ ἐναντία ἐστίν, αὐτὸς μὴ νοεῖν μάλλον ὁμολογήσω τὰ εἰρημένα. St. Chrysostom restricted this as follows:—πάντα σαφὴ καὶ εὐθέα τὰ παρὰ ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς, πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ὅληα (*Homil.* iii. c. 4. in *Ep. 2 ad Thessalonicenses*) (comp. *Homil.* iii. de Lazaro, and Athanasii *Oratio contra gentes*; Opera i. p. 12).

The SECOND expedient adopted by the church was to consider certain articles of faith to be LEADING DOCTRINES, and to regulate and define accordingly the sense of the Bible wherever it appeared doubtful and uncertain. This led to the THEOLOGICO-ECCLESIASTICAL or DOGMATICAL mode of interpretation, which, when the Christians were divided into several sects, proved to be indispensable to the Church, but which adopted various forms in the various sects by which it was employed. Not only the heretics of ancient times, but also the followers of the Roman Catholic, the Greek Catholic, the Syrian, the Anglican, the Pro-

testant Church, etc., have endeavoured to interpret the Bible in harmony with their dogmas.

The different modes of interpreting the Bible are, according to what we have stated, the following three—the GRAMMATICAL, the ALLEGORICAL, the DOGMATICAL. The grammatical mode of interpretation simply investigates the sense contained in the words of the Bible. The allegorical, according to Quintilian's sentence, 'aliud verbis, aliud sensu ostendo,' maintains that the words of the Bible have, besides their simple sense, another which is concealed as behind a picture, and endeavours to find out this supposed figurative sense, which, it is said, was not intended by the authors (see Olshausen, *Ein Wort über tieferen Schriftsinn*, Königsberg 1824). The dogmatical mode of interpretation endeavours to explain the Bible in harmony with the dogmas of the church, following the principle of *analogia fidei*. Comp. *Concilii Tridentini*, sess. iv. decret. 2:—Ne quis Sacram Scripturam interpretari audeat contra eum sensum quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum Sacrarum.

Rambach, *Institutiones Hermeneutica Sacra*, Jenæ 1723: Auctoritas, quam hæc analogia fidei in re exegetica habet, in eo consistit, ut sit fundamentum ac principium generale, ad cujus normam omnes Scripturæ expositiones, tanquam ad lapidem Lydium, exigendæ sunt.

Anglican Church, art. xx.:—ECCLESIAE non licet quicquam instituere, quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur, nec unum Scripturæ locum sic exponere potest, ut alteri contradicat:—'It is not lawful for the church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's word written, neither may it expound one place of Scripture so as to be repugnant to another.'

Confessio Scotica, 18:—Nullam enim interpretationem admittere audeamus, quæ alicui principali articulo fidei, aut alicui plano textui Scripturæ, aut caritatis regulæ repugnat, etc.:—'We dare not admit any interpretation which contradicts any leading article of faith, or any plain text of Scripture, or the rule of charity, etc.'

Besides the three modes of interpretation which have been mentioned above, theological writers have spoken of TYPICAL, PROPHETICAL, EMPHATIC, PHILOSOPHICAL, TRADITIONAL, MORAL, or PRACTICAL interpretation. But all these are only one-sided developments of some single feature contained in the above three, arbitrarily chosen; and, therefore, they cannot be considered to be separate modes, but are only modifications of one or other of those three. The interpretation in which all these modes are brought into harmony, has lately been called the PANHARMONICAL, which word is not very happily chosen (F. H. Germar, *Die Panharmonische Interpretation der Heiligen Schrift*, Leipzig 1721; and by the same author, *Beitrag zur Allgemeinen Hermeneutik*, Altona 1828).

The ALLEGORICAL, as well as the DOGMATICAL, mode of interpretation, presupposes the GRAMMATICAL, which, consequently, forms the basis of the other two; so that neither the one nor the other can exist entirely without it. Consequently, the grammatical mode of interpretation must have an historical precedence before the others. But history also proves that the church has constantly endeavoured to curtail the province of grammatical interpretation, to renounce it as much as possible,

and to rise above it. If we follow, with the examining eye of an historical inquirer, the course in which these three modes of interpretation, in their mutual dependence upon each other, have generally been applied, it becomes evident that in opposition to the grammatical mode, the allegorical was first set up. Subsequently, the allegorical was almost entirely supplanted by the dogmatical; but it started up with renewed vigour when the dogmatical mode rigorously confined the spiritual movement of the human intellect, as well as all religious sentiment, within the too narrow bounds of dogmatical despotism.

The dogmatical mode of interpretation could only spring up after the church, renouncing the original multiplicity of opinions, had agreed upon certain leading doctrines; after which time, it grew, together with the church, into a mighty tree towering high above every surrounding object, and casting its shade over everything. The longing desire for light and warmth, of those who were spell-bound under its shade, induced them to cultivate again the allegorical and the grammatical interpretation; but they were unable to bring the fruits of these modes to full maturity. Every new intellectual revolution, and every spiritual development of nations, gave a new impulse to grammatical interpretation. This impulse lasted until interpretation was again taken captive by the overwhelming ecclesiastical power, whose old formalities had regained strength, or which had been renovated under new forms. Grammatical interpretation, consequently, goes hand in hand with the principle of spiritual progress, and the dogmatical with the conservative principle. Finally, the allegorical interpretation is as an artificial aid subservient to the conservative principle, when, by its vigorous stability, the latter exercises a too unnatural pressure. This is confirmed by the history of all times and countries, so that we may confine ourselves to the following few illustrative observations. The various tendencies of the first Christian period were combined in the 2d century, so that the principle of one general (Catholic) church was gradually adopted by most parties. But now, it became rather difficult to select, from the variety of doctrines prevalent in various sects, those by the application of which to Biblical interpretation a perfect harmony and systematical unity could be effected. Nevertheless, the wants of science powerfully demanded a systematical arrangement of Biblical doctrines, even before a general agreement upon dogmatical principles had been effected. The wants of science were especially felt among the Alexandrine Christians; and in Alexandria, where the allegorical interpretation had from ancient times been practised, it offered the desired expedient which met the exigency of the church. Hence, it may naturally be explained why the Alexandrine theologians of the 2d and 3d century, particularly Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen, interpreted allegorically, and why the allegorical interpretation was perfected, and in vogue, even before the dogmatical came into existence. Origen, especially in his fourth book, *De Principiis*, treats on scriptural interpretation, using the following arguments:—The Holy Scriptures, inspired by God, form an harmonious whole, perfect in itself, without any defects and contradictions, and containing nothing that is insignificant and superfluous. The grammatical interpretation leads to obstacles and objec-

tions, which, according to the quality just stated of the Holy Scriptures, are inadmissible and impossible. Now, since the merely grammatical interpretation can neither remove nor overcome these objections, we must seek for an expedient beyond the boundaries of grammatical interpretation. The allegorical interpretation offers this expedient, and consequently is above the grammatical. Origen observes that man consists of body, soul, and spirit; and he distinguishes a triple sense of the Holy Scriptures analogous to this division:—*οἰκοῦν τρισῶς ἀπογράφεσθαι δεῖ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν τὰ τῶν ἁγίων γραμμάτων νοήματα· ἵνα ὁ μὲν ἀπλούστερος οἰκοδομηταί, ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκῆς σαρκὸς τῆς γραφῆς, οὕτως ὀνομαζόντων ἡμῶν τὴν πρόχειρον ἐκδοχὴν· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἀναβεβηκώς, ἀπὸ τῆς ὡς περὶ ψυχῆς αὐτῆς· ὁ δὲ τέλειος καὶ ὁμοίος τοῖς παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ (1 Cor. ii. 6, 7) λεγομένοις σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ νόμου σκίαν ἔχοντας τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν· ὡς περ γὰρ ὁ ἀνθρώπος συνέστηκεν ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ πνεύματος, τὸν αὐτὸν πρόπον καὶ ἡ οἰκονομηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίαν δοθῆναι γραφὴν* (*De Princ.*, iv. 108; comp. Klausen, *Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig 1841, p. 104, *sq.*)

Since, however, allegorical interpretation cannot be reduced to settled rules, but always depends upon the greater or less influence of imagination; and since the system of Christian doctrines, which the Alexandrine theologians produced by means of allegorical interpretation, was in many respects objected to; and since, in opposition to these Alexandrine theologians, there was gradually established, and more and more firmly defined, a system of Christian doctrines which formed a firm basis for uniformity of interpretation, in accordance with the mind of the majority, there gradually sprung up a dogmatical mode of interpretation founded upon the interpretation of ecclesiastical teachers, which had been recognised as orthodox in the Catholic church. This dogmatical interpretation has been in perfect existence since the beginning of the 4th century, and then more and more supplanted the allegorical, which henceforward was left to the wit and ingenuity of a few individuals. Thus St. Jerome, about A.D. 400, could say:—*Regula scripturarum est: ubi manifestissima prophetia de futuris textitur per INCERTA ALLEGORIÆ non extenuare quæ scripta sunt* (*Comment. in Malachi* i. 16). During the whole of the 4th century, the ecclesiastico-dogmatical mode of interpretation was developed with constant reference to the grammatical. Even Hillary, in his book *De Trinitate*, i. properly asserts:—*Optimus lector est, qui dictorum intelligentiam expectet ex dictis potius quam imponat, et retulerit magis quam attulerit; neque cogat id videri dictis contineri, quam ante lectionem præsumperit intelligendum.*

After the commencement of the 5th century, grammatical interpretation fell entirely into decay; which ruin was effected partly by the full development of the ecclesiastico-system of doctrines defined in all their parts, and by a fear of deviating from this system, partly also by the continually increasing ignorance of the languages in which the Bible was written. The primary condition of ecclesiastico or dogmatical interpretation was then most clearly expressed by Vincentius Lirinensis (*Commonit.* l.) :—*Quia videlicet scripturam sacram pro ipsa sua altitudine non uno eodemque sensu uni-*

versi accipiunt, sed ejusdem eloquia aliter atque aliter alius atque alius interpretatur, ut pæne quot homines sunt, tot illinc sententiæ erui posse videantur. . . . in ipsa catholica ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus, quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est (compare *Commonit.* ii., ed. Bremensis, 1688, p. 321, *sq.*) Henceforward, interpretation was confined to the mere collection of explanations, which had first been given by men whose ecclesiastical orthodoxy was unquestionable. Præstantius præsumpta novitate non imbui, sed prisorum fonte satiari (Casiodori *Institutiones Divinae, Pref.* Compare Alcuini *Epistola ad Gislam*; Opera, ed. Frobenius, i. p. 464. *Comment. in Joh. Pref.*, ib. p. 460. Claudius Turon, *Prolegomena in Comment. in libros Regum.* Haymo, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ix. 3, etc.) Doubtful cases were decided according to the precedents of ecclesiastical definitions. In his quæ vel dubia vel obscura fuerint id novimus sequendum quod nec præceptis evangelicis contrarium, nec decretis sanctorum invenitur adversum (*Benedicti Capitularia*, iii. 58, in Pertz, *Monumenta Veteris German. Histor.* iv. 2, p. 107). But men like Bishop Agobardus (A.D. 840, in Galandii *Bibl.*, xiii. p. 446), Johannes Scotus, Erigena, Druthmar, Nicolaus Lyranus, Roger Bacon, and others, acknowledged the necessity of grammatical interpretation, and were only wanting in the requisite means, and in knowledge, for putting it successfully into practice.

During the whole period of the middle ages the allegorical interpretation again prevailed. The middle ages were more distinguished by sentiment than by clearness, and the allegorical interpretation gave satisfaction to sentiment and occupation to free mental speculation.

When, in the 15th century, classical studies had revived, they exercised also a favourable influence upon Biblical interpretation, and restored grammatical interpretation to honour. It was especially by grammatical interpretation that the domineering Catholic church was combated at the period of the Reformation; but as soon as the newly-sprung-up Protestant church had been dogmatically established, it began to consider grammatical interpretation a dangerous adversary of its own dogmas, and opposed it as much as did the Roman Catholics themselves. From the middle of the 16th to the middle of the 18th century this important ally of Protestantism was subjected to the artificial law of a new dogmatical interpretation; while the Roman Catholic church changed the principle of interpretation formerly advanced by Vincentius into an ecclesiastico dogma. In consequence of this new oppression the religious sentiment, which had frequently been wounded both among Roman Catholics and Protestants, took refuge in allegorical interpretation, which then re-appeared under the forms of typical and mystical theology.

After the beginning of the 18th century grammatical interpretation recovered its authority. It was then first re-introduced by the Arminians, and, in spite of constant attacks, towards the conclusion of that century it decidedly prevailed among the German Protestants. It exercised a very beneficial influence, although it cannot be denied that manifold errors occurred in its application. During the last thirty years both Protestants and Roman Catholics have again curtailed the rights and invaded the province of grammatical interpretation, by promot-

ing (according to the general reaction of our times) the opposing claims of dogmatical and mystical interpretation (comp. J. Rosenmüller, *Historia Interpretationis Librorum sacrorum in Ecclesia Christiana*, Lipsiæ 1795-1814, 5 vols.; W. Van Mildert, *An Inquiry into the General Principles of Scripture Interpretation, in Eight Sermons*, etc., Oxford 1815; G. W. Meyer, *Geschichte der Schrift-erklärung seit der Wiederherstellung der Wissenschaften*, Göttingen 1802-9, 5 vols.; Richard Simon, *Histoire Critique des principaux Commentateurs du Nouv. Test.*, Rotterdam 1693; H. N. Klausen, *Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments*, Aus dem Dänischen, Leipzig 1841, p. 77, seq.; E. F. K. Rosenmüller, *Handbuch für die Literatur der Biblischen Kritik und Exegese*, Göttingen 1797-1800, 4 vols.)

The aim of human speech in general may be described as the desire to render one's own thoughts intelligible to others by means of words in their capacity of signs of thoughts. These words may be written, or merely spoken. In order to understand the speech of another, several arts and branches of knowledge are requisite. The art of understanding the language of another is called hermeneutics, ἑρμηνευτική τέχνη, or ἐπιστήμη. Every art may be reduced to the skilful application of certain principles, which, if they proceed from one highest principle, may be said to be based on science.

Here we have to consider not the spoken, but the written language only. The rules to be observed by the interpreter, and the gifts which qualify him for the right understanding of written language, are applicable either to all written language in general, or only to the right understanding of particular documents; they are, therefore, to be divided into *general* and *particular*, or *especial* rules and gifts. In Biblical interpretation arises the question, whether the general hermeneutical rules are applicable to the Bible and sufficient for rightly understanding it, or whether they are insufficient, and have to undergo some modification.

Most Biblical interpreters, as we might infer from the principle of dogmatical and allegorical interpretation, have declared the general hermeneutical principles to be insufficient for explaining the Bible, and required for this purpose especial hermeneutical rules, because the Bible, they said, which had been written under the direct guidance of the Holy Ghost, could not be measured by the common rules which are applicable only to the lower sphere of merely human thoughts and compositions. Therefore, from the most ancient times, peculiar hermeneutical rules, meeting the exigency of Biblical interpretation, have been set forth, which deviated from the rules of general hermeneutics. Thus Biblical hermeneutics were changed into an art of understanding the Bible according to a certain ecclesiastical system in vogue at a certain period.

The advocates of grammatical interpretation have opposed these Biblical hermeneutics, as proceeding upon merely arbitrary suppositions. Sometimes they merely limited its assertions, and sometimes they rejected it altogether. In the latter case they said that the principles of general hermeneutics ought to be applicable to the Holy Scriptures also. Against the above-mentioned train of argument cited from Origen, on which the demand of particular Biblical hermeneutics essentially rests, the following argument might, with greater justice, be

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opposed: if God deemed it requisite to reveal his will to mankind by means of intelligible books, he must, in choosing this medium, have intended that the contents of these books should be discovered according to those general laws which are conducive to the right understanding of documents in general. If this were not the case God would have chosen insufficient and even contradictory means inadequate to the purpose he had in view.

The interpretation, which, in spite of all ecclesiastical opposition, ought to be adopted as being the only true one, strictly adheres to the demands of general hermeneutics, to which it adds those particular hermeneutical rules which meet the requisites of particular cases. This has, in modern times, been styled the HISTORICO-GRAMMATICAL mode of interpretation. This appellation has been chosen because the epithet grammatical seems to be too narrow and too much restricted to the mere verbal sense. It might be more correct to style it simply the HISTORICAL interpretation, since the word HISTORICAL comprehends everything that is requisite to be known about the language, the turn of mind, the individuality, etc., of an author in order rightly to understand his book.

In accordance with the various notions concerning Biblical interpretation which we have stated, there have been produced Biblical hermeneutics of very different kinds; for instance, in the earlier period we might mention that of the Donatist Iiconius, who wrote about the 4th century his *Regulæ ad investigandam et inveniendam Intelligentiam Scripturarum Septem*; Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, lib. i. 3; Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sentent.* 419, seq.; Santis Pagnini (who died in 1541), *Isagoga ad Mysticos Sacra Scriptura Sensus, libri octodecim*, Colon. 1540; Sixti Senensis (who died 1599), *Bibliotheca Sancta*, Venetiis 1566. Of this work, which has been frequently reprinted, there belongs to our present subject only *Liber tertius Artem exponendi Sancta Scripta Catholicis Expositoribus aptissimis Regulis et Exemplis ostendens*. At a later period the Roman Catholics added to these the works of Bellarmine, Martianay, Calmet, Jahn, and Arigler.

On the part of the Lutherans were added by Matt. Flacius, *Clavis Scripturæ Sacrae*, Basileæ 1537, and often reprinted in two volumes; by Johann Gerhard, *Tractatus de Legitima Scripturæ Sacrae Interpretatione*, Jenæ 1610; by Solomon Glassius, *Philologia Sacra*, libri quinque, Jenæ 1623, and often reprinted; by Jacob Rambach, *Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacrae*, Jenæ 1723.

On the part of the Calvinists there were furnished by J. Alph. Turretinus, *De Scripturæ Sacrae Interpretatione Tractatus Bipartitus*, Dortrecht 1723, and often reprinted. In the English Church were produced by Herbert Marsh *Lectures on the Criticism and Interpretation of the Bible*, Cambridge 1828.

Since the middle of the last century it has been usual to treat on the O. T. hermeneutics and on those of the N. T. in separate works. For instance, G. W. Meyer, *Versuch einer Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments*, Lubeck 1799; J. H. Pareau, *Institutio Interpretis Veteris Testamenti*, Trajecti 1822, translated into English by Dr. P. Forbes, Edin. 1835-40, 2 vols.; J. A. Ernesti, *Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti*, Lipsiæ 1761, ed. 5ta, curante Ammon, 1809, translated into English by Terrot, Edinburgh, 1833; Morus, *Super Hermeneutica*

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Novi Testamenti acroases academica, ed. Eichstaedt, Lipsiæ 1797-1802, in two vols., but not completed; K. A. G. Keil, *Lehrbuch der Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments, nach Grundsätzen der grammatisch-historischen Interpretation*, Leipzig 1810; the same work in Latin, Lipsiæ 1811; Lucke, *Grundriss der N. T. Hermeneutik*, Gott. 1817; T. T. Conybeare, *The Bampton Lectures for the year 1824, being an attempt to trace the History and to ascertain the limits of the secondary and spiritual Interpretation of Scripture*, Oxford 1824; Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutik und Kritik mit besonderer Beziehung auf das Neue Testament*, herausgegeben von Lucke, Berlin 1838; H. Nik. Klausen, *Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments*, aus dem Danischen, Leipzig 1841; Chr. Gottlieb Wilke, *Die Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments systematisch dargestellt*, Leipzig 1843; Davidson, *Sacred Hermeneutics developed and applied; including a History of Biblical Interpretation from the earliest of the Fathers to the Reformation*, Edin. 1843; Fairbairn, *Hermeneutical Manual or Introd. to the Exeg. Study of the N. T.*, Edin. 1858. — K. A. C.

INTRODUCTION, BIBLICAL. The Greek word *εἰσαγωγή*, in the sense of an introduction to a science, occurs only in later Greek, and was first used to denote an introduction to the right understanding of the Bible, by a Greek called Adrian, who lived in the fifth century after Christ. *Ἀδριανὸς εἰσαγωγὴ τῆς γραφῆς* is a small book, the object of which is to assist readers who are unacquainted with Biblical phraseology in rightly understanding peculiar words and expressions. It was first edited by David Hæschel, under the title of *Adriani Isagoge in Sacram Scripturam Græcum Scholiis*, Augustæ Vindobonæ, 1602, 4to. This work is reprinted in the London edition of the *Critici Sacri*, tom. viii.; and in the Frankfort edition, tom. vi. Before Adrian, the want of similar works had already been felt, and books of a corresponding tendency were in circulation, but they did not bear the title of *εἰσαγωγή*. Melito of Sardis, who lived in the latter half of the 2d century, wrote a book under the title of *ἡ κλεις*, being a key both to the Old and to the N. T. The so-called *Αἰεις*, which were written at a later period, are books of a similar description. Some of these *Αἰεις* have been printed in Matthæi's *Novum Testamentum Græce*, and in Boissonade's *Anecdota Græca*, tom. iii., Parisiis 1831. These are merely linguistic introductions; but there was soon felt the want of works which might solve other questions; such as, for instance, what are the principles which should guide us in Biblical interpretation. The Donatist Ticonius wrote, about the year 380, *Regule ad investigandam et inveniendam Intelligentiam Scripturarum Septem*. St. Augustine, in his work *De Doctrinâ Christianâ* (iii. 302), says concerning these seven rules, that the author's intention was by means of them to open the secret sense of Holy Writ, 'quasi clavibus,' as if it were by keys.

There arose also a question concerning the extent of Holy Writ—that is to say, what belonged, and what did not belong, to Holy Writ; and also respecting the contents of the separate Biblical books, and the order in which they should follow each other, etc.

About A.D. 550, Cassiodorus wrote his *Institu-*

tiones Divinæ. He mentions in this work, under the name of *Introductores Divina Scriptura*, five authors who had been engaged in Biblical investigations, and in his tenth chapter speaks of them thus:—*Ad introductores scripturæ divinæ sollicita mente redeamus, id est TICONIUM Donatistam, Sanctum AUGUSTINUM de doctrina Christiana, ADRIANUM, EUCHERIUM, et JUNILLUM, quos sedula curiositate collegi, ut, quibus erat similis intentio, in uno corpore adunati codices clauderentur.*

Henceforward the title, *Introductio in Scripturam Sacram*, was established, and remained current for all works in which were solved questions introductory to the study of the Bible. In the Western, or Latin church, during a thousand years, scarcely any addition was made to the collection of Cassiodorus; while in the Eastern, or Greek church, only two works written during this long period deserve to be mentioned, both bearing the title *Σύνοψις τῆς θείας γραφῆς*. One of these works was falsely ascribed to Athanasius, and the other as falsely to Chrysostom.

At the commencement of the 16th century, the Dominican friar Santes Pagninus, who died in 1541, published his *Isagoge*, by means of which he intended to revive the Biblical knowledge of Jerome and St. Augustine. This work, considering the time of its appearance, was a great step in advance. Its title is, *Santis Pagnini Lucensis Isagoge ad Sacras Literas, liber unicus*, Coloniz 1540, fol.

The work of the Dominican friar Sixtus of Sienna, who died in 1599, is of greater importance, although it is manifestly written under the influence of the Inquisition, which had just been restored, and is perceptibly shackled by the decrees of the Council of Trent. Sixtus had the intention, worthy of an inquisitor, to expurgate from Christian literature every heretical element. The *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, which was then first published, had the same object; but Sixtus furnished also a list of books to be used by a true Catholic Christian for the right understanding of Holy Writ, as well as the principles which should guide a Roman Catholic in criticism and interpretation. The title of his work is, *Bibliotheca Sancta ab A. F. Sixto, Senensi, ordinis predicatorum, ex præcipuis Catholica Ecclesiæ auctoribus collecta, et in octo libros digesta*, Venetiis 1566. This book is dedicated to the Cardinal Ghisleri, who ascended the papal throne in 1566, under the name of Pius V.: it has frequently been reprinted.

The decrees of the Council of Trent prevented the Roman Catholics from moving freely in the field of Biblical investigation, while the Protestants zealously carried out their researches in various directions. The Illyrian, Matthias Flacius, in his *Clavis Scripturæ Sacre, seu de Sermonum Sacrarum Literarum*, which was first printed at Basle, 1567, in folio, furnished an excellent work on Biblical hermeneutics; but it was surpassed by the Prolegomena of Brian Walton, which belong to his celebrated *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, Lond. 1657, six volumes fol. These Prolegomena contain much that will always be accounted valuable and necessary for the true criticism of the sacred text. They have been published separately, with notes, by Archdeacon Wrangham, in 2 vols. 8vo. Thus we have seen that excellent works were produced on isolated portions of Biblical introduction, but they

were not equalled in merit by the works in which it was attempted to furnish a whole system of Biblical introduction.

The following Biblical introductions are among the best of those which were published about that period: Michaelis Waltheri *Officina Biblica noviter adaperita*, etc., Lipsiæ, first published in 1636; Abrahami Calovii *Criticus Sacer Biblicus*, etc., Vitembergæ 1643; J. H. Hottinger, *Thesaurus Philologicus, seu Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ*, Tiguri 1649; Johannis Henrici Heidegger, *Enchiridion Biblicum* *λεπομνημονικόν*, Tiguri 1681; Leusden, a Dutchman, published a work entitled *Philologus Hebræus*, etc., Utrecht 1656, and *Philologus Hebræo-Græcus Generalis*, Utrecht 1670. All these works have been frequently reprinted.

The dogmatical zeal of the Protestants was greatly excited by the work of Louis Capelle, a reformed divine and learned professor at Saumur, which appeared under the title of Ludovici Cappelli *Critica Sacra; sive de variis quæ in veteris Testamenti libris occurrunt lectionibus libri sex. Editæ opere ac studio Joannis Cappelli, auctoris filii*, Parisiis 1650. A learned Roman Catholic and priest of the Oratory, Richard Simon, who was born in 1658, and died in 1712, rightly perceived, from the dogmatical bile stirred up by Capelle, that Biblical criticism was the most effective weapon to be employed against the Protestantism which had grown cold and stiff in dogmatics. He therefore devoted his critical knowledge of the Bible to the service of the Roman Catholic church, and endeavoured to inflict a death-blow upon Protestantism. The result, however, was the production of Simon's excellent work on Biblical criticism, which became the basis on which the science of Biblical introduction was raised. Simon was the first who correctly separated the criticism of the O. T. from that of the New. His works on Biblical introduction appeared under the following titles *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, Paris 1678. This work was inaccurately reprinted at Amsterdam by Elsevir in 1679, and subsequently in many other bad piratical editions. Among these the most complete was that printed, together with several polemical treatises occasioned by this work, at Rotterdam, in 1685, 4to:—*Histoire Critique du Texte du Nouveau Testament*, Rotterdam 1689; *Histoire Critique des Versions du Nouveau Testament*, Rotterdam 1690; *Histoire Critique des principaux Commentateurs du Nouveau Testament*, Rotterdam 1693. By these excellent critical works Simon established a claim upon the gratitude of all real friends of truth; but he was thanked by none of the prevailing parties in the Christian church. The Protestants saw in Simon only an enemy of their church, not the thorough investigator and friend of truth. To the Roman Catholics, on the other hand, Simon's works appeared to be destructive, because they demonstrated their ecclesiastical decrees to be arbitrary and unhistorical. The *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* was suppressed by the Roman Catholics in Paris immediately after its publication, and in Protestant countries also it was forbidden to reprint it. The Roman Catholic bishop Bossuet lamented that Simon had undermined the dogma of tradition, and had changed the holy fathers into Protestants. Simon, as an honest investigator and friend of truth, remained undisturbed; but kept aloof from both Roman Catholics and Protestants, by both of which parties he was

persecuted, and died in 1712, in a merely external connection with the Romish church.

The churches endeavoured, with apparent success, to destroy Simon and his writings, in a host of inimical and condemnatory publications, by which the knowledge of truth was not in the least promoted. However, the linguistic and truly scientific researches of Pococke; the Oriental school in the Netherlands; the unsurpassed work of Humphry Hody, *De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus Versionibus*, etc., Oxoniæ 1705, folio; the excellent criticism of Mill, in his *Novum Testamentum Græcum cum Lectionibus Variantibus*, Oxoniæ 1707, folio; which was soon followed by Wetstein's *Novum Testamentum Græcum editionis receptæ, cum Lectionibus Variantibus*, Amstelodami 1751-52, folio, and by which even Johann Albert Bengel, who died in 1752, was convinced, in spite of his ecclesiastical orthodoxy (comp. Bengelii *Apparatus Criticus Novi Testamenti*, p. 634, sq.); the Biblical works by Johann Heinrich Michaelis, especially his *Biblia Hebræica ex Manuscriptis et impressis Codicibus*, Halæ 1720; and Benjamin Kennicott's *Vetus Testamentum Hebræicum cum variis Lectionibus*, Oxoniæ 1776, and the revival of classical philology;—all this gradually led to results which coincided with Simon's criticism, and shewed the enormous difference between historical truth and the arbitrary ecclesiastical opinions which were still prevalent in the works on Biblical introduction by Pritius, Blackwall, Carpov, Van Til, Moldenhauer, and others. Johann David Michaelis, who died in 1791, mildly endeavoured to reconcile the church with historical truth, but has been rewarded by the anathemas of the ecclesiastical party, who have pronounced him a heretic. By their ecclesiastical persecutors, Richard Simon was falsely described to be a disciple of the atheistical Spinoza, and Michaelis as a follower of both Simon and Spinoza. However, the mediating endeavours of Michaelis gradually prevailed. His Introduction to the New Testament appeared first as a work of moderate size, under the title of Johann David Michaelis *Einleitung in die Göttlichen Schriften des Neuen Bundes*, Göttingen 1750, 8vo. It was soon translated into English. In the years 1765-66 Michaelis published a second and augmented edition of the German original, in two volumes. The fourth edition, which received great additions, and in which many alterations were made, appeared in 1788, in two vols. 4to. This edition was translated and essentially augmented by Herbert March, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, and appeared under the title, *Introduction to the New Testament*, by John David Michaelis, translated from the fourth edition of the German, and considerably augmented, Cambridge 1791-1801, 4 vols. 8vo. Michaelis commenced also an Introduction to the Old Testament, but did not complete it. A portion of it was printed under the title, *Einleitung in die Göttlichen Schriften des Alten Bundes*, Theil i. Abschnitt 1, Hamburg 1787.

A work by Ed. Harwood, entitled *A New Introduction to the Study and Knowledge of the New Testament*, London 1767-71, was translated into German by Schulz, Halle 1770-73, in three volumes. In this book there are so many heterogeneous materials, that it scarcely belongs to the science of introduction.

The study of N. T. introduction was in Germany especially promoted also by Johann Solomon Sem-

ler, who died at Halle in 1791. It was by Semler's influence that the critical works of Richard Simon were translated into German, and the works of Wetstein re-edited and circulated. The original works of Semler on Biblical introduction are his *Apparatus ad liberalem Novi Testamenti Interpretationem*, Halae 1767, and his *Abhandlung von freier Untersuchung des Canons*, 4 vols., Halle 1771-75.

Semler's school produced Johann Jacob Griesbach, who died at Jena in the year 1812. Griesbach's labours in correcting the text of the N. T. are of great value. K. A. Haenlein published a work called *Handbuch der Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Erlangen 1794-1802, in two volumes, in which he followed up the lectures of Griesbach. A second edition of this work appeared in the years 1802-9. This introduction contains excellent materials, but is wanting in decisive historical criticism.

Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, who died at Göttingen in 1827, was formed in the school of Michaelis at Göttingen, and was inspired by Herder's poetical views of the East in general, and of the literature of the ancient Hebrews in particular. Eichhorn commenced his Introduction when the times were inclined to give up the Bible altogether, as a production of priestcraft inapplicable to the present period. He endeavoured to bring the contents of the Bible into harmony with modern modes of thinking, to explain, and to recommend them. He endeavoured by means of hypothesis to furnish a clue to their origin, without sufficiently regarding strict historical criticism. Eichhorn's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* was first published at Leipzig in 1780-83, in three volumes. The fifth edition was published at Göttingen in 1820-24, in five volumes. His *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* was published at Göttingen in 1804-27, in five volumes. The earlier volumes have been republished. The external treatment of the materials, the style, aim, and many separate portions of both works, are masterly and excellent; but with regard to linguistic and historical research, they are feeble and overwhelmed with hypotheses.

Leonhardt Bertholdt was a very diligent but uncritical compiler. He made a considerable step backward in the science of introduction, not only by reuniting the Old and N. T. into one whole, but by even intermixing the separate writings with each other, in his work entitled *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in sämtliche kanonische und Apocryphische Schriften des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, Erlangen 1812-19, in six volumes.

The *Isagoge Historico-critica in Libros Novi Fœderis Sacros*, Jenæ 1830, of H. A. Schott, is more distinguished by diligence than by penetration. The *Lehrbuch der Historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die Bibel A. und N. T.*, Berlin; *Theil 1, Die Allgemeine Einleitung und das Alte Testament enthaltend*, 1817 (fifth edition, 1840); *Theil 2, Das Neue Testament enthaltend*, 1826 (fourth edition, 1842), by W. M. Lebrecht de Wette, is distinguished by brevity, precision, critical penetration, and in some parts by completeness. This book contains an excellent survey of the various opinions prevalent in the sphere of Biblical introduction, interspersed with original discussions. Almost every author on Biblical criticism will find that De Wette has made use of his labours; but in the purely historical portions the book is feeble, and indicates that the author did not go to the first

sources, but adopted the opinions of others; consequently the work has no internal harmony. An English translation of this work, with additions by the translator, Theodore Parker, has lately appeared in America, under the title of *A Critical and Historical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament*.

The word 'introduction' being of rather vague signification, there was also formerly no definite idea attached to the expression BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION. In works on this subject (as in Home's *Introduction*) might be found contents belonging to geography, antiquities, interpretation, natural history, and other branches of knowledge. Even the usual contents of Biblical introductions were so unconnected, that Schliermacher, in his *Kurze Darstellung des Theologischen Studiums*, justly called it *ein Mancherlei*; that is, a farrago or omnium-gatherum. Biblical introduction was usually described as consisting of the various branches of preparatory knowledge requisite for viewing and treating the Bible correctly. It was distinguished from Biblical history and archaeology by being less intimately connected with what is usually called history. It comprised treatises on the origin of the Bible, on the original languages, on the translations, and on the history of the sacred text; and was divided into general and special introduction.

The author of this article endeavoured to remove this vagueness by furnishing a firm definition of Biblical introduction. In his work, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, von Dr. K. A. Credner, th. I., Halle 1836, he defined Biblical introduction to be the history of the Bible, and divided it into the following parts:

1. The history of the separate Biblical books.
2. The history of the collection of these books, or of the canon.
3. The history of the spread of these books, or of the translations of it.
4. The history of the preservation of the text.
5. The history of the interpretation of it.

This view of the science of introduction has received much approbation, and is the basis of Reus's *Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Halle 1842 [3d ed. enlarged, Braunschweig, 1860]. The results of the critical examination of the books of the N. T. are comprehended in the following work, *Das Neue Testament nach seinem Zweck, Ursprunge und Inhalt*, von A. R. Credner, Giessen 1841-43, in two volumes.

The critical investigation which prevailed in Germany after the days of Michaelis, has of late been opposed by a mode of treating Biblical introduction, not so much in the spirit of a free search after truth as in an apologetical and polemical style. This course, however, has not enriched Biblical science. To this class of books belong a number of monographs, or treatises on separate subjects; also the *Handbuch der Historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Erlangen 1836, by H. A. C. Havermick, of which there have been published two parts, in three volumes, and of which *The General Introduction* and the *Introduction to the Pentateuch* have been translated into English, Edin. 1850, 1852; and also H. E. Ferd. Guericke's *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Halle 1843, in which too frequently an anathema against heretics serves as a substitute for demonstration. The apologetical tendency pre-

vails in the work of G. Hamilton, entitled *A General Introduction to the Study of the Hebrew Scriptures*, etc., Dublin 1814; in Thomas Hartwell Horne's *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, etc., London 1818, four volumes [the tenth edition of this work was issued in four large vols. 8vo, in 1856, of which the second vol. on the O. T. was prepared by Dr. S. Davidson, and the fourth on the N. T., by Dr. P. Tregelles. For Dr. Davidson's vol., one by Mr. Ayre has since been substituted]; and in J. Cook's *Inquiry into the Books of the New Testament*, Edin. 1824.

The Roman Catholics also have, in modern times, written on Biblical introduction, although the unchangeable decrees of the Council of Trent hinder all free, critical, and scientific treatment of the subject. The Roman Catholics can treat Biblical introduction only in a polemical and apologetical manner, and are obliged to keep up the attention of their readers by introducing learned archaeological researches, which conceal the want of free movement. This latter mode was adopted by J. Jahn (who died at Vienna in 1816) in his *Einleitung in die Göttlichen Bücher des Alten Bundes*, Vienna 1793, two volumes, and 1802, three volumes; and in his *Introductio in Libros Sacros Veteris Testamenti in epitomen redacta*, Viennæ 1805. This work has been republished by F. Ackermann, in what are asserted to be the third and fourth editions, under the title of *Introductio in Libros Sacros Veteris Testamenti, usibus academicis accommodata*, Viennæ 1825 and 1839. But these so-called new editions are full of alterations and mutilations, which remove every free expression of Jahn, who belonged to the liberal period of the Emperor Joseph.

Johann Leonhard Hug's *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1808, two volumes, third edition, 1826, surpasses Jahn's work in ability, and has obtained much credit among Protestants by its learned explanations, although these frequently swerve from the point in question. Hug's work has been translated into English by the Rev. D. G. Wait, LL.D.; but this translation is much surpassed by that of Fosdick, published in the United States, and enriched by the addenda of Moses Stuart. The polemical and apologetical style prevails in the work of J. G. Herbst, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Schriften des Alten Testaments*, completed and edited after the death of the author, by Welte, Carlsruhe 1840; and in *L'Introduction Historique et Critique aux Livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament*, par J. B. Glaire, 6 vols., 2d ed., Paris 1843. The work of the excellent Feilmoser, who died in 1831, *Einleitung in die Bücher des Neuen Bundes*, in the second edition, Tübingen 1830, forsakes the position of a true Roman Catholic, inasmuch as it is distinguished by a noble ingenuousness and candour. All these last-mentioned works prove that the science of introduction cannot prosper in ecclesiastical fetters.—K. A. C.

[To the works above enumerated may be added—Collyer's *Sacred Interpreter*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1746, last edit. 1815 ('a good popular preparation for the study of the Holy Scriptures,' Bp. MARSH); Lardner, *Credibility*; and *History of the Apostles and Evangelists*, Works i.-vi.; Scholz, *Einleit. in die Heiligen Schriften des A. und N. T.*, 4 vols., of which only three had appeared before the author's

death in 1852; Hengstenberg, *Beiträge zur Einleit. ins A. B.*, I. *Authent. des Daniel u. Integrität des Sacharja*, Ber. 1831; II. III. *Auth. des Pentateuchs*, 1836-39; Maier, *Einleit. in die Schriften des N. T.*, Freib. 1852; Keil, *Lehrbuch der Hist.-Krit. Einleit. in die Kanon. Schriften des A. T.*, in 3 parts, forming 1 vol., Frankf. and Erlang. 1853; Davidson, *Introduction to the O. T.*, 3 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1862-63; *Introduction to the N. T.*, 3 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1848-50; Scholten, *Hist.-Krit. Einl. in die Schriften des N. T.*, 1853, 2d ed. enlarged 1856; Bleek, *Einleit. in d. A. T.*, Berl. 1860; in *das N. T.*, 1862.]

IONIA. It has been suggested that in 1 Maccab. viii. 8, for the existing reading *χωραν την Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Μήδεια*, should be read *χ. τ. Ἰωνίαν καὶ Μυσίαν*, on the ground that to include India and Media within the domain of Antiochus III. is to contradict directly the voice of history, which confines this monarch's possessions to this side the Taurus range (Liv. Hist. xxxvii. 56; xxxviii. 38). This alteration is purely conjectural, and it is not easy to see, supposing it to be the correct reading, how the error in the text could have arisen. Michaelis supposes that by a mistake on the part of the translator, *יוֹדא* was read for *מִסִּי*, and *יוֹדא* or *יוֹדא* for *יוֹדא*, and that the nations intended are the Mysians and the 'Everal' (Hom. Il. ii. 580) of Paphlagonia; but this is still more improbable than the former conjecture, and besides, not only was Paphlagonia not within the domain of Antiochus, but the Eretians did not at that time exist (Strabo, xii. 8). Perhaps the conjectural emendation above mentioned may be adopted on the ground of its internal probability; as the only alternative seems to be to suppose gross geographical and historical ignorance on the part of the author. It is followed by Luther (who puts 'Ionien' in the text), Drusius, Grotius, Houbigant, etc. Adopting the reading Ionia, the district referred to is that bordering on the Ægean Sea from Phocæa to Miletus. Its original inhabitants were Greeks, but in later times a large Jewish element was found in the population (Joseph. Antiq. xvi. 2. 3). Under the Roman dominion the name Ionia remained, but its towns were distributed politically under other provinces. Ptolemy ranks them in Asia Proper, while Strabo (xiv. 632), Pliny (H. N. v. 31), and Mela (i. 17), speak of Ionia as a distinct territory. In the account which Josephus gives (Antiq. xvi. 2. 3) of the appeal of the Jews in Ionia to Agrippa for exemption from certain oppressions to which they were exposed, the ancient name of the country is retained. He speaks of *πολὺ πλῆθος Ἰουδαίων* as inhabiting its cities.—W. L. A.

IOTA (Α. V. 'Yot'), the smallest letter of the Greek alphabet (ι); corresponding to the Hebrew *jod* (י) and the Syriac *juth* (ܝܬܐ), and employed metaphorically to express the minutest trifle. This is, in fact, one of several metaphors derived from the alphabet—as when *alpha*, the first letter, and *omega*, the last, are employed to express the beginning and the end. We are not to suppose, however, that this proverb was exclusively apposite in the Greek language. The same practical allusion equally existed in Hebrew, some curious examples of which may be seen in Wetstein and Lightfoot. [Jor.]-J. K.

IPHEDEIAH (יִפְדִּיָּה, *Yiph'd'yah*; Sept. Ἰφεδαίας; Alex. Ἰφεδαία), a Benjamite of the family of Shashak (1 Chron. viii. 25), and himself the head of a branch or clan of that family. He, with the other chiefs of the family, resided at Jerusalem (ver. 28).

IRA (עִירָא). There seem to have been as many as three different individuals connected with David who were known by this name. They occur in the following order in Samuel:—

1. (Sept. Ἰράς; Alex. Εἰράς). 'Ira the Jairite' (2 Sam. xx. 26), described in the A. V. as 'a chief ruler about David.' [JAIRITE.]

2. 'Ira, the son of Ikkeish the Tekoite' (2 Sam. xxiii. 26, Ἰράς; Alex. Εἰράς; 1 Chron. xi. 28, Ἰρά; Alex. Ὀράς). His name occurs as sixth among David's guard of 'thirty-seven in all'; also as sixth among the twelve captains appointed to the monthly course of service (1 Chron. xxvii. 9, Ὀδούλας; Alex. Εἰρά).

3. 'Ira the Ithrite,' also one of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 38, Ἰράς; Alex. Εἰράς; 1 Chron. xi. 40, Ἰρά; Alex. Ἰράς). Some are of opinion that this Ira was identical with the first mentioned; but when the names occur so distinctly one after the other in the Bible narrative, we incline to the belief that there were three individuals bearing the name of Ira.—W. J. C.

IRAM (עִירָם; LXX. Alex. Ἰράμ; Vat. Ζαφωῖς; Vulg. *Hiram*). The personal or territorial designation of one of the Edomite chiefs or *alluphim* (אַלְלֻפִּים, 'phylarchs'; in A. V. 'dukes'; Gen. xxxvi. 43; 1 Chron. i. 54). In the genealogy of Esau, contained in Gen. xxxvi, we have, after the names of his wives and children, a list of the *alluphim* of the Edomite tribes. These are given in the following order: in vers. 15, 16, the *alluphim*, seven in number, who sprang from Eliphaz, the son of Esau, by his wife Adah; in ver. 17 the *alluphim*, four in number, who sprang from Reuel, the son of Esau, by his wife Bashemath; and in ver. 18 we have, as three additional *alluphim*, the three sons of Esau by his wife Aholibamah. The genealogy of Esau is then interrupted for the purpose of giving that of Seir the Horite, from whom Aholibamah was descended. After this digression we have, in vers. 31-39, a list of 'the kings who reigned in Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel'; and then follows, in vers. 40-43, another list of Edomite *alluphim*. It is in this that the name Iram occurs. The position of this latter list has given rise to various opinions respecting it. By some it is regarded as a list of chiefs who exercised either in succession or contemporaneously the supreme authority after the kingly power had been overthrown. There is, however, no evidence that in the time of Moses kings had ceased to reign in Edom; on the contrary, it is clear from Num. xx. 14 that there was still a king of Edom. By others it is taken to be a list of the chiefs who were descended from the three sons of Esau mentioned in ver. 18, just as those who are mentioned in vers. 15-17 were descended from the two elder sons of Esau. It is an objection to this opinion that these three sons of Esau are themselves termed *alluphim*, and that

this is not the case with their two elder brothers. A third, and more probable opinion, is that the list in vers. 40-43 gives, not the personal, but the territorial designations of the Edomite chiefs. This is confirmed by the fact that two of the names in the list, namely Timnah and Aholibamah are feminine nouns, and still further by the statement made at the beginning of the passage, 'these are the names of the princes (*alluphim*) of Esau according to their families and places, after their names'; and by that with which it concludes—'these are the princes (*alluphim*) of Edom, according to their habitations.' If it be alleged that the personal names given in vers. 15-18 are fourteen in number, but that the territorial names are eleven only, the objection may be met by the supposition that some of the names have been accidentally omitted from the latter list—an hypothesis which derives some support from the peculiar reading of the Vatican MS., which may possibly have preserved one of the omitted names.—S. N.

IR-HAHERES. In Isaiah xix. 18 the words הָרָס עִיר are rendered '*City of destruction*,' though, as is suggested in the margin of the A. V., they might be taken as the proper name of a city of Egypt. The meaning of the verse is very obscure, and has been variously interpreted. Some maintain that the prophet refers to five great and noted cities of Egypt, when he says, 'In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan'; but they cannot agree as to what cities these are. Others suppose that by *five* a round number is meant; while others think that some proportional number is referred to—five out of 20,000, or five out of 1000. Calvin interprets the passage as meaning five out of six—*five* professing the true religion, and *one* rejecting it. That *one* is hence called '*City of destruction*,' which is not its proper name, but a description indicative of its doom. Instead of הָרָס, however, a number of ancient MSS. read הָרָם, which signifies '*the sun*.' This reading is supported by the version of Symmachus, which has πόλις ἡλίου, and by the Vulgate, *civitas solis*. Hence some have supposed that *Ir-haheres* is a proper name, and equivalent to *Heliopolis*, the famous city of Lower Egypt, called *On* in Gen. xli. 45, and *Beth-shemesh* ('City of the Sun') in Jer. xliii. 13. All this, however, is mere conjecture. Jerome supposes הָרָס to be equivalent to חֶרֶס, 'a potsherd,' and to be a name of the town called by the Greeks Ὀστρακίνη ('earthen'). Others suppose that reference is made to Tahpanes, the brick-kilns of which are mentioned by Jeremiah (xliii. 9; Alexander on Is. xix. 18; Jerome, *ad loc.*) Gesenius says, 'From the Arabic usage of

حرس, 'to defend,' 'to preserve,' the clause may be rendered, 'One shall be called a city preserved,' that is, 'one of the five cities shall be preserved' (*Comment. ad loc.*) Several other interpretations have been given of the passage, but they are too fanciful to be worth recording. The most natural meaning is that of Calvin, who follows the reading הָרָס, and the ordinary signification of the word, making it a descriptive title, and not a proper name. The prophecy of the whole verse would thus express the idea, that for *one* town of Egypt which should perish in unbelief, *five* should pro-

less the true faith, and swear fealty to the Lord. The simplicity of this interpretation, and its agreement with the scope of the whole passage as a prophetic picture of the changes in Egypt, serve to commend the common reading as the true one (Alexander, *l. c.*)—J. L. P.

IR-HATTEMARIM, 'The city of palm trees' (עִיר הַתְּמָרִים; ἰρὸς ταννῶν), a name given to JERICHO (Judg. i. 16; Deut. xxxiv. 3) in consequence of the number of palm trees which at one time grew on the rich plain round it. It is a remarkable fact that not a single palm exists there now.—J. L. P.

IR-NAHASH (עִיר נָחָשׁ, 'City of Serpents'; ἰρὸς Νᾱῆς; *Urbs Naas*). In 1 Chron. iv. 12 we read that Eshton of the tribe of Judah 'begat Tehinnah the father of Ir-nahash,' which means that Tehinnah occupied the ancient town of Ir-nahash. Its situation is not indicated, and the place is not again mentioned in the Bible. Van de Velde says, that about two miles east of Beit Jibrin, on the road to Hebron, is a village with some ancient ruins called *Deir Nakhas*, and this he would identify with Ir-nahash (*Memoir*, p. 322); but it is mere conjecture. We have no data by which to fix the locality.—J. L. P.

IRON. [BARZEL]

IRPEEL (יִרְפֵּאל, 'God restores'; Sept. Alex. Ἰερφαήλ; *Jarephel*), an ancient town of Benjamin, apparently situated on the mountain ridge north of Jerusalem (Josh. xviii. 27). The site is unknown.—J. L. P.

IR-SHEMESH (עִיר שֶׁמֶשׁ, 'City of the Sun'; ἰρὸς Σαμμαῖς; Alex. ἰρὸς Σαμῆς; *Hirsemes*), a city of Dan, near Zorah and Eshtaol (Josh. xix. 41), and doubtless identical with BETH-SHEMESH ('House of the Sun').—J. L. P.

ISAAC (יִצְחָק, or יִשְׁחָק, as it occurs four times in the poetical books, viz., Ps. cv. 9; Jer. xxxiii. 26; Amos vii. 9, 16—in the last two cases being put poetically for the whole nation of Israel; LXX. Ἰσαὰκ, *laughter, sporting*), son of Abraham and Sarah, and child of promise, born when his father was one hundred, and his mother ninety years of age (Gen. xxi. 1-7). To the etymology of the name there is reference in Gen. xvii. 17, 19; xviii. 12; xxi. 6. There need be no dispute as to which of these passages the import of the name refers; it includes a reference to them all, besides according with, and expressing the happy, cheerful disposition of the bearer, and suggesting the relation in which he stood, as the seed of Abraham, the channel of the promised blessing, and the type of Him who is pre-eminently THE SEED, whose birth has put laughter into the hearts of myriads of our race.

When he was eight days old he received circumcision, and was thus received into the covenant made with his father; while his mother's sceptical laughter was turned into triumphant exultation and joy in God (Gen. xxi. 4-7). 'And the child grew and was weaned' (in his third year), upon which occasion Abraham made a 'great feast' to celebrate the glad event; when Sarah saw Ishmael, the son of the Egyptian, 'mocking,' as the A. V. has it,

and therefore resolved that Ishmael should be 'cast out,' that he might not 'inherit' with her son Isaac. It is generally supposed that Paul refers to this, when he says, that he who was born after the flesh persecuted 'him that was born after the spirit' (Gal. iv. 29). But we question the correctness of the translation, 'mocking,' in Genesis, and, of course, the fact of Paul's reference to it. יִצְחָק does not mean to insult, Gen. xxxix. 14, where it relates 'ad lusus venereos' (Ges. *Thes.*); nor to pay idolatrous worship, Exod. xxxii. 6, where it expresses idolatrous sports in the form of dance and song; nor to fight, 2 Sam. ii. 14, where, to sport* covers the real object contemplated by Abner. Gesenius seems to take the right view: 'Vidit Sarah filium Hagaris יִצְחָק, ludentem, i.e., exultantem, saltantem—Convivium enim Pater instituerat (com. 8) in quo filiolus saltando novam gratiam inibat a patre. Quare novæ invidia et zelotypia ita resuscitata est, uti pueri matrisque expulsionem a marito flagitaret (com. 10).' He adds, 'Male LXX. et Vulg. addunt: ludentem cum Isaac filio suo; in eo enim causa odii recandescentis esse non potuit; et ridicule Hebræi pueros faciunt de hereditate futura inter se disceptantes' (*Thes.* 1163). Paul must, therefore, have had in view some unrecorded fact, traditionally handed down, when he represented the son of Hagar as persecuting Isaac. It may be added, that it is very unlikely that the verb יִצְחָק should be used in a sense so different from that which it has twice before in the same chapter and in several preceding chapters.

What effect the companionship of the wild and wayward Ishmael might have had on Isaac it is not easy to say; but his expulsion was, no doubt, ordered by God for the good of the child of promise, and most probably saved him from many an annoyance and sorrow. Freed from such evil influence, the child grew up under the nurturing care of his fond parents, mild and gentle, loving and beloved. In his twenty-fifth year the most notable circumstance of his life occurred to him. Jehovah, resolving to test the faith of Abraham, and exhibit it as a pattern to all generations, commanded him to take his son, the son of his love, Isaac, to the land of Moriah, and offer him up as a burnt-offering† upon a mountain by and by to be shown him

* 'De lusu puerorum se invicem tentantium, quid vires valeant' (Furst).

† Kurtz maintains that the basis for this trial of Abraham was laid in the state of mind produced in him by beholding the Canaanitish human sacrifices around him. His words are: 'These Canaanitish sacrifices of children, and the readiness with which the heathen around him offered them, must have excited in Abraham a contest of thoughts. . . and induced him to examine himself whether he also were capable of sufficient renunciation and self-denial to do, if his God demanded it, what the heathen around him were doing. But if this question was raised in the heart of Abraham, it must also have been brought to a definite settlement through some outward fact. Such was the basis for the demand of God so far as Abraham was concerned, and such the educational motive for his trial. The obedience of Abraham's faith must, in energy and entireness, not lag behind that which the religion of nature demanded and obtained from its profes

(ver. 22). Not hesitating for a moment, nor staggered by the imposition of a service so severe and unnatural, and although pierced through the heart with sorrow, Abraham directly set out to fulfil the Divine command, accompanied by two servants and his son, and in full confidence that God, who had quickened Sarah's womb, would quicken his son when slain, and raise him from the dead (Heb. xi. 19). Nothing but a clear command from God could have suggested such a service. 'A craving to please, or propitiate, or communicate with the powers above' by surrendering 'an object near and dear' to one, which Canon Stanley erroneously says is the 'source of all sacrifice,' and to which he attributes Abraham's conduct in the present case, could never have led to such an act. The idea is wholly improbable and irrational (*Lectures on the Hist. of the J. Ch.*, p. 47).

As they drew near to the place of sacrifice, Isaac bearing the wood, and Abraham the fire and the knife, the former said to his father, 'behold the fire and the wood; but where is the lamb for the burnt-offering?'—words which must have pierced like a sword through the father's heart; replying to which he uttered an unconscious prophecy: 'My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering.' Arrived at the place,* Abraham built an altar, arranged the wood, and bound his son, to whom no doubt he had before this communicated the divine command, and who, unresistingly submitted to the will of his father, and of his father's God. But when the patriarch was in the very act of stretching forth his hand to complete the solemn, awful act, the voice of the 'Angel of the Lord' reached his ear, forbidding the deed, and accepting the obedient, submissive will instead. A ram caught by its branching horns in a thicket, and thus providentially furnished, served as a substitute. But, virtually, the sacrifice was consummated. The obedience of the father, and the submission of the son concurred in it—the actual death of the

sors. Abraham must be ready to do for his God what the nations around him were capable of doing for their false gods. In every respect Abraham, as the hero of faith, is to out-distance all others in self-denial' (*Hist. of the O. Cov.*, i. 269). *Objectively*, the transaction was intended to recognise the element of truth in human sacrifices, while condemning the sacrifices themselves (pp. 269, 270).

It were at once tedious and unprofitable even to catalogue the various, for the most part, absurd theories of especially German theologians respecting the sacrifice of Isaac.

* What place was this? Moriah, on which the Temple was afterwards built, or Mount Gerizim? Stanley is in favour of the latter (see *S. and P.*, 250-252, 3d ed.). The Samaritans read Moreh for Moriah (Gen. xxii.). Kurtz, however, successfully defends the more usual view (see *Hist. of the O. Cov.*, i. 270-272). Stanley records the following interesting Samaritan tradition: 'Isaac was offered on Ar-Gerizim. Abraham said, 'Let us go up and sacrifice on the mountain.' He took out a rope to fasten his son; but Isaac said, 'No: I will lie still.' Thrice the knife refused to cut. Then God from heaven called to Gabriel, 'Go down and save Isaac or I will destroy thee from among the angels.' From the seventh heaven Gabriel called, and pointed to the ram. The place of the ram's capture is still shewn near the holy place.'

victim was neither necessary, nor desired by God. An example of faith and self-sacrifice was furnished to the world, which still continues, and shall, to the end of time, continue to exert a blessed influence, and teach mankind that their best and dearest are to be surrendered unto God whenever he demands them. At the same time a check was given to human sacrifices, which are here most strikingly shewn not to be pleasing to God, but, on the contrary, abhorrent to his will. 'Human sacrifice which was in outward form nearest to the offering of Isaac was, in fact and in spirit, condemned and repudiated by it' (Stanley's *J. Ch.*, p. 51). Isaac became by this transaction pre-eminently a type of the Messiah. In the surrender by the father of his 'only son,' the concurrence of the son's will with the father's, the sacrificial death which virtually took place, and the resurrection from the dead, whence Abraham received his son 'in figure' (Heb. xi. 19) are all points of analogy which cannot be overlooked.*

When Isaac had reached the age of forty years, Abraham, disliking the daughters of Canaan, sent his most trusted servant to Mesopotamia to take from thence of his own kindred a wife for his son (Gen. xxiv.) This mission having, by the guidance of Jehovah, proved successful, the servant immediately returned home with the bride, and fell in with Isaac, who, in accordance with his reflective disposition, had gone out into the fields 'at eventide' to meditate. Isaac having heard from the servant the story of his wonderful success, received Rebecca as a gift from God, 'and brought her to his mother Sarah's tent, and she became his wife, and he loved her, and was comforted after his mother's death.' As Kalisch remarks, after three years lonely sorrow for his loved mother, joy for the first time entered his heart. This simple record brings before us, very beautifully, the domestic character and loving disposition of Isaac.

The sons which Abraham had by Keturah he sent away with appropriate gifts from his son Isaac, sometime after which he died, when Isaac and Ishmael united in burying him in the family tomb.

Isaac was forty years old when he married Rebecca, who, to his great grief, was barren; but he, although the seed through whom Abraham's posterity was to be multiplied as the stars of heaven, and although he knew the Divine purpose could not be frustrated, yet had recourse to prayer for the fulfilment of the promise, and the 'Lord was entreated of him,' and Rebecca bore him two sons at a birth (Esau and Jacob), when he was in the sixtieth year of his age. Of these Esau, the open, ingenuous, brave, impulsive boy, was, naturally, his father's favourite.

Isaac dwelt by the well Lahai-roi, but a famine drove him unto Gerar (ch. xxvi.), God appearing to him and forbidding him to go down into Egypt, and renewing to him the covenant promise given originally to Abraham. While here he fell into the great error and sin into which his father had

* Several Greek myths have been compared with this narrative, *ex. gr.*, the story of Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon, and that of Athamas and Phrixus; but this is mere trifling. The similarity exists only in one or two outward circumstances; the narratives are, in all essential particulars, unlike (see Kalisch).

fallen twice,—the sin of denying his wife, and saying that she was his sister, through fear of suffering for her sake. There is no improbability, as has been asserted, that the same sort of event should happen in rude times at different intervals; and, therefore, no reason for maintaining that these events have the same historical basis, and are, in fact, the same event differently represented. Neither is it an unfair assumption that Abimelech was the common title of the kings of Gerar, as Pharaoh was of the kings of Egypt, or that it may have been the proper name of several kings in succession, as George has been of several English kings. Abimelech discovered the cheat practised by Isaac. From a window, which probably overlooked the courts of the surrounding houses, he saw Isaac 'sporting,' *פִּינְיָן*,* with Rebecca his wife, in a way that plainly indicated the relationship between them; and having called him severely reproved him for his falsehood, and afterwards charged his people respecting them. Isaac's excuse was that he thought 'the fear of God' was 'not in the place'; but the real cause was, the failure of his own trust in the gracious guardian care of Jehovah.

While in Gerar his prosperity was so great that the Philistines envied him; and Abimelech requested him to depart from them. He, therefore, left the city and dwelt in the country. But even there he was not free from annoyance. Having digged wells, the herdsmen of Gerar contended for them; and in accordance with his pacific temper, he yielded them up, one after another, rather than live in contention, till at length his servants digged one for which no one contended, which, from that circumstance, he called *Rehoboth* = room; 'for now,' saith he, 'the Lord hath made room for us' (vers. 17-23). But Abimelech, feeling that God was with him, visited him, in company with Ahuzzath, and Phichol the chief captain of his army, and entered into a covenant-oath with him of mutual peace and friendship. On the day this covenant was ratified, Isaac's servants having found water came and told him of it; when he, in commemoration of the event which had just occurred, called the well *Beer-Sheba*—the well of the oath.

The last prominent event in the life of Isaac is the blessing of his sons (ch. xxvii.). When old and dim of sight (which fails much sooner in eastern countries than in Europe), supposing that the time of his departure was at hand, he called for his beloved son Esau, and sent him to 'take some venison' for him, and to make his favourite 'savoury meat,' that he might eat and 'bless' him before his death. Esau prepared to obey his father's will, and set forth to the field; but through the deceptions stratagem of Rebecca the 'savoury meat' was provided before Esau's return; and Jacob, disguised so as to resemble his hairy brother, imposed on his father, and obtained the blessing. Yet, on the discovery of the cheat, when Esau brought into his father the dish he had prepared, Isaac, remembering no doubt the prediction that 'the elder should serve the younger,' and convinced that God intended the blessing for Jacob, deeply agitated though he was, would not, perhaps rather could not, reverse the solemn words he had uttered, but bestowed an inferior blessing on Esau.†

There is little ground for founding on this narrative a criticism adverse to Isaac, as if he had degenerated very much from his former self, because of his seeming to lay so much stress on the 'savoury meat' he requested of his son. Such a longing in an old man was innocent enough, and indicated nothing of a spirit of self-indulgence. It was an extraordinary case, too, and Kalisch sets it in its true light: 'The venison is evidently like a sacrifice offered by the recipient of the blessing, and ratifying the proceedings; and hence Jacob killed and prepared two kids of the goats (ver. 9), whereas, for an ordinary meal, one would have been more than sufficient; it imparted to the ceremony, in certain respects, the character of a covenant (comp. xxi. 27-30; xxvi. 30; Exod. xii. 2; xxiv. 5-11, etc.); the one party shewed ready obedience and sincere affection, while the other accepted the gift, and granted in return, the whole store of happiness he was able to bequeath. Thus the meal which Isaac required has a double meaning, both connected with the internal organism of the book' (*Com. on Gen. xxvii. 1-4*).

Isaac lived after this forty or fifty years in complete privacy, and died in Hebron at the advanced age of 180 years, and was buried by his sons Esau and Jacob in the cave of Machpelah.

The character of Isaac may be summed up in the words of Kalisch: 'Isaac was the worthy offspring of the chosen patriarch. He ever displayed imperturbable harmony of soul, unmoved by the greatest and dearest sacrifices; his mind was, by nature, calm and placid; modest and reserved; he was susceptible of that happiness which flows from sentiment; his heart was warm and sensitive; his piety internal and unostentatious; he inclined to reflection and prayer; his affections were strong without impetuosity; his impressions profound without exuberance. His destinies corresponded with his character. They form the exact medium between the history of Abraham and that of Jacob. He spent his life without the deeds of the one and the sufferings of the other; he was not like either, compelled to distant wanderings; after the grand trial of his youth, the course of his life was, on the whole, calm and even. Without labour or care he inherited a large fortune, while both his father and his son acquired property but gradually, and the latter not without laborious exertion; he obtained a pious and beautiful wife without the least personal effort, by the care of a provident father and a faithful servant, whereas Jacob had, for the same purpose, not only to undertake a perilous journey, but to submit to a long and toilsome servitude; and though we shall soon have occasion to shew many parallels in the destinies of Isaac and Abraham, the history of the former exhibits a certain pause in the progress of the narrative; it contains few new elements, and advances but little the Hebrew theocracy; its tendency is rather to secure the old ideas, than to introduce new ones; and its chief interest consists in proving how the enlightenment of Abraham had, by habit and temperament,

relates to purely earthly good things. The dew of heaven, the fatness of the earth, plenty of corn and wine, dominion over nations, and lordship over brethren, with a curse to those who cursed, and a blessing to those that blessed him, constituting the portion bestowed on Jacob, who obtained the blessing in its highest form.

* 'De blanditiis maritalibus' (Fürst).

† It is remarkable that the blessing, in both cases,

become with Isaac an impulsive feeling; and how the acquirements of the mind had become the property of the heart' (*Com. on Gen.* xxiv. 62-67).

Many curious legends exist among the Jews and Mohammedans respecting Isaac, such as that he was an angel created before the world, who descended to earth in a human form: that he was one of the three in whom there was no sin, and one of the six over whom the angel of death had no power; and that he was the instituter of evening prayer, as Abraham was of morning, and Jacob of night prayer; but that related by Canon Stanley, in his account of the visit of the Prince of Wales to the patriarchal tomb at Hebron, is the strangest, because of its being so totally out of harmony with the character of the patriarch. It is as follows:—'On requesting to see the tomb of Isaac, we were entreated not to enter.' Asking the reason of this, we were told 'that Abraham was full of loving-kindness,' etc.; but that 'Isaac was proverbially jealous, and it was exceedingly dangerous to provoke him. When Ibrahim Pasha [as conqueror of Palestine] had endeavoured to enter, he was driven out by Isaac, and fell back as if thunderstruck' (*Lect. on the Hist. of the J. Ch.*, pp. 496, 497). On the history of Isaac the following works may be consulted:—*Kalisch's Com. on Genesis*; *Kurtz on the Old Cov.*, in the *For. Theol. Lib.*, vol. i; *Graves on the Pentateuch*, part. iii.; Maurice, *Patriarchs and Lawgivers*, iv.; *Frischmuth, Thes. Theol. Phil.*, attached to the *Critici Sacri*, etc.—*L. J.*

ISAAC B. ELIA B. SAMUEL, a Jewish commentator who flourished in the beginning of the 18th century, and wrote (1) *A Commentary on the Psalms*, published at Dyrhenfurt 1728, under the title of *תהלים עם לקוטי מנדים*, *the Psalms with a valuable catena*, consisting of excerpts from the celebrated expositions of Rashi, D. Kimchi, etc., giving also an abridgment of Alsheich's commentary entitled *רוסמות אל* [ALSHEICH], and a German explanation of the difficult words. (2) *A Commentary on Proverbs*, entitled *משלי עם לקוטי מנדים*, *Proverbs with a valuable catena*, Wandsbeck 1730-31, composed of excerpts from the expositions of Rashi, D. Kimchi, Ibn Ezra, Levi b. Gershon, Salomon b. Melech, giving also a German explanation of the difficult expressions, and an abridgment of Alsheich's exposition called *רוב פנינים*; and (3) *A Commentary on the Sabbath Lessons from the Prophets* [HAPHTARA], entitled *פני יצחק*, *the face of Isaac*, Wandsbeck 1730, which consists of excerpts from nine of the most distinguished commentators, viz., Rashi, Ibn Ezra, D. Kimchi, Levi b. Gershon, Abravanel, Alsheich, Samuel b. Laniado, J. Arama, and Joseph Albo. The works of Isaac b. Elia are very valuable, inasmuch as they enable the Biblical student to see on one page the expositions of the best and most famous Jewish commentators on every difficult passage without being obliged to search for them in inaccessible and costly volumes.—*C. D. G.*

ISAAC B. MOSES, also called *ארוי* = *Arojo*, which has been improperly pronounced *Arrojo* and *Arbib*, lived in the 16th century, and wrote (1) *A Commentary on the Pentateuch*, entitled *תנחומות אל*, *the Consolation of God*, which was printed in Saloniki 1578-79; and (2) *A Commentary on*

the book of Ecclesiastes, called *מקהיל קהלת*, *the Gatherer of the Congregation*, also published at Saloniki 1597. Both these commentaries are written in a philosophical spirit, and are valuable contributions to Biblical exegesis (comp. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodiciana*, col. 1139).—*C. D. G.*

ISAAC BLITZ. [JEKUTHIEL B. ISAAC.]

ISAAC B. GIKATILLA. [GIKATILLA.]

ISAAC B. JEHUDAH. [IBN GIATH.]

ISAAC, PULGAR. [PULGAR.]

ISAACUS, JOHN, is the Christian name of

JOCHANAN HA-LEVI (יהון יצחק הלוי), a distinguished Jewish grammarian and lexicographer, who flourished in the middle of the 10th century, when he embraced Christianity and became Oriental professor in Cologne. He wrote (1) *An Introduction to the Hebrew Grammar and to the art of writing a pure Hebrew style*, entitled *סמכות אמר*, *שפר*, Colon. 1553. Isaacus gives in this work different specimens of Hebrew writing, dialogues, and epistles, both from the O. T. and other Hebrew writings, as well as the books of Obadiah and Jonah in Hebrew with a Latin translation; (2) *A grammatical treatise entitled Meditationes Hebraice in Artem Grammat. per integrum librum Ruth explicatae; adjecta sunt quaedam contra D. I. Forsteri lexicon*, Colon. 1558, which consists of a useful analysis and excellent translation of the entire book of Ruth; (3) *Notæ in Clenardi Tabulam, etc.*, Colon. 1555, being annotations on Clenard's Tables of Hebrew Grammar; (4) *An excellent introduction to the edition of Elias Levita's Chaldeæ Lexicon entitled מתורגמן*, which was published at Colon. 1560; and (5) *Defensio veritatis hebrae sacrarum scripturarum adversus Lindanum*, Colon. 1559.—*C. D. G.*

ISAIAH (יִשְׁעִיָּה; Sept. 'Isaías). *I. Times and circumstances of the Prophet Isaiah.*—The heading of this book places the prophet under the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah; and an examination of the prophecies themselves, independently of the heading, leads us to the same chronological results. Chapter vi., in which is related the call of Isaiah, not to his prophetic office, but to a higher degree of it, is thus headed: 'In the year in which king Uzziah died I saw the Lord,' etc. The collection of prophecies is chronologically arranged, and the utterances in the preceding chapters (i. to vi.) belong, for chronological and other reasons, to an earlier period, preceding the last year of the reign of Uzziah, although the utterances in chapters ii. iii. iv. and v. have been erroneously assigned to the reign of Jotham. We have no document which can, with any degree of certainty, or even of probability, be assigned to that reign. We by no means assert that the prophetic ministry of Isaiah was suspended during the reign of Jotham, but merely that then apparently the circumstances of the times did not require Isaiah to utter predictions of importance for all ages of the church. We certainly learn from the examples of Nathan, Elijah, and Elisha, that a powerful prophetic ministrations may be in operation, although the predictions uttered, finding their accomplishment within the

times of the prophet, are not preserved for subsequent ages. As, however, the position of affairs was not materially changed under the reign of Jotham, we may say that the first two utterances have a bearing upon that reign also. These two prophecies contain the sum and substance of what Isaiah taught during twenty years of his life. If these prophetic utterances belonging to the reign of Uzziah had not been extant, there would, doubtless, have been written down and preserved similar discourses uttered under the reign of Jotham. As, however, the former utterances were applicable to that reign also, it was unnecessary to preserve such as were of similar import.

The continuation of prophetic authorship, or the writing down of uttered prophecies, depended upon the commencement of new historical developments, such as took place under the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah. Several prophecies in the seventh and following chapters belong to the reign of Ahaz; and most of the subsequent prophecies to the reign of Hezekiah. The prophetic ministry of Isaiah under Hezekiah is also described in an historical section contained in chapters xxxvi.-xxxix. The data which are contained in this section come down to the fifteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah; consequently we are in the possession of historical documents proving that the prophetic ministry of Isaiah was in operation during about forty-seven or fifty years, commencing in the year B.C. 763 or 759, and extending to the year B.C. 713. Of this period, from one to four years belong to the reign of Uzziah, sixteen to the reign of Jotham, sixteen to the reign of Ahaz, and fourteen to the reign of Hezekiah.

Staudlein, Jahn, Bertholdt, and Gesenius, have, in modern times, advanced the opinion that Isaiah lived to a much later period, and that his life extended to the reign of Manasseh, the successor of Hezekiah. For this opinion, the following reasons are adduced:—

1. According to 2 Chron. xxxii. 32, Isaiah wrote the life of King Hezekiah. It would hence appear that he survived that king.

2. We find a tradition current in the Talmud, in the Fathers, and in Oriental literature, that Isaiah suffered martyrdom in the reign of Manasseh, by being sawn asunder. It is thought that an allusion to this tradition is found in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 37), in the expression *they were sawn asunder* (*ἐπλάθηναι*), which seems to harmonise with 2 Kings xxi. 16, 'moreover Manasseh shed innocent blood very much.'

3. The authenticity of the second portion of the prophecies of Isaiah being admitted, the nature of this portion would seem to confirm the idea that its author had lived under Manasseh. The style of the second portion, it is asserted, is so different from that of the first, that they could not well have been composed by the same author, except under the supposition that a considerable time intervened between the composition of the first and second portion. The contents of the latter—such as the complaints respecting gross idolatry, the sacrifice of children to idols, the wickedness of rulers, etc.—seem to be applicable neither to the times of the exile, into which the prophet might have transported himself in the spirit, nor to the period of the pious Hezekiah, but are quite applicable to the reign of Manasseh.

These arguments, however, do not stand a strict

scrutiny. The first can only prove that Isaiah survived Hezekiah; but even this does not follow with certainty, because in 2 Chron. xxxii. 32, where Isaiah's biography of Hezekiah is mentioned, the important words 'first and last' are omitted; while in chap. xxvi. 22, we read, 'Now the rest of the acts of Uzziah, FIRST AND LAST, did Isaiah, the son of Amoz, write.' If we take into consideration this important omission, we can easily believe that Isaiah died before Hezekiah, although he wrote his biography up to a certain point; more especially if we bear in mind that, according to the books of Kings and Chronicles, the latter years of the reign of Hezekiah were devoid of important events. We certainly find, in all ages of literature, biographies of persons written during their life-time.

We may well suppose that the history of Hezekiah terminated with the glorious aid granted to him in his war with the Assyrians, and with the events immediately consequent upon that war.

In reply to the second argument, we observe, that it is not certain that the word *ἐπλάθηναι*, *they were sawn asunder*, is used in Hebrews with reference to Isaiah. The statement in the Fathers, and in Oriental writers, is entirely deduced from the Jewish tradition, which is throughout of so doubtful a character that no conclusive argument can be based upon it.

With regard to the third argument, we remark, that the difference discernible, if we compare the latter with the former portion of Isaiah, can, and ought to be, differently accounted for. Such merely external attempts at explanation, when applied to Holy Writ, always appear unsatisfactory if closely examined. We invariably find that the real cause of the external appearance lies deeper, and in the nature of the subject itself. For instance, the peculiarity of Deuteronomy arises from the special bearing of that book upon the other books of the Pentateuch, and the peculiar style of the Apocalypse arises from its relation to the gospel of St. John. The appeal to such merely external arguments always proceeds from an inability to understand the essence of the matter. In reference to the censures occurring in the latter portion of Isaiah, we observe, that they might also have a bearing upon the corruptions prevalent in former reigns, and that they were not necessarily confined to manifestations of wickedness occurring at the time when they were written down. These censures might also refer to the gross perversions under Ahaz; and it is also unlikely that the personal piety of Hezekiah entirely extinguished all abuses among his people. We certainly do not find that the personal piety of King Josiah had that effect upon all his subjects.

Several other arguments adduced against the opinion that Isaiah died during the reign of Manasseh, are certainly of little weight. For instance, the *argumentum e silentio*, or the proof derived from the silence of the historical books respecting Isaiah during the reign of Manasseh. This argument is of no importance at all, since, at any rate, the death of Isaiah is nowhere mentioned in the Bible; from which circumstance we infer, that, on account of his advanced age, he had retired from active life.

Of somewhat more weight is the objection that, according to the supposition that Isaiah died under Manasseh, too great an age would be ascribed to

the prophet. Although we were to suppose that Isaiah, as well as Jeremiah, was called to the prophetic office at an early age—perhaps in his twentieth year—he, nevertheless, in the fifteenth year of Hezekiah, up to which date we can prove his ministrations by existing documents, would have reached quite or nearly to his seventieth year, which is the usual duration of human life; consequently, at the time of the accession of Manasseh he would have been about eighty-four years old; and if, with the defenders of the tradition, we allow that he exercised the prophetic functions for about seven or eight years during the reign of Manasseh, he must at the period of his martyrdom have attained to the age of ninety-two. This, indeed, is quite possible. The example of the prophet Hosea, who exercised his prophetic calling during sixty years, and that of the priest Jehoiada, who, according to 2 Chron. xxiv. 15, was a hundred and thirty years old when he died, prove the possibility of the age ascribed to Isaiah.

The chief argument against the tradition, however, is contained in the inscription of the book itself. According to this inscription all the prophecies of Isaiah in our collection are included within the period from Uzziah to Hezekiah. Not one of the prophecies which are headed by an inscription of their own is placed after the fifteenth year of Hezekiah; and the internal evidence leads us in none beyond this period. Hence we infer that the prophetic ministry of Isaiah terminated soon after its fullest development, to which it attained during the period of the Assyrian invasion, in the reign of Hezekiah.

According to these statements Isaiah belongs to the cycle of the most ancient prophets whose predictions have been preserved in writing. He was a contemporary of Hosea, Amos, and Jonah, although younger than those prophets, who belonged to the kingdom of Israel. He was likewise a contemporary and co-worker of the prophet Micah in the kingdom of Judah. We infer also from the circumstance that the prophecies of Joel are inserted among the books of the minor prophets before those of Micah, that Isaiah must have been a contemporary of Joel, since the minor prophets are chronologically arranged.

Micah entered upon his prophetic office under the reign of Jotham, consequently somewhat later than Isaiah commenced his prophetic career. Obadiah, who is placed among the minor prophets, after Joel and before Micah, was likewise a contemporary of Isaiah. It is not accidental that Isaiah and all these prophets commence the series of those whose prophetic utterances were written down and preserved. Nor is there any reason to assert that the preceding age was neglectful of the preservation of prophetic literature, although even Ewald, in his *Propheten* (i. p. 54, Stuttgart, 1840), asserts that beyond the prophetic literature which we possess there lay an earlier, which was more comprehensive. There is, however, no one genuine proof sufficient to evince that there were written prophecies before Isaiah and his contemporaries. Hosea refers (viii. 12), not to earlier prophetic writings, but to the books of Moses. This has been proved by Hengstenberg (*Beiträge*, part ii. p. 604, *seq.*) Isaiah ii. and Micah iv. do not rest upon an earlier prophetic production which was lost; but Isaiah rests upon Micah as Jeremiah does upon Obadiah; and it is not the case that

both prophets rest upon a third unknown prophet. At the period when these prophets commenced their career, prophetism itself had attained a new epoch, at which a great number of important prophets were ranged beside each other. The affairs of the Israelites became at this period more interwoven with those of the great Asiatic empires, which then began to bring about the threatened judgments of the Lord upon his people. Henceforward, also, the prophetic office was to be conducted on a grander scale. To the prophets it was now assigned to declare and to interpret the judgments of the Lord, in order to render the people conscious as well of his chastising justice as of his preserving mercy. A larger field was now opened to the strictly prophetic office, which consisted in uttering predictions of the future. The admonitions to repentance were now also supported by more powerful motives. The hopes of a coming Messiah were revived. To the worldly power, which threatens destruction to the external theocracy, is henceforth opposed the kingdom of God, destined to conquer and to govern the world through the Messiah. This consolation was offered to those who would otherwise have been driven to despair. Now only was prophetism able to develop its full power and become important for all subsequent ages. This persuasion induced the prophets to write their prophecies, and it caused these documents also to be carefully preserved. The reason why the earlier prophets did not commit their utterances to writing is the same that, with two exceptions, led Isaiah not to write under Uzziah, and to omit writing his utterances under Jotham altogether.

Little is known respecting the circumstances of Isaiah's life. His father's name was Amoz (אֲמוֹז). The fathers of the church confound him with the prophet Amos (אֲמוֹס), because they were unacquainted with Hebrew, and in Greek the two names are spelled alike. The opinion of the Rabbins, that Isaiah was a brother of King Amaziah, rests also on a mere etymological combination. Isaiah resided at Jerusalem, not far from the temple. We learn from chapters vii. and viii. that he was married. Two of his sons are mentioned, Shear-jashub and Maher-shalal-hash-baz. These significant names, which he gave to his sons, prove how much Isaiah lived in his vocation. He did not consider his children to belong merely to himself, but rendered them living admonitions to the people. In their names were contained the two chief points of his prophetic utterances: one recalled to mind the severe and inevitable judgment wherewith the Lord was about to visit the world, and especially his people; the other, which signifies 'The remnant shall return,' pointed out the mercy with which the Lord would receive the elect, and with which, in the midst of apparent destruction, he would take care to preserve his people and his kingdom. Isaiah calls his wife נְבִיאָה, *prophetess*. This indicates that his marriage-life was not in opposition to his vocation, and also that it not only went along with his vocation, but that it was intimately interwoven with it. This name cannot mean the wife of a prophet, but indicates that the prophetess of Isaiah had a prophetic gift, like Miriam, Deborah, and Huldah. The appellation here given denotes the genuineness of their conjugal relation.

Even the dress of the prophet was subservient to his vocation. He wore a garment of hair-cloth

or sackcloth (ch. xx. 2). This seems also to have been the costume of Elijah, according to 2 Kings i. 8; and it was the dress of John the Baptist. Heavy sackcloth is, in the Bible, the symbol of repentance (compare Is. xx. 11, 12, and 1 Kings xxi. 27). This costume of the prophets was a *sermo propheticus realis*, a prophetic preaching by fact. The prophetic preacher comes forward in the form of personified repentance. What he does exhibits to the people what they should do. Before he has opened his lips his external appearance proclaims *metavoire, repent.*

II. *On the Historical Works of Isaiah.*—Besides the collection of prophecies which has been preserved to us, Isaiah also wrote two historical works. It was part of the vocation of the prophets to write the history of the kingdom of God, to exhibit in this history the workings of the law of retribution, and to exhort to the true worship of the Lord. History, as written by the prophets, is itself retroverted prophecy, and, as such, offers rich materials for prophecy strictly so-called. Since all the acts of God proceed from his essence, a complete understanding of the past implies also the future; and, *vice versa*, a complete understanding of the future implies a knowledge of the past. Most of the historical books in the O. T. have been written by prophets. The collectors of the Canon placed most of these books under the head נביאים, *prophets*; hence, it appears that, even when these historical works were re-modelled by later editors, these editors were themselves prophets. The Chronicles are not placed among the נביאים: we may, therefore, conclude that they were not written by a prophet. But their author constantly indicates that he composed his work from abstracts taken verbatim from historical monographs written by the prophets; consequently the books of Ruth, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, are the only historical books of the O. T. which did not originate from prophets.

The first historical work of Isaiah was a biography of King Uzziah (comp. 2 Chron. xxvi. 22), 'Now the rest of the acts of Uzziah, first and last, did Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, write.' The second historical work of Isaiah was a biography of King Hezekiah, which was subsequently inserted in the annals of Judah and Israel. These annals consisted of a series of prophetic monographs, which were received partly entire, partly in abstracts, and are the chief source from which the information contained in the Chronicles is derived. In this work of Isaiah, although its contents were chiefly historical, numerous prophecies were inserted. Hence it is called in 2 Chron. xxxii. 32, חזון ישעיהו, *The Vision of Isaiah*. In a similar manner the biography of Solomon by Ahijah is called in 2 Chron. ix. 29, 'the prophecy of Ahijah.' The two historical works of Isaiah were lost, together with the annals of Judah and Israel, into which they were embodied. Whatever these annals contained that was of importance for all ages, has been preserved to us by being received into the historical books of the O. T., and the predictions of the most distinguished prophets have been formed into separate collections. After this was effected, less care was taken to preserve the more diffuse annals, which also comprehended many statements, of value only for particular times and places.

III. *The integral genuineness of the prophecies of*

Isaiah.—The Jewish synagogue, and the Christian church during all ages, have considered it as an undoubted fact that the prophecies which bear the name of Isaiah really originated from that prophet. Even Spinoza did not expressly assert in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (viii. 8), that the book of Isaiah consisted of a collection originating from a variety of authors, although it is usually considered that he maintained this opinion. But in the last quarter of the 18th century this prevailing conviction appeared to some divines to be inconvenient. In the theology of the natural man it passed as certain, that nature was complete in itself, and that prophecies, as well as miracles, never had occurred, and were even impossible. Whoever is spell-bound within the limits of nature, and has never felt the influence of a supernatural principle upon his own heart, is incapable of understanding the supernatural in history, and feels a lively interest in setting it aside, not only on account of its appearing to him to be strange and awful, but also because supernatural events are facts of accusation against the merely natural man. The assumption of the impossibility of miracles necessarily demanded that the genuineness of the Pentateuch should be rejected; and, in a similar manner, the assumption of the impossibility of prophecy demanded that a great portion of the prophecies of Isaiah should be rejected likewise. Here also the wish was father to the thought, and interest led to the decision of critical questions, the arguments for which were subsequently discovered. All those who attack the integral genuineness of Isaiah agree in considering the book to be an anthology, or gleanings of prophecies, collected after the Babylonian exile, although they differ in their opinions respecting the origin of this collection. Koppe gave gentle hints of this view, which was first explicitly supported by Eichhorn in his *Introduction*. Eichhorn advances the hypothesis that a collection of Isaian prophecies (which might have been augmented, even before the Babylonian exile, by several not genuine additions) formed the basis of the present anthology, and that the collectors, after the Babylonian exile, considering that the scroll on which they were written did not form a volume proportionate to the size of the three other prophetic scrolls, containing Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and the minor prophets, annexed to the Isaian collection all other oracles at hand whose authors were not known to the editors. In this supposition of the non-identity of date and authorship, most learned men, and lately also Hitzig and Ewald, followed Eichhorn. Gesenius, on the contrary, maintained, in his introduction to Isaiah, that all the non-Isaian prophecies extant in that book originated from one author and were of the same date. Umbreit and Köster on the main point follow Gesenius, considering chapters xl. to lvi. to be a continuous whole, written by a pseudo-Isaiah who lived about the termination of the Babylonian exile. In reference to other portions of the book of Isaiah, the genuineness of which has been questioned, Umbreit expresses himself doubtfully, and Köster assigns them to Isaiah. Gesenius declines to answer the question, how it happened that these portions were ascribed to Isaiah, but Hitzig felt that an answer to it might be expected. He accordingly attempts to explain why such additions were made to Isaiah and not to any of the other prophetic books, by the extraordinary veneration

in which Isaiah was held. He says that the great authority of Isaiah occasioned important and distinguished prophecies to be placed in connection with his name. But he himself soon after destroys the force of this assertion by observing, that the great authority of Isaiah was especially owing to those prophecies which were falsely ascribed to him. A considerable degree of suspicion must, however, attach to the boasted certainty of such critical investigations, if we notice how widely these learned men differ in defining what is of Isaian origin and what is not, although they are all linked together by the same fundamental tendency and interest. There are very few portions in the whole collection whose genuineness has not been called in question by some one or other of the various impugnors. Almost every part has been attacked either by Dæderlein, or by Eichhorn (who, especially in a later work entitled *Die Hebräischen Propheten*, Göttingen 1816 to 1819, goes farther than all the others), or by Justi (who, among the earlier adversaries of the integral genuineness of Isaiah, uses, in his *Vermischte Schriften* (vols. i. and ii.), the most comprehensive, and, apparently, the best grounded arguments), or by Paulus, Rosenmüller, Bauer, Bertholdt, De Wette, Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit, or others. The only portions left to Isaiah are chap. i. 3-9, xvii., xv., xxviii., xxxi., and xxxiii. All the other chapters are defended by some and rejected by others; they are also referred to widely different dates. In the most modern criticism, however, we observe an inclination again to extend the sphere of Isaian genuineness as much as the dogmatic principle and system of the critics will allow. Modern criticism is inclined to admit the genuineness of chaps. i. to xxiii., with the only exception of the two prophecies against Babylon in chaps. xiii. and xiv., and in chap. xxi. 1-10. Chaps. xxviii.-xxxiii. are allowed to be Isaian by Ewald, Umbreit, and others.

Divines, who were not linked to these critics by the same dogmatical interest, undertook to defend the integrity of Isaiah, as Hensler, *Jesaias neu übersetzt*, 1788; Piper, *Integritas Jesaie*, 1793; Beckhaus, *Ueber die Integrität der Prophetischen Schriften*, 1796; Jahn, in his *Einleitung*, who was the most able among the earlier advocates; Dereser, in his *Bearbeitung des Jesaias* iv. 1; Greve, *Vaticinia Jesaie*, Amsterdam 1810. All these works have at present only an historical value, because they have been surpassed by two recent monographies. The first is by Jo. Ulr. Møller, *De Authentica Oraculorum Jesaie*, ch. xl.-lxvi., Copenhagen 1825. Although this work professionally defends only the latter portion of the book of Isaiah, there occur in it many arguments applicable also to the first portion. The standard work on this subject is that of Kleinert, *Die Aechtheit des Jesaias*, vol. i., Berlin 1829. It is, however, very diffuse, and contains too many hypotheses. The comprehensive work of Schleier, *Würdigung der Einwurfe gegen die Alttestamentlichen Weissagungen im Jesaias*, chaps. xiii. and xiv., of course refers more especially to these chapters, but indirectly refers also to all the other portions whose authenticity has been attacked. Since the objections against the various parts of Isaiah are all of the same character, it is very inconsistent in Köster, in his work *Die Propheten des alten Testaments*, to defend, in page 102, the genuineness of chaps. xiii., xiv., and xxi.; but

nevertheless, in pages 117 and 297, to ascribe chaps. xl.-lxvi. to a pseudo-Isaiah.

After this survey of the present state of the inquiry, we proceed to furnish, first, the external arguments for the integral genuineness of Isaiah.

1. The most ancient testimony in favour of Isaiah's being the author of all the portions of the collection which bears his name, is contained in the heading of the whole (i. 1), 'The vision of Isaiah, the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, kings of Judah.' It is here clearly stated that Isaiah was the author of the following prophecies, uttered during the reign of four successive kings. This inscription is of great importance, even if it originated not from Isaiah, but from a later compiler. If we adopt the latest date at which this compilation could have been made, we must fix it at the time of its reception into the canon in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. Consequently the compiler could not be separated by many years from the pseudo-Isaiah, who is said to have prophesied just before Babylon was conquered, or who, according to most critics, wrote even after the fall of Babylon. It is not credible that a compiler living so near the times of the author, should have erroneously ascribed these prophecies to Isaiah, who lived so much earlier, especially if we bear in mind that this so-called pseudo-Isaiah must have been a very remarkable person in an age so devoid of the prophetic spirit as that in which he is said to have lived.

It is still less credible that a pseudo-Isaiah should himself have fraudulently ascribed his prophecies to Isaiah. None of the adversaries of the genuineness of the book make such an assertion.

If the compiler lived before the exile, the inscription appears to be of still greater importance. That the collection was made so early is very likely, from the circumstance that Jeremiah and other prophets apparently made use of the prophecies of Isaiah. This fact indicates that the prophecies of Isaiah early excited a lively interest, and that the compiler must have lived at a period earlier than that which is ascribed to the pseudo-Isaiah himself. From all this we infer that the compiler lived before the exile. The adversaries themselves felt the weight of this argument. They, therefore, attempted to remove it by various hypotheses, which received a semblance of probability from the circumstance that even the considerate Vitringa had called in question the genuineness of the heading. Vitringa conjectured that this heading belonged originally to the first chapter alone. He further conjectured that it originally contained only the words, *prophecy of Isaiah, the son of Amos, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem*. The following words, he says, were added by the compiler, who enlarged the particular inscription of the first chapter to a general one of the whole collection. According to Vitringa the inscription does not suit the whole book, the contents of which are not confined to Judah and Jerusalem alone. This had been felt even by Kimchi, who, anticipating the objection, observes, *quæcunque contra gentes profert, ea omnia propter Judam dicit*. Whatsoever Isaiah utters against the nations, he says on account of Judah. Judah and Jerusalem are the chief subject, and, in a certain sense, the only subject of prophecy. There is no prophecy concerning other nations without a bearing upon

the covenant-people. If this bearing should be wanting in any portion of prophecy, that portion would be a piece of divination and soothsaying. No prophet against foreign nations prophesied concerning them with the view to spread his predictions among them, because the mission of all prophets is to Israel. The predictions against foreign nations are intended to preserve the covenant-people from despair, and to strengthen their faith in the omnipotence and justice of their God. These predictions are intended to annihilate the reliance upon political combinations and human confederacies. They are intended to lead Israel to the question, 'If they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?' If this is the punishment of those who are less intimately allied with God, what shall then become of us to whom he has more clearly revealed himself? But they are also intended to indicate the future conversion of the heathen, and to open to the view of the faithful the future glory of the kingdom of God, and its final victory over the kingdoms of this world; and thus to extirpate all narrow-minded nationality. God shall be revealed not only as Jehovah but also as Elohim. His relation to Israel is misunderstood, if that relation is exclusively kept in view without any regard to the universe. Therefore the whole collection is justly entitled Prophecies concerning Judah and Jerusalem. No matter whether this inscription originated from Isaiah himself or from an ancient compiler. That the word *נביות* means not merely a vision, but also a collection of visions and prophecies, may be learned from 2 Chron. xxxii. 32, and Nahum i. 1. It means a collection of prophecies and visions united like a picture in an historical frame (comp. Jer. xiv. 14), although it may also denote one separate prophecy, as in Obadiah, ver. 1. *נביות* has no plural (comp. Hitzig's *Commentary* on ch. i. 1; Ewald, *Propheten* i., p. 59).

The inscription in ch. i. 1 has a general bearing upon the whole collection. Then follows the first portion, which contains, as it were, the general prophetic programme. Thereupon follows a series of prophecies directly bearing upon Judah and Jerusalem, commencing again with a particular heading (ii. 1). To this succeeds a series of prophecies indirectly bearing upon Judah and Jerusalem, but directly upon foreign nations. The first of this series has again its own heading (xiii. 1).

Gesenius, advancing in the direction to which Vitringa had pointed, although he grants the integrity of ch. i. 1, nevertheless maintains that this heading belonged originally only to chaps. i.-xii., in which were contained genuine prophecies of Isaiah. To this collection, he asserts, were afterwards subjoined the anthologies contained in the following chapters, and the heading was then misunderstood as applying to the whole volume. This opinion is more inconsistent than that of Vitringa, since there occur in the first twelve chapters two prophecies against foreign nations; one against the Assyrians, in ch. x., and another against Ephraim, in ch. ix.

Vitringa, Gesenius, and their followers, are also refuted by the parallel passage in the heading of Amos, 'The words of Amos, which he saw concerning Israel.' The prophecies of Amos in general are here said to be concerning Israel, although there are, as in Isaiah, several against foreign nations, a series of which stands even at the com-

mencement of the book. To this we may add the similarity of the headings of other prophetic books. For instance, the commencement of Jeremiah, Hosea, Micah, and Zephaniah.

Ewald spoils the argument of Vitringa still more than Gesenius, by extending the original collection to ch. xxiii., and thus introducing within the cycle headed by the inscription, whose genuineness he grants, most of the predictions against foreign nations. Whoever subjoined the subsequent portions to the so-called original collection, did it only because he perceived that these portions could be brought under the general heading. He could only have been induced to make the so-called additions, because he perceived that the heading applied to the whole: consequently neither Gesenius nor Ewald rid themselves of the troublesome authority of ch. i. 1; the words of which have the more weight, since all critics ascribe to the headings of the prophetic books a far greater authority than to the headings of the Psalms, and agree in saying that nothing but the most stringent arguments should induce us to reject the statements contained in these prophetic headings.

2. It cannot be proved that there ever existed any so-called prophetic anthology as has been supposed to exist in the book of Isaiah. We find nothing analogous in the whole range of prophetic literature. It is generally granted that the collections bearing the names of Jeremiah and Ezekiel contain only productions of those authors whose name they bear. In the book of the minor prophets, the property of each is strictly distinguished from the rest by headings. The genuineness of only the second portion of Zechariah has been attacked; and this with very feeble arguments, which have been refuted. De Wette himself has, in the latest editions of his *Introduction*, confessed that on this point he is vanquished.

But even if it could be proved that the prophecies of Zechariah belonged to two different authors, namely, as Bertholdt and Gesenius suppose, to the two Zechariahs, each of whom happened to be the son of a Berechiah, this identity of names might be considered an inducement for uniting the productions of the two authors in one collection: still this case would not be analogous to what is asserted to be the fact in Isaiah. In Isaiah, it is alleged not only that a series of chapters belonging to a different author were subjoined, commencing about chap. xxiv., but it is affirmed that, even in the first thirty-three chapters, the genuine and spurious portions are intermixed. Before we admit that the compilers proceeded here in a manner so unreasonable, and so contrary to their usual custom, we must expect some cogent proof to be adduced. Gesenius declares that he would not attempt to touch this problem. This is as much as to admit the validity of our objection. Eichhorn supposes that the spurious additions were made because the scroll otherwise would not have been filled up. But this *fuga vacui*, this abhorrence of a vacuum, does not explain the intermixture of the spurious with the genuine. It does not explain why the additions were not all subjoined at the end of the genuine portions. Doederlein creates for himself a second Isaiah, son of Amos, living at the conclusion of the exile. But even this fiction does not explain why the property of these two prophets was intermixed in spite of their being separated from each other by two centuries, and so

intermixed that it is now difficult to say which belongs to which. Augusti supposes that the spurious pieces were added to the genuine on account of their being written entirely in the spirit and style of Isaiah. But in this he seems to contradict himself, since he bases his attack against their authenticity upon the assertion that they differed from Isaiah in spirit and manner. The style of Isaiah was certainly not the style of the age in which the pseudo-Isaiah is said to have lived. Justi supposes that the prediction concerning the Babylonian exile, in ch. xxxix. led to the addition of the whole of the second portion. But this hypothesis is improbable and without analogy, and it does not explain the intermixture of the genuine with the spurious in the first portion.

How untenable all these hypotheses are may be readily perceived from the fact that each of them remained the almost exclusive property of its author, and that each following critic felt himself prompted to discover a new hypothesis, until Gesenius endeavoured to stop them by cutting the Gordian knot. Hitzig, however, again attempted to unloose it, but, as we have already seen, unsuccessfully. Ewald maintains that the compiler never intended that chaps. xl.-lxvi. should belong to Isaiah, and that the last twenty-six chapters had been subjoined merely in order to preserve them the better. But it is untrue that the first portion is unconnected with these chapters. The first portion terminates with the prediction of the Babylonian exile, and the second commences with the announcement of a future redemption from this captivity. Chaps. xl.-lxvi. have no heading of their own; which proves that the compiler annexed them as Isaian, and intended them to be read as such. The so-called spurious portions in the first part of Isaiah were, according to the opinion of Ewald (p. 62), intermixed with the genuine, because the compiler really supposed them to belong to Isaiah. Thus Ewald admits that the intermixed pieces have the testimony of the compiler in favour of their authenticity. To deny that this testimony extends also to the second part, is an arbitrary assumption. Now, if this testimony is granted, we are content. With it we gain this much, that the attacked portions have the presumption of genuineness in their favour, and that, therefore, very substantial reasons are required for denying their Isaian origin. This is all that we want.

3. According to the opinion of several critics, all the spurious portions of Isaiah belong to one and the same author. But it so happens that the portion which is most emphatically declared to be spurious, namely, chaps. xliii. and xlv., bear an inscription which expressly ascribes them to Isaiah. Now, as the internal arguments against the authenticity of all the portions which are said to be spurious are nearly identical, if the opposition to chaps. xliii. and xlv. is given up, it cannot with consistency be maintained against the other portions. This argument serves also as an answer to those who ascribe the portions which they consider spurious to several authors. The contents of these portions are similar. They contain predictions of the fall of Babylon, and of the redemption of Israel from captivity. Whatever proves the genuineness of one of these portions, indirectly proves the others also to be genuine.

4. According to Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. i. 1, 2) Cyrus was induced by the prophecies of Isaiah re-

specting him to allow the return of the Jews, and to aid them in rebuilding the temple. The credibility of Josephus, who in regard to facts of ancient history is not always to be relied upon, is here supported by two circumstances. First, the favour shewn by Cyrus to the Jews, which remains inexplicable except by the fact mentioned, in combination with the influence of Daniel. In modern times, the favour of Cyrus to the Jews has been called a prudential measure; but it does not appear what he could either hope or fear from a people so enfeebled as the Jews were at that period. It has been added that Cyrus was favourable to the Jews on account of the similarity between the Persian and the Jewish religion; but there is no historical proof that the Persians, on any other occasion, favoured the Jews on account of their religion. The favours shewn to Nehemiah on behalf of Israel were only personal favours, owing to his position at the Persian court. We allow that all this would be insufficient to prove the correctness of the above statement in Josephus, but it must render us inclined to admit its truth.

The second argument is much stronger: it is, that the statement of Josephus is supported by the edict of Cyrus (*Ezra* i.). This edict pre-supposes the fact related by Josephus, so that Jahn calls the passage in Josephus a commentary on the first chapter of *Ezra*, in which we read that Cyrus announces in his edict, that he was commanded by Jehovah to build him a temple in Jerusalem, and that he received all the conquered kingdoms of the earth as a gift from Jehovah. This cannot refer to any other predictions of the prophet, but only to what are called the spurious portions of Isaiah, in which the Lord grants to Cyrus all his future conquests, and appoints him to be the restorer of his temple (comp. xli. 2-4; xlv. 24-28; xlv. 1-13; xlv. 11; xlviii. 13-15). The edict adopts almost the words of these passages (comp. the synopsis in the above-mentioned work of Kleinert, p. 142). In reply to this, our adversaries assert that Cyrus was deceived by pseudo-prophecies forged in the name of Isaiah; but if Cyrus could be deceived in so clumsy a manner, he was not the man that history represents him; and to have committed forgery is so contrary to what was to be expected from the author of chaps. xl.-lxvi., that even the feelings of our opponents revolt at the supposition that the pseudo-Isaiah should have forged *vaticinia post eventum* in the name of the prophet. Had these prophecies been written, as it is alleged, only in sight of the conquest of Babylon, Cyrus would have been deceived before the eyes of the author, and this could not have been effected without collusion on the part of the author. This collusion would be undeniable, since the author again and again repeats that he was proclaiming unheard-of facts, which were beyond all human calculation.

5. In the books of the prophets who lived after Isaiah, and before the period of the so-called pseudo-Isaiah, we find imitations of those prophecies which have been ascribed to the latter. Since Gesenius has demonstrated that all the portions which have been considered spurious are to be ascribed to only one author, it can be shewn that they were all in existence before the time assigned to the pseudo-Isaiah, although we can produce the imitations of only some of these portions. But even those opponents who ascribe these portions to different authors must grant that their objections are

invalidated, if it can be shewn that later prophets have referred to these portions, because the arguments employed against them closely resemble each other: consequently these prophecies stand and fall together. The verbal coincidence between Jeremiah and the so-called pseudo-Isaiah is in this respect most important. Jeremiah frequently makes use of the earlier prophets, and he refers equally, and in the same manner, to the portions of Isaiah whose genuineness has been questioned, as to those which are deemed authentic (comp. Küper, *Jeremias librorum sacrorum interpres atque vindex*, pp. 132-155). The most striking is the coincidence of Jer. l. i, li., with the predictions against Babylon in Isaiah. Jeremiah here gives to God the appellation **קדש ישראל** the *Hoiyone of Israel*, which frequently occurs in Isaiah, especially in the portions whose authenticity is questioned, but is found only three times in the other books of the O. T. Isaiah uses the appellation

קדש ישראל with peculiar predilection, because it points out the omnipotent covenant fidelity of the Lord; which was to be considered, especially as it guarantees the truth of the contents of those prophecies which are attacked by our opponents. This circumstance is so striking that Von Coelln and De Wette, on this account, and in contradiction to every argument, declare even the corresponding chapter of Jeremiah to be spurious. This is certainly a desperate stroke, because the chapter is otherwise written in the very characteristic style of that prophet. This desperation, however, gives us the advantage afforded by an involuntary testimony in favour of those portions of Isaiah which have been attacked. The words of Isaiah, in ch. li. 15, 'I am the Lord thy God who moves the sea that its waves roar,' are repeated in Jer. xxxi. 35. The image of the cup of fury in Is. li. 17, is in Jer. xxv. 15-29 transformed into a symbolic act, according to his custom of embodying the imagery of earlier prophets, and especially that of Isaiah. In order to prove that other prophets also made a similar use of Isaiah, we refer to Zephaniah ii. 15, where we find Isaiah's address to Babylon applied to Nineveh, 'Therefore hear now this, thou that art given to pleasures, that dwellest carelessly, that sayest in thine heart I am, and none else beside me,' etc. Zephaniah, living towards the termination of prophetism, has, like Jeremiah, a dependent character, and has here even repeated the characteristic and difficult word **דבר**. Küper (p. 138) has clearly demonstrated that the passage cannot be original in Zephaniah. The words of Isaiah (lii. 7), 'How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace,' are repeated by Nahum in ch. i. 15 (ii. 1); and what he adds, 'the wicked shall no more pass through thee,' agrees remarkably with Is. lii. 1, 'for henceforth shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised and the unclean.' Nahum iii. 7 contains an allusion to Is. li. 19. Beside these references to the portions of Isaiah which are said to be spurious, we find others to the portions which are deemed genuine (comp. for instance, Nahum i. 13, with Is. x. 27).

6. Again, the most ancient production of Jewish literature after the completion of the canon furnishes proof of the integral authenticity of Isaiah. The book of Jesus Sirach, commonly called Ecclesiasticus, was written as early as the 3d century before Christ, as Hug has clearly demonstrated, in

opposition to those who place it in the 2d century before Christ. In Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 22-25, Isaiah is thus praised: 'For Hezekiah had done the thing that pleased the Lord, and was strong in the ways of David his father, as Isaiah the prophet, who was great and faithful in his vision, had commanded him. In his time the sun went backward, and he lengthened the king's life. He saw by an excellent spirit what should come to pass at the last, and he comforted them that mourned in Sion. He shewed what should come to pass for ever, and secret things or ever they came.'

This commendation especially refers, as even Gesenius grants, to the disputed portions of the prophet, in which we find predictions of the most distant futurity. The comfort for Zion is found more particularly in the second part of Isaiah, which begins with the words 'Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people.' The author of this second part himself says (xlviii. 3), 'I have declared the former things from the beginning; and they went forth out of my mouth, and I shewed them.' Thus we perceive that Jesus Sirach, the learned scribe, confidently attributes the debated passages to Isaiah, in such a manner as plainly indicates that there was no doubt in his days respecting the integral genuineness of that book, which has the testimony of historical tradition in its favour. Jesus Sirach declares his intention (Ecclus. xlv. l.) to praise the most celebrated men of his nation. The whole tenor of these chapters shews that he does not confine himself to celebrated authors. We therefore say that the praise which he bestows upon Isaiah is not intended for the book personified, but for the person of the prophet. If Jesus Sirach had entertained doubts respecting the genuineness of those prophecies on which, in particular, he bases his praise, he could not have so lauded the prophet.

In the Jewish synagogue the integral genuineness of Isaiah has always been recognised. This general recognition cannot be accounted for except by the power of tradition based upon truth; and it is supported as well by the N. T., in which Isaiah is quoted as the author of the whole collection which bears his name, as also by the express testimony of Josephus, especially in his *Antiquities* (x. 2. 2, and xi. 1. 1). After such confirmation it would be superfluous to mention the Talmudists.

7. According to the hypothesis of our opponents, the author or authors of the spurious portions wrote at the end of the Babylonian exile. They confess that these portions belong to the finest productions of prophetism. Now it is very remarkable that in the far from scanty historical accounts of this period, considering all circumstances, no mention is made of any prophet to whom we could well ascribe these prophecies. This is the more remarkable, because at that period prophetism was on the wane, and the few prophets who still existed excited on that account the greater attention. What Ewald (p. 57) writes concerning the time about the conclusion of the Babylonian exile, is quite unhistorical. He says, 'In this highly excited period of liberty regained, and of a national church re-established, there were rapidly produced a great number of prophecies, circulated in a thousand pamphlets, many of which were of great poetical beauty.' What Ewald states about a new flood of prophetic writings which then poured forth, is likewise unhistorical. History shews that during the exile prophetism was on the

wane. What we read in the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel proves that these prophets were isolated; and from the book of Ezra we learn what was the spiritual condition of the new colony. If we compare with their predecessors the prophets who then prophesied, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, we cannot say much about a revival of the prophetic spirit towards the conclusion of the exile. Everything concurs to shew that the efficiency of prophetism was drawing towards its end. The later the prophets are, the more do they lean upon the earlier prophets; so that we are enabled to trace the gradual transition of prophetism into the learning of scribes. Prophetism dug, as it were, its own grave. The authority which it demands for its earlier productions necessarily caused that the later were dependent upon the earlier; and the more this became the case during the progress of time, the more limited became the field for new productions. It is not only unhistorical, but, according to the condition of the later productions of prophecy, impossible, that about the conclusion of the exile there should have sprung up a fresh prophetic literature of great extent. In this period we hear only the echo of prophecy. That one of the later prophets of whom we possess most, namely Zechariah, leans entirely upon Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as upon his latest predecessors. There is not a vestige of an intervening prophetic literature. The feebleness of our opponents is manifested by their being obliged to have recourse to such unhistorical fictions in order to defend their opinions.

Thus we have seen that we possess a series of external arguments in favour of the integral genuineness of Isaiah. Each of these arguments is of importance, and in their combination they have a weight which could only be counterbalanced by insurmountable difficulties in the contents of these prophecies. We now proceed to shew that there are no such difficulties, and that the internal arguments unite with the external in demonstrating the authenticity of Isaiah as a whole.

1. The portions of Isaiah which have been declared by our opponents to be spurious, are, as we have already said, almost entirely such as contain prophecies of an especially definite character. It is this very definiteness which is brought forward as the chief argument against their genuineness. Those of our adversaries who go farthest assert in downright terms that predictions in the stricter sense, such, namely, as are more than a vague foreboding, are impossible. The more considerate of our opponents express this argument in milder terms, saying, that it was against the usage of the Hebrew prophets to prophesy with so much individuality, or to give to their prophecies so individual a bearing. They say that these prophecies were never anything more than general prophetic descriptions, and that, consequently, where we find a definite reference to historical facts quite beyond the horizon of a human being like Isaiah, we are enabled by analogy to declare those portions of the work in which they occur to be spurious.

Although this assertion is pronounced with great assurance, it is sufficiently refuted by an impartial examination of the prophetic writings. Our opponents have attempted to prove the spuriousness of whatever is in contradiction with this assertion, as, for instance, the book of Daniel; but there still remain a number of prophecies announcing future

events with great definiteness. Micah, for example (iv. 8-10), announces the Babylonian exile, and the deliverance from that exile, one hundred and fifty years before its accomplishment, and before the commencement of any hostilities between Babylon and Judah, and even before Babylon was an independent state. All the prophets, commencing with the earliest, predict the coming destruction of their city and temple, and the exile of the people. All the prophets whose predictions refer to the Assyrian invasion, coincide in asserting that the Assyrians would NOT be instrumental in realising these predictions; that Judah should be delivered from those enemies, from whom to be delivered seemed impossible; and this not by Egyptian aid, which seemed to be the least unlikely, but by an immediate intervention of the Lord; and, on the contrary, all the prophets whose predictions refer to the successors of the Assyrians, the Chaldees, unanimously announce that these were to fulfil the ancient prediction, and exhort to resignation to this inevitable fate. These are facts quite beyond human calculation. At the period when the Chaldean empire had reached the summit of its power, Jeremiah not only predicts in general terms its fall, and the destruction of its chief city, but also details particular circumstances connected therewith; for instance, the conquest of the town by the Medes and their allies; the entrance which the enemy effected through the dry bed of the Euphrates, during a night of general revelry and intoxication; the return of the Israelites after the reduction of the town; the utter destruction and desolation of this city, which took place, although not at once, yet certainly in consequence of the first conquest, so that its site can scarcely be shewn with certainty. In general, all those proud ornaments of the ancient world, whose destruction the prophets predicted—Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, Memphis, the chief cities of the Moabites and Ammonites, and many others—have perished, and the nations to whom the prophets threatened annihilation—the Ammonites, Moabites, Philistines, and Idumæans—have entirely disappeared from the stage of history. There is not a single city nor a single people, the fate of which has been at variance with prophecy. All this is not a casual coincidence. The ruins of all these cities, every vestige of the former existence of those once flourishing nations, are loud speaking witnesses, testifying to the futility of the opinion which raises into a fact the subjective wish that prophecy might not exist. Zechariah clearly describes the conquests of Alexander (ix. 1-8). He foretells that the Persian empire, which he specifies by the symbolic name Hadrach, shall be ruined; that Damascus and Hamath shall be conquered; that the bulwarks of the mighty Tyre shall be smitten in the sea, and that the city shall be burned; that Gaza shall lose its king, and that Ashdod shall be peopled with the lowest rabble; and that Jerusalem shall be spared during all these troubles. These prophecies were fulfilled during the expedition of Alexander (comp. Jahn's *Einleitung*, vol. i. p. 84, sq.; vol. ii. p. 349, sq.). Eichhorn despaired of being able to explain the exact correspondence of the fulfilment with the predictions; he, therefore, in his work, *Die Hebräischen Propheten*, endeavours to prove that these prophecies were veiled historical descriptions. He has recourse to the most violent operations in order to support this hypothesis; which proves how fully he recognised

the agreement of the prophecies with their fulfilment, and that the prophecies are more than general poetical descriptions. The Messianic predictions prove that the prophecies were more than veiled historical descriptions. There is scarcely any fact in Gospel history, from the birth of our Saviour at Bethlehem down to his death, which is unpredicted by a prophetic passage.

Eichhorn's hypothesis is also amply refuted by the unquestioned portion of Isaiah. How can it be explained that Isaiah confidently predicts the destruction of the empire of Israel by the Assyrians, and the preservation of the empire of Judah from these enemies, and that he with certainty knew beforehand that no help would be afforded to Judah from Egypt, that the Assyrians would advance to the gates of Jerusalem, and there be destroyed only by the judgment of the Lord? No human combinations can lead to such results. Savonarola, for instance, was a pious man, and an acute observer; but when he fancied himself to be a prophet, and ventured to predict events which should come to pass, he was immediately refuted by facts (comp. *Biographie Savonarola's*, von Rudelbach).

If we had nothing of prophetic literature, beside the portions of Isaiah which have been attacked, they alone would afford an ample refutation of our opponents, because they contain in chapter liii. the most remarkable of O. T. prophecies, predicting the sufferings and glory of our Saviour. If it can be proved that this one prophecy necessarily refers to Christ, we can no longer feel tempted to reject other prophecies of Isaiah, on account of their referring too explicitly to some event, like that of the Babylonian exile. As soon as only one genuine prophecy has been proved, the whole argument of our opponents falls to the ground. This argument is also opposed by the authority of Christ and his apostles; and whoever will consistently maintain this opinion must reject the authority of Christ. The prophets are described in the N. T. not as acute politicians, or as poets full of a foreboding genius, but as messengers of God raised by His Spirit above the intellectual sphere of mere man. Christ repeatedly mentions that the events of his own life were also destined to realise the fulfilment of prophecy, saying, 'this must come to pass in order that the Scripture may be fulfilled.' And after his resurrection, he interprets to his disciples the prophecies concerning himself. Peter, speaking of the prophets, says, in his First Epistle (i. 11), 'Searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ, which was in them, did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow;' and, in his Second Epistle (i. 21), 'For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost—*ὡς πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι*.'

Since we have shewn that there are in the Holy Scriptures definite prophecies, the *à priori* argument of our opponents, who pretend that prophecy is useless, loses its significance. Even if we could not understand the purpose of prophecy, the inquiry respecting its reality should nevertheless be independent of such *à priori* reasoning, since the cause of our NOT understanding it might be in ourselves. We frequently find, after we have been raised to a higher position, the causes of facts which at an earlier period we could not comprehend. A later age frequently understands what

was hidden to the preceding. However, the purpose of definite predictions is not hidden to those who recognise the reality of the divine scheme for human salvation.

There is one truth in the opinion of our opponents. The predictions of the future by the prophets are always on a general basis, by which they are characteristically distinguished from soothsaying. Real prophecy is based upon the idea of God. The acts of God are based upon his essence, and have therefore the character of necessity. The most elevated prerogative of the prophets is that they have possessed themselves of his idea, that they have penetrated into his essence, that they have become conscious of the eternal laws by which the world is governed. For instance, if they demonstrate that sin is the perdition of man, that where the carcase is, the eagles will be assembled, the most important point in this prediction is not the HOW but the WHAT which first by them was clearly communicated to the people of God, and of which the lively remembrance is by them kept up. But if the prophets had merely kept to the THAT, and had never spoken about the HOW, or if, like Savonarola, they had erroneously described this HOW, they would be unfit effectually to teach the THAT to those people who have not yet acquired an independent idea of God. According to human weakness, the knowledge of the FORM is requisite in order to fertilize the knowledge of the ESSENCE, especially in a mission to a people among whom formality so much predominated as among the people of the Old Covenant. The position of the prophets depends upon these circumstances. They had not, like the priests, an external warrant. Therefore Moses (Deut. xviii.) directed them to produce true prophecies as their warrant. According to ver. 22, the true and the false prophet are distinguished by the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of prophecy. This criterion is destroyed by the modern opinion respecting prophetism. Without this warrant, the principal point of prophetic preaching, the doctrine of the Messiah, could not be brought to the knowledge of the people, as being of primary importance. Without this fulfilment the prophets had no answer to those who declared that the hopes raised by them were fantastic and fanatical.

It is true that, according to what we have stated, the necessity of prophecy arises only from the weakness of man. Miracles also are necessary only on account of this weakness. Prophecy is necessary only under certain conditions; but these conditions were fully extant during the period of the ancient Covenant. During the New Covenant human weakness is supported by other and more powerful means, which were wanting during the time of the Old Covenant; especially by the operation of the Spirit of Christ upon the hearts of the faithful; which operation is by far more powerful than that of the Spirit of God during the Old Covenant; consequently, definite predictions can be dispensed with, especially since the faithful of the N. T. derive benefit also from the prophecies granted to the people of the O. T.

The predictions of futurity in the O. T. have also a considerable bearing upon the contemporaries of the prophet. Consequently, they stand not so isolated and unconnected as our opponents assert. The Chaldeans, for instance, who are said to threaten destruction to Israel, were, in the days of Isaiah,

already on the stage of history ; and their juvenile power, if compared with the decline of the Assyrians, might lead to the conjecture that they would some time or other supplant the Assyrians in dominion over Asia. Babylon, certainly, was as yet under Assyrian government ; but it was still during the lifetime of the prophet that this city tried to shake off their yoke. This attempt was unsuccessful, but the conditions under which it might succeed at a future period were already in existence. The future exaltation of this city might be foreseen from history, and its future fall from theology. In a pagan nation success is always the forerunner of pride, and all its consequences. And, according to the eternal laws by which God governs the world, an overbearing spirit is the certain forerunner of destruction. The future liberation of Israel might also be theologically foreseen ; and we cannot look upon this prediction as so abrupt as a prediction of the deliverance of other nations would have been, and as, for instance, a false prediction of the deliverance of Moab would have appeared. Even the Pentateuch emphatically informs us that the covenant-people cannot be given up to final perdition, and that mercy is always concealed behind the judgments which befall them.

2. Attempts have been made to demonstrate the spuriousness of several portions from the circumstance that the author takes his position not in the period of Isaiah, but in much later times, namely, those of the exile. It has been said, ' Let it be granted that the prophet had a knowledge of futurity : in that case we cannot suppose that he would predict it otherwise than as future, and he cannot proclaim it as present.' The prophets, however, did not prophesy in a state of calculating reflection, but *ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι*, ' borne along by the Holy Ghost.' The objects offered themselves to their spiritual vision. On that account they are frequently called *seers*, to whom futurity appears as present. Even Hebrew grammar has long ago recognised this fact in the terms *præterita prophetica*. These prophetic *præter* tenses indicate a time ideally past, in contrast-distinction to the time which is really past. Every chapter of Isaiah furnishes examples of this grammatical fact. Even in the first there is contained a remarkable instance of it. Interpreters frequently went astray, because they misunderstood the nature of prophecy, and took the *præterita prophetica* as real *præterites* ; consequently, they could only by some inconsistency escape from Eichhorn's opinion, that the prophecies were veiled historical descriptions. The prophets have futurity always before their eyes. Prophetism, therefore, is subject to the laws of poetry more than to those of history (compare the ingenious remarks on the connection of poetry and prophetism in the work of Steinbeck, *Der Dichter ein Seher*, Leipzig 1836). Prophetism places us *in medias res*, or rather the prophet is placed *in medias res*. The Spirit of God elevates him above the *terra firma* of common reality, and of common perception. The prophet beholds as connected things externally separated, if they are linked together by their internal character. The prophet beholds what is distant as near, if its hidden basis, although concealed to the eyes of flesh, already exists. This was, for instance, the case with Israel's captivity and deliverance. Neither happened by chance. Both events proceeded from

the justice and mercy of God, a living knowledge of which necessarily produced the beholding knowledge of the same. The prophet views things in the light of that God who calls the things that are not as though they were, and to whom the future is present.

3. What the prophet says about what is present to him (namely, about that which appears to him in the form of the present time), is correctly and minutely detailed ; and what he describes as future, are ideal and animated hopes which far exceed terrene reality. Hence our opponents attempt to prove that the present time in those portions which they reject, is not ideal but real ; and that the author was actually an eye-witness of the exile, because, they say, if the prophet merely placed himself in the period of the exile, then this present time would be ideal, and in that case there could be no difference between this ideally present time and the more distant future. But we question this fact most decidedly. The descriptions of the person of Messiah in the second part of Isaiah are far more circumstantial than the descriptions of the person of Cyrus. Of Cyrus these prophecies furnish a very incomplete description. Whoever does not fill up from history what is wanting, obtains a very imperfect idea of Cyrus. But there is sufficient information to show the relation between history and prophecy ; and nothing more was required than that the essence of prophecy should be clear. The form might remain obscure until it was cleared up by its historical fulfilment. The Messiah, on the contrary, is accurately depicted, especially in ch. liii., so that there is scarcely wanting any essential trait. It is quite natural that there should be greater clearness and definiteness here, because the anti-type of redemption stands in a far nearer relation to the ideal than is the case with Cyrus, so that form and essence less diverge.

The assertion that the animated hopes, expressed in the second part of Isaiah, had been very imperfectly fulfilled, proceeds from the erroneous supposition that these hopes were to be entirely fulfilled in the times immediately following the exile. But if we must grant that these prophecies refer both to the deliverance from captivity, and to the time of the Messiah in its whole extent, from the lowliness of Christ to the glorious completion of his kingdom, then the fulfilment is clearly placed before our eyes ; and we may expect that whatever is yet unfulfilled, will, in due time, find its accomplishment. In this hope we are supported by the N. T., and still more by the nature of the matter in question. If the prophecies of Isaiah were nothing but arbitrary predictions on his own external authority, without any internal warrant, one might speak here of an evasion of the difficulty ; but as the matter stands, this objection proves only that those who make it are incapable of comprehending the idea which pervades the whole representation. The entire salvation which the Lord has destined to his people has been placed before the spiritual eye of the prophet. His prediction is not entirely fulfilled in history, so that we could say we have now done with it, but every isolated fulfilment is again a prediction *de facto*, supporting our hope of the final accomplishment of the whole word of prophecy.

4. Our opponents think that they have proved that a portion of Isaiah is not genuine, if they can show that there occur a few Aramaic words and

forms of speech, which they endeavour to explain from the style prevalent in a period later than Isaiah.

That this argument is very feeble even our opponents have granted in instances where it can be adduced with by far greater stringency than in the questioned portions of Isaiah. This appears especially from the example of the Song of Solomon, in which there occur a considerable number of Aramaic words and expressions, said to belong to the later Hebrew style. Bertholdt, Umbreit, and others, base upon this their argument, that the Song of Solomon was written after the Babylonian exile. They even maintain that it could not have been written before that period. On the contrary, the two most recent commentators, Ewald and Doepke, say most decidedly that the Song of Solomon, in spite of its Aramaisms, was written in the days of Solomon.

Hirzel, in his work *De Chaldaismi Biblici origine*, Leipsic 1830, has contributed considerably to the formation of a correct estimate of this argument. He has proved that in all the books of the O. T., even in the most ancient, there occur a few Chaldaisms. This may be explained by the fact that the patriarchs were surrounded by a population whose language was Chaldee. Such Chaldaisms are especially found in poetical language in which unusual expressions are preferred. Consequently, not a few isolated Chaldaisms, but only their decided prevalence, or a Chaldee tincture of the whole style, can prove that a book has been written after the exile. Nobody can assert that this is the case in those portions of Isaiah whose authenticity has been questioned. Even our opponents grant that the Chaldaisms in this portion are not numerous. After what have erroneously been called Chaldaisms are subtracted, we are led to a striking result, namely, that the unquestionable Chaldaisms are more numerous in the portions of Isaiah of which the genuineness is granted, than in the portions which have been called spurious. Hirzel, an entirely unsuspected witness, mentions in his work *De Chaldaismo*, p. 9, that there are found only four real Chaldaisms in the whole of Isaiah; and that these all occur in the portions which are declared genuine; namely in vii. 14 (where, however, if the grammatical form is rightly understood, we need not admit a Chaldaeism); xxix. 1; xviii. 7; xxi. 12.

5. The circumstance that the diction in the attacked portions of Isaiah belongs to the first, and not to the second period of the Hebrew language, must render us strongly inclined to admit their authenticity. It has been said that these portions were written during, and even after, the Babylonian exile, when the ancient Hebrew language fell into disuse, and the vanquished people began to adopt the language of their conquerors, and that thus many Chaldaisms penetrated into the works of authors who wrote in ancient Hebrew. Since this is not the case in the attacked portions of Isaiah, granting the assertions of our opponents to be correct, we should be compelled to suppose that their author or authors had intentionally abstained from the language of their times, and purposely imitated the purer diction of former ages. That this is not quite impossible we learn from the prophecies of Haggai, Malachi, and especially from those of Zechariah, which are nearly as free from Chaldaisms as the writings before the exile. But it is improbable, in this case, because the pseudo-

Isaiah is stated to have been in a position very different from that of the prophets just mentioned, who belonged to the newly returned colony. The pseudo-Isaiah has been placed in a position similar to that of the strongly Chaldaizing Ezekiel and Daniel; and even more unfavourably for the attainment of purity of diction, because he had not, like these prophets, spent his youth in Palestine, but is said to have grown up in a country in which the Aramaean language was spoken; consequently, it would have been more difficult for him to write pure Hebrew than for Ezekiel and Daniel. In addition to this it ought to be mentioned that an artificial abstinence from the language of their times occurs only in those prophets who entirely lean upon an earlier prophetic literature; but that union of purity in diction with independence, which is manifest in the attacked portions of Isaiah, is nowhere else to be found.

The force of this argument is still more increased when we observe that the pretended pseudo-Isaiah has, in other respects, the characteristics of the authors before the exile; namely, their clearness of perception, and their freshness and beauty of description. This belongs to him, even according to the opinion of all opponents. These excellences are not quite without example among the writers after the exile, but they occur in none of them in the same degree; not even in Zechariah, who, besides, ought not to be compared with the pseudo-Isaiah, because he does not manifest the same independence, but leans entirely upon the earlier prophets. To these characteristics of the writers before the exile belongs also the scarcity of visions and symbolic actions, and what is connected therewith (because it proceeds likewise from the government of the imagination), the naturalness and correctness of poetical images. What Umbreit says concerning the undisputedly genuine portions of Isaiah fully applies also to the disputed portions: 'Our prophet is more an orator than a symbolic seer. He has subjected the external imagery to the internal government of the word. The few symbols which he exhibits are simple and easy to be understood. In the prophets during and after the exile visions and symbolic actions prevail, and their images frequently bear a grotesque Babylonian impress. Only those authors, after the exile, have not this character, whose style, like that of Haggai and Malachi, does not rise much above prose. A combination of vivacity, originality, and vigour, with naturalness, simplicity, and correctness, is not found in any prophet during and after the exile.' Nothing but very strong arguments could induce us to ascribe to a later period prophecies which rank in language and style with the literary monuments of the earlier period. In all the attacked portions of Isaiah independence and originality are manifest in such a degree, as to make them harmonize not only with the prophets before the exile in general, but especially with the earliest cycle of these prophets. If these portions were spurious, they would form a perfectly isolated exception, which we cannot admit, since, as we have before shewn, the leaning of the later prophets upon the earlier rests upon a deep-seated cause arising from the very nature of prophetism. A prophet forming such an exception would stand, as it were, without the cycle of the prophets. We cannot imagine such an exception.

6. A certain difference of style between the portions called genuine and those called spurious does not prove what our opponents assert. Such a difference may arise from various causes in the productions of one and the same author. It is frequently occasioned by a difference of the subject-matter, and by a difference of mood arising therefrom; for instance, in the prophecies of Jeremiah against foreign nations, the style is more elevated and elastic than in the home-prophecies. How little this difference of style can prove, we may learn by comparing with each other the prophecies which our opponents call genuine; for instance, ch. ix. 7-x. 4. The genuineness of this prophecy is not subject to any doubt, although it has not that swing which we find in many prophecies of the first part. The language has as much ease as that in the second part, with which this piece has several repetitions in common. The difference of style in the prophecies against foreign nations (which predictions are particularly distinguished by sublimity), from that in chapters i.-xii., which are now generally ascribed to Isaiah, appeared to Bertholdt a sufficient ground for assigning the former to another author. But in spite of this difference of style it is, at present, again generally admitted that they belong to one and the same author. It consequently appears that our opponents deem the difference of style alone not a sufficient argument for proving a difference of authorship; but only such a difference as does not arise from a difference of subjects and of moods, especially if this difference occurs in an author whose mind is so richly endowed as that of Isaiah, in whose works the form of the style is produced directly by the subject. Ewald correctly observes (p. 173), 'We cannot state that Isaiah had a peculiar colouring of style. He is neither the especially lyrical, nor the especially elegiacal, nor the especially oratorical, nor the especially admonitory prophet, as, perhaps, Joel, Hosea, or Micah, in whom a particular colouring more predominates. Isaiah is capable of adapting his style to the most different subject, and in this consists his greatness and his most distinguished excellence.'

The chief fault of our opponents is, that they judge without distinction of persons; and here distinction of persons would be proper. They measure the productions of Isaiah with the same measure that is adapted to the productions of less-gifted prophets. Jeremiah, for example, does not change his tone according to the difference of subject so much that it could be mistaken by an experienced Hebraist. Of Isaiah, above all, we might say what Fichte wrote in a letter to a friend in Königsberg: 'Strictly speaking, I have no style, because I have all styles' (Fichte's *Leben von seinem Sohne*, th. i. p. 196). If we ask how the difference of style depends upon the difference of subject, the answer must be very favourable to Isaiah, in whose book the style does not so much differ according to the so-called genuineness or spuriousness, as rather according to the subjects of the first and second parts. The peculiarities of the second part arise from the subjects treated therein; and from the feelings to which these subjects give rise. Here the prophet addresses not so much the multitude who live around him, as the future people of the Lord, purified by his judgments, who are about to

spring from the *ἐκλογή*, that is, the small number of the elect who were contemporaries of Isaiah. Here he does not speak to a mixed congregation, but to a congregation of brethren whom he comforts. The commencement, 'Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people,' is the theme of the whole. Hence arise the gentleness and tenderness of style, and the frequent repetitions. Comforting love has many words. Hence the addition of many epithets to the name of God, which are so many shields by which the strokes of despair are warded off, and so many bulwarks against the attacks of the visible world which was driving to despair. The sublimity, abruptness, and thunders of the first part find no place here, where the object of Isaiah is not to terrify and to shake stout-hearted sinners, but rather to bring glad tidings to the meek; not to quench the smoking flax, nor to break the bruised reed. But wherever there is a similarity of hearers and of subject, there we meet also a remarkable similarity of style, in both the first and second part; as, for example, in the description of the times of Messiah, and of the punishments, in which (lvi.-lix.) the prophet has the whole nation before his eyes, and in which he addresses the careless sinners by whom he is surrounded.

We attach no importance to the collections of isolated words and expressions which some critics have gleaned from the disputed parts of Isaiah, and which are not found in other portions that are deemed genuine. We might here well apply what Krüger wrote on a similar question in profane history (*De authenticis et integritate Anab. Xenophontis*, Halle 1824, p. 27): *Hoc argumentandi genus perquam lubricum est. Si quid numerus valeret, urgeri posset, quod in his libris amplius quadraginta vocabula leguntur, quæ in reliquis Xenophontis operibus frustra querantur. Si quis propter vocabula alibi ab hoc scriptore vel alia potestate, vel prorsus non usurpata, Anabasin ab eo profectam neget, hac ratione admissa quodvis aliud ejus opus injuria ei tribui, ostendi potest*; that is, 'This is a very slippery mode of reasoning. If number were of importance, it might be urged that in these books occur more than forty words for which one searches in vain in the other works of Xenophon. But if it should be denied on account of those words which this author has either employed in a different sense, or has not made use of at all, that the Anabasis was written by him, it could, by the same reasoning, be shewn, that every other work was falsely attributed to him.'

7. We find a number of characteristic peculiarities of style which occur both in what is accounted genuine and what is styled spurious in Isaiah, and which indicate the identity of the author. Certain very peculiar idioms occur again and again in all parts of the book. Two of them are particularly striking. The appellation of God, 'the Holy One of Israel,' occurs with equal frequency in what has been ascribed to Isaiah and in what has been attributed to a pseudo-Isaiah; it is found besides in two passages in which Jeremiah imitates Isaiah, and only three times in the whole of the remainder of the O. T. Another peculiar idiom is that 'to be called' stands constantly for 'to be.' These are phenomena of language which even our opponents do not consider casual; but they say that the

later poet imitated Isaiah, or that they originated from the hand of a uniformising editor, who took an active part in modelling the whole. But there cannot be shewn any motive for such interference; and we find nothing analogous to it in the whole of the O. T. Such a supposition cuts away the linguistic ground from under the feet of higher criticism, and deprives it of all power of demonstration. In this manner every linguistic phenomenon may easily be removed, when it is contrary to preconceived opinions. But everything in Isaiah appears so natural, bears so much the impress of originality, is so free from every vestige of patch-work, that no one can conscientiously maintain this hypothesis.

We have still to consider the other conjecture of our opponents. If we had before us a prophet strongly leaning, like Jeremiah and Zechariah, upon preceding prophets, that conjecture might be deemed admissible, in case there were other arguments affording a probability for denying that Isaiah was the author of these portions—a supposition which can here have no place. But here we have a prophet whose independence and originality are acknowledged even by our opponents. In him we cannot think of imitation, especially if we consider his peculiarities in connection with the other peculiar characteristics of Isaiah, and of what has been said to belong to a pseudo-Isaiah; we refer here to the above-mentioned works of Möller and of Kleinert (p. 231, *sq.*) In both portions of Isaiah there occur a number of words which are scarcely to be found in other places; also a frequent repetition of the same word in the parallel members of a verse. This repetition very seldom occurs in other writers (compare the examples collected by Kleinert, p. 239). Other writers usually employ synonyms in the parallel members of verses. It further belongs to the characteristics of Isaiah to employ words in extraordinary acceptations; for instance, *וַיִּשְׂרַח* is used contemptuously for *brood*; *אֵיִם*, for *rabble*; *שֵׁשׁ*, for *a shoot*. Isaiah also employs extraordinary constructions, and has the peculiar custom of explaining his figurative expressions by directly subjoining the prosaic equivalent. This custom has induced many interpreters to suppose that explanatory glosses have been inserted in Isaiah. Another peculiarity of Isaiah is that he intersperses his prophetic orations with hymns; that he seldom relates visions, strictly so called, and seldom performs symbolic actions; and that he employs figurative expressions quite peculiar to himself, as, for example, *pasted-up eyes*, for spiritual darkness; *morning-red*, for approaching happiness; *the remnant of olive trees, vineyards, and orchards*, for the remnant of the people which have been spared during the judgments of God; *rejected tendrils or branches*, for enemies who have been slain.

In addition to this we find an almost verbal harmony between entire passages; for instance, the Messianic description commencing xi. 6, compared with lxxv. 25.

IV. *The origin of the present Collection, and its arrangement.*—No definite account respecting the method pursued in collecting into books the utterances of the Prophets has been handed down to us. Concerning Isaiah, as well as the rest, these accounts are wanting. We do not even know whether he collected his prophecies himself. But

we have no decisive argument against this opinion. The argument of Kleinert, in his above-mentioned work (p. 112), is of slight importance. He says, If Isaiah himself had collected his prophecies, there would not be wanting some which are not to be found in the existing book. To this we reply, that it can by no means be proved with any degree of probability that a single prophecy of Isaiah has been lost, the preservation of which would have been of importance to posterity, and which Isaiah himself would have deemed it necessary to preserve. Kleinert appeals to the fact, that there is no prophecy in our collection which can with certainty be ascribed to the days of Jotham; and he thinks it incredible that the prophet, soon after having been consecrated to his office, should have passed full sixteen years without any revelation from God. This, certainly, is unlikely; but it is by no means unlikely that during this time he uttered no prophecy which he thought proper to preserve. Nay, it appears very probable, if we compare the rather general character of chaps. i.-v., the contents of which would apply to the days of Jotham also, since during his reign no considerable changes took place; consequently the prophetic utterances moved in the same sphere with those preserved to us from the reign of Uzziah. Hence it was natural that Isaiah should confine himself to the communication of some important prophetic addresses, which might as well represent the days of Jotham as those of the preceding reign. We must not too closely identify the utterances of the prophets with their writings. Many prophets have spoken much and written nothing. The minor prophets were generally content to write down the quintessence alone of their numerous utterances. Jeremiah likewise, of his numerous addresses under Josiah, gives us only what was most essential.

The critics who suppose that the present book of Isaiah was collected a considerable time after the death of the prophet, and perhaps after the exile, lay especial stress upon the assertion that the historical section in the 36th and following chapters was transcribed from 2 Kings xviii.-xx. This supposition, however, is perfectly unfounded.

According to Ewald (p. 39), the hand of a later compiler betrays itself in the headings. Ewald has not, however, adduced any argument sufficient to prove that Isaiah was not the author of these headings, the enigmatic character of which seems more to befit the author himself than a compiler. The only semblance of an argument is that the heading 'Oracle (better translated *burden*) concerning Damascus (xvii. 1), does not agree with the prophecy that follows, which refers rather to Samaria. But we should consider that the headings of prophecies against foreign nations are always expressed as concisely as possible, and that it was incompatible with the usual brevity more fully to describe the subject of this prophecy. We should further consider that this prophecy refers to the connection of Damascus with Samaria, in which alliance Damascus was, according to chap. vii., the prevailing power, with which Ephraim stood and fell. If all this is taken into account the above heading will be found to agree with the prophecy. According to the Talmudists, the book of Isaiah was collected by the men of Hezekiah. But this assertion rests merely upon Prov. xxv. 1, where the men of Hezekiah are said to have compiled the Proverbs. The

Talmudists do not sufficiently distinguish between what might be and what is. They habitually state bare possibilities as historical facts.

To us it seems impossible that Isaiah left it to others to collect his prophecies into a volume, because we know that he was the author of historical works; and it is not likely that a man accustomed to literary occupation would have left to others to do what he could do much better himself.

Hitzig has of late recognised Isaiah as the collector and arranger of his own prophecies. But he supposes that a number of pieces were inserted at a later period. The chronological arrangement of these prophecies is a strong argument in favour of the opinion that Isaiah himself formed them into a volume. There is no deviation from this arrangement, except in a few instances where prophecies of similar contents are placed together; but there is no interruption which might appear attributable to either accident or ignorance. There is not a single piece in this collection which can satisfactorily be shewn to belong to another place. All the portions, the date of which can be ascertained either by external or internal reasons, stand in the right place. This is generally granted with respect to the first twelve chapters, although many persons erroneously maintain that chap. vi. should stand at the beginning.

Chaps. i.-v. belong to the later years of Uzziah; chap. vi. to the year of his death. What follows next, up to chap. x. 4, belongs to the reign of Ahaz. Chaps. x.-xii. is the first portion appertaining to the reign of Hezekiah. Then follows a series of prophecies against foreign nations, in which, according to the opinions of many, the chronological arrangement has been departed from, and, instead of it, an arrangement according to contents has been adopted. But this is not the case. The predictions against foreign nations are also in their right chronological place. They all belong to the reign of Hezekiah, and are placed together because, according to their dates, they belong to the same period. In the days of Hezekiah the nations of Western Asia, dwelling on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, more and more resembled a threatening tempest. That the prophecies against foreign nations belong to this period is indicated by the home-prophecy in chap. xxii., which stands among the foreign prophecies. The assertion that the first twelve chapters are a collection of home-prophecies is likewise refuted by the fact that there occur in these chapters two foreign prophecies. The prophetic gift of Isaiah was more fully unfolded in sight of the Assyrian invasion under the reign of Hezekiah. Isaiah, in a series of visions, describes what Assyria would do, as a chastising rod in the hand of the Lord, and what the successors of the Assyrians, the Chaldees, would perform, according to the decree of God, in order to realise divine justice on earth, as well among Israel as among the heathen. The prophet shows that mercy is hidden behind the clouds of wrath. There is no argument to prove that the great prophetic picture in chaps. xxiv.-xxvii. was not depicted under Hezekiah. Chaps. xxviii.-xxxiii. manifestly belong to the same reign, but somewhat later than the time in which chaps. x., xi., and xii., were written. They were composed about the time when the result of the war against the Assyrians was decided. With the termination of this war terminated also the public life of Isaiah,

who added an historical section in chaps. xxxvi.-xxxix., in order to facilitate the right understanding of the prophecies uttered by him during the most fertile period of his prophetic ministry. Then follows the conclusion of his work on earth. The second part, which contains his prophetic legacy, is addressed to the small congregation of the faithful strictly so called. This part is analogous to the last speeches of Moses in the fields of Moab, and to the last speeches of Christ in the circle of his disciples, related by John. Thus we have everywhere order, and such an order as could scarcely have proceeded from any one but the author.

V. Contents, Character, and Authority of the Book of Isaiah.—It was not the vocation of the prophets to change anything in the religious constitution of Moses, which had been introduced by divine authority; and they were not called upon to substitute anything new in its place. They had only to point out the new covenant to be introduced by the Redeemer, and to prepare the minds of men for the reception of it. They themselves in all their doings were subject to the law of Moses. They were destined to be extraordinary ambassadors of God, whose reign in Israel was not a mere name, not a mere shadow of earthly royalty, but rather its substance and essence. They were to maintain the government of God, by punishing all, both high and low, who manifested contempt of the Lawgiver by offending against his laws. It was especially their vocation to counteract the very ancient delusion, according to which an external observance of rites was deemed sufficient to satisfy God. This opinion is contrary to many passages of the law itself, which admonish men to circumcise the heart, and describe the sum of the entire law to consist in loving God with the whole heart; which make salvation to depend upon being internally turned towards God, and which condemn not only the evil deed, but also the wicked desire. The law had, however, at the first assumed a form corresponding to the wants of the Israelites, and in accordance with the symbolical spirit of antiquity. But when this form, which was destined to be the living organ of the Spirit, was changed into a corpse by those who were themselves spiritually dead, it offered a point of coalescence for the error of those who contented themselves with external observances.

The prophets had also to oppose the delusion of those who looked upon the election of the people of God as a preservative against the divine judgments; who supposed that their descent from the patriarchs, with whom God had made a covenant, was an equivalent for the sanctification which they wanted. Even Moses had strongly opposed this delusion; for instance, in Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxxii. David also, in the Psalms, as in xv. and xxiv., endeavours to counteract this error, which again and again sprang up. It was the vocation of the prophets to insist upon genuine piety, and to shew that a true attachment to the Lord necessarily manifests itself by obedience to his precepts; that this obedience would lead to happiness, and disobedience to misfortune and distress. The prophets were appointed to comfort the faint-hearted, by announcing to them the succour of God, and to bring glad tidings to the faithful, in order to strengthen their fidelity. They were commissioned to invite the rebellious to return, by pointing out to them future salvation, and by teaching them that

without conversion they could not be partakers of salvation; and in order that their admonitions and rebukes, their consolations and awakenings, might gain more attention, it was granted to them to behold futurity, and to foresee the blessings and judgments which would ultimately find their full accomplishment in the days of the Messiah. The Hebrew appellation *nebiim* is by far more expressive than the Greek *προφήτης*, which denotes only a part of their office, and which has given rise to many misunderstandings. The word נְבִיא (from the root נָבַא, which occurs in Arabic in the signification of *to inform, to explain, to speak*) means,

according to the usual signification of the form קָטַל, a person into whom God has spoken; that is, a person who communicates to the people what God has given to him. The Hebrew word indicates divine inspiration. What is most essential in the prophets is their speaking *ἐν πνεύματι*; consequently they were as much in their vocation when they rebuked and admonished as when they predicted future events. The correctness of our explanation may be seen in the definition contained in Deut. xviii. 18, where the Lord says, 'I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him.'

The prophet here mentioned is an ideal person. It is prophetism itself personified. It is a characteristic mark that God gives his word into the mouth of the prophet, by means of which he is placed on an equality with the priest, who is likewise a bearer of the word of God. The prophet is at the same time distinguished from the priest, who receives the word of God from the Scriptures, while the prophet receives it without an intervening medium. The internal communications of God to the prophets are given to them only as being messengers to his people. By this circumstance the prophets are distinguished from mystics and theosophers, who lay claim to divine communications especially for themselves. Prophetism has an entirely practical and truly ecclesiastical character, remote from all idle contemplativeness, all fantastic trances, and all anchoritism.

In this description of the prophetic calling there is also contained a statement of the contents of the prophecies of Isaiah. He refers expressly in many places to the basis of the ancient covenant, that is, to the law of Moses; for instance, in viii. 16, 20, and xxx. 9, 10. In many other passages his utterance rests on the same basis, although he does not expressly state it. All his utterances are interwoven with references to the law. It is of importance to examine at least one chapter closely, in order to understand how prophecies are related to the law. Let us take as an example the first. The beginning, 'Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth,' is taken from Deut. xxxii. Thus the prophet points out that his prophecies are a commentary upon the Magna Charta of prophetism contained in the books of Moses. During the prosperous condition of the state under Uzziah and Jotham, luxury and immorality had sprung up. The impiety of Ahaz had exercised the worst influence upon the whole people. Great part of the nation had forsaken the religion of their fathers and embraced gross idolatry; and a great number of those who worshipped God externally had forsaken

Him in their hearts. The divine judgments were approaching. The rising power of Assyria was appointed to be the instrument of divine justice. Among the people of God internal demoralisation was always the forerunner of outward calamity. This position of affairs demanded an energetic intervention of prophetism. Without prophetism the *ἐκλογή*, the number of the elect, would have been constantly decreasing, and even the judgments of the Lord, if prophetism had not furnished their interpretation, would have been mere facts, which would have missed their aim, and, in many instances, might have had an effect opposite to that which was intended, because punishment which was not recognised to be punishment, necessarily leads away from God. The prophet attacks the distress of his nation, not at the surface but at the root, by rebuking the prevailing corruption. Pride and arrogance appear to him to be the chief roots of all sins.

He inculcates again and again that men should not rely upon the creature, but upon the Creator, from whom all temporal and spiritual help proceeds; that in order to attain salvation, we should despair of our own and all human power, and rely upon God. He opposes those who expected help through foreign alliances with powerful neighbouring nations against foreign enemies of the state.

The people of God have only one enemy, and one ally, that is, God. It is foolish to seek for aid on earth against the power of heaven, and to fear man if God is our friend. The panacea against all distress and danger is true conversion. The politics of the prophets consist only in pointing out this remedy. The prophet connects with his rebuke and with his admonition, his threatenings of divine judgment upon the stiff-necked. These judgments are to be executed by the invasion of the Syrians, the oppression of the Assyrians, the Babylonian exile, and by the great final separation in the times of the Messiah. The idea which is the basis of all these threatenings, is pronounced even in the Pentateuch (Lev. x. 3), 'I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me, and before all the people I will be glorified;' and also in the words of Amos (iii. 2), 'You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities:' that is, if the people do not voluntarily glorify God, he glorifies himself against them. Partly in order to recal the rebellious to obedience, partly to comfort the faithful, the prophet opens a prospect of those blessings which the faithful portion of the covenant-people shall inherit. In almost all prophetic utterances, we find in regular succession three elements—rebuke, threatening, and promise. The prophecies concerning the destruction of powerful neighbouring states partly belong, as we have shewn, to the promises, because they are intended to prevent despair, which, as well as false security, is a most dangerous hindrance to conversion.

In the direct promises of deliverance the purpose to comfort is still more evident. This deliverance refers either to burdens which pressed upon the people in the days of the prophet, or to burdens to come, which were already announced by the prophet; such, for instance, were the oppressions of the Syrians, the Assyrians, and finally, of the Chaldeans.

The proclamation of the Messiah is the inex-

haustible source of consolation among the prophets. In Isaiah this consolation is so clear that some fathers of the church were inclined to style him rather *evangelist* than *prophet*. Ewald pointedly describes (p. 169) the human basis of Messianic expectations in general, and of those of Isaiah in particular:—‘He who experienced in his own royal soul what infinite power could be granted to an individual spirit in order to influence and animate many, he who daily observed in Jerusalem the external vestiges of a spirit like that of David, could not imagine that the future new congregation of the Lord should originate from a mind belonging to another race than that of David, and that it should be maintained and supported by any other ruler than a divine ruler. Indeed every spiritual revival must proceed from the clearness and firmness of an elevated mind; and this especially applies to that most sublime revival for which ancient Israel longed and strove. This longing attained to clearness, and was preserved from losing itself in indefiniteness, by the certainty that such an elevated mind was to be expected.’

Isaiah, however, was not the first who attained to a knowledge of the personality of Messiah. Isaiah's vocation was to render the knowledge of this personality clearer and more definite, and to render it more efficacious upon the souls of the elect by giving it a greater individuality. The person of the Redeemer is mentioned even in Gen. xlix. 10, ‘The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh (*the tranquilliser*) come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be’ (i.e., *him shall the nations obey*). The personality of Messiah occurs also in several psalms which were written before the times of Isaiah; for instance, in the 2d and 110th, by David; in the 45th, by the sons of Korah; in the 72d, by Solomon. Isaiah has especially developed the perception of the prophetic and the priestly office of the Redeemer, while in the earlier annunciations of the Messiah the royal office is more prominent; although in Ps. cx. the priestly office also is pointed out. Of the two states of Christ, Isaiah has expressly described that of the exanition of the suffering Christ, while, before him, his state of glory was made more prominent. In the Psalms the inseparable connection between justice and suffering, from which the doctrine of a suffering Messiah necessarily results, is not expressly applied to the Messiah. We must not say that Isaiah first perceived that the Messiah was to suffer, but we must grant that this knowledge was in him more vivid than in any earlier writer; and that this knowledge was first shewn by Isaiah to be an integral portion of O. T. doctrine.

The following are the outlines of Messianic prophecies in the book of Isaiah:—A scion of David, springing from his family, after it has fallen into a very low estate, but being also of divine nature, shall, at first in lowliness, but as a prophet filled with the spirit of God, proclaim the divine doctrine, develop the law in truth, and render it the animating principle of national life; he shall, as high priest, by his vicarious suffering and his death, remove the guilt of his nation, and that of other nations, and finally rule as a mighty king, not only over the covenant-people, but over all nations of the earth who will subject themselves to

his peaceful sceptre, not by violent compulsion, but induced by love and gratitude. He will make both the moral and the physical consequences of sin to cease; the whole earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, and all enmity, hatred, and destruction shall be removed even from the brute creation. This is the survey of the Messianic preaching by Isaiah, of which he constantly renders prominent those portions which were most calculated to impress the people under the then existing circumstances. The first part of Isaiah is directed to the whole people, consequently the glory of the Messiah is here dwelt upon. The fear lest the kingdom of God should be overwhelmed by the power of heathen nations, is removed by pointing out the glorious king to come, who would elevate the now despised and apparently mean kingdom of God above all the kingdoms of this world. In the second part, which is more particularly addressed to the *ἐκλογὴ, the elect*, than to the whole nation, the prophet exhibits the Messiah more as a divine teacher and high-priest. The prophet here preaches righteousness through the blood of the servant of God, who will support the weakness of sinners, and take upon himself their sorrows.

We may show, by an example in chap. xix. 18-25, that the views of futurity which were granted to Isaiah were great and comprehensive, and that the Spirit of God raised him above all narrow-minded nationality. It is there stated that a time should come when all the heathen, subdued by the judgments of the Lord, should be converted to him, and being placed on an equality with Israel, with equal laws, would equally partake of the kingdom of God, and form a brotherly alliance for his worship. Not the whole mass of Israel is destined, according to Isaiah, to future salvation, but only the small number of the converted. This truth he enounces most definitely in the sketch of his prophecies contained in chapter vi.

Isaiah describes with equal vivacity the divine justice which punishes the sins of the nation with inexorable severity. Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Sabaoth, is the key-note of his prophecies. He describes also the divine mercy and covenant-fidelity, by which there is always preserved a remnant among the people: to them punishment itself is a means of salvation, so that life everywhere proceeds from death, and the congregation itself is led to full victory and glory.

Isaiah saw the moral and religious degradation of his people, and also its external distress, both then present and to come (chap. vi.) But this did not break his courage; he confidently expected a better futurity, and raised himself in God above all that is visible. Isaiah is not afraid when the whole nation and its king tremble. Of this we see a remarkable instance in chapter vii., and another in the time of the Assyrian invasion under Hezekiah, during which the courage of his faith rendered him the saviour of the commonwealth, and the originator of that great religious revival which followed the preservation of the state. The faith of the king and of the people was roused by that of Isaiah.

Isaiah stands pre-eminent above all other prophets, as well in the contents and spirit of his predictions, as in their form and style. Simplicity, clearness, sublimity, and freshness, are the never-failing characters of his prophecies. Even Eichhorn mentions, among the first merits of Isaiah, the concinnity of his expressions, the beauti-

ful outline of his images, and the fine execution of his speeches. In reference to richness of imagery he stands between Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Symbolic actions, which frequently occur in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, seldom occur in Isaiah. The same is the case with visions, strictly so called, of which there is only one, namely, that in chapter vi.; and even it is distinguished by its simplicity and clearness above that of the later prophets. But one characteristic of Isaiah is, that he likes to give signs—that is, a fact then present, or near at hand—as a pledge for the more distant futurity; and that he thus supports the feebleness of man (comp. vii. 20; xxxvii. 30; xxxviii. 7, *sqq.*) The instances in chapters vii. and xxxviii. show how much he was convinced of his vocation, and in what intimacy he lived with the Lord, by whose assistance alone he could effect what he offers to do in the one passage, and what he grants in the other. The spiritual riches of the prophet are seen in the variety of his style, which always befits the subject. When he rebukes and threatens, it is like a storm, and, when he comforts, his language is as tender and mild as (to use his own words) that of a mother comforting her son. With regard to style, Isaiah is comprehensive, and the other prophets divide his riches.

Isaiah enjoyed an authority proportionate to his gifts. We learn from history how great this authority was during his life, especially under the reign of Hezekiah. Several of his most definite prophecies were fulfilled while he was yet alive: for instance, the overthrow of the kingdoms of Syria and Israel; the invasion of the Assyrians, and the divine deliverance from it; the prolongation of life granted to Hezekiah; and several predictions against foreign nations. Isaiah is honourably mentioned in the historical books. The later prophets, especially Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, clearly prove that his book was diligently read, and that his prophecies were attentively studied.

The authority of the prophet greatly increased after the fulfilment of his prophecies by the Babylonian exile, the victories of Cyrus, and the deliverance of the covenant-people. Even Cyrus (according to the above-mentioned account in Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 1. 1, 2) was induced to set the Jews at liberty by the prophecies of Isaiah concerning himself. This prediction of Isaiah made so deep an impression upon him that he probably took from it the name by which he is generally known in history. Jesus Sirach (xlviii. 22-25) bestows splendid praise upon Isaiah, and both Philo and Josephus speak of him with great veneration. He attained the highest degree of authority after the times of the N. T. had proved the most important part of his prophecies, namely, the Messianic, to be divine. Christ and the apostles quote no prophecies so frequently as those of Isaiah, in order to prove that he who had appeared was one and the same with him who had been promised. The fathers of the church abound in praises of Isaiah. —E. W. H.

[Piper, *Integritas Isaiae a recent. conat. vindicata*, Gryphsw. 1792; Möller, *De Authent. Oraculor. Isaiae*, cap. xl.-lxvi., Havn. 1825; Kleinert, *Echtheit sammlt. in d. Buche Jes. enthalt. weis-sagen*, Berl. 1829; Stieger, *Jesajas nicht Pseudo Jesajas*, Barm. 1850; comp. the *Introductions* of Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Jahn, Hävernicks, Keil,

Bleek, Horne, Davidson. *Commentaries*:—Calvin, Genev. 1570, 3d ed.; Musculus, Bas. 1570; Schmid, Hamb. 1702; Abarbanel (Lat. vertit J. H. Maius), Frankf. a. M. 1711; Vitringa, 2 vols. Leuward. 1714-20, ed. Schultens, Bas. 1732; Doederlein, Nümb. and Altorf 1775-80-89; Lowth, Lond. 1778, and often; Hensler, Hamb. 1788; Paulus, Jena 1793; Gesenius, 2 vols., Leipz. 1820-21; Jerome, 2 vols., Lond. 1830; Hitzig, Heidelb. 1833; Hendewerk, 2 vols., Königsb. 1838-43; Barnes, Boston U.S., 1840; Henderson, Lond. 1840; Ewald, Gött. 1841; Umbreit, Hamb. 1842; Knobel, Leipz. 1843; Drechsler, 3 vols., Erlang. 1845-57, unfin.; Alexander, 2 vols., New York, 1846-47, edited by Eadie, 1 vol. Edin. 1848; comp. also Hengstenberg, *Christology*, E. T., vol. ii., Edin. 1856.]

ISCAH (יִסְחָה; Sept. Ἰσχα), the daughter of Haran, the brother of Abraham, and the sister of Lot and of Milcah Nahor's wife (Gen. xi. 27, 29). According to Jewish tradition (Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 6. 5; Targ. Jonath.; Talm.; Hieron., *Quaest. in Gen.*), Iscah was the same as Sarai, Abraham's wife; but there are serious difficulties in the way of this belief. [SARAH.]—W. L. A.

ISCARIOT. [JUDAS ISCARIOT.]

ISHBAH (יִשְׁבָּה; Sept. Ἰσβαῖ; Alex. Ἰεσβαῖ), the father of Eshtemoa, and apparently the son of Ezra by his Egyptian wife Bithiah (1 Chron. iv. 17; comp. Bertheau, *Exeg. Hdb.* in loc.)—†.

ISHBAK (יִשְׁבָּק; Ἰεσβῶκ and Σοβακ; *Jesboc*), a son of Abraham by Keturah, and founder of one of the tribes of Arabia. His brethren Midian and Jokshan are better known. We are told that Abraham 'gave gifts' to the sons of Keturah, 'and sent them away from Isaac his son, eastward, unto the east country' (Gen. xxv. 1-6). They settled in the region east of the Arabah, in and near Mount Seir, and southward in the peninsula of Sinai (Gen. xxxvii. 28, 36; Exod. iii. 1; Num. xxxi. 9, 10). On the top of the mountain range which bounds the valley of Arabah on the east, and about twelve miles north of Petra, stands the great castle of *Shobek*, on the crest of a peak commanding a wide view. It was built by Baldwin king of Jerusalem in A.D. 1115, on the site of a much more ancient fortress and city, and it was one of the chief strongholds of the Crusaders. The name they gave it was *Mons Regalis*; but by the Arabs, both before and since, it has been uniformly called Shobek. It was finally taken from the Franks by Saladin in A.D. 1188 (*Gesta Dei Per Francos*, pp. 426, 611, 812; Bohadin, *Vita Saladini*, pp. 38, 54, and *Index Geographicus*, s. v. *Sjanbachum*). The castle is still in tolerable preservation, and a few families of Arabs find within its walls a secure asylum for themselves and their flocks. It contains an old church, with a Latin inscription of the Crusading age over its door (Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, p. 416; *Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 58).

It seems highly probable that in Shobek we have still preserved the name and first possession of Abraham's son *Ishbak*. The words شوبك (Robinson spells it شوبك) and יִשְׁבָּק are radically identical. And as the descendants of Ke-

turah unquestionably settled in this region, and were closely connected with the Ishmaelites and Moabites, we may safely identify *Shobek* and *Ishbak* (see Forster, *Geography of Arabia*, i. 352; Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 164; Bunsen, *Bibelwerk*, i. ii. 53).—J. L. P.

ISHBI, or ISHBI-BENOB. [GIANTS.]

ISH-BOSHETH (יִשְׁבֹּשֶׁת, *man of shame*;

Sept. Ἰεβωσθέ), a son of king Saul, and the only one who survived him. • In 1 Chron. viii. 33, and ix. 39, this name is given as אֶשְׁבַּאל *Eshbaal*. Baal was the name of an idol, accounted abominable by the Hebrews, and which scrupulous persons avoided pronouncing, using the word *bosheth*, 'shame' or 'vanity,' instead. This explains why the name Eshbaal is substituted for Ish-bosheth, Jerubbaal for Jerubbesheth (comp. Judg. viii. 35 with 2 Sam. xi. 21), and Merib-baal for Mephibosheth (comp. 2 Sam. iv. 4 with 1 Chron. viii. 34 and ix. 40). Ish-bosheth was not present in the disastrous battle at Gilboa, in which his father and brothers perished; and, too feeble of himself to seize the sceptre which had fallen from the hands of Saul, he owed the crown entirely to his uncle Abner, who conducted him to Mahanaim, beyond the Jordan, where he was recognised as king by ten of the twelve tribes. He reigned seven, or, as some will have it, two years—if a power so uncertain as his can be called a reign. Even the semblance of authority which he possessed he owed to the will and influence of Abner, who kept the real substance in his own hands. A sharp quarrel between them led at last to the ruin of Ish-bosheth. Although accustomed to tremble before Abner, even his meek temper was roused to resentment by the discovery that Abner had invaded the harem of his late father Saul, which was in a peculiar manner sacred under his care as a son and a king. By this act Abner exposed the king to public contempt; if it did not indeed leave himself open to the suspicion of intending to advance a claim to the crown on his own behalf. Abner highly resented the rebuke of Ish-bosheth, and from that time contemplated uniting all the tribes under the sceptre of David. Ish-bosheth, however, reverted to his ordinary timidity of character. At the first demand of David, he restored to him his sister Michal, who had been given in marriage to the son of Jesse by Saul, and had afterwards been taken from him and bestowed upon another. It is, perhaps, right to attribute this act to his weakness; although, as David allows that he was a righteous man, it may have been owing to his sense of justice. On the death of Abner Ish-bosheth lost all heart and hope, and perished miserably, being murdered in his own palace, while he took his mid-day sleep, by two of his officers, Baanah and Rechab. They sped with his head to David, expecting a great reward for their deed; but the monarch—as both right feeling and good policy required—testified the utmost horror and concern. He slew the murderers, and placed the head of Ish-bosheth with due respect in the sepulchre of Abner: B. C. 1048 (2 Sam. ii. 8-11; iii. 6-39; iv.). There is a serious difficulty in the chronology of this reign. In 2 Sam. ii. 10 Ish-bosheth is said to have reigned two years; which some understand as the whole amount of his reign.

And as David reigned seven and a half years over Judah before he became king of all Israel upon the death of Ish-bosheth, it is conceived by the Jewish chronologer (*Seder Olam Rabba*, p. 37), as well as by Kimchi and others, that there was a vacancy of five years in the throne of Israel. It is not, however, agreed by those who entertain this opinion, whether this vacancy took place before or after the reign of Ish-bosheth. Some think it was before, it being then a matter of dispute whether he or Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan, should be made king; but others hold that after his death five years elapsed before David was generally recognised as king of all Israel. If the reign of Ish-bosheth be limited to two years, the latter is doubtless the best way of accounting for the other five, since no ground of delay in the accession of Ish-bosheth is suggested in Scripture itself; for the claim of Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan, which some have produced, being that of a lame boy five years old, whose father never reigned, against a king's son forty years of age, would have been deemed of little weight in Israel. Besides, our notions of Abner do not allow us to suppose that under him the question of the succession could have remained five years in abeyance. But it is the more usual, and perhaps the better course, to settle this question by supposing that the reigns of David over Judah, and of Ish-bosheth over Israel, were nearly contemporaneous, and that the two years are mentioned as those from which to date the commencement of the ensuing events—namely, the wars between the house of Saul and that of David.—J. K.

ISHI. This word in the A. V. represents two different words in the original, viz.—1. יִשִּׁי, *Yishi*, a proper name of a man, occurring 1 Chron. ii. 31 (Sept. Ἰσημῆλ; Alex. Ἰεσῆλ; iv. 20 (Sept. Σῆλ; Alex. Ἰσ); iv. 42 (Sept. Ἰεσῆλ; Alex. Ἰεσῆλ); v. 24 (Sept. Σῆλ; Alex. Ἰεσῆλ). 2. יִשִּׁי, *Ishi*, Sept. ὁ ἀνὴρ μου, the name by which the true Israel should express her relation to Jehovah, as contradistinguished from בָּלִי, *Baali*, which, though once applicable to Jehovah (Is. liv. 5), had ceased to be so in consequence of its application to heathen deities (Hos. ii. 16; comp. Henderson on the place).—W. L. A.

ISHMAEL (יִשְׁמָאֵל, 'God hears'; Ἰσμαήλ; *Ismad*. Hence the patronymic יִשְׁמָאֵלִי, pl. יִשְׁמָאֵלִים, given to the Arabs descended from Ishmael).

1. Abraham's son by Hagar, Sarah's Egyptian maid. The story of his birth as recorded in Gen. xvi., though it seems so strange and even unnatural in Christian England, is in every respect characteristic of Eastern life and morals in the present age. The intense desire of both Abraham and Sarah for children; Sarah's gift of Hagar to Abraham as wife; the insolence of the slave when suddenly raised to a place of importance; the jealousy and consequent tyranny of her high-spirited mistress; Hagar's flight, return, and submission to Sarah—for all these incidents we could easily find parallels in the modern history of every tribe in the desert of Arabia. The origin of the name *Ishmael* is thus explained. When Hagar fled from Sarah, the Angel

of the Lord found her by a fountain of water in the wilderness in the way of Shur . . . and he said, 'Behold thou art with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name *Ishmael* ('God hears'), because the Lord *hath heard* thy affliction' (Gen. xvi. 11). Hagar had evidently intended when she fled to return to her native country. But when the Angel told her of the dignity in store for her as a mother, and the power to which her child, as the son of the great patriarch, would attain, she resolved to obey his voice, and to submit herself to Sarah (xvi. 10-13).

Ishmael was born at Mamre, in the eighty-sixth year of Abraham's age, eleven years after his arrival in Canaan, and fourteen before the birth of Isaac (xvi. 3, 16; xxi. 5). No particulars of his early life are recorded. His father was evidently strongly attached to him, for when an heir was promised through Sarah, he said, 'O that Ishmael might live before Thee!' (xvii. 18). Then were renewed to Abraham in more definite terms the promises made to Hagar regarding Ishmael; 'As for Ishmael, I have heard thee; behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly: twelve princes shall he beget: and I will make him a great nation' (ver. 20). Ishmael seems to have remained in a great measure under the charge of his mother, who, knowing his destiny, would doubtless have him trained in such exercises as would fit him for successfully acting the part of a desert prince. Indulged in every whim and wish by a fond father, encouraged to daring and adventure by the hardy nomads who fed and defended his father's flocks, and having a fitting field on that southern borderland for the play of his natural propensities, Ishmael grew up a true child of the desert—a wild and wayward boy. The perfect freedom of desert life, and his constant intercourse with those who looked up to him with mingled feelings of pride and affection as the son and heir-apparent of their great chief, tended to make him impatient of restraint, and overbearing in his temper. The excitement of the chase—speeding across the plains of Beersheba after the gazelles, and through the rugged mountains of Engedi after wild goats, and bears, and leopards, inured him to danger, and trained him for war. Ishmael must also have been accustomed from childhood to those feuds which raged almost incessantly between the 'trained servants' of Abraham and their warlike neighbours of Philistia, as well as to the more serious incursions of roving bands of freebooters from the distant East. Such was the school in which the great desert chief was trained. Subsequent events served to fill up and fashion the remaining features of Ishmael's character. He had evidently been treated by Abraham's dependents as their master's heir, and Abraham himself had apparently encouraged the belief. The unexpected birth of Isaac, therefore, must have been to him a sad and bitter disappointment. And when he was afterwards driven forth, with his poor mother, a homeless wanderer in a pathless wilderness; when in consequence of such unnatural harshness he was brought to the very brink of the grave, and was only saved from a painful death by a miracle; when, after having been reared in luxury, and taught to look forward to the possession of wealth and power, he was suddenly left to win a scanty and uncertain subsistence by his sword and bow—we need scarcely wonder that his proud

spirit, revolting against injustice and cruelty, should make him what the Angei had predicted, 'a wild ass man; his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him' (xvi. 12).

The first recorded outbreak of Ishmael's rude and wayward spirit occurred at the weaning of Isaac. On that occasion Abraham made a great feast after the custom of the country. In the excitement of the moment, heightened probably by the painful consciousness of his own blighted hopes, Ishmael could not restrain his temper, but gave way to some insulting expressions or gestures of mockery. Perhaps the very name of the child, *Isaac* ('laughter'), and the exuberant joy of his aged mother, may have furnished subjects for his untimely satire. Be this as it may, Sarah's jealous eye and quick ear speedily detected him; and she said to Abraham, 'Expel this slave and her son; for the son of this slave shall not be heir with my son, with Isaac' (xxi. 10). Now Abraham loved the boy who first, lisping the name 'father,' opened in his heart the gushing fountain of paternal affection. The bare mention of such an unnatural act made him angry even with Sarah, and it was only when influenced by a Divine admonition that he yielded. The brief account of the departure of Hagar, and her journey through the desert, is one of the most beautiful and touching pictures of patriarchal life which has come down to us, 'And Abraham rose early in the morning, and took bread, and a skin of water, and gave it to Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, and the lad (^{וְהַנֶּכֶד}); and sent her away; and she departed, and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba. And when the water was spent in the skin, she placed the lad under one of the shrubs. And she went, and sat down opposite, at the distance of a bowshot: for she said, I will not see the death of the lad. And she sat opposite, and lifted up her voice and wept' (xxi. 14-16).

Ishmael was about sixteen years old when thus cast upon the world. It may seem strange to some that the hardy, active boy, inured to fatigue, should have been sooner overcome by thirst than his mother; but those advanced in life can bear abstinence longer than the young, and besides, Ishmael had probably exhausted his strength in vain attempts to gain a supply of food by his bow. Again Hagar is saved by a miracle; 'God heard the voice of the lad . . . and said unto her, What aileth thee, Hagar? fear not . . . And God opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water' (ver. 17, 19). And again the cheering promise is renewed to her son, 'I will make of him a great nation' (ver. 18).

The wilderness of Paran, lying along the western side of the Arabah, between Canaan and the mountains of Sinai, now became the home of Ishmael; 'And God was with him, and he became a great archer' (ver. 20). Some of the border tribes with which the shepherds of Abraham were wont to meet and strive at the wells of Gerar, Beersheba, and En-Mishpat, probably received and welcomed the outcast to their tents. A youth of his warlike training and daring spirit would soon acquire a name and a high position among nomads. His relationship to Abraham also would add to his personal claims. His mother, as soon as she saw him settled, took for him an Egyptian wife—one of her own people, and thus completely separated

him from his Shemite connections. At this period the Arabian desert appears to have been thinly peopled by descendants of Joktan, the son of Eber, 'whose dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the east' (Gen. x. 25-30). The Joktanites, or *Bene Kahlân*, are regarded by Arab historians as the first and most honourable progenitors of the Arab tribes (ARABIA; D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, s. v. *Arabes*). A very old tradition affirms that Ishmael married a woman of that race. This is not stated in the Bible; and the story may probably have its origin in the fact that he became closely allied with the Joktanites, and was one of their greatest leaders. Though Ishmael joined the native tribes of Arabia, his posterity did not amalgamate with them. The Joktanites have left traces of their names and settlements chiefly in the southern and south-eastern parts of the peninsula, while the Ishmaelites kept closer to the borders of Canaan (JOKTAN; Forster's *Geography of Arabia*, i. 77, seq.) Notwithstanding his expulsion, Ishmael appears to have kept up some slight intercourse with his father's house; and when Abraham died, we read that 'his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the cave of Machpelah.' The rival brothers then met, in the vale of Mamre at their father's tomb (Gen. xxv. 9). That must have been a strange and deeply interesting scene at the burial of the great patriarch. All his own old 'trained servants,' with Isaac, the peaceful shepherd chief, at their head, were assembled there; while Ishmael, surrounded by the whole body of his wild retainers and allies, as was and still is the custom of Bedawy sheikhs, stood there too. Of Ishmael's personal history after this event we know nothing. The sacred historian gives us a list of his twelve sons, tells us that Esau married his daughter Mahalath, the sister of Nebajoth (xxviii. 9), and sums up the brief simple sketch in these words, 'These are the years of the life of Ishmael, a hundred and thirty-seven years; and he died; and was gathered to his people' (xxv. 17). Where he died, or where he was buried, we know not.

Ishmael was driven out from his father's house, and his father's imperious wife said of him, 'The son of the slave shall not be heir with my son;' yet a divine promise assured the outcast that he should dwell 'in the presence of all his brethren.' Ishmael was the son of the 'faithful' Abraham, the chosen 'friend' of God; yet the Lord Himself said of him, 'He shall be a wild man—his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him.' The long history of Ishmael and his posterity, from the day he was sent into the desert till the present hour, is one continuous fulfilment of these remarkable prophecies. Ishmael had twelve sons: Nebajoth, Kedar, Abdeel, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Massa, Hadar, Tema, Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah. In giving the list of them, the sacred historian communicates an important piece of information—'These are the sons of Ishmael, and these are their names, by their cities (חציריהם), and these are their names, by their cities (חציריהם), and their camps (מירתם); twelve

princes according to their nations' (לְאֻמָּתָם). Every one of the twelve sons of Ishmael, therefore, like the children of Jacob, was the head of a tribe, and the founder of a distinct colony or camp. In this respect the statements in the Bible exactly accord with the ancient traditions and histories of the

Arabs themselves. Native historians divide the Arabs into two races—1. *Pure Arabs* (العرب الباردة), descendants of Joktan (جحطان); and

2. *Mixed Arabs* (العرب المستعربة), descendants of Ishmael. Abulfelda gives a brief account of the several tribes and nations which descended from both these original stocks (*Historia Antislamica*, ed. Fleischer, pp. 180, 191, seq.) Some of the tribes founded by sons of Ishmael retained the names of their founders, and were well known in history. The *Nabatheans*, who took possession of Idumæa in the 4th century B.C., and constructed the wonderful monuments of Petra, were the posterity of *Nebajoth*, Ishmael's eldest son [NABATHEANS]. The descendants of *Jetur* and *Naphish* disputed with the Israelites possession of the country east of the Jordan, and the former, described by Strabo as *κακοὶ ἔργοι πάντες* (xvi. 2), gave their name to a small province south of Damascus, which it bears to this day [ITUREA]. The black tents of *Kedar* were pitched in the heart of the Arabian desert, and from their abundant flocks they supplied the marts of Tyre (Jer. ii. 10; Is. lx. 7; Ezek. xxvii. 21). The district of *Tema* lay south of Edom, and is referred to by both Job and Isaiah (Job vi. 19; Is. xxi. 14; Forster's *Geogr. of Arabia*, i. 292; Heeren's *Historical Researches*, ii. 107). *Dumah* has left his name to a small province of Arabia. For a fuller investigation of this subject the reader is referred to Forster's *Geography of Arabia*, where a vast amount of information has been collected, though not all entirely to the point. Still there is enough to shew that the statement of Moses is perfectly accurate, that the sons of Ishmael were heads of great tribes, and to shew too that the prophecy has been fulfilled to the letter, Ishmael 'shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren' (Gen. xvi. 12). Since the days of Abraham the tents of the Ishmaelites have been studded along the whole eastern confines of Palestine, and they have been scattered over Arabia from the borders of Egypt to the banks of the Euphrates. As friends and foes, as oppressors and oppressed,—but ever as freemen,—the seed of Ishmael have dwelt in the presence of their brethren.

The prophecy which drew their character has been fulfilled with equal minuteness of detail. 'He shall be a wild ass of a man (פָּרָא אִדָּם);

his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him.' A recent commentator on the passage has illustrated the prophecy with equal force and beauty. 'The character of the Ishmaelites, or the Bedouins, could not be described more aptly or more powerfully. Against them alone time seems to have no sickle, and the conqueror's sword no edge. They have defied the softening influence of civilization, and mocked the attacks of the invader. Ungovernable and roaming, obeying no law but their spirit of adventure, regarding all mankind as their enemies, whom they must either attack with their spears or elude with their faithful steeds, and cherishing their deserts as heartily as they despise the constraint of towns and communities; the Bedouins are the outlaws among the nations. Plunder is legitimate gain, a daring robbery is praised as valour. Liberty is the element

which the Arab breathes, and if he were thrown into servitude he would either break the yoke or perish in the attempt. He cannot, indeed, be better compared than with a wild ass. This indomitable animal, which defies the swiftness of the swiftest horse, delights in its native deserts, easily satisfied with the scanty food furnished by those inhospitable regions. It seems to revel in independence, free from the master's pressing voice, it scorns the tumult of the town, and roves on the parched mountain sides in search of grass and herbs. Although in the zones it generally inhabits water seems a vital condition, the wild ass can long exist without it; and its marvellous power of enduring hunger and thirst explains its preservation in its arid and cheerless abodes. . . . With such animals are the Bedouins pointedly compared; to the latter may be properly applied the words of Job: 'Who hath sent out the wild ass free? or who hath loosed the bands of the wild ass? whose house I have made the wilderness, and the barren land its dwellings' (xxxix. 5, 6). They may be hunted like game, but they cannot be caught; their wants are few, they neither covet wealth nor tempt the conqueror's avarice, and the waste tracts shunned by other nations are their terrestrial paradise. 'In the desert, everybody is everybody's enemy,' is their proverbial saying; and they express, therefore, only in other words the sense of our text, 'his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him' (Kalisch, *ad loc.*). The desert is now and has always been the home of the Ishmaelite.

In Arabic the desert is called *bedu* (بدو), *campus in quo nulla sunt firma habitacula*, Freytag, s. v.), hence the genuine Arab calls himself *Bedawy* (بدوي) or

بدوي, 'a man of the desert,' pl. *Bedawin*).

The Ishmaelites are nomads, moving from place to place as the requirements of water and pasture, the chances of war, or the hope of plunder, may lead them. They live exclusively in tents, and have a kind of instinctive dread of towns, villages, and permanent habitations. They can pitch and move their camps with almost incredible rapidity, while on their fleet dromedaries and fleet horses they sweep like a tornado across the broad plains, now plundering a caravan beneath the walls of Baghdad, and anon carrying off the flocks of some border town of Syria. And it has not been on the confines of their own desert home only that 'the hand of the Ishmaelite has been against every man.' Inspired by the fierce fanaticism, and led by the daring chiefs of Mohammed, they carried their victorious arms to the banks of the Oxus and the Indus on the east, and over Syria, Egypt, Northern Africa, and Spain, to the shores of the Atlantic on the west. Nearly 4000 years have passed since the Ishmaelites became a nation, and yet in disposition, in manners, in habits, in government, in occupation, and even in dress, they are the same as they were at the first. The writer has seen much of them, and lived among them; he has experienced both their hospitality and their hostility, and all his personal knowledge has tended to impress more deeply upon his mind the wonderful accuracy of those brief but graphic descriptions given in the words of O. T. prophecy. (In addition to the books already referred to, the

student may consult Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria, Travels in Arabia, Notes on the Balouin*; D'Arvieux's *Travels in Arabia*; Niebuhr's *Description de l'Arabie*; Porter's *Five Years in Damascus*; Eichhorn's *Monumenta Antiquiss. Hist. Arabum*.)

2. ISHMAEL, the son of *Nethaniah*, one of the royal family of Judah, who committed acts of great treachery and cruelty in Palestine during the Babylonish captivity. It appears that during the wars which preceded the captivity, he, and a numerous band of followers, took refuge among the Ammonites. When Gedaliah was appointed governor by the king of Babylon, these refugees determined to slay him. They returned to Palestine, came to Gedaliah at Mizpah under the mask of friendship, and after being kindly received and promised full protection, Ishmael treacherously murdered him. This did not satisfy his savage cruelty; he slew all the Jews and Chaldeans who were with Gedaliah in Mizpah, and eighty others, who came from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria, with offerings to the Lord; and then, seizing the women and the remaining inhabitants of Mizpah, he attempted to carry them captive to the country of the Ammonites. In this, however, he was disappointed, for they were rescued in passing Gibeon; the followers of Ishmael were dispersed, but Ishmael himself effected his escape (2 Kings xxv. 23-28; Jer. xl.; xli.; Joseph. *Antiq.* x. 9).

Several other Ishmaels are mentioned in Scripture (1 Chron. viii. 38; 2 Chron. xix. 11; xxiii. 1; Ezra x. 22).—J. L. P.

ISHMAEL B. ELISA (ר' ישמעאל בן אלישע בקה). This renowned Rabbi, who is one of the principal interpreters of the Pentateuch or Law (תורה) mentioned in the Mishna, was the son of the high-priest Elisha b. Fabi, whom Josephus (*Antiq.* xx. 7) erroneously calls *Ishmael b. Fabi*. He was born about A.D. 60, carried away a captive to Rome during the destruction of Jerusalem, when a child, and was afterwards redeemed by R. Joshua, who, when at the Eternal city, with R. Eliezer b. Azzariah and R. Gamaliel II., as deputation to intercede with the emperor Domitian in behalf of their suffering brethren (circa A.D. 83), heard of the imprisonment of this far-famed beautiful boy. He at once went to the prison and exclaimed at the door—'Who gave Jacob for a spoil and Israel to the robbers?' (Is. xlii. 24); and when the captive boy touchingly replied, 'The Lord, against whom we have sinned, and would not walk in his ways, nor be obedient unto his law' (*ibid.*), the rabbi vowed that he would not quit Rome till he had redeemed this remarkable youth (*Gittin*, 58, a). R. Ishmael afterwards lived in southern Judaea, not far from the Idumean boundaries (*Le'ethuboth*, 64, b), at a place called *Kephars-Aziz* (כפר עזיז) where he occupied himself with the cultivation of the vine (*Mishna Kilaim*, vi. 4), and spent a large portion of his wealth in maintaining and fitting out young women who had been impoverished by the desolations of the war (*Nedarim*, 66, a). The remarkable part of his life to us is the system of interpretation which he laid down, and which, as the head of a large school in the apostolic age, he propounded to his disciples. As his exegetical canons were avowedly opposed to those of his contemporary R. Akiba, the head of an equally numerous and influential school, and as the mode in which the Scriptures

were explained in the apostolic age will be better understood by setting forth the two systems, we shall notice R. Akiba's principles of interpretation before stating the rules which R. Ishmael laid down. According to some ancient notions which R. Akiba systematized, every repetition, figure, parallelism, synonym, word, letter, particle, pleonasm, nay the very shape, and every ornament of a letter or title, has a recondite meaning in the Scripture, 'just as every fibre of a fly's wing or an ant's foot has its peculiar significance.' Hence he maintained that the particles **אֵת**, **נָם**, **אֵךְ**, and **וְ**, as well as the construction of the finite verb with the infinitive, *ex. gr.*, **הֵשִׁב הָעֵבֶט חֶבְרִיטוֹ**, have a dogmatic significance, and he, therefore, deduced points of law from them. Philo was of the same opinion (comp. *σαφῶς εἰδὼς, ὅτι περιττὸν δνομα οὐδὲν τίθισιν, ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πραγματολογεῖν ἀμυλῆτος φορᾶς, De profugis*, ed. Mangey, p. 458), only that he deduced from them ethical and philosophical maxims; and this was also the opinion of the Greek translator of Ecclesiastes in the Septuagint, as may be seen from his anxiety to indicate the Hebrew particle **אֵת** by the Greek *σὺν*, which has greatly perplexed the commentators who, being unacquainted with this fact, have been unable to account for this barbarism and violation of grammatical propriety (comp. Ginsburg, *Comment. on Ecclesiastes*, p. 496). Now R. Ishmael opposed this mode of interpretation, and maintained that the Bible, being written in human language, uses expressions in their common acceptation, that many of the repetitions and parallelisms are simply designed to render the style more rhetorical and powerful, and cannot, therefore, without violation of the laws of language be adduced in support of legal deductions. Accordingly he laid down thirteen

exegetical rules which are called **שלוש עשרה מדות של רבי ישמעאל**, *the thirteen rules of R. Ishmael*, by which alone the Scriptures are to be interpreted (**שהתורה נדרשת בהם**), and which are as follows:—

1. *Inference from Minor to Major*, **קל וחומר**.—As this law has been laid down by **Hillel I.**, and as it is illustrated by examples in its proper place [**HILLEL**], we shall only add that the object of inference (*i.e.*, the major) must never be treated more rigorously than the subject from which the inference is made (*i.e.*, the minor), as is evident from Num. xii. 14, 15, where the argument *de minore ad majorem* is employed by God himself, and where, as the Talmud rightly remarks (*Baba Kama*, 28, a), Miriam, who offended her heavenly Father, is not treated more rigorously than a daughter who offends her earthly parent (comp. also *Mishna, Baba Kama*, ii. 5).

2. *The Comparison of Words or Ideas* (**ניזרה** **שוה**).—When a similar expression occurs in the Bible in connection with two subjects, the same law is under certain circumstances applied to both. Three distinctions must be observed in the application of this exegetical law:—1. Either the expression is superfluous in both passages, in which case there can be no objection to this comparison of words, inasmuch as the very employment in both places of the same or a similar superfluous expression indicates a design; or 2. The expression is necessary in both places, in which case no comparison is made, as the **שוה** is *co ipso* null and void, because the expressions are wanted to

explain the sense, and cannot therefore be employed for the deduction of particular laws; or 3. One of the expressions is superfluous, in which case the inference may be made, provided no objection can be raised against it from another law which has assigned a distinction to the subject of comparison (comp. *Jebamoth*, 70, b).

3. *Building of the father, or the chief law, from one verse, and the chief law from two verses* (**בנין אב**, **מכתוב אחד ובנין אב משני כתובים**). That is to say, a law which is applied in the Bible to two subjects different in nature, and occurring either in one verse or in two separate verses, and through which these subjects become alike, is considered as the chief law, and every subject which through one point comes within its range, is also put thereby, in all other respects, on an equality with those two subjects. This hermeneutical law is called **בנין אב**, *building of the father*, because it requires two subjects, and something whereby they are connected, as if it were two bricks constituting the walls, and one serving as a cover and medium to join the two walls together. The term **אב**, *father*, shows the superior power and durability of this exegetical law (comp. *Pesachim*, 86, b; *Succa*, 6, b; *Jebamoth*, 8, a; *Kiddushim*, 18, b; *Sanhedrim*, 4, a; *Maccoth*, 37, b; *Berachoth*, 34, a; *Kerithoth*, 17, b).

4. *General and Special* (**כלל ופרט**).—Thus when the law mentions first a general subject which has fewer marks and is of a wider compass, and this is followed by a special subject, with more marks and of a smaller compass, the definition of the latter is applied to the former in the interpretation of the law (comp. *Tosafoth Nasir*, 35, b, and art. **HILLEL**).

5. *Special and General* (**פרט וכלל**).—If *vice versa* a special subject is followed by a general one, the special is extended by the general, since, according to the traditional mode of interpretation, the first term is to be explained by the one which follows it. Thus when it is said, *Exod. xxii. 9*, 'If a man deliver unto his neighbour an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast, to keep,' where ass, ox, and sheep are special, but the following expression **בהמה**, *beast* or *cattle*, is general, the preceding special terms are extended thereby, and it is concluded that everything living, even if it is not like the ass, ox, or sheep, comes under this law.

6. *General Special and General* (**כלל ופרט וכלל**). That is, when the general is followed by a special and this again by a general subject, the law is interpreted according to the marks of the special subject, since there is a doubt whether the stress lies upon the middle term, whereby the first general term is limited, or upon the last general term, which obtains a wider generality through it. Hence the middle course is taken, and the law is neither extended to the whole compass of the last expression nor limited to the middle term, but is applied to everything which resembles it. Thus, for instance, when *Deut. xiv. 26* ordains that the money realised from the sale of the tithes to be taken to the Temple 'may be bestowed on whatsoever thy soul lusteth after [general], for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink [special], and for whatsoever thy soul desireth' [general again], it is concluded that just as the general has two properties, *viz.*, *fecundity*, which is the case with oxen and sheep, and *sustenance*, which is the case

with wine, so the subject which is to be comprised therein must have these two properties; and as winged animals have these two qualities, the money in question may be expended upon them. It is, however, a matter of dispute whether the resemblance is to be established on the ground of two or three properties (comp. *Eruvin*, 27, b ; 28, a).

7. *A general subject which requires a special one, and a special which requires a general subject* (כלל

הצריך לפרט ופרט הצריך לכלל) for mutual explanation.—The difference between this rule and rules 4 and 5 is that the former is incomplete without farther explanation, whilst the latter are complete in themselves. Thus, for instance, in the law respecting the sanctification of the first-born, we have in *Exod.* xiii. 2, 'Sanctify unto me all the first-born [general], whatsoever openeth the womb' [special], and in *Deut.* xv. 19 is added, 'all the firstling males thou shalt sanctify' [special], explaining the general term *first-born*, which includes both males and females, to denote males only. But as the term *male* is still insufficient, inasmuch as it simply denotes the first male, which may have been preceded by the birth of females—the phrase 'whatsoever openeth the womb' is added, thus restricting it to the first-born (comp. *Bechoroth*, 19, a).

8. *When a special law is enacted for something which has already been comprised in a general law, it shows that it is also to be applied to the whole class* (דבר שהיה בכלל ויצא מן הכלל ללמד, לא)

(ללמד על עצמו יצא, אלא ללמד על הכל כולו יצא). Thus it is enacted in *Lev.* vii. 20, that 'the soul that eateth of peace-offerings that pertain unto the Lord, having his uncleanness upon him, shall be cut off from his people,' which is already comprised in the law, 'he shall not eat of the holy things' (*ibid.* xxii. 4), since peace-offerings are holy things, hence it is inferred that it is applicable to all the sacrifices which belong to the category of peace-offerings, but not to other classes of sacrifices which are devoted to the service of the Temple. This exegetical rule, however, is not applicable in case the subject thus singled out from the general law for special enactment is expressed in the positive, and the general law itself is in the negative form (comp. *Jebamoth*, 7, a ; *Shebuoth*, 7, a ; *Rashi on Sabbath*, 70, a).

9. *When a subject included in a general description is excepted from it for another enactment, whilst it remains in all other respects like it, it is excepted to be alleviated but not aggravated* (דבר שהיה בכלל

ויצא למען מעט אחר, שהוא כענינו, נצא להקל ולא להחמיר).—Thus, for instance, in *Lev.* xiii. 18 it is stated, 'The flesh, when there was in the skin thereof a boil and it healeth,' and in *ver.* 24, 'or flesh, when there was in the skin thereof a burn from fire.' Now, from both these, which seem to be superfluous, inasmuch as inflammation and a burn belong to eruptions, and hence come under the law enacted for this class of complaints, it is inferred that they are only subject to the law which is expressly stated here, and not to the rigid laws which are elsewhere enacted about eruptions.

10. *When a subject included in a general description is excepted from it for another enactment, whilst it is also not like it in other respects, it is excepted both to be alleviated and aggravated, i.e., its connec-*

tion with the general law entirely ceases (וכר שהיה בכלל ויצא למען מעט אחר, שלא כענינו נצא להקל

והחמיר).—Thus, for instance, from the special mention in *Lev.* xiii. 29, 'If a man or woman have a plague upon the head or the beard,' when we should have thought that head and beard are comprised under the skin and flesh, and come under the law of skin diseases generally, it is inferred that they are only comprised under it in name but not in reality, and are the subject of special law (comp. *ibid.*, *vers.* 10, 25, 30).

11. *If a subject included in a general description has been excepted from it for the enactment of a new and opposite law, it cannot be restored again to the general class unless the Bible itself expressly restores it* (דבר

שהיה בכלל ויצא לדבר חדש אי אתה יכול להחזירו לכלל עד שיתירנו הכתוב במפורש).—Thus, from the statement in *Lev.* xiv. 13, 'And he shall slay the lamb in the place where he shall kill the sin-offering and the burnt-offering, in the holy place; for as the sin-offering is the priest's, so is the trespass-offering; it is most holy;' it is inferred that the phrase 'as the sin-offering so is the trespass-offering,' which would otherwise be entirely superfluous, shows that the special subject respecting which new laws had been passed (comp. *Lev.* xiv. 13 with *vii.* 2-5), whereby it had been put in opposition to the general class, is again united and put on an equality therewith (comp. *Jebamoth*, 7, a ; *Sebachim*, 49, a).

12. *The sense of an indefinite statement must either be determined from its connection* (comp. *Art. HILLEL*, rule 7) *or from the form and tendency of the statement itself* (דבר הלמד מענינו ודבר הלמד מסופו).

13. *When two statements seem to contradict each other, a third statement will reconcile them* (שני כתובים המכחישים זה את זה עד שיבוא הכתוב השלישי ויכריע ביניהם).

It will be seen in the article MIDRASHIM of this Cyclopædia that these hermeneutical rules are most important to the understanding of the ancient versions. R. Ishmael is also the reputed author of the celebrated Midrash or traditional commentary on *Exod.* xii.-xxiii. 20, called מכללתא [MIDRASH]. Comp. Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin 1832, p. 47, etc.; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica* ii., p. 75, etc.; Pinner, *Talmud Babil.*, vol. i., Berlin 1842, p. 17, etc.; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iv., Leipzig 1853, p. 68, etc.; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 1160, etc.; *Ben Chananja*, vol. i., Szegedin 1858, p. 122, etc.—C. D. G.

ISHTOB (אִישׁ טוֹב, 'men of good'; ἰσθῶς; *Istob*). It is doubtful whether this is to be taken as one word, *Ishtob*, or whether the sacred writer intended to express by it the 'men' (אִישׁ) or inhabitants 'of *Tob*,' as in the phrase אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל 'the men of Israel' (*Judg.* xx. 39). According to the latter interpretation 2 *Sam.* x. 6 would read 'The children of Ammon sent and hired the Syrians of Beth-rehob, and the Syrians of Zoba, twenty thousand footmen, and of king Maacah a thousand men, and the men of *Tob* twelve thousand men.' In *ver.* 8, the only other place where *Ishtob* occurs, it may be interpreted in the same way,

though it has there more the appearance of a proper name; and we know that proper names were sometimes compounded of *ʿN*, as *Ish-bosheth* and *Ishod*. Whatever the name may have been, reference is evidently made to one of the small principalities of Aram south of Damascus. 'The land of Tob' lay east of the Jordan, and may perhaps be the same here referred to (Judg. xi. 3, 5; Tob).—J. L. P.

ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, bishop of Seville (Hispalis), was born about A.D. 570 at Carthage, of which city his father Severianus was the Præfect. In the year 600 or 601 he succeeded his brother Leander in the episcopate of Seville. He presided at the second council of Seville (A.D. 619) and at the council of Toledo, held in the year 633. He died April 4, 636. For variety and extent of knowledge Isidore is entitled to rank amongst the most learned men of his time, and his numerous writings, which exhibit a marvellous degree of familiarity with almost every branch of learning then known, rendered important service to his country and age. Of his extant works, those which relate to Biblical exegesis are—1. *Proemia in Libros Veteris ac Novi Testamenti*, which, as its title intimates, consists of brief summaries of the contents of the books of the O. and N. T.; 2. *Liber numerorum qui in Sanctis Scripturis occurrunt*, which may be described as a brief treatise on the mystic signification of numbers; 3. *Allegoria quedam Sancta Scriptura*, brief allegorical explanations of various terms and passages in the O. and N. T.; 4. *Questiones de Veteri et Novo Testamento*, a short Scripture catechism; and 5. *Mysticorum expositiones sacramentorum seu Questiones in Vetus Testamentum*. This, which is the largest and most important of his Biblical works, consists of expositions of various passages in the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and 1st and 2d Samuel, 1st and 2d Kings, Esdras, and Maccabees, selected for the most part from the writings of Origen, Victorinus, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Cassian, and Gregory the Great. As its title leads us to expect, it is constructed on the principle of finding a mystical meaning in the minutest details of the Scripture narrative. Thus, for instance, in the explanations of the work of creation, the gathering together of the salt waters is said to denote the punishment of unbelievers by leaving them to the consequences of their unbelief; whilst the dry land represents the men who are thirsting after faith; the formation of man from the dust of the earth prefigures the birth of Christ from the seed of David; and the creation of Eve from the rib taken out of Adam's side represents the origination of the Church from the blood which flowed from the side of the Saviour. In addition to the above-mentioned works the following are also attributed to Isidore, but the evidence in favour of their authenticity is not conclusive. 6. *Expositio in Canticum Canticorum Solomonis*. 7. *Testimonia Divina Scriptura et Patrum*—A classified arrangement of Scriptural texts and aphorisms from the Fathers. 8. *Glossæ in Sacram Scripturam*.—S. N.

ISIDORUS PELUSIOTA, an exegetical writer of the early part of the 5th century. He was a native of Alexandria (Ephraem of Antioch in *Photius*, cod. 288), and if we may believe Nicephorus (*Hist. Eccl.* xiv. 30) was a disciple of Chrysostom. From two of his extant letters (i. epp. 310, 311) it

appears that he survived the council of Ephesus (A.D. 381); and from another (i. ep. 370) that he was probably then of great age, since Cyril addressed him as 'father.' The date of his death is uncertain. He passed a large part of his life in monastic seclusion at Pelusium, and hence has acquired the surname Pelusiota. He was greatly celebrated amongst his contemporaries for the austerity of the discipline to which he subjected himself (Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 15). He is styled 'presbyter' by Facundius Hermianensis, a writer of the 6th century (*Pro Def. Trium Capitul.* ii. 4), who speaks of him as 'vir sanctissimus et magnæ in Ecclesia Christi gloriæ,' and adds, that 'he wrote two thousand letters to the edification of the church, as many persons well knew.' Other writers (Suidas and Nicephorus) speak of nine or ten thousand. Of the letters now extant, which are 2013 in number, a large proportion are devoted to the explanation of Scripture passages. From these it is evident that Isidore enjoyed a high reputation as an expositor of Scripture, and that a large number of persons amongst both the clergy and the laity were in the habit of seeking from him the solution of their exegetical difficulties. His replies are written in a terse and sententious style, and contain many judicious remarks on the study of the Scriptures (ii. ep. 63), the right method of exegesis (iii. epp. 125, 292), the interpretation of prophecy (iv. ep. 203), and the explanation of parables (iv. ep. 137). As an expositor he follows in the steps of Chrysostom, of whom he was a warm admirer, and although not wholly free from the allegorizing tendencies of the times, he commonly bases his exposition upon a careful investigation of the grammatical sense. His explanations show a sound judgment and much Christian insight, and many of them are still worthy of respectful consideration.—S. N.

ISLE, ISLAND (*ʿN*; Sept. *ʾēšōs*, Vulg. *insula*). The Hebrew word is invariably translated either by the former or by the latter of these English words, which, having the same meaning, will be considered as one. It occurs in the three following senses. First, that of dry land in opposition to water; as, 'I will make the rivers islands' (Is. xlii. 15). In Is. xx. 6, the Isle of Ashdod means the country, and is so rendered in the margin. In Is. xxiii. 2, 6, 'the isle' means the country of Tyre, and in Ezek. xxvii. 6, 7, that of Chittim and Elisha. (See also Job xxii. 30.) Secondly; it is used both in Hebrew and English, according to its geographical meaning, for a country surrounded by water, as in Jer. xlvii. 4, 'the isle (margin) of Caphtor,' which is probably that of Cyprus. 'The isles of the sea' (Esth. x. 1) are evidently put in opposition to 'the land,' or continent. In Ps. xcvi. 1, 'the multitude of the isles' seem distinguished from the earth or continents, and are evidently added to complete the description of the whole world. Thirdly; the word is used by the Hebrews to designate all those countries divided from them by the sea. In Is. xi. 11, after an enumeration of countries lying on their own continent, the words, 'and the islands of the sea,' are added in order to comprehend those situate beyond the ocean. The following are additional instances of this usage of the word, which is of very frequent occurrence (Is. xlii. 10; lix. 18; lxvi. 19; Jer. xxv. 22; Ezek. xxvii.

3, 15; Zeph. ii. 11). It is observed by Sir I. Newton (*on Daniel*, p. 276), 'By the earth the Jews understood the great continent of all Asia and Africa, to which they had access by land, and by the isles of the sea they understood the places to which they sailed by sea, particularly all Europe.'—J. F. D.

ISRAEL (יִשְׂרָאֵל, for יִשְׂרָאֵל, *contender* or *wrestler with God*, Gen. xxxii. 28; Hos. xii. 4), the name received from God by the patriarch Jacob on the occasion of the mysterious interview on Peniel. Jacob having made preparation for meeting his brother Esau on his return from Padan-Aram, sent his people on across the brook Jabbok, while he remained behind to spend the night alone, probably in earnest prayer for divine protection and help. Here during the night a being appeared to him in the form of a man, with whom the patriarch wrestled until the dawn. Unable to overcome him, the stranger touched the hollow of his thigh, that is, the place of the thigh-joint, the effect of which was to incapacitate him for continuing the struggle. Jacob then recognised in his opponent a superior being, the angel of Jehovah, and found that he had been in his ignorance struggling with God. This changed his course; he then betook himself to prayers and tears, and by these he prevailed (Hos. xii. 4); his former antagonist yielded the blessing which Jacob implored, and to signalise his success and perpetuate the lesson the scene was designed to teach, he said, 'Thy name shall be called no more Jacob but Israel, for thou hast wrestled (לָחָם) with God

and with man, and hast prevailed.' It is the opinion of many who accept this narrative as historical, that the scene narrated took place in a vision (Hengstenberg, Schröder, Umbreit, Milman, etc.) But this view is plainly untenable; the wrestling with the angel is no more a vision than is the passing over Jabbok, the dawning of the morning, or the halting of Jacob; the intention of the writer is evidently to place the whole on the same level, and we must either accept the scene of the wrestling as a fact, or reject it wholly as a myth. To those who would eliminate the supernatural from the Bible histories entirely, it will of course appear as the latter. But if the supernatural be admitted, if it be believed that God was wont to appear in human form to his servants, there seems no difficulty in believing the whole transaction to have taken place as it is narrated. Where the supernatural is admitted at all, it is absurd to cavil about a greater or a less in the degree of mystery attaching to any reported case of its manifestation; and in the case before us it is not more incredible that the angel of Jehovah should have wrestled with Jacob than that he should have partaken of food with Abraham, or have allowed his feet to be washed when he entered that patriarch's tent (Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, i. 334; Kurz, *Hist. of Old Cov.*, i. 333). Besides, what is gained by the hypothesis of a vision? If it was a true vision, and not a mere idle dream, God must have given it; so that all that came before the patriarch's mind was a representation vouchsafed by God himself. But if it were unworthy of God to wrestle with his creature, was it worthy of him to *represent* himself as doing so? If it lowers our conception of God to suppose him actually doing any given

thing, does it mend the matter to say that he virtually did that thing? To most minds, we presume, this will increase the difficulty rather than alleviate it; as is generally the case when expedients are resorted to to avoid the plain obvious meaning of Scripture. As to the *meaning* and *intent* of the scene, the suggestion of Kurz seems most probable, that God designed by the whole transaction to teach Jacob that it was not by human astuteness or power that he was to prevail, but by submission, dependence, and prayer. 'As, with the thigh the seat of his natural strength, in which he had contended, was paralysed, and he has now to betake himself to entreaty and prayer, so on the last day of his former life all confidence in his own strength which he had hitherto cherished, all trust in his natural cunning and cleverness, is cast away. He acknowledges that he is overcome, and only appeals to the grace and promise of God (Gen. xxxii. 11, 13). . . . We do not find the reason of the victory of Jacob over Jehovah in the continuance of his bodily wrestling as a symbol of spiritual wrestling, but, on the contrary, we regard this very bodily wrestling as representing the perversity which had characterised his former life' (Bk. cited p. 331).

2. The designation of the people descended from Jacob (Gen. xlviii. 20; Exod. v. 2; Num. xxi. 1; Josh. iv. 22; Rom. ix. 6, etc.) For this we have

sometimes the fuller expression בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, *B'ney Yisrael, Children of Israel*; בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל, *Beyth Y., House of I.*; אֲדָת יִשְׂרָאֵל, *Adath Y., or Qahal Y., Congregation of I.*; שִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, *Shibtey Y., Tribes of I.* Israel came to be the common historical designation of the nation. For the history of the Israelitish people before the division of kingdoms, see ABRAHAM, ISAAC, JACOB, MOSES, WANDERING, JOSHUA, JUDGES, SAMUEL, SAUL, DAVID, SOLOMON.

3. A name of honour for the truly pious among the people, the elect of God (Ps. lxxiii. 1; Is. xlix. 3; Hosea viii. 2; Rom. ix. 6, xi. 26).

4. The designation of the ten tribes which separated from Judah and formed THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL (2 Sam. ii. 9; 1 Kings xii. 1, etc.)

5. After the captivity this name is applied to the whole nation as settled again in Palestine (Ezra ii. 70; x. 5; Neh. xii. 47, etc.); and it remains the designation by which the Jews still prefer being known.—W. L. A.

ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF. The separation of the Hebrew nation into two parts, of which one was to embrace ten of the tribes, and be distinctively named Israel, had its origin in the early power and ambition of the tribe of Ephraim. The rivalry of Ephraim and Judah began almost from the first conquest of the land; nor is it insignificant, that as Caleb belonged to the tribe of Judah, so did Joshua to that of Ephraim. From the very beginning Judah learned to act by itself; but the central position of Ephraim, with its fruitful and ample soil, and the long-continued authority of Joshua, must have taught most of the tribes west of the Jordan to look up to Ephraim as their head; and a still more important superiority was conferred on the same tribe by the fixed dwelling of the ark at Shiloh for so many generations (Josh. xviii. etc.) Judah could boast of Hebron, Machpelah, Bethlehem, names of traditional sanctity; yet so could

Ephraim point to Shechem, the ancient abode of Jacob; and while Judah, being on the frontier, was more exposed to the attack of the powerful Philistines, Ephraim had to fear only those Canaanites from within who were not subdued or conciliated. The haughty behaviour of the Ephraimites towards Gideon, a man of Manasseh (Judg. viii. 1), sufficiently indicates the pretensions they made. Still fiercer language towards Jephthah the Gileadite (Judg. xiii. 1) was retorted by less gentleness than Gideon had shewn; and a bloody civil war was the result, in which their pride met with a severe punishment. This may in part explain their quiet submission, not only to the priestly rule of Eli and his sons, who had their centre of authority at Shiloh, but to Samuel, whose administration issued from three towns of Benjamin. Of course his prophetic character and personal excellence eminently contributed to this result; and it may seem that Ephraim, as well as all Israel besides, became habituated to the predominance of Benjamin, so that no serious resistance was made to the supremacy of Saul. At his death a new schism took place through their jealousy of Judah; yet, in a few years' time, by the splendour of David's victories, and afterwards by Solomon's peaceful power, a permanent national union might seem to have been effected. But the laws of inheritance in Israel, excellent as they were for preventing permanent alienation of landed property, and the degradation of the Hebrew poor into prædial slaves, necessarily impeded the perfect fusion of the tribes, by discouraging intermarriage, and hindering the union of distant estates in the same hands. Hence, when the sway of Solomon began to be felt as a tyranny, the old jealousies of the tribes revived, and Jeroboam, an Ephraimite (1 Kings xi. 26), being suspected of treason, fled to Shishak, king of Egypt. The death of Solomon was followed by a defection of ten of the tribes, which established the separation of *Israel* from *Judah* (B.C. 975).

This was the most important event which had befallen the Hebrew nation since their conquest of Canaan. The chief territory and population were now with Jeroboam, but the religious sanction, the legitimate descent, lay with the rival monarch. From the political danger of allowing the ten tribes to go up to the sanctuary of Jerusalem, the princes of *Israel*, as it were in self-defence, set up a sanctuary of their own; and the intimacy of Jeroboam with the king of Egypt may have determined his preference for the form of idolatry (the calves) which he established at Dan and Bethel. In whatever else his successors differed, they one and all agreed in upholding this worship, which, once established, appeared essential to their national unity. Nevertheless it is generally understood to have been a worship of Jehovah, though under unlawful and degrading forms. Worse by far was the worship of Baal, which came in under one monarch only, Ahab, and was destroyed after his son was slain by Jehu. A secondary result of the revolution was the ejection of the tribe of Levi from their lands and cities in Israel; at least, such as remained were spiritually degraded by the compliances required, and could no longer offer any resistance to the kingly power by aid of their sacred character. When the priestly tribe had thus lost independence, it lost also the power to assist the crown. The succession of Jeroboam's family was

hallowed by no religious blessing; and when his son was slain, no Jehoiada was found to rally his supporters and ultimately avenge his cause. The example of successful usurpation was so often followed by the captains of the armies, that the kings in Israel present to us an irregular series of dynasties, with several short and tumultuous reigns. This was one cause of disorder and weakness to Israel, and hindered it from swallowing up Judah: another was found in the relations of Israel towards foreign powers, which will presently be dwelt upon.

Jeroboam originally fixed on *Shechem* as the centre of his monarchy, and fortified it; moved perhaps not only by its natural suitability, but by the remembrances of Jacob which clove to it, and by the auspicious fact that here first Israel had decided for him against Rehoboam. But the natural delightfulness of *Tirzah* (Cant. vi. 4) led him, perhaps late in his reign, to erect a palace there (1 Kings xiv. 17). After the murder of Jeroboam's son, Baasha seems to have intended to fix his capital at *Ramah*, as a convenient place for annoying the king of Judah, whom he looked on as his only dangerous enemy; but when forced to renounce this plan (xv. 17, 21), he acquiesced in *Tirzah*, which continued to be the chief city of Israel, until Omri, who, since the palace at *Tirzah* had been burned during the civil war (1 Kings xvi. 18), built Samaria, with the ambition not uncommon in the founder of a new dynasty (xvi. 24). Samaria continued to the end of the monarchy to be the centre of administration; and its strength appears to have justified Omri's choice. For details, see SAMARIA; also TIRZAH and SHECHEM.

There is reason to believe that Jeroboam carried back with him into Israel the good-will, if not the substantial assistance, of Shishak; and this will account for his escaping the storm from Egypt which swept over Rehoboam in his fifth year. During that first period Israel was far from quiet within. Although the ten tribes collectively had decided in favour of Jeroboam, great numbers of individuals remained attached to the family of David and to the worship at Jerusalem, and in the three first years of Rehoboam migrated into Judah (2 Chron. xi. 16, 17). Perhaps it was not until this process commenced, that Jeroboam was worked up to the desperate measure of erecting rival sanctuaries with visible idols (1 Kings xii. 27): a measure which met the usual ill-success of profane state-craft, and aggravated the evil which he feared. It set him at war with the whole order of priests and Levites, whose expulsion or subjugation, we may be certain, was not effected without convulsing his whole kingdom, and so occupying him as to free Rehoboam from any real danger, although no peace was made. The king of Judah improved the time by immense efforts in fortifying his territory (2 Chron. xi. 5-11); and, although Shishak soon after carried off the most valuable spoil, no great or definite impression could be made by Jeroboam. Israel having so far taken the place of heathen nations, and being already perhaps even in alliance with Egypt, at an early period—we know not how soon—sought and obtained the friendship of the kings of Damascus. A sense of the great advantage derivable from such a union seems to have led Ahab afterwards to behave with mildness and conciliation towards Benhadad, at a time when it could have been least expected

(1 Kings xx. 31-34). From that transaction we learn that Benhadad I. had made in Damascus 'streets for Omri,' and Omri for Benhadad in Samaria. This, no doubt, implied that 'a quarter' was assigned for Syrian merchants in Samaria, which was probably fortified like the 'camp of the Tyrians' in Memphis, or the English factory at Calcutta; and in it, of course, Syrian worship would be tolerated. Against such intercourse the prophets, as might be expected, entered their protest (ver. 35-43); but it was in many ways too profitable to be renounced. In the reign of Baasha, Asa king of Judah, sensible of the dangerous advantage gained by his rival through the friendship of the Syrians, determined to buy them off at any price [see also under JUDAH]; and by sacrificing 'the treasures of the house of the Lord and the treasures of the king's house' (xv. 18), induced Benhadad I. to break his league with Baasha and to ravage all the northern district of Israel. This drew off the Israelitish monarch, and enabled Asa to destroy the fortifications of Ramah, which would have stopped the course of his trade (xv. 17), perhaps that with the sea-coast and with Tyre. Such was the beginning of the war between Israel and Syria, on which the safety of Judah at that time depended. Cordial union was not again re-

stored between the two northern states until the days of Rezin king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah, when Damascus must have already felt the rising power of Nineveh. The renewed alliance instantly proved so disastrous to Judah, which was reduced to extremest straits (Is. vii. 2; 2 Kings xv. 37; 2 Chron. xxviii. 5, 6), as may seem to justify at least the policy of Asa's proceeding. Although it was impossible for a prophet to approve of it (2 Chron. xvi. 7), we may only so much the more infer that Judah was already brought into most pressing difficulties, and that the general course of the war, in spite of occasional reverses, was decidedly and increasingly favourable to Israel.

The wars of Syria and Israel were carried on chiefly under three reigns, those of Benhadad II., Hazael, and Benhadad III., the two first monarchs being generally prosperous, especially Hazael, the last being as decidedly unsuccessful. Although these results may have depended in part on personal qualities, there is high probability that the feebleness displayed by the Syrians against Jehoash and his son Jeroboam was occasioned by the pressure of the advancing empire of Nineveh. To make this clear, a small table of synchronisms, representing the two heathen powers, may be serviceable. The dates are only approximate.

B.C.	SYRIA.	B.C.	ASSYRIA.
1000?	Rezon.	1050	Nineveh unable to resist the king of Zobah, and quite unheard of in Palestine.
980?	Hizion.		
960?	Tabrimon.		
940	Benhadad I.	940	Nineveh still unable to interfere with the Syrians, but <i>perhaps</i> beginning to rise into empire by the conquest of Media and Babylon.
910?	Benhadad II.		
885	Hazael.		
845	Benhadad III.	850	Assyria undoubtedly coming forward into great power.
800?	[Damascus taken by Jeroboam II.]	800	Assyria probably in possession of Northern Syria.
758	Rezin.	765?	The king of Assyria marches for the first time into Israel.

Asa adhered, through the whole of his long reign, to the policy of encouraging hostility between the two northern kingdoms; and the first Benhadad had such a career of success that his son found himself in a condition to hope for an entire conquest of Israel. His formidable invasions wrought an entire change in the mind of Jehoshaphat (1 Kings xxii. 44), who saw that if Israel was swallowed up by Syria there would be no safety for Judah. We may conjecture that this consideration determined him to unite the two royal families; for no common cause would have induced so religious a king to select for his son's wife Athaliah the daughter of Jezebel. The age of Ahaziah, who was sprung from this marriage, forces us to place it as early as B.C. 912, which is the third year of Jehoshaphat and sixth of Ahab. Late in his reign Jehoshaphat threw himself most cordially (1 Kings xxiii. 4) into the defence of Ahab, and by so doing

probably saved Israel from a foreign yoke. Another mark of the low state into which both kingdoms were falling, is, that after Ahab's death the Moabites refused their usual tribute to Israel, and (as far as can be made out from the ambiguous words of 2 Kings iii. 27) the united force of the two kingdoms failed of doing more than irritate them. Soon after, in the reign of Jehoram son of Jehoshaphat, the Edomites followed the example, and established their independence. This event possibly engaged the whole force of Judah, and hindered it from succouring Samaria during the cruel siege which it sustained from Benhadad II., in the reign of Jehoram son of Ahab. The declining years and health of the king of Syria gave a short respite to Israel; but, in B.C. 885, Hazael, by defeating the united Hebrew armies, commenced the career of conquest and harassing invasion by which he 'made Israel like the dust by threshing.' Even

under Jehu he subdued the trans-Jordanic tribes (2 Kings x. 32). Afterwards, since he took the town of Gath (2 Kings xii. 17) and prepared to attack Jerusalem—an attack which Jehoash king of Judah averted only by strictly following Asa's precedent—it is manifest that all the passes and chief forts of the country west of the Jordan must have been in his hand. Indeed, as he is said 'to have left to Jehoahaz only fifty horsemen, ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen,' it would seem that Israel was strictly a conquered province, in which Hazael dictated (as the English to the native rajahs of India) what military force should be kept up. From this thralldom Israel was delivered by some unexplained agency. We are told merely that 'Jehovah gave to Israel a saviour, so that they went out from under the hand of the Syrians; and the children of Israel dwelt in their tents as before-time,' 2 Kings xiii. 5. It is allowable to conjecture that the (apparently unknown) deliverer was the Assyrian monarchy, which, assailing Hazael towards the end of the reign of Jehoahaz, entirely drew away the Syrian armies. That it was some urgent, powerful, and continued pressure, considering the great strength which the empire of Damascus had attained, seems clear from the sudden weakness of Syria through the reigns of Jehoash and Jeroboam II., the former of whom thrice defeated Benhadad III. and 'recovered the cities of Israel; the latter not only regained the full territory of the ten tribes, but made himself master (for a time at least) of Damascus and Hamath. How entirely the friendship of Israel and Judah had been caused and cemented by their common fear of Syria is proved by the fact that no sooner is the power of Damascus broken than new war breaks out between the two kingdoms, which ended in the plunder of Jerusalem by Jehoash, who also broke down its walls and carried off hostages; after which there is no more alliance between Judah and Israel. The empire of Damascus seems to have been entirely dissolved under the son of Hazael, and no mention is made of its kings for eighty years or more. When Pekah, son of Remaliah, reigned in Samaria, Rezin, as king of Damascus, made a last but ineffectual effort for its independence.

The same Assyrian power which had doubtless so seriously shaken, and perhaps temporarily overturned, the kingdom of Damascus, was soon to be felt by Israel. Menahem was invaded by Pul (the first sovereign of Nineveh whose name we know), and was made tributary. His successor, Tiglath-pileser, in the reign of Pekah, son of Remaliah, carried captive the eastern and northern tribes of Israel (*i.e.*, perhaps all their chief men as hostages?), and soon after slew Rezin, the ally of Pekah, and subdued Damascus. The following emperor, Shalmaneser, besieged and captured Samaria, and terminated the kingdom of Israel, B.C. 721.

This branch of the Hebrew monarchy suffered far greater and more rapid reverses than the other. From the accession of Jeroboam to the middle of Baasha's reign it probably increased in power; it then waned with the growth of the Damascene empire; it struggled hard against it under Ahab and Jehoram, but sank lower and lower; it was dismembered under Jehu, and made subject under Jehoahaz. From B.C. 940 to B.C. 850, is, as nearly as can be ascertained, the period of depression; and from B.C. 914 to B.C. 830 that of

friendship or alliance with Judah. But after (about) B.C. 850 Syria began to decline, and Israel soon shot out rapidly; so that Joash and his son Jeroboam appear, of all Hebrew monarchs, to come next to David and Solomon. How long this burst of prosperity lasted does not distinctly appear; but it would seem that entire dominion over the ten tribes was held until Pekah received the first blow from the Assyrian conqueror.

Besides that which was a source of weakness to Israel from the beginning, *viz.*, the schism of the crown with the whole ecclesiastical body, other causes may be discerned which made the ten tribes less powerful, in comparison with the two, than might have been expected. The marriage of Ahab to Jezebel brought with it no political advantages at all commensurate with the direct moral mischief, to say nothing of the spiritual evil; and the reaction against the worship of Baal was a most ruinous atonement for the sin. To suppress the monstrous iniquity, the prophets let loose the remorseless Jehu, who, not satisfied with the blood of Ahab's wife, grandson, and seventy sons, murdered first the king of Judah himself, and next forty-two youthful and innocent princes of his house; while, strange to tell, the daughter of Jezebel gained by his deed the throne of Judah, and perpetrated a new massacre. The horror of such crimes must have fallen heavily on Jehu, and have caused a wide-spread disaffection among his own subjects. Add to this, that the Phœnicians must have deeply resented his proceedings; so that we get a very sufficient clue to the prostration of Israel under the foot of Hazael during the reign of Jehu and his son.

Another and a more abiding cause of political debility in the ten tribes was found in the imperfect consolidation of the inhabitants into a single nation. Since those who lived east of the Jordan retained, to a great extent at least, their pastoral habits, their union with the rest could never have been very firm; and when a king was neither strong independently of them, nor had good hereditary pretensions, they were not likely to contribute much to his power. After their conquest of the Hagarenes and the depression of the Moabites and Ammonites by David, they had free room to spread eastward; and many of their chief men may have become wealthy in flocks and herds (like Machir the son of Ammiel, of Lodebar, and Barzillai the Gileadite, 2 Sam. xvii. 27), over whom the authority of the Israelitish crown would naturally be precarious; while west of the Jordan the agrarian law of Moses made it difficult or impossible for a landed nobility to form itself, which could be formidable to the royal authority. That the Arab spirit of freedom was rooted in the eastern tribes, may perhaps be inferred from the case of the Rechabites, who would neither live in houses nor plant vines; undoubtedly, like some of the Nabathæans, lest by becoming settled and agricultural they should be enslaved. Yet the need of imposing this law on his descendants would not have been felt by Jonadab, had not an opposite tendency been rising—that of agricultural settlement.

On another point our information is defective, *viz.*, what proportion of the inhabitants of the land consisted of foreign slaves, or subject and degraded castes [SOLOMON]. Such as belonged to tribes who practised circumcision [CIRCUMCISION] would with less difficulty become incorporated

with the Israelites; but the Philistines who were intermixed with Israel, by resisting this ordinance, must have continued heterogeneous. In 1 Kings xv. 27; xvi. 15, we find the town of Gibbethon in the hand of the Philistines during the reigns of Nadab, Baasha, and Zimri: nor is it stated that they were finally expelled. Gibbethon being a Levitical town, it might be conjectured that it had been occupied by the Philistines when the Levites emigrated into Judah; but the possibilities here are many.

Although the priests and Levites nearly disappeared out of Israel, prophets were perhaps even more numerous and active there than in Judah; and Ahijah, whose prediction first endangered Jeroboam (1 Kings xi. 29-40), lived in honour at Shiloh to his dying day (xiv. 2). Obadiah alone saved one hundred prophets of Jehovah from the rage of Jezebel (xviii. 13). Possibly their extra-social character freed them from the restraint imposed on priests and Levites; and while they felt less bound to the formal rites of the Law, the kings of Israel were also less jealous of them. In fact, just as a great cathedral in Christendom tends to elevate the priestly above the prophetic functions, so, it is possible, did the proximity of Jerusalem; and the prophet may have moved most freely where he came least into contact with the priest. That most inauspicious event—the rupture of Israel with Judah—may thus have been overruled for the highest blessing of the world, by a fuller development of the prophetic spirit.—F. W. N.

ISSACHAR (יִשָּׁכָר; Sept. *Issachar*). 1. A

son of Jacob and Leah, born B.C. 1749, who gave name to one of the tribes of Israel (Gen. xxx. 18; Num. xxvi. 25).

2. The tribe called after Issachar. Jacob, on his death-bed, speaking metaphorically of the character and destinies of his sons, or rather of the tribes which should spring from them, said, 'Issachar is a strong ass couching down between two burdens' (Gen. xlix. 14, 15). Remembering the character of the ass in eastern countries, we may be sure that this comparison was not intended in disparagement. The ass is anything but stupid; and the proverbial obstinacy which it sometimes exhibits in our own country is rather the result of ill-treatment than a natural characteristic of the animal. Its true attributes are patience, gentleness, great capability of endurance, laborious exertion, and a meek submission to authority. Issachar, therefore, the progenitor of a race singularly docile, and distinguished for their patient industry, is exhibited under the similitude of the meekest and most laborious of quadrupeds. The descriptive character goes on:—'And he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant, and he bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute;' which probably does not imply that reproach upon Issachar, as addicted to ignominious ease, which some commentators find in it. It seems simply to mean that finding itself in possession of a most fertile portion of Palestine, the tribe devoted itself to the labours of agriculture, taking little interest in the public affairs of the nation. Josephus says that the portion of this tribe extended in length from Mount Carmel to the river [Jordan], and in breadth to Mount Tabor (*Antiq.* v. 1. 22). 'Every traveller has remarked on the richness of its soil, and the exuberance of its crops. . . . The very weeds are a sign of what, in better

hands, the vast plain might become' (Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.*, 348). But although a decided preference of agricultural over commercial or military pursuits is here indicated, there seems no reason to conclude, as some gather from the last clause, that the tribe would be willing to purchase exemption from war by the payment of a heavy tribute. The words do not necessarily imply this; and there is no evidence that the tribe ever declined any military service to which it was called. On the contrary, it is specially commended by Deborah for the promptitude with which it presented itself in the war with Jabin (*Judg.* v. 15); and in the days of David honourable testimony is borne to its character (1 Chron. xii. 32). In this passage the 'children of Issachar' are described as 'men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do:' which, compared with Esther i. 13, has been supposed to mean that they were skilled in the various practical applications of astronomy. But what need there was of astronomy on the occasion of calling David to the throne of Israel after the death of Abner and Ishbosheth, is not very easy to discover. It more probably means that they were men held in esteem for their prudence and wisdom, and who knew that the time was come when it was no longer safe to delay calling David to the throne of all Israel. On quitting Egypt the tribe of Issachar numbered 54,400 adult males, which gave it the fifth numerical rank among the twelve tribes, Judah, Simeon, Zebulun, and Dan being alone above it. In the wilderness it increased nearly 10,000, and then ranked as the third of the tribes, Judah and Dan only being more numerous (*Num.* i. 29; xxvi. 25). The territory of the tribe comprehended the whole of the plain of Esdraelon and the neighbouring districts—the granary of Palestine. It was bounded on the east by the Jordan, on the west and south by Manasseh, and on the north by Asher and Zebulun. It contained the towns of Megiddo, Taanach, Shunem, Jezreel, and Bethshan, with the villages of Endor, Aphek, and Ib-lean, all historical names: the mountains of Tabor and Gilboa, and the valley of Jezreel, were in the territory of this tribe, and the course of the river Kishon lay through it.—J. K.

ISSHIAH (יִשְׁיָא; Sept. *Issias*), also written

Jeshaiah (1 Chron. xxvi. 25), was son of Rehabiah, whose father was Eliezer, the younger son of Moses by his wife Zipporah. He was one of the 'rulers' or keepers 'of the treasures' in the time of David (1 Chron. xxvi. 25, 26), and the head of the numerous family of Rehabiah (1 Chron. xxiii. 17).

The name also occurs (Sept. *Istia*) among the family of Uzziel the Kohathite, who was of the tribe of Levi (1 Chron. xxiv. 20, 25). The name of his eldest son was Zechariah.—W. J. C.

ISSUE. 1. מִקְרָהּ דָּמִים, the puerperal hæmorrhage (*Lev.* xii. 7); the ceremonial uncleanness caused by which had to be atoned for and cleansed. 2. The γυνή αἰμορροῦσα who was cured by our Lord (*Matt.* ix. 20; *Mark* v. 25; *Luke* viii. 44) suffered from some chronic hæmorrhage, but of what kind we are not informed. It may have been excessive menstrual discharge, or it may have been severe hæmorrhoids. Whatever it was, the long continuance of the disease indicates that it must have been *periodic* in its attacks. Such a disease not only prostrated the strength of the sufferer but exposed

her to a constant exclusion from the religious assemblies of the Jews, as well as to an enforced celibacy. 3. רָץ or רָץ ('a running issue,' Lev. xv. 2; xxii. 4; an 'issue,' Lev. xv. 3, 8, 25, 28; Num. v. 2; 2 Sam. iii. 29), denotes, in the case of females, doubtless the ordinary menstrual discharge, protracted, it may be, to an abnormal extent (Lev. xv. 25); and in the case of men either an involuntary flux of the seminal fluid, or gonorrhœa of the more virulent kind, such as is the result of impure coition. The LXX. describe the person referred to in Lev. xv. 2 as γονόρροος (cf. ver. 4, ff.); Josephus takes the same view (*Antiq.* iii. 11. 3; *Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 6; vi. 6. 9); and the Talmudists accord (Maimon. in *Mishnam*; Tr. *Zabim* ii. 2, p. vi., ed. Surenhus. p. 454). The uncleanness specified in this chapter as communicated by the רָץ seem to favour this opinion; for when the spittle, the clothes, the seat, convey uncleanness, something of the nature of a virulent disease must be supposed. A difficulty, however, arises in the way of our supposing that the disease referred to is the gonorrhœa virulenta, from the fact that this disease is supposed only to be consequent on the lues venerea, a disease unknown, it is said, before the 15th century. This has led Winer to conclude that the disease in question is a discharge from the urethra, such as may arise from impure coition, though without any syphilitic contagion (*Realw.*, in voc. Samenfluss; comp. Michaelis, *Lev. of Moses* iv. 282; Bartholini, *De morbis Biblicis*).—W. L. A.

ITALIAN VERSIONS. The earliest version of the Scriptures into the modern Italian is said to have been made by Giacomo da Viraggio (Jacobus de Voragine), Archbishop of Genoa, in the beginning of the 13th century. This rests exclusively on the authority of Sixtus Senensis (*Biblioth. Sanct.*, lib. 4), and there is weighty reason for doubting the statement. That at an early period, however, versions of parts, if not of the whole, of Scripture into Italian were made, is evidenced by the existence in various libraries of MSS. containing these. In the Royal Library at Paris is an Italian Bible in two vols. fol., as well as several codices containing parts of the Bible in that language; in the library at Upsala is a codex containing a history compiled from the first seven books of the O. T. in Italian; in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, is an Italian translation of the N. T., with portions of the Old; and in other libraries like reliques are preserved (see Le Long, *Bib. Sac.*, cap. vi., sec. 1).

The earliest printed Italian Bible is that of Nicolo di Malermi (or Malherbi), a Venetian Benedictine monk of the order of Camaldoli; it appeared under the title of *Biblia Volgare Historiata*, etc., Venice 1471. The translation is from the Vulgate, and is pronounced by R. Simon to be executed in a harsh style and carelessly (*Hist. Crit. du N. T.*, p. 487). It was, however, repeatedly reprinted; the best editions are, that superintended by Marini, 2 vols. fol., Ven. 1477, and that issued at Venice in 1 vol. fol. in 1567. In 1530 Antonio Brucioli [BRUCCIOLI] issued his translation of the N. T., and in 1532 the first edition of his translation of the entire Bible, containing a revised and corrected translation of the N. T., under the title of *La Biblia che contiene Sacri libri del vecchio Testamento tradotto nuovamente de la Hebraica*

verita in lingua Toscana, con divini libri del N. T. tradotti da Greco in ling. Tosc. con privilegio de lo inclito Senato Veneto, e lettera a Francesco I. Rege Christianissimo, fol. Ven. ap. Luc. Ant. Junta. This translation is said by Simon to follow in the O. T. the Latin version of Pagnini rather than to be made from the original Hebrew, and to partake of the rudeness and barbarism of Pagnini's style. It was put in the index of the prohibited books among works of the first class. Many editions of it, however, appeared; of which the most important is that of Zanetti, 3 vols. fol., Ven. 1540. Bruccioli's version of the O. T. in a corrected form was printed at Geneva in 1562, along with a new version of the N. T. by Gallars and Beza; to this notes are added, and especially an exposition of the Apocalypse. The translation of Marmochini, though professedly original, is in reality only a revised edition of that of Bruccioli, the design of which was to bring it more fully into accordance with the Vulgate. Several translations of the Psalms, some from the Hebrew, and of other parts of Scripture, appeared in Italy between the middle and end of the 16th century, and a new translation of the N. T., by a Florentine of the name of Zacharia, appeared in 8vo at Venice in 1542, and at Florence in 1566; copies of which are now extremely rare. The Jew David de Pomis issued a translation of Ecclesiastes with the original Hebrew, Ven. 1578.

In 1607 appeared at Geneva the first Protestant Italian version, that of Giovanni Diodati [DIODATI]: *La Biblia: Cioè I Libri del Vecchio e del Nuovo Testamento*, sm. fol. To this are appended brief marginal notes. This version was made directly from the original texts, and stands in high esteem for fidelity. It has been repeatedly reprinted. Being in the plain Lucchese dialect, it is especially adapted for circulation among the common people.

A version affecting greater elegance, but by no means so faithful, is that of Antonio Martini, Archbishop of Florence. The N. T. appeared at Turin in 1769, and the O. T. in 1779, both accompanied with the text of the Vulgate and with copious notes, chiefly from the fathers. This work received the approbation of Pope Pius VI. It is made avowedly from the Vulgate, and is in the pure Tuscan dialect. Repeated editions have appeared; one issued at Livorno (Leghorn), and those issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society, Lond. 1813, 1821, want the notes, and have been consequently placed in the index of prohibited books. To read and circulate this book, though bearing the Papal sanction, was till lately a grave offence, as the well-known case of the Madaia in Florence proves.—W. L. A.

ITALY (Ἰταλία). This, like most geographical names, was differently applied at different periods. In the earliest times the name 'Italy' inclosed only the little peninsula of Calabria (Strabo, v. 1). The country now called Italy was then inhabited by a number of nations distinct in origin, language, and government: such as the Gauls, Ligurians, and Veneti, on the north; and the Pelasgi, Sabines, and Etrurians, etc., on the south. But as the power of Rome advanced, these nations were successively annexed to the great state, and the name 'Italy' extended also. The time when it came to be applied to the whole country south of the Alps cannot be ascertained; but Polybius seems to em-

ploy it in this sense (i. 6; ii. 14). In the age of Augustus the name was definitely used as a geographical term, in the same sense in which it is used at the present day, and Rome was its acknowledged capital. Italy was then the nucleus of the Roman empire—the centre of its wealth, its government, and its power. What England is now to the British empire, Italy was then to the Roman empire. It was evidently in this sense the N. T. writers used the name. Italy was to them the seat and centre of Roman authority. Luke tells us (Acts. xviii. 2) of a certain Aquila and Priscilla 'lately come from Italy (to Corinth), because Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome.' It would seem that for foreigners and all those in distant countries 'Rome' and 'Italy' were used as almost synonymous. So when Paul appealed to Caesar, and Agrippa resolved to send him to Rome, Luke writes, 'It was determined that we should sail into Italy' (Acts xxvii. 1). The phrase of ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας in Heb. xiii. 24 has been variously interpreted. Some have regarded it as clearly indicating that the writer was in Italy at the time; while others affirm that it proves the very contrary, showing the locality of the writer to have been out of Italy, otherwise οὐ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ would have been used. The fact is however, as has been stated by Winer, that 'A critical argument regarding the place where the letter was written should never have been drawn from this passage.' The phrase simply means 'those belonging to Italy,' whether in that country or out of it (Winer, *Grammar of N. T. Diction*, p. 651; Delitzsch, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, ad loc.) Christianity must have taken root in Italy at a very early period. The Epistle to the Romans, written only about twenty-five years after the crucifixion, shows that there was then a large and flourishing church there. Notwithstanding repeated and terrible persecutions, the church continued to prosper, until at length Rome became the centre of ecclesiastical as well as of civil authority.—J. L. P.

ITHAMAR (יִתְמָר, *palm-island*; Sept. Ἰθάμαρ), fourth son of Aaron. He was consecrated to the priesthood along with his brothers (Exod. vi. 23; Num. iii. 2, 3). Nothing is individually recorded of him, except that the property of the tabernacle was placed under his charge (Exod. xxxviii. 21), and that he superintended all matters connected with its removal by the Levitical sections of Gershon and Merari (Num. iv. 28-33). The sacred utensils and their removal were entrusted to his elder brother Eleazar. Ithamar, with his descendants, occupied the position of common priests till the high-priesthood passed into his family in the person of Eli, under circumstances of which we are ignorant. Abiathar, whom Solomon deposed, was the last high-priest of that line; and the pontificate then reverted to the elder line of Eleazar in the person of Zadok (1 Kings ii. 27).—J. K.

ITH-K'K (יִתְקַק). This expression, which is composed of the initials (י) יִשְׁעִיָּה *Isaiah*, (ח) חֲזַק *the twelve minor prophets*, and (ק) קִינֹת *Lamentations*, occurs at the end of these four books in the Masoretic text of some editions of the Hebrew Bibles. It is to indicate that each of these books belongs to those four in which the penultimate verse εὐφημίας χάρις is repeated to obviate the harsh expression

with which these books terminate, and to shew that the verses thus repeated did not originally form part of the text, and are therefore left unpointed. In the minor prophets, which have always formed one volume in the Hebrew MSS., the repetition, and hence the phrase יִתְקַק—*Note, this is one of the four indicated by Ith-K-k*—occur at the end of Malachi.—C. D. G.

ITHNAN (יִתְנָן, 'given.' There is great confusion in the proper names in the part of the Septuagint where this occurs. Josh. xv. 23 reads καὶ Κἀδὲς καὶ Ἀσοριωνάλυ καὶ Μανῶμ. The word Ἀσοριωνάλυ appears to be formed by running together the two names *Hazor* and *Ithnan*. The Alexandrine text reads Ἰθναῖφ, joining *Ithnan* and *Ziph*; Vulg. *Jethnam*, a town on the south-east border of Judah, near Edom, and mentioned in connection with Kedesh and Hazor. The site is unknown.—J. L. P.

ITHRA (יִתְרָא, also יִתְרִי; 'Iēther, 'Iothōp; *Jetra*, *Jether*; Joseph. *Antiq.* Ἰεθάρος; *excellence, pre-eminence*), brother-in-law of David, father of Amasa, by Abigail, David's sister, and uncle of Joab. He is called an *'Ishmaelite*, 1 Chron. ii. 17; but an *'Israelite*, 2 Sam. xvii. 25. The latter is almost certainly an incorrect reading. It appears so for these reasons: 1. All the other persons mentioned in the connection are Israelites, and, consequently, there is no reason for distinguishing one of them by this title—the title would be meaningless. 2. There would be nothing noticeable in the fact that the father of Amasa was an Israelite, yet the historian by his manner evidently intends something remarkable. 3. It is quite a remarkable fact that a brother-in-law of David should be an *'Ishmaelite*. 4. The use of the article before the word indicates something emphatic: 'Now Amasa was the son of a man whose name was Ithra, THE —,' 'Abigail bare A. and the father of A. was Jether, THE —,' Surely Israelite, in such a case, would be not only wholly unemphatic, but altogether unnecessary.—J. L.

ITHREAM (יִתְרֵאם; Sept. Ἰεθεράμ; Ἰεθράμ), the sixth and last son born to David in Hebron. His mother was Eglah, distinguished by the special title of 'David's wife' (2 Sam. iii. 5; 1 Chron. iii. 3), and believed, according to Jewish tradition (Jerome, *Quest. Heb. in 2 Sam.* iii. 5; v. 23), to have been the same as Michal, the daughter of Saul (2 Sam. vi. 20). The Bible, however, not only affords no foundation for such a tradition, but expressly contradicts it by saying that 'Michal, the daughter of Saul, had no child unto the day of her death' (2 Sam. vi. 23).—W. J. C.

ITHRITE, THE (יִתְרִי; ὁ Ἰεθραῖος, 'Iethpl; Alex. Ἰθρηel), is a name supposed to be derived from *Jether*; but whether originally applied to a person belonging to a place of that name, or to one whose father's name was Jether, it is impossible to say. Gesenius is silent regarding it. The balance of probability, however, seems in favour of the latter supposition. Jether, it is understood, is only another form for Ithra (2 Sam. xvii. 25), the latter being most likely a corruption. Ithra was the brother-in-law of David, and it is just possible that the 'Ithrites,' as a family, sprang from him. In 1

Chron. (ii. 53) they are the first mentioned among the families of Kirjath-jearim, a circumstance which points to Judah as at one time their place of residence. Two of David's hero guards were Ithrites (2 Sam. xxiii. 38; 1 Chron. xi. 40).—W. J. C.

ITTAH-KAZIN (יִתְחַזְקִין, 'The time or people of the judge; without the ה local it would be יִתְחַזְקִין; ἰθῆλ καζαζῖν; Alex. καζῖν; Thacasin), the name of one of the towns on the border of Zebulun. Japhia, which is mentioned along with it, stood about three miles south-west of Nazareth, and Ittah-Kazin could not have been far distant, but the site has not been discovered (Josh. xix. 13).—J. L. P.

ITTAI (יִתָּי, 'Eṯai, 'Eṯi; Alex. 'Eṯel; Ethai; my nearness), called 'Ittai, the Gittite,' usually regarded as a native of Gath and a Philistine, commander of David's body-guard of Gittites. We first meet with him, 2 Sam. xv. 19, when, during the rebellion of Absalom, David, at a distance from Jerusalem, took up a position to review his servants and his troops as they passed before him. Among those who passed were the Cherethites, and the Pelethites, and the Gittites, who had followed the king from Gath, and of whom Ittai seems to have been the leader. And 'David said to Ittai the Gittite: wherefore goest thou also with us? Return to thy place and abide with the king;* for thou art a stranger, and also an exile. Whereas thou camest but yesterday, should I this day make thee to go up and down with us?' etc. But Ittai nobly resolved to abide with the king 'in life or in death;' so he 'passed over before the king with all his men and his little ones' (19-22). In the battle which ensued David appointed him commander of a third part of his army, co-ordinate in authority with Joab and Abishai. After this we, apparently at least, hear no more of him in Bible history.

2. 'Hṯō, Eṯai; Vat. Eṯai, Alpi; Ithai; called Ittai, in 2 Sam. xxiii. 29, but in the parallel list, 1 Chron. xi. 31, יִתָּי, Ithai; son of Ribai of Gibeah, of the children of Benjamin, one of David's thirty heroes. Is not this the same as the preceding? May he not be called a Gittite as a native of Gittaim in Benjamin, 2 Sam. iv. 3, as Obed Edom, a Levite, is called a Gittite, 2 Sam. vi. 10? And may he not be called a 'stranger and an exile,' as a Gibeonite, who having fled from Beeroth, a Gibeonite town (Josh. ix. 17), had, with his brethren, taken up his residence in Gittaim? Or, if this be denied, may not Ittai be called a Gittite from his residence in Gath, as Jesus was, for a similar reason, called a Nazarene, although, in reality, a native of Gibeah? Is it likely that Ittai the Gittite would be overlooked or omitted in a list of David's heroes? Or is it probable that David would have his body-guard composed of Philistines? and a Philistine commander at their head? If safe for himself, it would prove a source of annoyance and jealousy to his subjects—an error into which the wisdom of David would not be likely to fall.

Of Ittai Jerome preserves the following curious and interesting tradition in his *Quaest. seu tradit. Hebraica in Paralipomenon*, 20. 2; 'Tulit autem

coronam David Melchom de capite ejus. Melchom idolum Ammonitarum, de quo in Regum, et in Paralipom. et in Sophonia scribitur. Melchom interpretatur rex eorum. De simulachro enim illius idoli tulit David diadema. Illicitum erat de idolis aliquid auri appetere aut argenti Judæis per legem; sed, ut ipsi tradunt, Ethai Jethus, qui de gente Philistinorum ad David venerat, ipse diadema diripuit in capite Melchom, ut liceret Hebræo de manu hominis capere, quod de capite idoli non licebat.'—I. J.

ITURAEA (Ἰτρούα), a district of Syria on the northern border of Bashan, which formed part of the tetrarchy of Philip the brother of Herod (Luke iii. 1). Strabo mentions the country of the Ituraeans as adjoining the territory of Chalcis on the one side and Trachonitis on the other, and he says it is a mountainous and rugged region, inhabited by bands of freebooters who prey upon their neighbours (xvi. 2). According to Pliny it formed part of Coelesyria (*H. N.* v. 19); but the latter name was often used in a very wide signification. The true position of Ituraea is described incidentally by William of Tyre, 'Secus mare Galilææ, viam carpentes, Phoenicem Lybanicam ingressi, Paneadem, quæ est Caesarea Philippi, a dextris prætereuntes, Ituracem ingradientes,' etc. (*De Bello Sacro, in Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 771). Lightfoot (*Opp.* ii. 475), Reland (*Palaestina*, p. 106, seq.), and others who follow their authority (Alford, on Luke iii. 1), have supposed that because in Luke we read that Philip was 'tetrarch of Iturea and the region of Trachonitis,' whereas Josephus says his tetrarchy was composed of Trachonitis, Batanaea, and Auranitis (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 1 and 11. 4; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 6. 3), therefore Batanaea and Auranitis were the same as Ituraea. A survey of the country soon convinced the writer that this view is wholly erroneous. The districts mentioned by Luke and Josephus were distinct; but neither of these historians gives a full list of all the little provinces in the tetrarchy of Philip. Each probably gave the names of such as were of most importance in connection with the events he was about to relate. Both Batanaea and Auranitis appear to have been included in the 'region of Trachonitis' (Τραχυνιτιδος χώρας); and as Josephus mentions a part of the 'House of Zenodorus' which was given to Philip, it unquestionably embraced Ituraea (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 3).

The sacred historian states that Ishmael's sons gave their names to the tribes they founded and the territories they occupied. One of them was Jetur (יֶטור; Gen. xxv. 15, 16). At a subsequent period the tribes of Reuben and Gad made war with the Hagarites or Ishmaelites, namely, with Jetur, Nephesh, and Nodab, conquered their territories, and dwelt in their land. And in immediate connection with the latter statement it is said that the 'children of the half-tribe of Manasseh dwelt in the land, and they increased from Bashan unto Baal-hermon, and Senir, and Mount Hermon' (1 Chron. v. 19-23). Now this indicates the district occupied by Jetur, and proves its identity with the Greek *Ituraea* and the modern *Jedâr*. It lies between Hermon and Bashan (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 272, seq.). The old inhabitants were not annihilated, they took refuge in the mountain fastnesses, and returned again to the lowlands at the captivity. In the second century B. C. Aristobulus

* Meaning Absalom, and intended to test Ittai, who, however, would know no king but David. The words are not 'omitted' by the LXX.

conquered Ituraea, and gave the inhabitants their choice either to embrace the Jewish faith or leave the country. They chose the former, and we find them still there in the time of Strabo and Pliny (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 11. 3; Strabo, l. c.)

Ituraea was bounded on the south by Auranitis, on the east by Trachonitis, on the north by Damascus, and on the west by the ridge of Hermon. It probably embraced the eastern slopes of the latter. In name and extent it corresponds exactly with the modern province of Jedûr (جيدور).

The greater part of the province is table land, like Bashan. The soil is in general rich, the pasture excellent, and water abundant; yet portions of its surface near the mountains are covered with rugged fields of basalt, while conical and cup-shaped hills of the same material occur at intervals. Most of the ancient towns and villages are now mere heaps of ruins, and not one-tenth of the soil is under cultivation. The settled inhabitants live partly in old houses, built, like those of Bashan, of massive blocks of basalt, and partly in modern hovels constructed of old materials. Several small nomad tribes, perhaps descendants of the ancient Ituraeans, pitch their tents on its rich plains and among its rocky fastnesses. In early spring the vast flocks of the desert Bedawin cover the country like locusts; the settled inhabitants pay them *black mail*, and the local nomads retire before them to the mountains. (Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, p. 286; *Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 465; Münter, *De Rebus Ituraeorum*; Robinson, *Bibl. Res.*, iii. App. p. 149, 1st ed.; *Journal of Sacred Literature*, July 1854, p. 311).—J. L. P.

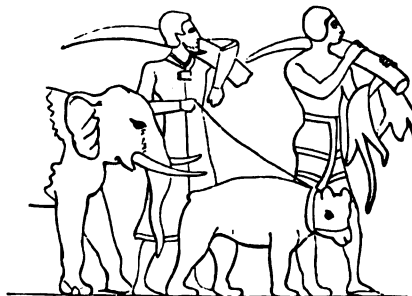
ITZCHAKI, also called *Ben Jasus*, יִצְחָק בֶּן יָסוּס הַנִּקְרָא בֶּן יִשְׁשִׁי (comp. Ibn Ezra, introduction to his *Machonim*), and by the long Arabic name of *Abu Ibrahim Isaac Ibn Kastar (or Saklar)*, *ben Jasus*, was born A.D. 982 at Toledo, and died in 1057. This daring grammarian, commentator, and philosopher, who was physician to the princes of Denia, and Mug'ahid, and to Ali Ikbal Addaula, wrote (1) a Hebrew grammar, called סֵפֶר הַצִּיּוּרִים, *the Book of Syntax*; and (2) on Biblical criticism, called סֵפֶר הַפְּסוּקִים, *the work of Itzhaki*. Neither of these works has as yet come to light, but from Ibn Ezra, who quotes them, we see that Itzhaki was one of the earliest assailants of the Mosaic authorship of some portions of the Pentateuch. Thus he maintains that the portion in the Pentateuch which describes the kings of Idumæa (Gen. xxxvi. 30, etc.), was written many centuries after Moses. Comp. Ibn Ezra, *Commentaries on Gen.* xxxvi. 30, 31; *Num.* xxiv. 17; *Hos.* i. 1; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. vi., Leipzig 1861, p. 53.—C. D. G.

ITZCHAKI, SOLOMON. [RASHI].

IVAH (עִיבָה), also written AVA (אָבָה, 'overturning'), and under the latter may be seen the older opinions regarding its site and identity. There can be no doubt that it was a noted city of Assyria, as it is mentioned four times in connection with Saphervaim and Hena (2 Kings xvii. 31; xviii. 34; xix. 13; Is. xxxvii. 13). Out of these cities Shalmaneser brought colonists to Samaria to occupy the place of the captive Jews. Sir Henry Rawlinson supposes that the city may have taken its name from the Assyrian deity *Iva*, the god of the air;

but when he attempts to institute an analogy between the Hebrew עִיבָה and the Arabic عِوَا, he runs counter to all principles of philology. The letters *y* and *z* are totally distinct (see, however, Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 606). Some would identify Ivah with the 'Is of Herodotus and the modern *Hit* on the Euphrates. For this there are no true grounds, and the names are radically different (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 317). The true site of Ivah has not yet been discovered.—J. L. P.

IVORY (עֵצִי) generally, twice שֵׁנִיָּהִים; Chald. שֵׁנִיָּהִים; Sept. ὀδόντες ἐλεφάντιναι. N. T. ἐλεφάντινος; 1 Kings x. 22; 2 Chron. ix. 21; Rev. xviii. 12). 'Elephant's tooth,' or simply 'elephant,' is a common name for ivory, not only in the Oriental languages and in Greek, but also in the Western tongues; although in all of them teeth of other species may be included. There can be no doubt, for example, that the harder and more accessible ivory obtained from the hippopotamus, was known in Egypt, at least as early as that obtained from the elephant. We



28a.

have seen what appeared to be an ivory sword-handle of Egyptian workmanship, which was declared by dentists to be derived from the river-horse, and of the same texture as that which they now manufacture into false teeth to supply decayed teeth in the human mouth. This kind of ivory does not split, and therefore was anciently most useful for military instruments. Elephants' teeth were largely imported as merchandise, and also brought as tribute into Egypt. The processions of human figures bearing presents, etc., still extant on the walls of palaces and tombs, attest by the black crisp-haired bearers of huge teeth, that some of these came from Ethiopia or Central Africa; and by white men similarly laden, who also bring an Asiatic elephant and a white bear, that others came from the East. Phœnician traders had ivory in such abundance that the chief seats of their galleys were inlaid with it. In the Scriptures, according to the Chaldee Paraphrase, Jacob's bed was made of this substance (Gen. xlix. 33); we find King Solomon importing it from Tarshish (1 Kings x. 22); and if Psalm xlv. 8 was written before his reign, ivory was extensively used in the furniture of royal residences at a still earlier period. The same fact is corroborated by Homer, who notices this article of luxury in the splendid palace of Menelaus, when Greece had not yet formed that connection with Egypt and the East which the

Hebrew people, from their geographical position, naturally cultivated. As an instance of the superabundant possession and barbarian use of elephants' teeth, may be mentioned the octagonal *ivory hunting-tower* built by Akbar, about twenty-four miles west of Agra: it is still standing, and bristles with 128 enormous tusks disposed in ascending lines, sixteen on each face. Mr. Roberts, remarking on the words of Amos (vi. 4), they 'that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches,' refers the last word, in conformity with the Tamil version, to swinging cots, often mentioned in the early tales of India, and still plentifully used by the wealthy. But it does not appear that they were known in Western Asia, or that figures of them occur on Egyptian bas-reliefs. It is more likely that 'palkies' (those luxurious travelling litters) are meant, which were borne on men's shoulders, whilst the person within was stretched at ease. They were in common use even among the Romans; for Cicero fell into his assassins' hands while he was attempting to escape in one of them towards Naples. The tusks of African elephants are generally much longer than those of the Asiatic; and it may be observed in this place, that the ancients, as well as the moderns, are mistaken when they assert elephants' tusks to be a kind of horns. They are genuine teeth, combining in themselves, and occupying, in the upper jaw, the whole mass of secretions which in other animals form the upper incisor and laniary teeth. They are useful for defence and offence, and for holding down green branches, or rooting up water-plants; but still they are not absolutely necessary, since there is a variety of elephant in the Indian forests entirely destitute of tusks, and the females in most of the races are either without them, or have them very small; not turned downwards, as Bochart states, but rather straight, as correctly described by Pliny. [ELEPHANT.]—C. H. S.

IYAR (יָאָר; 'Iār, Joseph. *Antiq.* viii. 3. 1; the Macedonian 'Aprelarian) is the late name of that month which was the second of the sacred, and the seventh of the civil, year of the Jews, and which began with the new moon of May. The few memorable days in it are the 10th, as a fast for the death of Eli; the 14th, as the second or lesser Passover, for those whom uncleanness or absence prevented from celebrating the feast in Nisan (Num. ix. 11); the 23d, as a feast instituted by Simon the Maccabee in memory of his taking the citadel Acra in Jerusalem (1 Maccab. xiii. 51, 52); the 28th, as a fast for the death of Samuel.

Gesenius derives Iyar from the Hebrew root יָאָר, to shine; but Benfey and Stern, following out their theory of the source from which the Jews obtained such names, deduce it from the assumed Zend representative of the Persian *bahar*, 'spring' (*Monatsnamen*, p. 134). The name Iyar does not occur in the O. T., this month being always described as the second month, except in four places in which it is called Ziv (1 Kings vi. 1, 37; Dan. ii. 31; iv. 33). Ziv, which is written זִיב and זִיב, is not considered to be a proper name, but an appellative. It is derived from זָהִיב, and is a curtailed form for זְהִיב, 'zehiv,' bright, an appropriate epithet of the month of flowers.—J. N.

IYIM (יָיִם), a term occurring Is. xiii. 22; xxxiv. 14; Jer. l. 39, as designating some species

of wild gregarious animal. In the A. V. it is rendered by 'wild beasts of the islands,' from a supposed connection of the word with יָם, an island.

But this is clearly inadmissible; יָיִם, the plural of יָם, means 'islands,' but cannot mean 'beasts of the islands.' The LXX. give βροχέωνται in the first two passages, and ἐν νήσοις in the third. The

Targum has חֲתוּלִים, cats, as its equivalent. Bochart shows that the יָם was probably the jackal; and that the word is onomatopoeic from imitation of the animal's peculiar howl. The jackal is called by the Arabs *Ibn-awi* (ابن اوى), the son of howling. The cry of the jackal is like that of a child (Henderson on Is. xiii. 22).—W. L. A.

IZHAR (יִזְחָר; Sept. 'Izadap, 'Iodap), the son of Kohath, grandson of Levi, and uncle of Moses and Aaron (Exod. vi. 16-20; Num. iii. 19; 1 Chron. vi. 2, 18). From him were descended the family of the Izeharites (Num. iii. 27). He was the father of Korah whose rebellion brought such disaster on himself and those whom he induced to share in his 'gainsaying' (Num. xvi. 1). In 1 Chron. vi. 22 the name Amminadab is substituted for Izhar, apparently by some clerical error (comp. the Codex Alex. of the LXX. here, and see ver. 38).—W. L. A.

IZRAHITE (יִזְרָחִי; Sept. δ 'Izēpal; Alex. δ 'Izēpal), the designation of Shammuth, captain of the fifth of the monthly courses appointed by David (1 Chron. xxvii. 8). The word is probably formed from יִזְרָח, Zerach, the head of one of the families of Judah, and is another form of יִזְרָחִי, Zarchi (Zarhite, A. V.), the designation of two besides of these captains (ver. 11, 13).—W. L. A.

IZRI (יִזְרִי; Sept. 'Izēpl; Alex. 'Izēpl), a Levite, to whom fell the lot of leader of the fourth ward in the service of song in the house of the Lord under David (1 Chron. xxv. 11). The name is an abbreviation of יִזְרָחִי, Creator is Jah. By omission of the initial ' it becomes יִזְרִי, Zeri, as in ver. 3.—W. L. A.

J.

JAAKAN. [BENEI-JAAKAN.]

JAARE OREGIM יָעַר אֹרֵגִים, according to the Massorah) small (doubtful יָעַר, according to the Massorah) LXX. Ἀρωγῶν, 2 Sam. xxi. 19; a Bethlehemite, father of Elhanan, who in that passage is reported to have slain Goliath the Gittite. In order to reconcile this statement with the one contained in 1 Sam. xvii., according to which it was David who slew the formidable Philistine, the Midrash identifies Elhanan with David (שְׁחַנְנֵי מֶלֶךְ, 'whom God has favoured,' = Hananel, Elhanan, Jalk. to 2 Sam. xxi. 19, etc.), and interprets the Jaare Oregim, which follows, in various fanciful manners, so as to make it agree with the circumstances. Ben Jaar, according to one version (Jalk. ib.), was David's own name, 'because he was great among the forest [of the] Oregim or Weavers [of the Law]; i.e., the Sanhedrim, who brought the Halacha (legal deci-

sions) before him that he might weave it,' as it were. Another version traces the Jaare Oregim to, or rather founds upon it, the legend that David's mother habitually wove veils for the sanctuary, which pious occupation procured for her son the epithet of a 'son of weavers' beams.' A third simply takes the two words as an epithet for David's father Jesse. Jonathan translates וְקָטַל דָּוִד בֶּרְיָ מַחֵי פְרוּחַת בֵּית מְקֻרָּשָׁא דְּמִבְנֵי לָחֵם וּבָרַךְ 'And David, the son of Jesse, the weaver of veils for the sanctuary in Bethlehem, killed,' etc. The Vulg. renders 'Adeodatus filius Saltūs [Jaar=forest] Polymitarii [David himself a weaver or=Polymitarius] Bethlehemites;' Pesh. מַלְפִּי וְסִסְנָן, Arab. V.

ملف النساخ = Malaph (?) the weaver.

All these more or less allegorical explanations, however, are unsatisfactory to a degree, and the whole passage has been sharply contested from the days of the early commentators. It would indeed appear as if nothing short of a corrupt reading, such as Kennicott, after Piscator, has lucidly pointed out, could account for the existence of this most mysterious compound name; while at the same time, by his suggestion, much is gained for the reconciliation of the two flagrantly contradictory accounts of Goliath's defeat. The parallel passage in 1 Chron. xx. 5 seems to have the correct reading, 'And Elhanan,' we find there, 'the son of Jair (Ketib יֵעֹר) slew Lahmi, the brother of Goliath the Gittite, whose spear staff was like a weaver's beam (כַּמְנוֹר אֹרְנִים).' Some early copyist, after having finished the word יֵעֹר (יֵעֹר), mistook the י in כַּמְנוֹר, which in the manuscript from which he copied happened to stand exactly underneath, for the one he had just written, and consequently went on with the word אֹרְנִים, which happened to follow in the second line. How this mistake was perpetuated, what efforts were made, by further additions of words or single letters, to render the now obscure passage somewhat more clear and more in accordance with the statements preferred elsewhere—for these and other points in connection with them we must refer to *Elhanan* (vol. i., p. 762), where also the different speculations and suggestions of ancient and modern commentators will be found discussed at somewhat greater length.

As a characteristic specimen of late poetical etymology (Jaare, Jair) we will add the Targum to the passage in 1 Chron. xx. 5, amended in its turn after the one in Samuel: "'And David, the son of Jishai,'—this is the pious man who arose (מִיִּתְעָרָה) from his sleep in the middle of the night to give praise unto God—'slew Lachmi the brother of Goliath on the same day on which he killed Goliath of Gath.' This derivation of יֵעֹר is founded upon the following beautiful legend, found in Talm. Berach. 3 b., Jer. Ber. i., Bamidb. Rab. 15, etc.: 'A harp was hanging above David's bed, and in the middle of the night the north wind came and rustled in its strings so that it sang [played] of itself. And David rose at once and praised God, and studied in the law till the dawn of morning. As it is written (Ps. lvii. 9 [A. V. 8]), 'Awake up my glory, awake, psalter and harp; I will wake the dawn.'—E. D.

JAAZANIAH (יֵאֲזָנְיָהּ), or with 1 parag. יֵאֲזָנְיָהּ; LXX. Ἰεζανίας; Vulg. Jezionias).

1. One of Zedekiah's 'captains of the forces,' who escaped capture by the army of Nebuchadnezzar, and to whom, with his troops, Gedaliah, after his appointment as governor of Judaea, gave assurances of safety (2 Kings xxv. 23). He is described as the son of the Maachathite (בֶּרֶךְ מַעֲחָתִי), which probably means that he was the son or descendant of a native of Maachah, a district on the slope of Mount Hermon, the Canaanitish inhabitants of which were not expelled by the Israelites, but were permitted to dwell amongst them on friendly terms (Josh. xii. 5; xiii. 13). In the book of Jeremiah his name appears in the slightly abbreviated form of Jezioniah (יֵזְזָנְיָהּ; LXX. Ἰεζανίας), xl. 8, xlii. 1; and in the latter passage he is said to be the son of Hoshaiiah.

2. Son of Jeremiah, the son of Habaziah, and the head of that family of Rechabites to whom the prophet Jeremiah announced the divine blessing because of their faithful observance of the commandments of Jonadab their ancestor (Jer. xxxv. 3). The LXX. reads in this passage Jechoniah (Ἰεχωνίας), which is probably an error of transcription; the same form occurs as a various reading in Ezek. viii. 11.

3. Son of Shaphan (Ezek. viii. 11), and an elder of the house of Israel, who took a prominent part in the idolatrous abominations practised in Jerusalem during the reign of Zedekiah.

4. Son of Azur (Ezek. xi. 1), and one of the princes of Jerusalem who 'gave wicked counsel in this city,' and encouraged the people in their disbelief of the prophetic warnings which had announced to them the approaching destruction of their city by the king of Babylon.—S. N.

JAAZER and JAZER (יֵאֲזֶר and יֵזֶר, 'Jehovah helps;' יֵאֲזֶר; Jazer), a town of Gilead (1 Chron. xxvi. 31), situated near Heshbon (vi. 81 [66]). It was originally occupied by the Amorites, and was taken by the Israelites after the defeat of Sihon (Num. xxi. 31-32). It must have been a place of importance, for it gave its name to a large section of country. The 'land of Jazer' was fertile, and its rich pastures attracted the attention of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh (xxxii. 1). It was within the allotted territory of Gad (ver. 35; Josh. xiii. 25); and as it is mentioned between Dibon and Nimreh, it appears to have stood on the high plain north of Heshbon (Num. xxxii. 3). It was one of the four cities out of Gad assigned to the Levites (Josh. xxi. 39); but on the decline of the Jewish power it fell into the hands of the Moabites. Isaiah connects it with Heshbon and Elealah in the prophetic curse pronounced upon Moab, predicting its utter ruin, and the destruction of its fields and vineyards by the wild hordes of the desert (xvi. 7-10). The parallel passages in Isaiah and Jeremiah are rendered somewhat obscure by reference to 'the sea.' Isaiah says of the vine, for which that region was celebrated:—'Its branches were stretched out, they reached to (or over) the sea;' and Jeremiah says—'Thy plants are gone over the sea, they reach to the sea of Jazer' (יֵזֶר; xlviii. 32). What sea is here referred to? Some have supposed it a noted 'pool' or 'lake' in the vicinity of Jazer; but there is no lake in that district, and the word יֵזֶר could scarcely be applied with propriety to a mere pool. We learn from Num. xxxii. 1 that the whole country around

Heshbon and Jazer was called 'the land of Jazer.' That land must have extended to the shore of the Dead Sea. May not that sea, therefore, have been called by the inhabitants of the district 'the Sea of Jazer,' just as the northern lake took the name of 'Tiberias,' and 'Genesaret,' and 'Chinnereth?' Gesenius questions the integrity of the text in Jeremiah, but without sufficient reason (*Comment. üb. Jes.* xvi. 8). The Sept. reads *ῥάλας* 'Iaf̄h̄p; this version, however, is here far from being trustworthy.

Jazer was taken by Judas Maccabæus from the Ammonites (1 Maccab. v. 8; cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 8. 1). Eusebius and Jerome describe it as a city of the Amorites ten miles west of Philadelphia, and fifteen from Heshbon; they also state that a large stream rose beside it and flowed into the Jordan (*Onomast.* s. v. *Jazer*). Burckhardt in travelling from Es-Salt to Heshbon passed a ruined town called *Str* (صبر), situated on the side of a hill, and

immediately below it was the source of a stream which ran down to the Jordan (*Trav. in Syria*, 364). The ruins lie four hours north of Heshbon, and thus correspond to the position of Jazer as given by Jerome. There can be little doubt that this is the Jazer of the Bible (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 323). The prophecies of Scripture are fulfilled. The city and country are alike desolate. The vineyards that once covered the hill sides are gone; and the wild Bedawin from the eastern desert make cultivation of any kind impossible.—(*Handbook for S. and P.*, 298, sq.)—J. L. P.

JAAZIAH (יאזיה; Sept. 'Oz̄a). This name appears (1 Chron. xxiv. 26, 27) in the genealogy of Merari, a Levite; but the text is in such a state that it is hard to know in what light to regard the person to whom it is assigned. Elsewhere the only sons of Merari mentioned are Mahli and Mushi (Exod. vi. 10; Num. iii. 33; 1 Chron. vi. 4 [A. V. 19]; xxiii. 21). It has been supposed that Jaaziah was a third son of Merari, and the founder of three houses in that line, Shoham, Zaccur, and 'Ibri; but in its present state the text does not say this, and it can only be conjecturally asserted.—W. L. A.

JAAZIEL (יאזיה; Sept. 'Oz̄a; Alex. 'Ihoûl), a Levite of the second order of those who had charge of the music in the temple service in the time of David (1 Chron. xv. 18); called Aziel (אזיה) in ver. 20, and Jeiel (יזיה) in xvi. 5.

JABAL (יבאל), a stream; Sept. 'Iw̄b̄l, a descendant of Cain, son of Lamech and Adah, who is described in Gen. iv. 20, as 'the father of such as dwell in tents, and have cattle.' This obviously means that Jabal was the first who adopted that nomade life which is still followed by numerous Arabian and Tartar tribes in Asia. Abel had long before been a keeper of sheep; but Jabal invented such portable habitations (formed, doubtless, of skins) as enabled a pastoral people to remove their dwellings with them from one place to another, when they led their flocks to new pastures.—J. K.

JABBOK (יבבוק, perhaps = יבב, 'pouring out; 'Iab̄w̄k and 'Iab̄b̄k; *Jaboc*; in Joseph. 'Iab̄d̄x̄os), a stream which falls into the Jordan from the east,

about midway between the lake of Tiberias and Dead Sea. It was on the banks of the Jabbok that the remarkable interview took place between Jacob and Esau, on the return of the former from Padanaram (Gen. xxxii. 22). The stream is important in a geographical point of view, and a knowledge of its topography helps us to understand more easily some passages of Scripture. It was the boundary between the Amorites and the Ammonites. We are told that after the defeat of Sihon, king of the Amorites, at Jazer, 'Israel possessed his land from Arnon unto Jabbok, even unto the children of Ammon; for the border of the children of Ammon was strong' (Num. xxi. 24). The Jabbok, flowing in a wild and deep ravine through the Gilead mountains, formed a strong natural frontier for the bordering principalities. It would seem that at the Exodus the Ammonites possessed the country eastward and northward of the upper sources and branches of the Jabbok, and that Sihon and Og occupied the whole region between the Ammonites and the Jordan, extending as far north as the Sea of Galilee (Josh. xii. 2-8; Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 5. 2, and 3). The Israelites conquered Sihon and Og, and took their kingdoms; and the possessions of the three tribes, thus acquired, extended from the Dead Sea to Hermon; but they were not permitted to touch the territory of Ammon (Deut. ii. 37; iii. 16). About fifteen miles from the Jordan the Jabbok forks; one branch coming down from Jerash on the north, and the other from Rabbath-Amman on the south; these branches formed the western frontier of the Ammonites, dividing them from the Amorites, and subsequently from the Israelites (Reland, *Pal.*, p. 103). Previous to the Exodus, the territory of the Ammonites was much more extensive, embracing the whole region between the Jabbok and the Arnon; but the Amorites drove them out of that portion, and forced them into the mountains around the sources of the Jabbok, and into the plain eastwards (Judg. xi. 13, 22). Eusebius and Jerome rightly describe the Jabbok as flowing between Ammon and Gerasa, and falling into the Jordan (*Onomast.* s. v. *Jabboch*).

The Jabbok is now called *Wady Zurka* (وزرکا). Its sources are chiefly on the eastern side of the mountains of Gilead, and it also drains a portion of the high plateau of Arabia beyond. The upper branches and tributaries are mere winter streams. At the point where the two main branches from Jerash and Ammon unite, the stream becomes perennial; and often, after heavy rain, is a foaming impassable torrent. 'The ravine through which it flows is narrow, deep, and in places wild. Throughout nearly its whole course it is fringed by thickets of cane and oleander, and the large clustering flowers of the latter give the banks a gay and gorgeous appearance during the spring and early summer' (*Handbook for S. and P.*, 310). Higher up, the sides of the ravine are clothed with forests of evergreen oak, pine, and arbutus; and the undulating forest glades are carpeted with green grass, and strewn with innumerable wild flowers. The scenery along the banks of the Jabbok is probably the most picturesque in Palestine; and the ruins of town and village and fortress which stud the surrounding mountain sides render the country as interesting as it is beautiful (See Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, p. 347; Irby and Mangels,

Travels, 319, 1st ed.; Lynch, *Expedition to Dead Sea*, p. 179, English ed.)—J. L. P.

JABESH-GILEAD (יַבֶּשׁ גִּלְעָד, 'dry,' also יַבֶּשׁ: *Iaḇēš* and *Iaḇš*; *Jabes*). The first mention of this ancient city is in connection with the tragic story of the sin and punishment of the Benjamites. The Israelites had made an oath that every one who did not join in taking vengeance on them for their revolting crime should be put to death. The people of Jabesh failed to appear at the national gathering, and therefore, at the close of the war, their city was attacked and the whole population slain, except 400 young virgins, who were reserved as wives for the remnant of the Benjamites (Judg. xix. x; xxi. 8-14). About three centuries later Jabesh was again the scene of a remarkable episode in Jewish history. The city was surrounded by the vast forces of the Ammonites. Unable to resist, the inhabitants offered to become the slaves of their foes; but the conditions proposed by the cruel Arab prince were so terrible that they asked some days respite. Saul had just been proclaimed king. They sent to him and told their tale of woe. He saw in it a favourable opportunity for establishing his yet unrecognised authority. The news came to him at Gibeah. That very day he summoned Israel to the gathering-place at Bezek, near Bethshan. From thence he made a night march across the Jordan, attacked the Ammonites in the morning-watch, and gained one of the most signal victories ever achieved by Jewish arms (1 Sam. xi.) The whole subsequent history of Jabesh clusters round this one event. The inhabitants felt deeply grateful to their king. No opportunity occurred during his life of showing their gratitude, but when Saul fell on Gilboa, and when the barbarous Philistines fastened his body to the wall of Bethshan, the men of Jabesh heard the sad tidings. From the streets of their own city they could see, beyond the Jordan valley, that great fortress on which the mangled remains of their king hung. Then 'all the valiant men arose, and went all night, and took the body of Saul, and the bodies of his sons, from the wall of Bethshan, and came to Jabesh, and burnt them there. And they took their bones, and buried them under a tree at Jabesh, and fasted seven days' (1 Sam. xxxi. 11-13). It was a noble act; and the heroism of the actors was appreciated by the high-minded David; for when he was told, 'he sent messengers unto the men of Jabesh-Gilead, and said unto them, 'Blessed be ye of the Lord, that ye have showed this kindness unto your lord. . . . And now the Lord show kindness and truth unto you: and I also will requite you for this kindness' (2 Sam. ii. 5, 6). The last mention of the city occurs when David, at a subsequent period, removed the bones of Saul and his sons, and buried them in the sepulchre of Kish (xxi. 12-14).

Jabesh is not again referred to by any writer except Josephus, who merely repeats the Scripture story (*Antiq.* v. 2. 11; vi. 14. 8), until the time of Eusebius, who says, 'It is now a village (κῶμη) situated on a hill, six miles from Pella, on the road to Gerasa (*Onomast.* s. v. *Jabis*; cf. Jerome, *Comment. ad Lib. Jud.*) The great city of Pella had risen beside it, and was made capital of the province; this probably led to the decline of Jabesh and its final ruin. From that time until our own age the site has remained, not merely deserted,

but unknown. The old name, however, is still given in its Arabic form *Yabes* (يَابِس) to a ravine which winds down the side of Mount Gilead, nearly opposite Bethshan. On the south bank of the ravine, about six miles from the ruins of Pella, near the line of the ancient road to Gerasa, stands a little hill covered with ruins, called by the Arabs *Ed-Dair* ('the convent'); this in all probability marks the site of Jabesh-Gilead. (Robinson, *B. R.* iii. 39; Van de Velde, *Travels* ii. 349-52; *Hand-book for S. and P.*, p. 317; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, p. 345.)—J. L. P.

JABEZ (יַבֶּז; Sept. *Iḏḏis*; Alex. *Γαῖθς*). 1. A town in which the 'families of the scribes' (מְסֻכְּבֹת) resided (1 Chron. ii. 55). It was apparently in Judah; for details, which are chiefly of a topographical kind, from ver. 42 onwards, form a sort of appendix to the statement of Judah's descendants (1-41). This sets aside the conjecture of Rashi, who would identify Jabesh with Abiez (Josh. xix. 20), which belonged to Issachar.

2. A descendant apparently of Coz, and head of one of the families of Judah (1 Chron. iv. 9). Fürst suggests that the reading here may originally have been—'Zereth, and Jezoar, and Ethran, and Coz. And Coz begat Azub and Jabez, and this Jabez was the father of Jabez [the town] and Zobeab,' etc. Of Jabez it is said, that 'he was more honourable than his brethren,' and it is stated that his mother gave him the name Jabez to commemorate the sorrow with which she bore him; thus tracing the name etymologically to *עָנַב*, *to grieve*. A remarkable prayer of Jabez is also recorded, with the notice that God granted it. These verses are supposed to be from some ancient source. There is a close resemblance between them and some of the narratives in Genesis (comp. Gen. xxviii. 20; xxix. 32-35; etc.)—W. L. A.

JABEZ (יַבֶּז), ISAAC B. SALOMO B. ISAAC B. JOSEPH, a Jewish commentator who flourished in the 16th century. He wrote—1. *A Commentary on the Haphtaroth, or Sabbatic lessons from the prophets* [HAPHTARA], entitled יַסְפַּר רֵצוֹן, *he will find favour*, which is of a homiletic character, and was published at Belvedere near Constantinople in 1593; 2. *A Commentary on the Psalms*, entitled תְּהִלֹת יְהוָה, *the praises of the Lord*; 3. *A Commentary on Proverbs*, entitled לְמוֹדֵי יְהוָה, *the taught of God*; 4. *A Commentary on Proverbs*, entitled יִרְאָה שְׁרִי, *the fear of the Almighty*; 5. *A Commentary on the Song of Songs*, entitled קִדְשֵׁי הַקִּדְשִׁים, *the holy of holies*; 6. *A Commentary on Ruth*, entitled צֶמַח צְדִיק, *a branch of righteousness*; 7. *A Commentary on Lamentations*, entitled צִדְקַת תַּמִּים, *the righteousness of the perfect*; 8. *A Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes*, entitled שְׁעַר מַדָּע, *the gates of knowledge*; 9. *A Commentary on the Book of Esther*, entitled עֲטֶרֶת שְׁלוֹם, *the crown of peace*; 10. *A Commentary on Daniel*, called בְּרִכַּת יִשְׂרָאֵל, *the blessing of the upright*; 11. *A Commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah*, entitled מוֹשִׁיעַ חוֹסִים, *the Saviour of those who trust in him*. All these commentaries, which are chiefly a compilation made up from ten different expositors, are, with the exception of the first, contained in Frankfurter's Rabbinic Bible [FRANKFURTER]. He also wrote a *Commentary on*

the Pentateuch, entitled סֵפֶר הַמִּנְחָה, *flour for offering*, which is not published (comp. Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraica*, i. 694; iii. 617, sq., iv. 886; Furst, *Bibliotheca Judaica* ii. 2; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 1125).—C. D. G.

JABIN (יָבִין, *discerner*; Sept. Ἰαβὴν). 1. King of Hazor, and one of the most powerful of all the princes who reigned in Canaan when it was invaded by the Israelites. His dominion seems to have extended over all the north part of the country; and after the ruin of the league formed against the Hebrews in the south by Adonizedek, king of Jerusalem, he assembled his tributaries near the waters of Merom (the lake Huleh), and called all the people to arms. This coalition was destroyed, as the one in the south had been, and Jabin himself perished in the sack of Hazor, his capital, B.C. 1450. This prince was the last powerful enemy with whom Joshua combated, and his overthrow seems to have been regarded as the crowning act in the conquest of the Promised Land (Josh. xi. 1-14).

2. A king of Hazor, and probably descended from the preceding. It appears that during one of the servitudes of the Israelites, probably when they lay under the yoke of Cushan or Eglon, the kingdom of Hazor was reconstructed. The narrative gives to this second Jabin even the title of 'king of Canaan'; and this, with the possession of 900 iron-armed war-chariots, implies unusual power and extent of dominion. The iniquities of the Israelites having lost them the Divine protection, Jabin gained the mastery over them; and, stimulated by the remembrance of ancient wrongs, oppressed them heavily for twenty years. From this thralldom they were relieved by the great victory won by Barak in the plain of Esdraelon, over the hosts of Jabin, commanded by Sisera, one of the most renowned generals of those times, B.C. 1285. The well-compacted power of the king of Hazor was not yet, however, entirely broken. The war was still prolonged for a time, but ended in the entire ruin of Jabin, and the subjugation of his territories by the Israelites (Judg. iv.).

This is the Jabin whose name occurs in Ps. lxxiii. 10.—J. K.

Addendum.—The question has been raised whether these two Jabins were not one and the same; and the affirmative has by some been assumed as an argument against the authenticity of the narrative in Joshua (De Wette, *Eintl. ins A. T.*, p. 251; Maurer, *Comment.* in loc.); while others think that the two narratives may be of events so nearly contemporaneous that they may have happened in the lifetime of the same person. This latter hypothesis, however, cannot possibly be retained; for, even supposing that the ordinary chronology, which places the defeat of Sisera 150 years after the time of Joshua, requires correction, no correction that can be legitimately made will render it possible to synchronise the two narratives, nor can we suppose that within the lifetime of one man Hazor could have been rebuilt, the shattered kingdom of its ruler restored, and that ruler enabled to tyrannise over his former conquerors for 20 years. It has been asked, 'What is to prevent us from supposing Jabin and his confederate kings to have been defeated both by Joshua and by Barak?' The reply is, That as Joshua killed the Jabin with whom he fought (Josh. ii. 10) the latter could not be alive to fight again with Barak,

even supposing Joshua and Barak were contemporaries, as some would make them (Hervey, *Genealogy of our Lord*, p. 228). The only alternative possible, is the supposition that there were two Jabins, the one the antagonist of Joshua and destroyed by him, the other a later prince, by whom the recovered strength of the Canaanites was brought to bear on the Israelites so as to keep them in subjection until Barak delivered them; Or the supposition that the narrative in Joshua is borrowed from that in Judges, or *vice versa*. The burden of proof here lies on those who adopt the latter side of this alternative. They must show that the other side is impossible or incredible; and they must show what possible cause there is for supposing that the author of the book of Joshua should seek to defraud Barak of his rightful fame, or the author of the book of Judges seek to defraud Joshua of his. That Hazor was rebuilt after its destruction by Joshua we know (see 1 Kings ix. 15), and this may have been done by the time of the second Jabin; though, as it is nowhere said that he *resided* in Hazor, but only that he *ruled over* Hazor, this latter supposition is not *necessary* for the credibility of the narrative (Hävernick, *Eintl.* ii. 53; Keil on *Joshua*, p. 287; Winer, *R. W. B.*, s. v.)—W. L. A.

JABLONSKI, DANIEL ERNST, born 1660, at Nassenhuben near Danzig, son of the preacher Figulus, who, a native of Jablunka, a small place in Silesia, had adopted the surname of Jablonski. Having acquired his first instruction at the Gymnasium of Lissa (in Prussian Poland), the subject of our notice went to the university of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, where he applied himself to literature and philosophy as well as to theology and the Oriental languages. In 1668 he set out for a learned tour to the universities and libraries of Holland and England, and remained for a considerable time at Oxford. At his return in 1683 he was appointed preacher at Magdeburg, which place he left two years later in order to assume the rectorship of the Gymnasium at Lissa. In 1690 he was made court preacher at Königsberg, and in 1693 his fame procured him the place of preacher to the king at Berlin. Many were the honourable offices further entrusted to his care. Thus, in 1718 he was made a member of the Consistory, in 1729 a church-councillor, and in 1733 he was elected president of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin. At the instance of Queen Anne the honorary degree of D.D. had, as early as 1706, been bestowed upon him. He died at the age of 81 years, in 1741. His chief work is the edition of the Hebrew Bible, under the title *Biblia Hebraica, cum notis Hebraicis*, the first edition of which appeared in Berlin 1699 in 2 vols. 4to, followed by a second in 1712, 12mo. Most of his other writings refer chiefly to the state of the church in Poland; such as, *Jus et libertates dissidentium in regno Poloniae*; *Das betrübte Thorn*; *Historia consensus Sandomiriensis, etc.* He also translated several theological works into Latin; e.g., *Stultitia et irrationabilitas Atheismi ex Anglico Richardi Bentleii, latine versa*; *Gilberti Burnet expositio articuli xxi. Ecclesie Anglicanae de predestinatione et gratia, latine versa, etc.* Many of his sermons have been printed. A not inconsiderable number of his writings, chiefly referring to the union of all the Protestant churches—an object which he had much at heart—are still extant in manuscript.—E. D.

JABLONSKI (JABLONSKY), PAUL ERNST, the son of the former, born in Berlin, 1693. Having completed his preliminary studies at the Joachimsthal Gymnasium at Berlin, he applied himself, at the university of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, whither he went in 1714, to theology, but also to linguistic studies, chiefly Coptic, in which La Croze was his instructor. By the munificence of the king he was enabled to travel, when he left the university, through Germany, Holland, England, and France. He visited the libraries at Leyden, Paris, and Oxford, chiefly with a view of extending his knowledge of Coptic language and literature. At his return, in 1720, he was appointed preacher at Liebenberg, but in the course of the very next year the chair of philosophy was offered to him at the university of Frankfort-on-the-Oder. In 1722 he was elected professor of theology, and afterwards member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin. He died in 1757, and his contemporaries bestowed upon him the eulogy, 'Vir et singularis humanitatis et egregiæ doctrinæ laude celeberrimus.'

Although he had a singular aversion to print any of his writings, yet more than fifty independent, smaller or larger, works are extant. We name the following as the most important:—*Disquisitio de lingua Lycaonica*, Berlin 1714, 4to; *Exercitatio Historico-Theologica de Nestorismo*, etc., Berlin 1724, 8vo; *Dissertationes academicae viii. de terra Gosen*, Frankfort-on-the-Oder 1735, 4to; *Pantheon Ægyptiorum sive de Diis eorum commentarius, cum prolegomenis de religione et Theologia Ægyptiorum*, Berlin 1750-1752, in three vols. 8vo,—Jablonski's principal work, and one which will for all times ensure him the high respect of the learned; *Institutiones Historiæ Christianæ Antiquioris*, Frankfort-on-the-Oder 1753, 8vo; followed by *Institutiones Historiæ Christianæ recentioris*, Frankfort-on-the-Oder 1756, 8vo, both re-edited by Schultze, *ib.* 1783-84; by Stosch, who added a third volume, *ib.* in 1767; and by Schickedanz in 1767, 8vo. A collection of his minor works, under the title *Opuscula quibus lingua et antiquitas Ægyptiorum, difficultia sacrarum librorum loca et historiæ ecclesiasticæ capita illustrentur*, was published by J. S. T. Water, Leyden 1804-1810, in three vols. 8vo.—E. D.

JABNEEL (יַבְנֵה), 'God causeth to be built';

Λεβνὰ; Alex. 'Iaβνήλ; *Jebneel*).

1. A town on the north-western border of Judah, situated in the plain of Philistia, west of Ekron, and between Mount Baalah and the sea. *Jabneel* is only mentioned in Josh. xv. 11; but a comparison of that passage with 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, shews that it is the same place which is there called *Jabneh*, and which Uzziah captured, with Gath and Ashdod, from the Philistines. *Jabneh* (יַבְנֵה) is the first part of the compound *Jabneel* (יַבְנֵה־נֶחַל), the latter part (נֶחַל, 'God') being omitted (Sept. 'Iaβνήp and 'Iaβείs). In Josh. xv. 46, instead of 'From Ekron even unto the sea,' the Sept. has, ἀπὸ Ἀκκαρῶν Γεμὰ (Alex. 'Iεμναι), which at first sight would seem to be an allusion to this city, though it is only a mistake on the part of the translators of the Hebrew word גֶּמָא, 'to the sea,' for a proper name. Josephus calls this city *Iamnia* ('Iαμνία), and assigns it to the tribe of Dan (*Antiq.* v. i. 22). It became an important place

during the wars of the Maccabees, and played a conspicuous part in later Jewish history (1 Maccab. iv. 15; v. 58; x. 69). The school of *Iamnia* was celebrated after the destruction of Jerusalem, especially under the presidency of the famous Rabbīn Gamaliel. The Jews called this school their Sanhedrim, though it only possessed a faint shadow of the authority of that great council (Milman, *History of the Jews*, iii. 95, 2d ed.; Lightfoot, *Opera*, ii. 141-143). At this period, also, *Iamnia* had a considerable trade, and a good port on the shore of the Mediterranean (2 Maccab. xii. 8, 9; Ptolemy, v. 16; Strabo, xv. 2, 29; Pliny, *H. N.* v. 14).

Iamnia stood, according to the Itinerary of Antonine, between Diospolis (Lydda) and Ascalon, twelve miles from the former, and twenty from the latter (*Ant. Itin.* ed. Wessel. p. 150). Eusebius describes it as a small town (πολιχὴν) between Diospolis and Ashdod (*Onomast.* s. v. *Iamnia*). We have no difficulty in identifying it with the modern village of *Yebna*, whose name is

radically identical with the Hebrew *Jabneh* (יַבְנֵה = יבנה). *Yebna* is situated on an eminence in the midst of a rich plain, two miles from the sea, and three from Ekron. Between it and the latter place is a low ridge of limestone hills which the writer was able to identify as the 'Mount Baalah' of Josh. xv. 11 (which is different from the town of Baalah mentioned in ver. 9; see *Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 275). The Crusaders thought *Iamnia* occupied the site of Gath, and they built in it a fortress called *Ibelin*, with a church, the ruins of which still remain, and have in later times been used as a mosque (Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, p. 57, ed. 1844; Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 66, 227; Reland, *Falast.* p. 822; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.*, iii. 587; Ritter, *Pal. and Syr.*, iii. 125).

2. A city of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 33). It may have been, perhaps, identical with the village *Iamnia*, which Josephus fortified during the Jewish wars (*Vita*, 37); but its site is unknown.—J. L. P.

JABNEH. [JABNEEL.]

JACHIN AND BOAZ, the names of two brazen pillars in the porch of Solomon's temple. [TEMPLE.]

JACINTH. [LESHEM.]

JACOB (יַעֲקֹב; Sept. 'Iακώβ) was the second son of Isaac by his wife Rebekah. Her conceiving is stated to have been supernatural. Led by peculiar feelings she went to inquire of the Lord, and was informed that she was indeed with child, that her offspring should be the founders of two nations, and that the elder should serve the younger: circumstances which ought to be borne in mind when a judgment is pronounced on her conduct in aiding Jacob to secure the privileges of birth to the exclusion of his elder brother Esau—conduct which these facts, connected with the birth of the boys, may well have influenced. Some have indeed denied the facts, and taken from them the colouring they bear in the Bible; and such persons may easily be led on to pronounce a severe and indiscriminate sentence of condemnation on Rebekah; but those who profess to receive and to respect the Biblical records

are unjustifiable, if they view any part of them, or any event which they record, in any other light than that which the Bible supplies, in any other position than that which the Bible presents. It is as a whole that each separate character should be contemplated—under the entire assemblage of those circumstances which the Bible narrates. If we first maim an historical person we may very readily misrepresent him.

As the boys grew, Jacob appeared to partake of the gentle, quiet, and retiring character of his father, and was accordingly led to prefer the tranquil safety and pleasing occupations of a shepherd's life to the bold and daring enterprises of the hunter, for which Esau had an irresistible predilection. Jacob, therefore, passed his days in or near the paternal tent, simple and unpretending in his manner of life, and finding in the flocks and herds which he kept, images and emotions which both filled and satisfied his heart. His domestic habits and affections seem to have co-operated with the remarkable events that attended his birth, in winning for him the peculiar regard and undisguised preference of his mother, who probably in this merely yielded to impressions which she could scarcely account for, much less define, and who had not even a faint conception of the magnitude of influence to which her predilection was likely to rise, and the sad consequences to which it could hardly fail to lead.

That selfishness and a prudence which approached to cunning had a seat in the heart of the youth Jacob, appears but too plain in his dealing with Esau, when he exacted from a famishing brother so large a price for a mess of pottage as the surrender of his birthright. Nor does the simple narrative of the Bible afford grounds by which this act can be well extenuated. Esau asks for food, alleging, as his reason, 'for I am faint.' Jacob, unlike both a youth and a brother, answers, 'Sell me this day thy birthright.' What could Esau do? 'Behold,' he replies, 'I am at the point to die, and what profit (if by retaining my birthright I lose my life) shall this birthright do me?' Determined to have a safe bargain, the prudent Jacob, before he gave the needed refreshment, adds, 'Swear to me this day.' The oath was given, the food eaten, and Esau 'went his way,' leaving a home where he had received so sorry a welcome.

The leaning which his mother had in favour of Jacob would naturally be augmented by the conduct of Esau in marrying, doubtless contrary to his parents' wishes, two Hittite women, who are recorded to have been a grief of mind unto Isaac and to Rebekah.

Circumstances thus prepared the way for procuring the transfer of the birthright, when Isaac, being now old, proceeded to take steps to pronounce the irrevocable blessing which acted with all the force of a modern testamentary bequest. This blessing, then, it was essential that Jacob should receive in preference to Esau. Here Rebekah appears the chief agent; Jacob is a mere instrument in her hands. Isaac directs Esau to procure him some venison. This Rebekah hears, and urges her reluctant favourite to personate his elder brother. Jacob suggests difficulties; they are met by Rebekah, who is ready to incur any personal danger so that her object be gained. My father, peradventure, will feel me, and I shall seem

to him as a deceiver, and I shall bring a curse upon me and not a blessing. His mother said unto him, Upon me be thy curse, my son, only obey my voice. Her voice is obeyed, the venison is brought, Jacob is equipped for the deceit; he helps out his fraud by direct falsehood, and the old man, whose senses are now failing, is at last with difficulty deceived. It cannot be denied that this is a most reprehensible transaction, and presents a truly painful picture; in which a mother conspires with one son in order to cheat her aged husband, with a view to deprive another son of his rightful inheritance. Justification is here impossible, but it should not be forgotten in the estimate we form, that there was a promise in favour of Jacob, that Jacob's qualities had endeared him to his mother, and that the prospect to her was dark and threatening which arose when she saw the neglected Esau at the head of the house, and his hateful wives assuming command over herself. [Eyck, *De venditione primogenituræ Esau*, Witteb. 1729; Roesler, *De benedict. paterna Esau a Jacobo præcepta*, Tüb. 1706; Heydegger, *Hist. Patriarch.* ii. 14; Shuckford, *Connection*, Bk. 7; Blunt, *Undesigned Coincid.*, part i. 1, sec. 2, 3; Benson, *Hulsean Lect. on Scripture Difficulties*, 16, 17.]

Punishment in this world often follows close upon the heels of transgression. Fear seized the guilty Jacob, who is sent by his father, at the suggestion of Rebekah, to the original seat of the family, in order that he might find a wife among his cousins, the daughters of his mother's brother, Laban the Syrian. Before he is dismissed Jacob again receives his father's blessing, the object obviously being to keep alive in the young man's mind the great promise given to Abraham, and thus to transmit that influence which, under the aid of divine providence, was to end in placing the family in possession of the land of Palestine, and in so doing to make it 'a multitude of people.' The language, however, employed by the aged father suggests the idea, that the religious light which had been kindled in the mind of Abraham had lost somewhat of its fulness, if not of its clearness also; since 'the blessing of Abraham,' which had originally embraced all nations, is now restricted to the descendants of this one patriarchal family. And so it appears, from the language which Jacob employs (Gen. xxviii. 16) in relation to the dream that he had when he tarried all night upon a certain plain on his journey eastward, that his idea of the Deity was little more than that of a local god—'Surely the Lord is in *this* place, and I *knew* it not.' Nor does the language which he immediately after employs shew that his ideas of the relations between God and man were of an exalted and refined nature:—'If God will be with me, and will keep me in the way that I go, and will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God.' The vision, therefore, with which Jacob was favoured was not without occasion, nor could the terms in which he was addressed by the Lord fail to enlarge and correct his conceptions, and make his religion at once more comprehensive and more influential. [Miegius *De Scala Jacobi*, in Iken's *Thes. Theol.-Phil.* i. 195; Kurz, *Hist. of the Old Covenant*, i. 309.]

Jacob, on coming into the land of the people of the East, accidentally met with Rachel, Laban's

daughter, to whom, with true eastern simplicity and politeness, he shewed such courtesy as the duties of pastoral life suggest and admit. And here his gentle and affectionate nature displays itself under the influence of the bonds of kindred and the fair form of youth:—'Jacob kissed Rachel, and lifted up his voice and wept.'

After he had been with his uncle the space of a month, Laban inquires of him what reward he expects for his services. He asks for 'the beautiful and well-favoured Rachel.' His request is granted on condition of a seven years' service—a long period truly, but to Jacob 'they seemed but a few days for the love he had to her.' When the time was expired, the crafty Laban availed himself of the customs of the country, in order to substitute his elder and 'tender-eyed' daughter Leah. In the morning Jacob found how he had been beguiled; but Laban excused himself, saying, 'It must not be so done in our country, to give the younger before the first-born.' Another seven years' service gains for Jacob the beloved Rachel. Leah, however, has the compensatory privilege of being the mother of the first-born—Reuben; three other sons successively follow, namely, Simeon, Levi, and Judah, sons of Leah. This fruitfulness was a painful subject of reflection to the barren Rachel, who employed language on this occasion that called forth a reply from her husband which shews that, mild as was the character of Jacob, it was by no means wanting in force and energy (Gen. xxx. 2). An arrangement, however, took place, by which Rachel had children by means of her maid, Bilhah, of whom Dan and Naphtali were born. Two other sons—Gad and Asher—were born to Jacob of Leah's maid, Zilpah. Leah herself bare two more sons, namely, Issachar and Zebulun; she also bare a daughter, Dinah. At length Rachel herself bare a son, and she called his name Joseph.

Most faithfully, and with great success, had Jacob served his uncle for fourteen years, when he became desirous of returning to his parents. At the urgent request of Laban, however, he is induced to remain. The language employed upon this occasion (Gen. xxx. 25, *sq.*) shews that Jacob's character had gained considerably during his service both in strength and comprehensiveness; but the means which he employed in order to make his bargain with his uncle work so as to enrich himself, prove too clearly that his moral feelings had not undergone an equal improvement, and that the original taint of prudence, and the sad lessons of his mother in deceit, had produced some of their natural fruit in his bosom. Those who may wish to inquire into the nature and efficacy of the means which Jacob employed, may, in addition to the original narrative, consult Michaelis and Rosenmüller on the subject, as well as the following:—Hieron. *Quæst. in Gen.*; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 10; Oppian, *Cyneg.* i. 330, *sq.*; Hastfeer, *über Schafzucht*; Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. 619. Winer, *Handwört.*, gives a parallel passage from Ælian (*Hist. Anim.* viii. 21).

The prosperity of Jacob displeased and grieved Laban, so that a separation seemed desirable. His wives are ready to accompany him. Accordingly he set out, with his family and his property, 'to go to Isaac his father in the land of Canaan.' It was not till the third day that Laban learned that Jacob had fled, when he immediately set out

in pursuit of his nephew, and after seven days' journey overtook him in Mount Gilead. Laban, however, is divinely warned not to hinder Jacob's return. Reproach and recrimination ensued. Even a charge of theft is put forward by Laban—'Wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?' In truth, Rachel had carried off certain images which were the objects of worship. Ignorant of this misdeed, Jacob boldly called for a search, adding, 'With whomsoever thou findest thy gods, let him not live.' A crafty woman's cleverness eluded the keen eye of Laban. Rachel, by an appeal which one of her sex alone could make, deceived her father. Thus one sin begets another; superstition prompts to theft, and theft necessitates deceit.

Whatever opinion may be formed of the teraphim which Michael stole, and which Laban was so anxious to discover, and whatever kind or degree of worship may in reality have been paid to them, their existence in the family suffices of itself to shew how imperfectly instructed regarding the Creator were at this time those who were among the least ignorant on divine things. [TERAPHIM.]

Laban's conduct on this occasion called forth a reply from Jacob, from which it appears that his service had been most severe, and which also proves that however this severe service might have encouraged a certain servility, it had not prevented the development in Jacob's soul of a high and energetic spirit, which when roused could assert its rights and give utterance to sentiments both just, striking, and forcible, and in the most poetical phraseology.

Peace, however, being restored, Laban, on the ensuing morning, took a friendly if not an affectionate farewell of his daughters and their sons, and returned home. Meanwhile Jacob, going on his way, had to pass near the land of Seir, in which Esau dwelt. Remembering his own conduct and his brother's threat, he was seized with fear, and sent messengers before in order to propitiate Esau, who, however, had no evil design against him; but, when he 'saw Jacob, ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell on his neck and kissed him, and they wept'—the one tears of joyful recognition, the other of gladness at unexpected escape.

The passage in which this meeting is recorded is very striking and picturesque. In moral qualities it exhibits Jacob the inferior of his generous, high-minded, and forgiving brother; for Jacob's bearing, whatever deduction may be made for Oriental politeness, is crouching and servile. Independently of the compellation, 'my lord,' which he repeatedly uses in addressing Esau, what can be said of the following terms:—'I have seen thy face as though I had seen the face of God, and thou wast pleased with me?' (Gen. xxxiii. 10).

It was immediately preceding this interview that Jacob passed the night in wrestling with 'a man,' who is afterwards recognised as God, and who at length overcame Jacob by touching the hollow of his thigh. His name also was on this event changed by the mysterious antagonist into Israel, 'for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed' (Gen. xxxii. 28). It is added that on this account his descendants abstained from eating the thigh of slaughtered animals. [ISRAEL.]

Having, by the misconduct of Shechem the Hivite and the hardy valour of his sons, been involved

in danger from the natives of Shechem in Canaan, Jacob is divinely directed, and under the divine protection proceeds to Bethel, where he is to 'make an altar unto God that appeared unto thee when thou fleddest from the face of Esau thy brother.' Obedient to the divine command, he first purifies his family from 'strange gods,' which he hid under 'the oak which is by Shechem;' after which God appeared to him again with the important declaration, 'I am God Almighty,' and renewed the Abrahamic covenant. While journeying from Beth-el to Ephrath, his beloved Rachel lost her life in giving birth to her second son, Benjamin. At length Jacob came to his father Isaac at Mamre, the family residence, in time to pay the last attentions to the aged patriarch. Not long after this bereavement Jacob was robbed of his beloved son Joseph through the jealousy and bad faith of his brothers. This loss is the occasion of shewing us how strong were Jacob's paternal feelings; for on seeing what appeared to be proofs that 'some evil beast had devoured Joseph,' the old man 'rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days, and refused to be comforted.'—'I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning' (Gen. xxxvii. 33).

A widely extended famine induced Jacob to send his sons down into Egypt, where he had heard there was corn, without knowing by whose instrumentality. The patriarch, however, retained his youngest son Benjamin, 'lest mischief should befall him,' as it had befallen Joseph. The young men returned with the needed supplies of corn. They related, however, that they had been taken for spies, and that there was but one way in which they could disprove the charge, namely, by carrying down Benjamin to 'the lord of the land.' This Jacob vehemently refused:—'Me have ye bereaved; Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin; my son shall not go down with you; if mischief befall him, then shall ye bring down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave' (Gen. xlii. 36). The pressure of the famine, however, at length forced Jacob to allow Benjamin to accompany his brothers on a second visit to Egypt; whence in due time they brought back to their father the pleasing intelligence, 'Joseph is yet alive, and he is governor over all the land of Egypt.' How naturally is the effect of this on Jacob told—'and Jacob's heart fainted, for he believed them not.' When, however, they had gone into particulars, he added, 'Enough, Joseph my son is yet alive; I will go and see him before I die.' Touches of nature like this suffice to shew the reality of the history before us, and since they are not unfrequent in the book of Genesis they will of themselves avail to sustain its credibility against all that the enemy can do. Each competent and unprejudiced judge, on reading these gems of truth, may well exclaim, 'This is history, not mythology; reality, not fiction.' The passage, too, with others recently cited, strongly proves how much the character of the patriarch had improved. In the entire of the latter part of Jacob's life, he seems to have gradually parted with many less desirable qualities, and to have become at once more truthful, more energetic, more earnest, affectionate, and, in the largest sense of the word, religious.

Encouraged 'in the visions of the night,' Jacob goes down to Egypt. 'And Joseph made ready

his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father, to Goshen, and presented himself unto him; and he fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while. And Israel said unto Joseph, Now let me die, since I have seen thy face, because thou art yet alive' (Gen. xlvii. 29). Joseph proceeded to conduct his father into the presence of the Egyptian monarch, when the man of God, with that self-consciousness and dignity which religion gives, instead of offering slavish adulation, 'blessed Pharaoh.' Struck with the patriarch's venerable air, the king asked, 'How old art thou?' What composure and elevation is there in the reply, 'The days of the years of my pilgrimage are an hundred and thirty years; few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage: and Jacob blessed Pharaoh, and went out from before Pharaoh' (Gen. xlvii. 8-10).

Jacob, with his sons, now entered into possession of some of the best land of Egypt, where they carried on their pastoral occupations, and enjoyed a very large share of earthly prosperity. The aged patriarch, after being strangely tossed about on a very rough ocean, found at last a tranquil harbour, where all the best affections of his nature were gently exercised and largely unfolded. After a lapse of time Joseph, being informed that his father was sick, went to him, when 'Israel strengthened himself, and sat up in his bed.' He acquainted Joseph with the divine promise of the land of Canaan which yet remained to be fulfilled, and took Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, in place of Reuben and Simeon, whom he had lost. How impressive is his benediction in Joseph's family! 'And Israel said unto Joseph, I had not thought to see thy face: and, lo, God hath showed me also thy seed' (Gen. xlviii. 11). 'God, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God which fed me all my life long unto this day, the angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads; and let my name be named on them, and the name of my fathers; and let them grow into a multitude in the midst of the earth' (ver. 15, 16). 'And Israel said unto Joseph, Behold I die; but God will be with you and bring you again unto the land of your fathers' (ver. 21). Then having convened his sons, the venerable patriarch pronounced on them also a blessing, which is full of the loftiest thought, expressed in the most poetical diction, and adorned by the most vividly descriptive and engaging imagery, showing how deeply religious his character had become, how freshly it retained its fervour to the last, and how greatly it had increased in strength, elevation, and dignity:—And when Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons, he gathered up his feet into the bed and yielded up the ghost, and was gathered unto his people' (Gen. xlix. 33).—J. R. B.

JACOB B. ASHERI B. JECHIEL B. URI B. ELIAKIM B. JEHUDAH, also called *Baal Ha-Turim*, after his celebrated ritual work, was born in Germany about A.D. 1280. At the age of eighteen he was an eyewitness to the fearful massacres of his brethren which began at Röttingen, April 20, 1298, under the leadership of Rindfleisch, and spread over Bavaria, France, and Austria, when upwards of 120 Jewish communities, numbering more than 100,000 souls were slaughtered in less than six

months. Though the death of the emperor Adolph and the election of Albrecht to the throne put an end to the civil war, yet Jacob b. Asheri felt it unsafe to remain in Germany, and hence emigrated, in the year 1303, with his renowned father, his mother, and seven brothers, wandered about from place to place for two years, and at last settled down at Toledo in Spain in 1305. Here he entered upon his literary labours under most straitened pecuniary circumstances, and published (1) *A Commentary on the Pentateuch* (פירוש

על התורה), the basis of which is Nachmanide's exposition. He excluded from it Nachmanide's philosophico-Kabbalistic portions, inserted in their stead remarks of Rashi, Joseph Cara, Samuel b. Meier, Abraham b. Chija, R. Tam, Ibn Ezra, Joseph Kimchi, Jehudah the Pious, Simon b. Abraham, Meier of Rothenburg, R. Asher, the father, and R. Jehudah, the brother of the author, as well as glosses of his own at the beginning of every Sabbatic section [HAPHTARA], which chiefly consist of explanations of words and whole sentences according to the hermeneutical rule called גמטריא, i. e., reducing every letter of a word to its numerical value, and explaining it by another word of the same quantity [MIDRASH], and which he calls פריפראות, *dainty supplements*, and recondite reasons for the critical remarks of the Massorites upon the text (טעמי המסורות). This work is of great importance to the understanding of the original design of the Massora. Such was the extraordinary popularity of the *Gematrical* portions of this commentary that they were detached from the exegetical part and printed in a separate form in Constantinople 1514, in Venice 1544, and have since appeared not only in the Rabbinic Bibles of Bomberg, Venice 1546-1548, and 1568; of Buxtorf, Basle 1617-1619, and Frankfurter, Amsterdam 1724-1727, under the title of קצת פריפראות חידושי

בעל הטורים, but also in five editions of the Bible between 1595 and 1653, and in no less than twenty different editions of the Pentateuch between the years 1566 and 1804—whereas the exegetical part was not published till 1805 in Zolkiew, and again in 1838 in Hanover; and (2) the celebrated religious code called ארבעה טורים, from the fact that it consists of four parts or rows, respectively denominated אורח חיים, *the way of life*; יורה דעה, *the teacher of knowledge*; אבן העזר, *the stone of help*; and חושן המטעם, *the breastplate of justice*; which treats on the ritual, moral, matrimonial, civil, and social observances of the Jews. This remarkable work, which for a time supplanted the *Iod Ha-Chezaka* of the immortal Maimonides, soon became the text-book of the Jewish Rabbins throughout the world, and is indispensable to the formation of a correct knowledge of the manners and customs of this ancient people. The best editions of it are the one published in Augsburg 1540, and another published in Hanover 1610. Jacob b. Asheri died in 1340 (comp. Geiger, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitung*, vol. iv., Stuttgart 1839, p. 395, etc.; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, vol. ii., p. 16, etc.; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 1181-1192; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. vii., Leipzig 1863, pp. 346-350.—C. D. G.

JACOB, B. CHAJIM B. ISAAC IBN ADONIA, the celebrated editor of Bomberg's Rabbinic Bible,

was born at Tunis about 1470. When about forty years of age, circa 1510, he was driven from his peaceful home and literary labours. He then went to Italy, lived for some time in Rome and in Florence, and not finding any occupation he at last went to Venice, where through the exertions of R. Chajim Alton, he became connected, in 1520, with the celebrated Hebrew printing-office of Daniel Bomberg as corrector of the press. He published (1) the celebrated *Iod Ha-Chezaka* of Maimonides, Venice 1524; and (2) edited, in four volumes folio, the Rabbinic Bible called Bomberg's second Rabbinic Bible, Venice 1524-1525, the first being the one edited by Felix Pratensis [PRATENSIS]. The following are the contents of this stupendous work.

The first volume, embracing the Pentateuch (תורה), begins, i., with the elaborate introduction of the editor, in which he discusses the *Massora*, the *Keri*, and *Kethib*, the variations between the Talmud and the Massora, the *Tikune Sopherim* (תקוני סופרים), and the order of the larger Massora; ii., an index of the sections of the whole O. T. according to Massora; and iii. Ibn Ezra's preface to the Pentateuch. Then follow the five books of Moses in Hebrew, with the Chaldee paraphrases of Onkelos and Jonathan b. Uziel, and the commentaries of Rashi and Ibn Ezra, the margins being filled up with as much of the Massora as they would admit.

The second volume, comprising the earlier prophets (נביאים ראשונים), i. e., Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and the Kings, has the Hebrew text, the Chaldee paraphrase of Jonathan b. Uziel, and the commentaries of Rashi, Kimchi, and Levi b. Gershon, and the Massora in the margin.

The third volume, comprising the later prophets (נביאים אחרונים), i. e., Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, contains the Hebrew text, the Chaldee paraphrase of Jonathan b. Uziel, the commentaries of Rashi, which extend over all the books in this volume, of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah and the minor prophets, and of Kimchi on Jeremiah, and the Massora in the margin.

The fourth volume, comprising the Hagiographa (כתובים), gives the Hebrew text, the Chaldee paraphrase of Joseph the blind, the commentaries of Rashi on the Psalms, Ezra, Nehemiah, the five Megilloth, and Chronicles; of Ibn Ezra on the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Daniel, the five Megilloth, Ezra, and Nehemiah; of Levi b. Gershon on Proverbs and Daniel; of Saadia on Daniel and the second Targum of Esther. Appended to this volume are, i., the Massora which could not get into the margin of the text, in alphabetical order, with Jacob b. Chajim's directions; ii., the various readings of Ben-Asher and Ben-Naphtali, and the Eastern and Western Codd.; and iii., a treatise upon the points and accents, containing the work דרכי

כללי הנקוד or הנקוד והנקוד by Moses Nakdan. Jacob b. Chajim bestowed the utmost labour in amassing the Massora and in purifying and arranging those materials which Felix Pratensis published very incorrectly in the first edition of Bomberg's Rabbinic Bible. He was, moreover, the first who, in his elaborate introduction, furnished the Biblical student with a treatise on the Massora; and his edition of the Bible is of great importance to the criticism of the text, inasmuch as from it most of the Hebrew Bibles are printed. Kennicott published a Latin translation of Jacob b. Chajim's valuable introduction from an anonymous MS. in

the Bodleian Library in an abridged form (Comp. *Dissertation the second*, Oxford 1759, p. 229-244), and Ginsburg has published an English translation of the whole with explanatory notes, in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* 1863. In after life Jacob b. Chajim embraced Christianity, a circumstance which will account for Elias Levita's vituperations against him (תנ"י נשמו צורה בצורה) (נקד).—C. D. G.

JACOB B. ELEAZAR, a Hebrew poet and grammarian who flourished at Toledo A. D. 1130. He distinguished himself in investigating the nature of the vowel points and the etymology of the proper names, and though he wrote several works upon these subjects, yet only one treatise of his, entitled *דפן השלם*, *the book of completion*, is known to us, through the quotations from it by Kimchi. The fragments of it show that Jacob b. Eleazar was a sound grammarian, laid down some excellent rules respecting the Hebrew syntax, and materially aided the development of philology in Spain at a time when Biblical exegesis was much neglected and the study of the Talmud was paramount. He moreover devoted himself to the formation of a correct Hebrew text of the O. T., and for this purpose used the celebrated *Codex Hillali* [HILLALI]. The importance of his labours may be seen from the fact that Kimchi quotes his explanations as authoritative. Comp. Biesenthal und Lebrecht's *edition of Kimchi's Lexicon*, Berlin 1847, introduction p. 15; Geiger in *Osar Nechmad* ii., Vienna 1857, p. 159, etc.; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden* vi., Leipzig 1861, p. 131, etc.—C. D. G.

JACOB B. MEIER. [TAM.]

JADDUA (יָדוּעַ; Sept. 'Ιαδού), son of Jonathan the high-priest, whom he succeeded in the same office. According to Eusebius his pontificate continued seventeen years. Josephus states that he was in office at the time when Alexander the Great invaded Judæa, and that he went out to meet the conqueror as he approached Jerusalem; that the latter went with Jaddua to the temple to worship and offer sacrifice; that he was shewn Daniel's predictions relating to himself, and gave the Jews permission to live according to their own laws, as well as freedom from tribute on Sabbatical years. His brother Manasseh was appointed first high-priest of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim by Sanballat's request (*Antiq.* xi. 8. 5). These circumstances related by Josephus are not credible, though Jahn and other Roman Catholic writers usually receive them as historical. If 'Darius the Persian,' who is mentioned, Neh. xii. 22, in connection with Jaddua, be Darius III. Codomannus, last monarch of Persia (336-330 B. C.), the compiler of the book of Nehemiah is brought down to the time of the Grecian dynasty, and could not therefore have been Nehemiah himself. The name of Jaddua does not mark the time when the *last* additions were made to the book of Nehemiah and the O. T. canon; nor has it any proper relation to the settlement of the canon.—S. D.

JAEEL (יָעֵל, *wild goat or gazelle*; Sept. 'Ιαήλ), wife of Heber, the Kenite. When Sisera, the general of Jabin, had been defeated, he alighted from his chariot, hoping to escape best on foot from the hot pursuit of the victorious Israelites.

On reaching the tents of the nomade chief, he remembered that there was peace between his sovereign and the house of Heber; and, therefore, applied for the hospitality and protection to which he was thus entitled. This request was very cordially granted by the wife of the absent chief, who received the vanquished warrior into the inner part of the tent, where he could not be discovered by strangers without such an intrusion as eastern customs would not warrant. She also brought him milk to drink, when he asked only water; and then covered him from view, that he might enjoy repose the more securely. As he slept, a horrid thought occurred to Jael, which she hastened too promptly to execute. She took one of the tent nails, and with a mallet, at one fell blow, drove it through the temples of the sleeping Sisera. Soon after, Barak and his people arrived in pursuit, and were shown the lifeless body of the man they sought. This deed drew much attention to Jael, and preserved the camp from molestation by the victors; and there is no disputing that her act is mentioned with great praise in the triumphal song wherein Deborah and Barak celebrated the deliverance of Israel (Judg. v. 24).*

It does not seem difficult to understand the object of Jael in this painful transaction. Her motives seem to have been entirely prudential, and, on prudential grounds, the very circumstance which renders her act the more odious—the peace subsisting between the nomade chief and the king of Hazor—must, to her, have seemed to make it the more expedient. She saw that the Israelites had now the upper hand, and was aware that, as being in alliance with the oppressors of Israel, the camp might expect very rough treatment from the pursuing force; which would be greatly aggravated if Sisera were found sheltered within it. This calamity she sought to avert, and to place the house of Heber in a favourable position with the victorious party. She probably justified the act to herself, by the consideration that as Sisera would certainly be taken and slain, she might as well make a benefit out of his inevitable doom, as incur utter ruin in the attempt to protect him. We have been grieved to see the act vindicated as authorized by the usages of ancient warfare, of rude times, and of ferocious manners. There was not warfare, but peace, between the house of Heber and the prince of Hazor; and, for the rest, we will venture to affirm that there does not now, and never did exist, in any country, a set of usages under which the act of Jael would be deemed right.

It is much easier to explain the conduct of Jael

[* There is some doubt whether the Jael mentioned, Judg. v. 6, is the same as Jael the wife of Heber, or another Jael who had judged Israel before the time of Deborah. It is not necessary for the latter supposition to make Jael the name of a man; for the case of Deborah shews that the place of Judge might be occupied by a female. The reasons for this supposition are—1. That the state of things described in Judg. v. 6, as existing in Jael's days, is not the state of things existing in the days of Jael the wife of Heber, whose time was famous for the restoration of the nation to a better; 2. That the wife of a stranger would hardly have been named as marking an epoch in the history of Israel. (See Gesen. *Thes.* in verb.; Bertheau in the *Exeg. Hd.B.* in loc.)]

than to account for the praise which it receives in the triumphal ode of Deborah and Barak. But the following remarks will go far to remove the difficulty:—There is no doubt that Sisera would have been put to death if he had been taken alive by the Israelites. The war usages of the time warranted such treatment, and there are numerous examples of it. They had, therefore, no regard to her private motives, or to the particular relations between Heber and Jabin, but beheld her only as the instrument of accomplishing what was usually regarded as the final and crowning act of a great victory. And the unusual circumstance that this act was performed by a woman's hand was, according to the notions of the time, so great a humiliation, that it could hardly fail to be dwelt upon, in contrasting the result with the proud confidence of victory which had at the outset been entertained (Judg. iv. 5).—J. K. [Comp. Coleridge, *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*, p. 33-35.]

JAGUR (יָגוּר), 'lodging'; Ἀσὺρ; Alex. Ἰαγούρ;

Jagur, a city on the extreme south-eastern border of Judah, towards Edom (Josh. xv. 21). Its name might perhaps indicate that it was one of the fortified camping-grounds of the border Arabs. Its site is unknown.—J. L. P.

JAH. [JEHOVAH.]

JAHATH (יָחַת; LXX. Ἰέθ; Vulg. *Jahath*).

1. Son of Libni, the son of Gershon, the son of Levi (1 Chron. vi. 20, 43). In the latter verse the LXX. read Ἰέθ, and the Vulgate *Jeth*. He is perhaps identical with Jehiel (יְחִיֵּל), 1 Chron. xxiii. 8, who was the founder of one of the patriarchal houses (בֵּית אֲבוֹתֵינוּ, house of their fathers) of the tribe of Levi.

2. Another grandson of Gershon by his son Shimei, and the founder of one of the patriarchal houses of the Gershonites (1 Chron. xxiii. 10, 11). In the Vulgate he is called *Lebeth*.

3. Son of Reaiah (= Haroeh, 1 Chron. ii. 52), the grandson of Hur (HUR, 3), of the tribe of Judah (1 Chron. iv. 2).

4. (LXX. Ἰδθ; Alex. Ἰδθ). The leader or chief in the time of David of the Benei-Shelomoth, the Levitical house, which was the only representative of Izhar, the son of Kohath (1 Chron. xxiv. 22).

5. A Levite of the family of Merari, who was appointed one of the overseers of the workmen engaged in the repair of the Temple in the reign of Josiah (2 Chron. xxxiv. 12).—S. N.

JAHAZ, JAHAZA, JAHAZAH, and JAH-

ZAH (יָחַז and יָחַזָּה, perhaps י. 9, יָחַזָּה, 'trampled down'; Ἰασαδ and Ἰασα; *Jasa*), a town in the territory of the Amorites, on the confines of the eastern desert, where the Israelites gained the decisive victory over Sihon (Num. xxi. 23; Deut. ii. 32). It was given to the Reubenites, and was assigned out of that tribe to the Levites (Josh. xiii. 18; xxi. 36; 1 Chron. vi. 78). Isaiah and Jeremiah include it, with Heshbon and Elealeh, in the prophetic curse pronounced upon Moab (Is. xv. 4; Jer. xlviii. 34). The whole country east of the

Dead Sea had originally been given to the Moabites and Ammonites (Gen. xix. 36-38; Deut. ii. 19-22); but the warlike Amorites from the west of the Jordan conquered them and expelled them from the region north of the river Arnon. From the Amorites the Israelites took this country; but subsequently the Ammonites claimed it as theirs (Judg. xi. 13); and on the decline of Jewish power the Moabites and Ammonites again took possession of it. For this reason Jahaz is ascribed by the prophets to Moab. Eusebius states that in his day Jahaz (he writes it Ἰεσσά) still existed, and was situated between Medaba and Debus (Δηβοῦς, Jerome says *Diblatia*; *Onomast.* s. v. *Jassa*; Reland, *Pal.*, p. 825; Winer, *Realwoerterbuch*, s. v.). The situation thus given to it appears to be too far west for the requirements of the sacred narrative. We read in Num. xxi. 23 that Sihon 'went out against Israel into the wilderness; and he came to Jahas and fought against them.' Consequently we must look for the site on the extreme eastern border of Ammon. This region is still unknown. No traveller has ventured to explore it; and the site of Jahaz remains yet to be identified (Keil on *Joshua*, xiii. 18).—J. L. P.

JAHAZIEL (יָחַזְיִאל, *God regarded*; similar in etymology and meaning to Jahaziah, יָחַזְיָה).

1. (LXX. Ἰεζήλ, Ἰαζήλ; Vulg. *Jahaziel*). A descendant of Hebron, the son of Kohath, and founder of one of the twenty-four chief houses, or clans, of the tribe of Levi (1 Chron. xxiii. 19; xxiv. 23).

2. (LXX. Ἰεζήλ; Vulg. *Jehaziel*). A Benjamite, and one of the mighty men who joined the party of David whilst he was under the protection of Lachish, king of Gath, and who are described as able to use both the right hand and the left in hurling stones and shooting arrows (1 Chron. xii. 4).

3. (LXX. Ὀζήλ; Vulg. *Jaziel*). One of the two priests who were appointed by David to the office of playing the trumpet before the ark, after it had been brought to Jerusalem from the house of Obed-edom (1 Chron. xvi. 6).

4. (LXX. Ὀζήλ; Vulg. *Jahaziel*). Son of Zechariah, and one of the 'sons of Asaph.' He lived in the reign of Jehoshaphat, and was inspired by the Spirit of the Lord to foretell to the king and the people of Jerusalem the miraculous overthrow of the combined army of the Moabites, Ammonites, and inhabitants of Mount Seir, upon the following day (2 Chron. xx. 14; Joseph. *Antiq.* ix. 1. 2). According to Hengstenberg, the authorship of Ps. lxxxiii. is to be referred to Jahaziel.

5. (LXX. Ἀζήλ, 1 Esd. Ἰέζηλος; Vulg. *Ezekiel*). The father of one of the 'chief men' who returned with Ezra from Babylon (Ezra viii. 5; 1 Esd. viii. 32). According to the A. V. and the Hebrew text, Ben-Jahaziel appears as the chief or patriarch of the sons of Shechaniah, but according to the reading of the LXX., he was the patriarch of sons of Zathoes, and his personal name was Shechaniah. The same also is stated in the book of Esdras.—S. N.

JAHDAI (יָחַדַּי, *God directed*; LXX. Ἀδδαί; Alex. Ἰαδαί; Vulg. *Jahaddai*). A descendant of Caleb, the son of Hebron, by his concubine Ephah (1 Chron. ii. 47). The genealogical list gives the

names of only the sons of Jahdai; the name of his father is not mentioned. Houbigant and others have supposed him to be the son of Haran (ver. 46), and that Gazez, the last name in the preceding verse, is an error of the copyist, who has repeated a name previously mentioned. Less probable is the conjecture of Grunenberg, quoted by Michaelis (*Adnotat. in Hag. iog.*), that Jahdai was another of Caleb's concubines.—S. N.

JAHN, JOHANN, a celebrated Biblical and Oriental scholar of the Roman Catholic church, was born at Taswitz in Moravia, June 18, 1750. He studied at the Gymnasium of Xnaim, at Olmütz, and at Bruck. In 1775 he was ordained priest, and devoted himself for some time to the care of souls at Miswitz. In 1782 he received the degree of doctor at Olmütz; and became vice-director of the Gymnasium at Xnaim. In 1784 he was chosen professor of Oriental languages and Biblical hermeneutics at the Lyceum of Olmütz. In 1789 he was transferred to a wider sphere of influence, being appointed to the same office with the superadded duties of teaching Biblical archæology and dogmatics in the University of Vienna. Here he laboured successfully for seventeen years, amid suspicions and petty persecutions which pained his ingenuous spirit. Some words in the preface to his *Introduction to the Old Testament*, the assertion that the books of Job, Jonah, Judith, and Tobit are didactic poems; and that the demoniacs in the N. T. were possessed with dangerous diseases, not with the devil, were made charges against him. Complaints of his unsoundness were laid before the emperor Francis II., by a cardinal; and a commission was appointed to examine the matter, which decided that the views were not heterodox. The worthy critic, however, received a caution to be more guarded in future. Though he honestly submitted, his detractors continued their machinations, till he was removed from the congenial duties of an office to which he had dedicated his life, and made canon or Domherr in the metropolitan church of St. Stephen, 1806. Even before he was compelled to resign his professorship, his two books, *Introductio in libros sacros Veteris Testamenti in compendium redacta*, Wien 1804; and *Archæologia Biblica in compendium redacta*, Wien 1805, were condemned, without their author being heard in his defence. His death took place August 16, 1816. Jahn was a clear, methodical writer, whose numerous works diffused a knowledge of Biblical subjects in places and circles where the books of Protestants would scarcely have been received. The latter, however, have appreciated his writings fully as much as Catholics. He was not profound in any one thing, because he scattered his energies over so wide a field; but he was a most useful author, and one of his books is still the largest and best on the subjects of which it treats. As a theologian of the Romish church, he was so liberal that Hengstenberg finds fault with him on the Pentateuch. He is the author of *Einleitung in die göttlichen Bücher des alten Bundes*, 2 parts, 1802, 1803, 2d ed.; *Hebräische Sprachlehre für Anfänger*, 1792; *Aramäische oder Chaldäische u. Syrische Sprachlehre*, 1796; *Biblische Archæologie*, three parts in five volumes, 1796-1804 (his best work); *Elementarbuch der Hebräischen Sprache sammt Hebräischen Wörterbuch*, 2 parts, 1799; *Chaldäische Chresto-*

mathie, 1800; *Arabische Chrestomathie*, 1802; *Lexicon Arabico-latinum*, 1812; *Biblica Hebraica, digestis, et graviores lectionum varietates adjectis*, 4 vols., 1806; *Enchiridion Hermeneuticæ generalis tabularum veteris et novi fœderis*, 1812; *Appendix Hermeneuticæ*, two fasciculi, 1813-1815; and the two compendiums already mentioned. Some time after his death appeared *Nachträge* (Tübingen, 1821), containing six interesting dissertations on Biblical subjects. The memory of this meritorious scholar ought to be respectfully cherished by every Biblical student. Succeeding works have been largely indebted to his, of which several have been translated into English.—S. D.

JAIR (יֵאִיר, 'Jehovah enlightens,' יֵאִיר; *Jair*).

1. A descendant of Manasseh by his grandmother, and of Judah by his grandfather. His grandmother was probably an heiress, and therefore Jair was reckoned to the tribe of Manasseh (1 Chron. ii. 5, 22, 23). When the Israelites entered Eastern Palestine, Jair led an expedition against a part of Northern Gilead, and having taken a number of its towns, 'called them *Havoth-Jair*' ('the towns of Jair,' Num. xxxii. 41). He subsequently conquered the province of Argob in Bashan, with 'its threescore great cities,' and called it *Bashan-Havoth-Jair*, to distinguish it from the province previously occupied in Gilead (Deut. iii. 14). Most writers have confounded these two territories; but in Josh. xiii. 30, 1 Kings iv. 13, and 1 Chron. ii. 22, 23, they are clearly distinguished from each other (ARGOB; HAVOTH-JAIR; Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 268, *seq.*)

2. One of the judges of Israel, doubtless a descendant of the former, who 'had thirty sons that rode on thirty ass-colts, and they had thirty cities, which are called Havoth-Jair unto this day, which are in the land of Gilead' (Judg. x. 3, 4).—J. L. P.

JAIRITE (יֵאִירִי; Sept. ὁ Ἰαίρις; Alex. ὁ Ἰαίρις), a designation applied to Ira, one of David's officers (2 Sam. xx. 26). The word must be regarded as a patronymic from Jair; but such a mode of designating an individual is unusual, the more common method being to describe him from his place of nativity. This draws attention to the reading of the Syriac Vers. *ܕܡܢ ܝܬܝܪ*, *d'men Jathir*, 'of Jathir'; from which it may be inferred that probably the original reading was *יֵאִירִי*, *Ha-Jathiri*, 'The Jathirite,' or 'Ithrite.' In this case the Ira of 2 Sam. xx. 26 is the same as the Ira of 2 Sam. xxiii. 38 and 1 Chron. xi. 40. In the first of these passages he is farther described as *כֹּהֵן*, *Cohen P. David*, 'a chief ruler about David,' A. V. *Cohen* is here used, as in viii. 18, in its primary sense of a *servant in a position of trust and honour*; if of God a *priest*, if of an earthly sovereign a *minister* (Kimchi, Fürst). Ira may have been private secretary or annalist to David (Thenius, *in loc.*) The notion of Gesenius and others that the palatial cohenim were house chaplains of the king not of Aaronic descent, is purely conjectural and altogether improbable.—W. L. A.

JAIRUS (Ἰαῖρος), a ruler of the synagogue at Capernaum, whose daughter Jesus restored to life (Mark v. 22; Luke viii. 41; comp. Matt. ix. 18).

JAISH. [IBN JAISH.]

JAKAN (1 Chron. i. 42), for JAAKAN, probably by a misprint.

JAKEH (יָקֵחַ), *the pious or obedient*, from the unused root יָקַח, derived from the 'Arab. يَكْبُ v.

to venerate; viii. to fear God, to be pious,' Ges.) occurs only in Prov. xxx. 1 as a proper name. Yet, that it is a proper name is disputed. Stuart, however, admits 'there can be no doubt' that this word and Ithiel and Ucal 'were regarded by the punctuators, by the Chal. and Syr. translators, and by nearly all the modern commentators, as proper names;' but he declines their authority. The Vulg. renders the whole verse thus: *Verba congregantis, filii VOMENTIS* (following the var. lec. of some MSS., נִפְּ), *visio quam locutus est vir, cum suo est Deus et qui Deo secum morante confortatus ait.* The LXX: τοὺς δὲ ἐμὸν λόγον, υἱέ, φοβήθητι, καὶ δεξιόμενος αὐτοῦς μετανοεῖ. Τὰδε λέγει ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν θεῷ, καὶ παύομαι—renderings which not only alter the points, but dislocate the words.

Stuart, following Hitzig and Bertheau, takes equal liberties with the text. He renders the words thus: 'The words of Agur, the son of her who was obeyed in Massa. Thus spake the man: I have toiled, I have toiled for God, and have failed.' He converts יָקַח into יָקַחָהּ, by adding to it the ה from יָקַחָהּ, and altering the vowel points, and by a few more such alterations opens the way for his translation. Then Massa becomes the proper name of a country near Dumah, in Arabia (see Gen. xxv. 14; 1 Chron. i. 30), and 'her who was obeyed,' the queen who reigned over it, the mother of Agur and Lemuel (Prov. xxxi. 1) and whom Lemuel succeeded on the throne.—The strangeness of attributing the proverbs which follow to Arabians and Amalekites is removed by the 'historic notice' (1 Chron. iv. 41-43) that this district of Arabia had been conquered in the reign of Hezekiah by a colony of Simeonites, who, having expelled the former inhabitants, took possession of it, taking which 'historical events into view,' it will be easily seen how 'a writer in Massah should develop an acquaintance with the Hebrew Scriptures.' The only objections to this whole course are: that it is arbitrary, involving principles which might be applied to dislocate the entire Hebrew text; that the alterations made are no improvement of the text, but rather exceedingly awkward, it being impossible to educe with ease the Eng. rendering from the altered original (יָקַחָהּ) cannot be fairly rendered 'her who was obeyed,' or 'her whose domain is'; and lastly, the entire theory of the Hebrew queen in Massa is simply a fancy of learned men, who often toil to bring forth wind. It remains for us, therefore, to abide by the Hebrew text and the A. V. as our best course. Agur, Jakeh, Ithiel, and Ucal may be the names of real persons; or they may be symbolical. Ithiel and Ucal may be either the sons or disciples of Agur; and the following proverbs may have been written for their special instruction. Beyond this we can aver nothing positive. Stuart's hypercritical objections do not throw any serious hindrance in the way of the following rendering: 'the words of Agur ben Jakeh, the weighty utterance, the oracle of the man to Ithiel—to Ithiel and Ucal.' The heaping

together of words in such a connection, designed to call emphatic attention to what follows, has a remarkable parallel in 2 Sam. xxxiii. 1, 2 (see more in the *Critic Sacri*).—I. J.

JAMBRES. [JANNES.]

JAMBRI (LXX. Ἰαμβρί, Ἰαμβρι; Joseph. reads, οἱ Ἀμαπαλοὶ παῖδες; Vulg. *Jambri*), apparently a mighty man in the city of Medaba, with whom we first become acquainted in the first book of Maccabees (ch. ix. 36). Jonathan, who succeeded his brother Judas in the government of the Jews (B.C. 161), about to be attacked by Bacchides, an officer of the king of Syria, on the Sabbath day, sent off a detachment, under the command of his brother John, in charge of all his baggage, to leave it for security with their friends, the Nabathites. But 'the children of Jambri came out of Medaba, and took John and all that he had and went their way.' This hostile act was not, however, left unavenged; for, soon after, it was told Jonathan and Simon that, the 'children of Jambri' were celebrating a great marriage, and bringing the bride from Nadabath, when Jonathan and his party laid an ambush for them, and as the bridegroom was coming forth with great pomp to meet the bride, with timbrels and songs, fell upon them, committing great slaughter, and taking great spoil; thus 'converting the marriage into mourning, and their melody into lamentation' (1 Maccab. ix. 33-42). But who Jambri was we know not. Some suppose that the 'children of Jambri' were a family of *Amorites* who lived in Medaba, and who, as such, were ready to shew their hatred to the Jews. But, query, May not Jambri be the same as Jambres, one of the two magicians who opposed Moses? and may not the persons, who, on the above named occasion, attacked the Jews, be called the 'children of Jambri,' or Jambres, to brand them with infamy as the enemies of God's people and cause?—I. J.

JAMES, Ἰακώβος. Two, if not three persons of this name are mentioned in the N. T.

1. JAMES, *the son of Zebedee* (Ἰακώβος ὁ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου), and brother of the evangelist John. Their occupation was that of fishermen, probably at Bethsaida, in partnership with Simon Peter (Luke v. 10). On comparing the account given in Matt. iv. 21, Mark i. 19, with that in John i., it would appear that James and John had been acquainted with our Lord, and had received him as the Messiah, some time before he called them to attend upon him stately—a call with which they immediately complied. Their mother's name was Salome. We find James, John, and Peter associated on several interesting occasions in the Saviour's life. They alone were present at the Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 1; Mark ix. 2; Luke ix. 28); at the restoration to life of Jairus' daughter (Mark v. 42; Luke viii. 51); and in the garden of Gethsemane during the agony (Mark xiv. 33; Matt. xxvi. 37; Luke xxi. 37). With Andrew they listened in private to our Lord's discourse on the fall of Jerusalem (Mark xiii. 3). James and his brother appear to have indulged in false notions of the kingdom of the Messiah, and were led by ambitious views to join in the request made to Jesus by their mother (Matt. xx. 20-23; Mark x. 35). From Luke ix. 52, we may infer that their temperament was warm and impetuous. On account, probably, of their boldness and energy in dis-

charging their apostleship, they received from their Lord the appellation of Boanerges, or *Sons of Thunder*. (For the various explanations of this title given by the fathers, see Suiceri *The. Eccles.* s. v. *Βωανηγ*, and Lücke's *Commentar*, Bonn. 1840; *Einleitung*, c. i. sec. 2, p. 17.) James was the first martyr among the apostles. Clement of Alexandria, in a fragment preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 9), reports that the officer who conducted James to the tribunal was so influenced by the bold declaration of his faith as to embrace the Gospel and avow himself also a Christian; in consequence of which he was beheaded at the same time.

2. JAMES, *the son of Alphæus* (Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου), one of the twelve apostles (Mark iii. 18; Matt. x. 3; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13). His mother's name was Mary (Matt. xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40); in the latter passage he is called James the Less (ὁ μικρὸς, the Little), either as being younger than James the son of Alphæus, or on account of his low stature (Mark xvi. 1; Luke xxiv. 10).

3. JAMES, *the brother of the Lord* (ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου; Gal. i. 19). Whether this James is identical with the son of Alphæus is a question which Dr. Neander pronounces to be the most difficult in the apostolic history, and which cannot yet be considered as decided. We read in Matt. xiii. 55, 'Is not his mother called Mary, and his brethren James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas?' and in Mark vi. 3, 'Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, and brother of James and Joses, and of Juda and Simon? and are not his sisters here with us?' Those critics who suppose the terms of affinity in these and parallel passages to be used in the laxer sense of near relations, have remarked that in Mark xv. 40, mention is made of 'Mary, the mother of James the less and of Joses;' and that in John xix. 25, it is said, 'there stood by the cross of Jesus, his mother and his mother's sister, Mary, the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene:' they therefore infer that the wife of Cleophas is the same as the sister of the mother of Jesus, and, consequently, that James (supposing Cleophas and Alphæus to be the same name, the former according to the Hebrew, the latter according to the Greek orthography) was a *first cousin* of our Lord, and, on that account, termed his *brother*, and that the other individuals called the brethren of Jesus stood in the same relation. It is also urged that in the Acts, after the death of James the son of Zebedee, we read only of one James; and, moreover, that it is improbable that our Lord would have committed his mother to the care of the beloved disciple, had there been sons of Joseph living, whether the offspring of Mary or of a former marriage. Against this view it has been alleged that in several early Christian writers James, the brother of the Lord, is distinguished from the son of Alphæus; that the identity of the names Alphæus and Cleophas is somewhat uncertain; and that it is doubtful whether the words 'his mother's sister,' in John xix. 21, are to be considered in apposition with those immediately following—'Mary, the wife of Cleophas,' or intended to designate a different individual; since it is highly improbable that two sisters should have had the same name. Wieseler (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1840, iii. 648) maintains that not three, but four persons are mentioned in this passage, and that since in Matt. xxvii. 56, Mark xv. 40, besides Mary of Magdala, and Mary the mother of James

and Joses, Salome also (or the mother of the sons of Zebedee) is named as present at the Crucifixion, it follows that she must have been the sister of our Lord's mother. This would obviate the difficulty arising from the sameness of the names of the two sisters, and would set aside the proof that James, the Lord's brother, was the son of Alphæus. But even allowing that the sons of Alphæus were related to our Lord, the narrative in the Evangelists and the Acts presents some reasons for suspecting that they were not the persons described as 'the brethren of Jesus.' 1. The brethren of Jesus are associated with his mother in a manner that strongly indicates their standing in the filial relation to her (Matt. xii. 46; Mark iii. 31; Luke viii. 19; Matt. xiii. 56, where 'sisters' are also mentioned; they appear constantly together as forming one family, John ii. 12). 'After this he went down to Capernaum, he, and his mother, and his brethren, and his disciples' (Kuinoel, *Comment. in Matt.* xii. 46). 2. It is explicitly stated, that at a period posterior to the appointment of the twelve apostles, among whom we find 'the son of Alphæus,' 'neither did his brethren believe on him' (John vii. 5; Lücke's *Commentar*). Attempts, indeed, have been made by Grotius and Lardner to dilute the force of this language, as if it meant merely that their faith was imperfect or wavering—that they did not believe as they should; but the language of Jesus is decisive:—'My time is not yet come, but your time is always ready; the world cannot hate you, but me it hateth' (compare this with John xv. 18, 19: 'If the world hate you,' etc.). This appears to overthrow the argument for the identity of the brethren of Jesus with the sons of Alphæus, drawn from the sameness of the names; for as to the supposition that what is affirmed in John's Gospel might apply to only some of his brethren, it is evident that, admitting the identity, only *one* brother of Jesus would be left out of the 'company of the apostles.' 3. Luke's language in Acts i. 13, 14, is opposed to the identity in question; for, after enumerating the apostles, among whom, as usual, is 'James, the son of Alphæus,' he adds, 'they all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication with the women, and Mary, the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren.' From this passage, however, we learn that, by this time, his brethren had received him as the Messiah. That after the death of the son of Zebedee we find only one James mentioned, may easily be accounted for on the ground that probably only one, 'the brother of the Lord,' remained at Jerusalem; and, under such circumstances, the silence of the historian respecting the son of Alphæus is not more strange than respecting several of the other apostles, whose names never occur after the catalogue in ch. i. 13. Paul's language in Gal. i. 19 has been adduced to prove the identity of the Lord's brother with the son of Alphæus, by its ranking him among the apostles, but Neander and Winer have shewn that it is by no means decisive (Winer's *Grammatik*, 4th ed. p. 517; Neander's *History of the Planting*, etc., vol. ii. p. 5, Eng. transl.) If we examine the early Christian writers, we shall meet with a variety of opinions on this subject. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 1) says that James, the first bishop of Jerusalem, brother of the Lord, son of Joseph, the husband of Mary, was surnamed the Just by the ancients, on account of his eminent virtue. He uses similar language in his *Evangelical Demonstra-*

tion (iii. 5). In his commentary on Isaiah he reckons fourteen apostles; namely, the twelve, Paul, and James, the brother of our Lord. A similar enumeration is made in the 'Apostolic Constitutions' (vi. 14). Epiphanius, Chrysostom, and Theophylact speak of James, the Lord's brother, as being the same as the son of Cleopas. They suppose that Joseph and Cleopas were brothers, and that the latter dying without issue, Joseph married his widow for his first wife, according to the Jewish custom, and that James and his brethren were the offspring of this marriage (Lardner's *Credibility*, pt. ii. ch. 118, *Works*, iv. 548; ch. i. 163, *Works*, v. 160; *History of Heretics*, c. xi. sec. 11, *Works*, viii. 527; *Supplement to the Credibility*, ch. 17, *Works*, vi. 188). A passage from Josephus is quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 23), in which James, the brother of 'him who is called Christ,' is mentioned; but in the opinion of Dr. Lardner and other eminent critics this clause is an interpolation (Lardner's *Jewish Testimonies*, ch. iv.; *Works*, vi. 496). According to Hegesippus (a converted Jew of the 2d century), James, the brother of the Lord, undertook the government of the church along with the apostles (μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων). He describes him as leading a life of ascetic strictness, and as held in the highest veneration by the Jews. But in the account he gives of his martyrdom some circumstances are highly improbable. In the Apocryphal Gospel according to the Hebrews, he is said to have been precipitated from a pinnacle of the temple, and then assaulted with stones; and at last dispatched by a blow on the head with a fuller's pole (Lardner's *Supplement*, ch. xvi., *Works*, vi. p. 174; Neander, *History of the Planting*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 9, 22, Eng. transl.). Dr. Niemeyer enumerates not less than five persons of this name, by distinguishing the son of Alphæus from James the less, and assuming that the James last mentioned in Acts i. 13 was not the brother, but the father of Judas (*Charakteristik der Bibel*, Halle 1830, i. 399).—J. E. R.

JAMES, EPISTLE OF; said, according to Eusebius, to be the first of the so-called Catholic epistles, ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν. The question of its authorship has been a subject of keen and prolonged controversy, since, as Eusebius has again remarked, πολλοὶ Ἰδωῦοι ἐκαλοῦντο. James the Great, or the son of Zebedee, was put to death under Herod Agrippa about the year 44, and, therefore, the authorship cannot with any propriety be ascribed to him, though a Syriac MS., published by Widmandstadt, and an old Latin version, published by Martianay and Sabatier, make the assertion. The authorship has been assigned by not a few to James the Less, ὁ μικρός, the son of Alphæus or Cleophas, and by others to James, the Lord's brother. Some, indeed, maintain that the two names were borne by the same individual, James being called the Lord's brother, either as being a cousin or adoptive brother of Jesus (Lange, art. *Jacobus* in Herzog's *Encyclopædie*), or as a son of Joseph by a levirate connection with the widow of Cleophas—the opinion of Epiphanius and Theophylact; or as a son of Joseph by a former marriage—the view of Chrysostom, Hilary, Cave, and Basnage. On the other hand, it is held by many that James, son of Alphæus, and James, brother of our Lord, were distinct persons, the latter being

a uterine brother of Jesus, and standing, according to the representation of the gospels, in the same relation with him to their common mother Mary—as in Matt. xii. 47; xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3; John ii. 12; Acts i. 14. After some hesitation we are inclined to this hypothesis, but we cannot enter into the question, referring the reader to the previous article, and to that on 'Jesus Christ.' There are also three excellent monographs on the subject. Blom, *Theol. Dissert. de rois ἀδελφοῖς κυρίου*, Lug. Bat. 1839; Schaff, *das Verhältniss des Jacobus Bruders des Herrn*, Berlin 1842; Wijbelingh, *quis est epistola Jacobi Scriptor?* Groning. 1854. For the other side, see Mill on the *Mythical Interpretation of the Gospels*, p. 219, ed. sec., 1861. Dr. Mill held the perpetual virginity of Mary, or that she was, in ecclesiastical language, ἀειπαρθένος, and thus virtually forecloses the entire investigation. It serves no purpose to sneer at those who hold the opposite theory as having their prototypes in the Antidicomarianites or Helvidians of the 4th century. According to our view, the author of this epistle was the Lord's brother, not an apostle or one of the twelve, but a man of apostolical standing; according to Eusebius, making, along with Paul, fourteen apostles (*Comment. ad Jesai.* xvii. 5). In Gal. ii. 9 Paul classes him with Peter and John, not as an apostle, but all three as being pillars (στυλοί). He is said by Hegesippus (Euseb. *Hist.* ii. 23) to have received the government of the church, μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, not post apostolos, as Jerome wrongly renders it, but 'along with the apostles'—as the natural rendering is—or was received by them into a collegiate relation. In the pseudo-Clementines, and in the Apostolical Constitutions, he is traditionally separated from the apostles. It is quite groundless on the part of Wieseler (*Studien u. Kritik*, 1842), Stier, and Davidson, to argue that the James mentioned in the first chapter of Galatians is a different person from the James referred to in the second chapter. Again, we have Paul distinctly acknowledging the high position of the brethren of the Lord when he ranges them between 'other apostles' and 'Cephas' in 1 Cor. ix. 5. By universal consent James was called ὁ δίκαιος, and, being martyred, was succeeded by a cousin, Symeon, second of the cousins of the Lord, and a son of Alphæus—ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ κυρίου δεύτερον. Thus James was the superintendent of the church at Jerusalem, and, probably on account of continuous residence, possessed of higher influence there than Peter, the apostle of the circumcision, who could only be an occasional visitor. 'Certain from James,' τινὲς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου, went down to Antioch, before whom Peter prevaricated, as if he had stood in awe of the stricter Judaic principles of James and his party. It seems, therefore, very natural, that one occupying this position in the theocratic metropolis, should write to his believing brethren of the Dispersion. He sympathized so strongly with the myriads of the Jews who believed and yet were zealous of the law—ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου, that for their sakes and to ward off their hostility, he advised the apostle Paul to submit to an act of conformity. This conservative spirit, this zeal for the law at least as the moral rule of life, and this profession of Christianity along with uniform obedience to the 'customs,' seem to us characteristic elements of the epistle before us. This opinion as to the authorship is held by Herder, Clement, De Wette, Neander, Kern, Schaff, Winer, Stier,

Rothe, and Alford. Davidson, while holding the opinion that the Lord's brother and James the apostle are different persons, ascribes the epistle to the latter. But the theory seems to violate all the probabilities that may be gathered from the early fathers and historians. That James the Lord's brother is James the apostle, is an opinion maintained by Baronius, Lardner, Pearson, Gabler, Eichhorn, Hug, Guericke, Meier, Giesel, and Theile.

Canonical authority.—The epistle is found in the Syrian Peshito in the 2d century, a version which circulated in the neighbourhood of that country to which James and his readers belonged, and the translator and his coadjutors must have had special historical reasons for inserting James in their canon, as they exclude the Second and Third Epistles of John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse. There are clauses in Clement of Rome (*Ad Cor.* xxxii.), and in Hermas (*Mandat.* xii. 15), which probably may refer to correspondent portions of this epistle, though, perhaps, they may only allude directly to the Septuagint. The quotation from the Latin version of Irenæus (*Advers. Haeres.* iv. 16) appears to be more direct in the phrase—*et amicus Dei vocatus est*. But this phrase, found also in Clement, seems to have been a current one, and Philo calls Abraham by the same appellation. We cannot, therefore, lay such immediate stress on these passages as is done by Kern, Wiesinger, and others, though there is a presumption in favour of the opinion that passages in the apostolical fathers, bearing any likeness of style or thought to the apostolical writings, were borrowed from them, are either direct imitations or unconscious reproductions. This epistle is quoted by Origen (*In Joan.*, *Opera*, vol. iv. p. 306); and the Latin version of Rufinus uses the phrase *Jacobus apostolus* as a preface to a quotation. This father quotes the epistle also as ascribed to James—*ἐν τῇ φερούμενῃ, Ἰακώβου ἐπιστολῇ*; though, as Kern remarks, Origen says that the doctrine 'faith without works is dead,' is not received by all—*οὐ σύγχωρηθέν*. Clement of Alexandria does not quote it, but Eusebius says that he expounded all the Catholic epistles, including, however, in the range of his comments the epistle of Barnabas and the so-called Apocalypse of Peter. Tertullian seems to make no reference to it, though Credner supposes an allusion to ii. 23 in the second book *Adversus Judæos* (*Opera*, ed. Oehler, vol. ii. p. 704). Eusebius places it among the Antilegomena (*Histor. Eccles.* ii. 23; iii. 25), saying of the epistle, under the first reference, after he had just spoken of its author's death, *ιστέον δὲ ὡς νοθεύεται μὲν*, etc., 'it is reckoned spurious—not many of the ancients have mentioned it;' subjoining, however, that it and Jude were used in most of the churches. In other places Eusebius quotes James without hesitation, calling the epistle by the sacred title of *γραφῇ*, and its author *ὁ λεγόμενος ἀπόστολος*. Jerome is very explicit, saying that James wrote one epistle, which some asserted had been published by another in his name, but that by degrees and in process of time, *paullatim tempore procedente*, it obtained authority. Jerome's assertion may arise from the fact that there were several persons named James, and that confusion on this point was one means of throwing doubt on the epistle. There seems to be also an allusion in Hippolytus (ed. Lagarde, p. 122) to ii. 13, in

the words, *ἡ γὰρ κλῆσις ἀνθρώπων ἐστι τῷ μὴ ποιῆσαντι θεός*. It was at length received by the council of Carthage in 397, and in this century it seems to have been all but universally acknowledged, both by the eastern and western churches—Theodore of Mopsuestia being a marked exception, because of (v. 11) the allusion in it to the book of Job. At the period of the Reformation, its genuineness was again called into question. Luther, in his preface to the N. T. in 1522, comparing it 'with the best books of the N. T.,' stigmatised it as '*ein recht strohern Epistel denn sie doch kein evangelisch Art an ihr hat*.' Cyril Lucar had a similar objection, that Christ's name was coldly mentioned, and that only once or twice, and that it treated merely of morality—*sola a la moralita attende*—*Lettres Anecdotes*, p. 85, Amsterdam 1718. Erasmus had doubts about it, and so had Cardinal Cajetan, Flacius, and the Magdeburg centuriators. Grotius and Wetstein shared in these doubts, and they are followed by Schleiermacher, Schott, De Wette, Reuss, the Tübingen critics Baur and Schwegler, and Ritschl in his *Entstehung der Alt-kath. Kirche*, p. 150. These recent critics deny its apostolic source, and some of them place it in the 2d century, from its resemblance in some parts to the Clementine homilies. But it is plain that the objections of almost all these opponents spring mainly from doctrinal and not from critical views; are rather originated and sustained by the notion formed of the contents of the epistle, than rest on any proper historical foundation. We have not space to go over the several objections—such as the absence of the term 'apostle' from the inscription, though it is not found in several of Paul's epistles; the want of individuality in the document, though this may be easily accounted for by the circumstances of the author in relation to his readers; and the apparent antagonism to the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, which we shall afterwards consider. It is or no avail to object, with Wetstein and Theile, that James refers to the apocryphal writings, a practice unknown till a later period, for Theile's array of passages (*Prolegom.*, p. 46) does not prove the statement, as Huther's reply to this and other similar objections has shewn at length, and step by step. Nor, lastly, can it be said that the Greek style of the epistle betrays a culture which the author could not possess. The style is nervous, indeed, and is more Hebraistic in general structure than in its individual phrases, as in its short and pithy clauses, the absence of logical formulæ, the want of elaborate constructions, its oratorical fervour, and the simple and direct outflow of thoughts in brief and often parallelistic clauses. Intercourse with foreign Jews must have been frequent in those days, and there are always minds which from natural propensity are more apt than others to acquire a tasteful facility in the use of a tongue which has not been their vernacular. Taking all these things into account, we have every reason to accept the canonical authority of this epistle, the trial it has passed through giving us fuller confidence in it, since the principal objections are the offspring either of polemical prejudice, or of a subjective criticism based more on æsthetic tendencies than historical results. Rauch has faintly objected to the integrity of the epistle, asserting that the conclusion of ch. v. 12-20, may be an interpolation, because it is not in logical harmony with what precedes; but he has had no followers, and Kern,

Theile, Schneckenburger, and others, have refuted him—logical sequence being a form of critical argument wholly inapplicable to this epistle.

The Persons for whom the Epistle is intended.—The salutation is addressed ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ. They were Jews, ἀδελφοί—brethren or believing Jews, and they lived beyond Palestine or in the Dispersion. Such are the plain characteristics, national and religious, of the persons addressed. There are, however, two extremes of erroneous opinion about them. Some, as Lardner, Macknight, Theile, Credner, and Hug, imagine that the epistle is meant for all Jews. But the inscription forbids such a supposition. The tone of the epistle implies that 'the servant of the Lord Jesus Christ' addressed fellow-believers—'brethren'—'begotten' along with himself (ἡμᾶς) 'by the word of truth,' and all of them bearing the 'good name'—καλὸν ὄνομα. The first verse of the second chapter implies also that they held 'the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of Glory,' and they are exhorted not to hold it inconsistently, along with manifest respect of persons, or shewing unfounded social preferences. They are told besides, in v. 7, to exercise patience, ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου, till the public promised advent of the Lord their Saviour. The rich men denounced in v. 1 may not have belonged to the church in reality, but this startling denunciation carried in it warning to them and comfort to the poor and persecuted. May there not be, in a letter to a church, holy invective against those without it, who annoy and oppress its unresisting members? Dean Alford, after Huther, inclines to include in the διασπορά, Jews also in Palestine—Jerusalem being regarded as the centre. He refers to the phrase, Acts viii. 1, πάντες δὲ διεσπάρησαν κατὰ τὰς χώρας τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Σαμαρείας. But the use of the verb here in its general sense and in an easy narrative cannot modify the popular meaning of διασπορά as the technical or geographic title of Jews beyond Palestine.

On the other hand, it has been maintained by Köster (*Studien u. Kritiken*, 1831), Kern, Neudecker, and De Wette, that the title in the inscription is a symbolic one, and signifies simply Christians out of Palestine, as the true Israel of God. A modification of this view is held by others—viz., that while the epistle is addressed to believing Jews, believing heathen and unconverted Jews are not excluded. But the phrase in the inscription, as in Acts xxvi. 7, is to be taken in its natural sense, and with no spiritualized meaning or reference. The entire tone and aspect also are Jewish. The place of ecclesiastical meeting is συναγωγή; the law, νόμος, is of supreme authority. The divine unity is a primary and distinctive article of faith, the ordinary terms of Jewish obtestation are introduced, as is also the prophetic epithet symbolising spiritual unfaithfulness, μοιχαλίδες (iv. 4). Anointing with oil is mentioned, and the special regard to be paid (i. 27) to orphans and widows finds its basis in repeated statutes of the Mosaic law. The errors refuted also are such as naturally arose out of Pharisaic pride and formalism, and the acceptance of the promised Christ in a spirit of traditional carnality. The fact that the Dispersion was found principally in the East—that is, in Syria and adjacent countries—countenances the presumption that this epistle is found in the Peshito at so early a period, because it had immediate circulation in

that region, and there had proved the fitness and usefulness of its counsels and warning. Josephus says of the Dispersion, the Jews were scattered everywhere, πλείστον δὲ τῇ Συρίᾳ ἀναμεμιγμένον (*Bell. Jud.* vii. 3. 3). The persons addressed were poor; the rich were their persecutors, their own partialities and preferences were worldly and inconsistent; they wanted perfect confidence in God, and stumbled at the divine dispensations; sins of the tongue were common, eagerness to be public teachers was an epidemic among them; they spoke rashly and hardly of one another; and they felt not the connection between a living faith and a holy life. Society was under a process of apparent disintegration, wars and fightings were frequent, with loss of life and property. Its extremes were the rich and the poor, with no middle class between, for though tradings and journeyings quite in Jewish style are referred to, iv. 13, 14, the principal occupation was husbandry, with no social grade between those who owned and those who reaped the fields.

Time and place of writing the Epistle.—The place most probably was Jerusalem, where James had his residence. Many allusions in the epistle, while they apply to almost any eastern locality, carry in them a presumption in favour of that country, in the metropolis of which James is known to have lived and laboured. These allusions are to such natural phenomena, as parching winds, i. 11; long drought, v. 17, 18; the early and latter rain, v. 7; saline springs, iii. 12; proximity to the sea, i. 6, iii. 4 (Hug's *Einleitung*, vol. ii. p. 439). Naturally from the holy capital of Judæa goes forth from the 'servant of the Lord Jesus Christ' a solemn circular to all the believing brethren in the Dispersion—for to them James was a living authority to which they bowed, and Jerusalem a holy centre that stirred a thousand loyal associations within them. It is not so easy to determine the time at which the epistle was written. Many place the date about the year 60—close on the martyrdom of James the just, or not long before the destruction of Jerusalem—as Michaelis, Pearson, Mill, Guericke, Burton, Macknight, Bleek, *Einleit.* p. 547, 1862, and the older commentators generally. Hug and De Wette place it after the epistle to the Hebrews, to which they imagine it contains some allusions—Hug holding that it was written—überlegt—on set purpose against Paul and his doctrine of justification by faith. So also Baur, *Paulus*, p. 677. But these reasons are by no means conclusive. The great argument that the epistle of James was written to oppose either the doctrine or counteract the abuses of the doctrine of justification by faith has, as we shall see, no foundation. The notion that this epistle is in some sense corrective in its tone and purpose appears plausible to us, as Paul is so usually read by us before James that we gain an earlier acquaintance with him, while James occupies also a later place in the ordinary arrangement of the books of the N. T. But the state of the Judæo-Christians addressed in the epistle is not that which we know to have existed at and before the year 60. There is no allusion to the fierce disputations as to the value and permanence of circumcision, the authority and meaning of the ceremonial law, or the conditions on which Gentile converts should be admitted into the church—the questions discussed at the Council of Jerusalem. Controversies on these points saturated the church

during many years before the fall of Jerusalem, and no one could address Jewish converts at any length without some allusion to them. The myriads who believed, as James said, were 'all zealous of the law'; and that zeal assumed so many false shapes, threw up so many barriers in the way of ecclesiastical relationship, nay, occasionally so infringed on the unconditioned freeness of the gospel as to rob it of its simplicity and power, that no Jew addressing Jewish believers with the authority and from the position of James could fail to dwell on those disturbing and engrossing peculiarities. The inference therefore is, that the epistle was written prior to those keen and universal discussions, and to that state of the church which gave them origin and continuance; prior therefore also to the time when the labours of the apostle Paul among the Gentiles called such attention to their success that 'certain from James came down' to Antioch to examine for themselves and carry back a report to the mother church in Jerusalem. The epistle might thus be written shortly before the Council of Jerusalem—probably about the year 45. Such is the view of Neander, Schneckenburger, Theile, Thiersch, Huther, Davidson, and Alford. The objections of Wiesinger and Bleek admit of easy reply. Both affirm that the interval supposed is too limited for such a growth of Christianity as this epistle implies. But we refer to the scene and results of Pentecost—when the Dispersion assembled at the feast felt the moving power of the Divine Spirit, and went to their distant homes carrying the new religion in their hearts. Then, at the persecution after the martyrdom of Stephen, the members of the church went 'everywhere preaching the word'; or, should this expression be limited by the previous clause 'throughout the regions of Judæa,' then they carried the gospel to the very frontiers; and afterwards, it is affirmed (Acts xi. 19) that the same parties or others at the same period travelled into other countries 'preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only.' It would be rash to affirm that Phenice, Cyprus, and Antioch were the only places so visited, for they are mentioned to account for the mission of Barnabas and the introduction of Paul into the scene of active service. The meeting of the churches for worship in places fitted up for the purpose, ii. 2, their being called by the *καλὸν ὄνομα*, and their having a bench of office-bearers, are tokens of an organization which could surely be set up within the space of twenty years. The same space is sufficient too for the development of such errors in doctrine and practice as are here rebuked, for some of them have their root in human nature, and others of them had a propitious soil in Jewish temperament and education. They might be called by the 'good name' without being designated by the special term coined and applied first at Antioch; and separate places of worship, with appointed presbyters or elders, were the result of secession from the synagogue and the natural imitation of its mode of government, both in name and jurisdiction.

But the great objection advanced by Hug, Wiesinger, Bleek, and others, is, that the discussion in this epistle on the relation of faith and works presupposes, on the part of the writer, an acquaintance with the Pauline doctrine of justification as found both in Romans and Galatians. That there is some correspondence of phrase is

evident not only in the use of the terms *πίστις, ἔργα, δικαιούσθαι*, but in the special diction—*ἐξ ἔργου ἐδικαιώθη—δικαιοῦνται καὶ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως*—compared with Rom. iii. 20; v. 1; Gal. ii. 16, etc.; and the conclusion is that James wrote, not directly indeed in antagonism to Paul, as some insinuate, but to correct Antinomian perversions of his distinctive doctrine. Now, not to answer in the meantime that the antagonism is apparent and not real, it may be said that surely the doctrine expressed by the terms faith and works was not first introduced by the apostle of the Gentiles. Wherever the gospel was proclaimed those terms must have found some place in the proclamation, for the grand and characteristic doctrine was faith in Christ, the belief that Jesus was the promised Messiah, the Redeemer who had appeared in the fulness of the times. The sermon of Peter at Pentecost inculcates that faith in his Messiahship which all the house of Israel ought to possess, and faith in His name wrought a miracle at the 'gate Beautiful.' Immediately afterwards the church is called 'the multitude of them who believed.' Remission of sins through faith was the point of Peter's preaching to Cornelius. Our Lord Himself insists on faith as the one means of life. If the gospel were faithfully presented, if its distinctive character were fully brought out, then faith must have been the burden of the message; and as faith in itself could not be easily defined, it might be illustrated from its natural contrast with works. So that this nomenclature of faith and works, so far from being peculiar to Paul, must have been as old as the gospel, and as widely known as the publication of it. What should hinder James therefore from using these familiar terms in writing to the believers of the Dispersion, who could not enjoy his personal and more systematic teaching?

What then is the teaching of this epistle? Many attempts have been made, as the phrase is, to harmonise Paul and James; but into a history of such attempts we cannot enter. Suffice it to say, some hold that there are two justifications spoken of, a former and latter, or that Paul speaks of justification before God, and James of justification to one's own heart, or before men—the view of very many. Others, like Bishop O'Brien (*Nature and Effects of Faith*, p. 517, sec. ed.), imagine that faith is used in two different senses by the two apostles. Others, as Knapp, argue that the term 'works' is employed by them with very different meanings; while others follow Bishop Bull, who, in his famous 'Harmonia,' adopts a theory so decidedly anti-Pauline as to hold that faith is not a single Christian grace, but stands for the 'whole body of Christian graces, or a life according to the gospel'; nay, that faith *per se*, so far from being the instrument of justification, no more justifies than charity, nay, may actually dwell in an ungodly and unjustified heart. The Bishop moreover does not attempt to bring James, whose allusion to the doctrine is only brief and incidental, into harmony with Paul, who has fully discussed it in formal and frequent arguments, but he labours to bring Paul into harmony with James. See on this subject Knapp, *Scripta*, p. 511; Reuss, *Théologie*, ii. p. 524; Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, i. p. 639; Wardlaw's *Sermons*; Wood's *Theology*, vol. ii. p. 408; Watson's *Institutes*, vol. ii. 614; Lechler, *de: Apostol. und nachapostol. Zeitalter*, p. 163.

Now, first of all, it may be said with Michaelis, 'no man whose object was merely to prevent the doctrine of another from being falsely understood would express himself in such a manner that his readers might suppose he meant to combat the doctrine itself.' The statements of the two writers are independent, and apparent discrepancy arises from difference in the point of view of each of them. The works which Paul sets aside as a means of justification are such external compliances with the law as are valueless in themselves (Philip. iii. 2-6); the works which James commends are the fruit of inner renovation and life. Works prior to faith, and superseding it or forming a barrier to the possession of it, are reprobated by the one; works springing out of faith, and embodying its living power, are enjoined by the other. The former deals with Jewish self-righteousness, and strips it of all pretension, that it may be argued or wooed into faith; the latter deals with the self-styled faith of Jewish indifference, that it may be shaken off and that spiritual activity may be developed. For a dead faith is no faith, and is unworthy of the name; wherever faith exists it must of necessity prove and put forth its energy. A barren faith differs from true faith, just as a mere cheap wish differs from genuine beneficence, ii. 14-17. Abraham was justified by works, those works being the results of a faith which he had long possessed—for the sacrifice of Isaac was the crowning realization of the divine statement, 'Abraham believed in God.' In and through that faith he had been justified, yet by works his faith was perfected—that is, not merely was its genuineness demonstrated, but in this act of obedience to the Divine will, and by means of it, his faith reached its climax—rose into completeness. The faith which does not sanctify can have had no power to justify—the faith which does not make us righteous cannot have availed to have us pronounced righteous. Similar is the illustration from the history of Rahab. The faith which James declares to be no faith—for it has no fruits—is a mere change of opinion or of party without change of heart; and in the case of those whom he addressed was a belief that Jesus was the promised Messiah, but a belief weakened and neutralized by traditional prepossessions, as if the mere addition of this article to their national creed sufficed of itself to secure their salvation.

Contents.—The errors and sins against which James warns his readers are such as arose out of their situation. Perfection—*τέλειότης* is a prominent idea, and *τέλειος* is a frequent epithet—the 'perfect work' of patience, the 'perfect' gift of God, the 'perfect law' of liberty or the new covenant, faith 'made perfect,' and the tongue-governing man, is a 'perfect man.' He writes from a knowledge of their circumstances, does not set before them an ethical system for their leisurely study, but selects the vices of opinion and life to which their circumstances so markedly and so naturally exposed them. Patience is a primary inculcation, it being essential to that perfection which is his central thought. Trials develop patience, and such evils as produce trials are not to be ascribed in a spirit of fatalism to God. Spiritual life is enjoyed by believers, and is fostered by the reception, and specially by the doing, of the word; and true religious service is unworldly and disinterested beneficence. Partial preferences are for-

bidden by the royal law—faith without works is dead—tongue and temper are to be under special guard, and under the control of wisdom—the deceits of casuistry are to be eschewed—contentious covetousness is to be avoided as one of the works of the devil, along with censorious pride. Rich oppressors are denounced, and patience is enjoined on all; the fitting exercises in times of gladness and of sickness are prescribed; the efficacy of prayer is extolled and exemplified; while the conclusion animates his readers to do for others what he has been doing for them—to convert them 'from the error of their way' (see Stanley's *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age*, p. 297). The epistle contains no allusion to the cardinal doctrines of Christianity, though they are implied. It was not the writer's object either to discuss or defend them. It would be unwarranted, on that account, to say that Christianity had not penetrated his own spiritual life, or that he was only in a transition state between Judaism and Christianity. He might not, indeed, have the free and unnational views of Paul in presenting the gospel. But a true Christianity is implied, and his immediate work lay in enforcing certain Christian duties, which he does in the style of the Master himself.

Style and Language.—The similarity of this epistle in tone and form to the Sermon on the Mount has often been remarked. In the spirit of the great Teacher, he sharply reprobates all externalism, all selfishness, inconsistency, worldliness, ostentation, self-deception, and hypocrisy. Thus in the first chapter as a sample:—comp. i. 2, Matt. v. 10-12; i. 4, Matt. v. 48; i. 5, Matt. vii. 7; i. 9, Matt. v. 3; i. 20, Matt. v. 22, etc. The epistle, in short, is a long and earnest illustration of the final warning given by our Lord in the figures of building on the rock and building on the sand. The composition is the abrupt and stern utterance of an earnest, practical soul—a rapid series of censures and counsels—not entirely disconnected, but generally suggested by some inner link of association. Often a general law is epigrammatically laid down, while a peculiar sin is reprobated or a peculiar virtue enforced—or a principle is announced in the application of it. The style is vigorous—full of imperatives so solemn and categorical as to dispel all idea of resistance or compromise, and of interrogations so pointed that they carry their answer with them. It is also marked by epithets so bold and forcible that they give freshness and colour to the diction. The clauses have a rhetorical beauty and power, and as in men of fervent oratorical temperament, the words often fall into rythmical order, while the thoughts occasionally blossom into poetry. An accidental hexameter is found in i. 17 [provided it be lawful to make the last syllable of *δόξαι* long]. The Greek is remarkably pure, and it is difficult to account for this comparative purity. Hegesippus, as quoted by Eusebius, says that James's believing brethren desired him to address the crowds assembled at the Passover; for there were brought together—*πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἑθνῶν*—and Greek must have been the language employed. It is therefore quite preposterous on the part of Bollen, Bertholdt, and Schott to suspect that the Greek of this epistle is a translation from an Aramean original. Resemblances have sometimes been traced between this epistle and the first epistle of Peter, and these may be accounted for by the fact

that both authors are somewhat similarly circumstanced in relation to their readers. But Hug's and Bleek's inference is a rash one—that Peter must have read the epistle of James. In a word, the epistle of James is a noble protest against laxity of morals—against supine and easy acquiescence in the truths of the Gospel without feeling their power or acting under their influence, while it presents such ethical lessons as the church, placed in multiple relations to a world of sense and trial, has ever need of to animate and sustain it in its progress toward perfection. Or as Calvin says, *Nihil continet Christi apostolo indignum, multiplici vero doctrina scatet, cujus utilitas ad omnes Christianæ vite partes late patet.* Among special commentaries on James may be noted—Althamar, *Comment.*, 1527; Baumgarten, *Ausleg.*, 1750; Semler, *Paraphras.* 1781; Hensler, *Der Brief Jac. übers. und Ausleg.*, 1801; Schultess, *Epist. Jacobi explanata*, 1824; Gelser, *Der Brief Jac. übers. und erkl.*, 1828; Schneckenburger, *Annotat. ad epistolam Jac. perpetua*, 1832; Theile, *Commentarius in Epist. Jacobi*, 1833; Kern, *Der Brief Jac. untersucht und erklärt*, 1838; Cellarier, *Étude et Commentaire sur L'Épître de St. Jacques*, 1850; Wiesinger, *Der Brief des Jacobus*, 1854; Huther, *do.*, 1858; and the more practical expositions of Mayer, Manton, Stier, Jacobi, Neander, and Dräseke.—J. E.

JANNES AND JAMBRES (Ἰαννης καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς), two of the Egyptian magicians who attempted by their enchantments (כִּסְמִים, *occulte artes*, Gesenius) to counteract the influence on Pharaoh's mind of the miracles wrought by Moses. Their names occur nowhere in the Hebrew Scriptures, and only once in the N. T. (2 Tim. iii. 8). The Apostle Paul became acquainted with them, most probably, from an ancient Jewish tradition, or, as Theodoret expresses it, 'from the unwritten teaching of the Jews' (τῆς ἀγραφῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων διδασκαλίας). They are found frequently in the Talmudical and Rabbinical writings, but with some variations. Thus, for Jannes we meet with יָנִים, יִנְנָא, יִנְנָה, יִנְנָה, יִנְנָה. Of these, the three last are forms of the Hebrew יִנְנָה, which has led to the supposition that 'Ἰαννης is a contracted form of the Greek Ἰωάννης. Some critics consider that these names were of Egyptian origin, and, in that case, the Jewish writers must have been misled by a similarity of sound to adopt the forms above-mentioned. For Jambres we find מִמְרֵי, מִמְרֵי, מִמְרֵי, and in the Shalsheth Hakbala the two names are given יִנְנָה וְיִמְבְּרֵס. The Targum of Jonathan inserts them in Exod. vii. 11. The same writer also gives as a reason for Pharaoh's edict for the destruction of the Israelitish male children, that 'this monarch had a dream in which the land of Egypt appeared in one scale and a lamb in another; that on awakening he sought for its interpretation from his wise men; whereupon Jannes and Jambres (יָנִים וְיִמְבְּרֵס) said—'A son is to be born in the congregation of Israel who will desolate the whole land of Egypt.' Several of the Jewish writers speak of Jannes and Jambres as the two sons of Balaam, and assert that they were the youths (נְעָרִים, *servants*, A. V.) who went with him to the king of Moab (Num. xxii. 22). The Pythagorean philosopher Numenius mentions these persons in a passage preserved by Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* ix. 8), and by Origen (*c. Cel.* iv. p. 198.

ed. Spencer); also Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxx. 1). There was an ancient apocryphal writing entitled *Jannes and Mambres*, which is referred to by Origen (*in Matt. Comment.* sec. 117; *Opera*, v. 29), and by Ambrosiaster, or Hilary the Deacon: it was condemned by Pope Gelasius (*Wetstenii Nov. Test. Græc.* ii. 362; Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm. Rab.* col. 945; Lightfoot's *Sermon on Jannes and Jambres*; *Works*, vii. 89; *Eruhin, or Miscellanies*, ch. xxiv.; *Works*, iv. 33; Lardner's *Credibility*, pt. ii., ch. 35; *Works*, vii. 381.)—J. E. R. [Mr. R. S. Poole (*Smith's Dictionary* i. 928) traces Jannes to the Egyptian *Aan*, pronounced *Ian*, which he shews to have been a proper name in use among the Egyptians. This supports the belief that the names given by Paul are the real names of the parties referred to. For Jambres, however, or, as it is in some codices, Mambres, no satisfactory Egyptian equivalent has been found; all that can be said is that the termination is the Grecised form of *Ka*, 'sun,' a frequent ending of compound words in Egyptian, as *ex. gr.* Men-kaw-ra, *Μεν-κέρης*.]

JANOAH (יְנוֹחַ, rest; Ἀνωχ; Alex. Ἰανώχ; *Janoa*), a town of Northern Palestine, situated apparently between Abel-beth-Maachah and Kedesh, and within the boundaries of Naphtali. It was taken, with several other cities, on the first invasion of Palestine by Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria (2 Kings xv. 29). It is mentioned by Eusebius, but he strangely confounds it with Janohah, a town of Ephraim; and in this he is followed by Gesenius and others (*Onomast.* s. v. *Janon*; Gesenius, *The-saurus*, s. v.) The site of Janoah has not been identified. The modern village of *Hunin*, which stands on the brow of a mountain between Abel and Kedesh, and which contains the massive ruins of a large and strong castle, would answer to the situation, and the names *Hunin* and *Janoah*, though apparently so unlike, have some slight radical affinity (יְנוֹחַ, חֲנִין) for a description of Hunin, see *Handbook for S. and P.*, 444).—J. L. P.

JANOHAH (יְנוֹחָה, the same as יְנוֹחַ with ה local; *Janord*; Alex. Ἰανώ; *Janoa*), a town on the north-eastern border of Ephraim, and consequently in or near the Jordan valley (Josh. xvi. 6, 7). It is only once mentioned in Scripture; but Eusebius and Jerome state that in their time it was still a village in the district of Acrabatane, twelve miles east of Neapolis, the ancient Sichem. Eusebius calls it Ἰανώ (*Onomast.* s. v. *Janon*). About three and a half hours (12 miles) east by south of Nabulus, stands the little village of *Janân*; situated in a vale which descends the eastern slope of the mountains of Ephraim to the Jordan. The village is now mostly in ruins, but it has a few houses inhabited, and its ancient remains 'are extensive and interesting. Entire houses and walls are still existing, but covered with immense heaps of earth and rubbish. The dwellings of the present inhabitants are built upon and between the houses of the ancient Janohah' (Van de Velde, *Travels*, ii. 303). There can be no doubt that this is the *Janon* of Jerome, and the Janohah of the Bible. As an example of the minute accuracy of Joshua's topography, it may be remarked that he states, the border of Ephraim 'went down from Janohah to Ataroth.' Janohah

being situated on the side of the mountain range, the border 'went down' to Ataroth, which lay in the valley of the Jordan. About a mile up the vale of Janohah is a little fountain, and on a hill above it the prostrate ruins of another ancient town, which is now called *Khirbet Yanûn*, 'ruined Yanûn' (Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 297).—J. L. P.

JAPHETH (יָפֶֿתֿ; Ἰάφεθ; Vulg. *Japheth*), one of the three sons of Noah, of whom 'the whole earth was overspread' (Gen. ix. 19). It is uncertain whether he was the eldest or the second son. When the three are mentioned together, the order invariably is Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and it would be most natural to suppose that they are mentioned in the order of primogeniture. It is clear that Ham was younger than Shem, but it is not absolutely necessary to suppose from Gen. ix. 24 that he was the *youngest* of the three. Such, however, has been the general supposition, and Josephus writes them in the order Shem, Japheth, Ham (*Antiq.* i. 4. 1). Nothing can be said in favour of Japheth being the *eldest* son; for the expression in Gen. x. 21, 'unto Shem, the brother of Japheth the elder,' may, and probably does mean, 'the elder brother of Japheth' (taking יָפֶֿתֿ with יֶֿחֶֿזֶק), and not as the LXX., Symmachus, and Eng. Ver. take it, ἀδελφῷ Ἰάφεθ τοῦ μειστος. There are, indeed, two arguments against this—1. that Japheth is placed *first* in the genealogy; and 2. that in Gen. v. 32 Noah is said to have begotten sons in his 500th year, one hundred years before the deluge (vi. 11), whereas in xi. 10, Shem becomes father of Arphaxad, *two years after the deluge*, when he is 100 years old; whence it is inferred that Shem must have been born in the 502d year of Noah, and that Japheth must have been the *eldest* son. But these arguments are not conclusive. Japheth is placed first in the genealogy (Gen. x.) in order that the thread of the narrative, which continues in the line of *Shem*, may not be broken; and in Gen. v. 32, since Noah could not have had three sons born in one year, 500 is obviously a round number for 502; so that we conclude unhesitatingly that *Japheth was Noah's youngest son* (Rosenmüller, *Schol. ad Gen. x.* 21). This conclusion is important, inasmuch as it best agrees with the ethnological and historical significance of the name Japheth.

2. The name appears to be derived from יָפַת, 'to extend,' in Gen. ix. 27. But as יָפַת is one of those very numerous instances of paronomasia which so strongly characterises the Hebrew writings (cf. Gen. xlviii. 22; Mic. vii. 12; Jer. i. 11; Is. xxi. 11, etc.), we may perhaps consider that no derivation is there intended (das *Wortspiel*; Ewald, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.* i. 373); and in that case, although no obvious derivation suggests itself, the name may be referred to יָפֶֿתֿ, 'pulcher fuit,'* and may contain an allusion to the beauty of the Japhetic race (Ewald, *L.c.*; Gesenius, *s. v.*, *Thes.* iii.

p. 1139). This is the less unlikely since Ham means 'hot,' and Phut and Lubim are names which contain a reference to the darkness of those races. It is clear that throughout the famous ethnographical chart of Gen. x., and perhaps elsewhere in the Bible, the names are rather ethnic and allusive than individual. Unless—of which we have no hint—names were bestowed by a spirit of prophecy in the earliest infancy, it is obvious that in many instances the name by which the founders of families were afterwards known, were names suggested by the subsequent fortunes of themselves or their descendants. The name Japheth does not occur again in the Bible, but is found as the designation of a province, in Judith ii. 25.

3. Of the personal history of Japheth we know nothing beyond the single incident narrated in Gen. ix. 23, in which Japheth seems to have acted upon the suggestion of his elder brother Shem, and therefore only receives the blessing of temporal prosperity, not the loftier privilege of religious truth. If, broadly and generally, we regard Shem as the direct ancestor of the Shemites, and Japheth as the intended representative of the chief Arian nations, this passage shews a marvellous insight into the destinies of those great races, as well as into the fact that reverence, filial piety, and the purity of heart and eye are the main foundations on which the greatness of those mighty civilized races has been built up. The blessing itself received ample historical fulfilment in the extension of Japheth's dominions into the territories of the Shemites, and the participation of the Japhetidae in the religious privileges of their kinsmen of the elder branch.

4. In Gen. x. seven sons are ascribed to Japheth—Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, Tiras. For the significance of these names, as well as of those attributed to their sons, see the separate articles upon them. All that we need here observe is that they are intended to include all the non-Semitic and non-Hamitic nations *known to the Jews*, and that generally Japheth stands for the nations *north* of Palestine, as Ham for those to the south, Palestine itself being regarded as a 'navel of the earth' (Ezek. v. 5; Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 373). Among the most important Japhetic nations are the Bactrians (Gomer), the Scythians (Magog), the Medes (Madai), the Thracians (Tiras), and the Greek (Javan).

5. There are numerous Oriental legends about Japheth. According to Mohammedan writers he was the eldest son of Noah, who gave him a stone (called Giudé Tasch and Seuk Jede, long preserved in the country of the Mogul), upon which was inscribed the name of God, and which enabled him to cause rain at pleasure. They call him Aboulterik, and ascribe to him eleven sons, among whom are Sin, father of the Chinese, Turk of the Turks, and Ros of the Russians—nations wholly unknown to the ancient Hebrews. They ascribe to his sons great wisdom, but say that no prophet was ever born among them (Weil, *Biblische Legenden*, viii. 46). The resemblance of Japheth with the Greek Ἰάπερος, whether fortuitous or not, is highly remarkable; but the attempts of Bochart, Huet, and others, to identify Japheth with Neptune (Calmet's *Dict. Fragm.* xix., xx.), have little to rest upon (Bochart, *Phaleg.* iii. 1; D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* ii. 281; Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.*, p. 37; Buttmann *Mythol.* i. 222, etc.)—F. W. F.

* This derivation was suggested by Jonathan; Aben Ezra calls it however יָפֶֿתֿ פֶּֿלֶא, 'interpretatio minime pulchra,' on what grounds is not clear. Fuller, *Miscell. Sacr.*, ii. 4; Rosenmüller *ad Gen. ix.* 37.

JAPHETH B. ALI HA-LEVI (יפת בן עלי), of Bassra, called in Arabic *Abu Ali Hassan b. Ali al-Levi al-Basri* (أبو علي الحسن بن علي ألكعبري), a very eminent Karaite grammarian and commentator of the O. T. who flourished about 950-990, and who so distinguished himself through his literary labours that he obtained the honour-

able appellation of המלמד הנורא, *the great teacher*, and a place among those who are mentioned in the Karaite prayer-book. Though his gigantic commentaries must have exercised great influence on the development of Biblical exegesis, as may be concluded from the fact that Ibn Ezra had them constantly before him when writing his expositions of the O. T., and that he quotes them with the greatest respect, yet they have not as yet been published, and we have still only the fragments which Ibn Ezra gives us. The MSS. of these commentaries, which consist of twenty large volumes, are in Paris and in Leyden. The eminent Orientalist Munk brought in 1841 from Egypt to the royal library at Paris, eleven volumes, five of which are on Genesis, and many sections of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers; two volumes are on the Psalms, one is on Proverbs, and one on the Five Megilloth. The commentaries, which are in Arabic, are preceded by the Hebrew text, and an Arabic translation. The indefatigable Pinsker has examined twenty volumes of these commentaries and made extracts from them (comp. Jost, *Israelitische Annalen*, Frankfurt-on-the-Maine 1841, p. 76; Bargès, *Rabbi Japhet ben Heli Bassorensis Karaite in psal. Commentarii Prefatio*, 1846; Pinsker, *Lickute Kadmoniot*, Vienna 1863, p. 169, supplement, p. 181, etc.; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. v., Magdeburg 1869, p. 342).—C. D. G.

JAPHETH II., B. SAID, a descendant of the foregoing writer, flourished about 1160-1200. Besides the celebrated work in defence of Karaism, entitled *Ha-Atakat Ha-Tora*, he wrote commentaries on the Pentateuch and other books of the O. T. Pinsker supposes, and not without reason, that this is the Japheth whom the Karaites describe as the Rabbi of Ibn Ezra, and has shewn that Ibn Ezra's quotations from the commentary on Exod. iv. 20; viii. 13; ix. 16; x. 5, 21, belong to this Japheth, and not the former. These commentaries are still in MS., both in the Paris and Leyden libraries (comp. Pinsker, *Lickute Kadmoniot*, Vienna 1860, p. 222, ff., and 185, ff., supplement; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. vi., Leipzig 1861, p. 305, ff.).—C. D. G.

JAPHIA (יפיה, 'splendid'; Φαγγιά; Alex. Ἰαφαγιά; *Japhie*), a town on the border of Zebulun, between Daberath and Gittah-hepher (Josh. xix. 12). Eusebius and Jerome identify Japhia with the town on the sea coast, beneath the brow of Carmel, called Sycaminus, and also *Hepha* (Ἡφά; its modern name is *Haifa*). This, however, is manifestly an error, for Daberath is situated at the base of Mount Tabor, and from thence Joshua says the border 'goeth up to Japhia'; Japhia must consequently be looked for in the hills near Nazareth. Reland (*Pal.*, p. 826) and Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, s.v.) follow Eusebius. In a retired valley among the rocky hills, about two miles southwest of Nazareth, lies the little village of *Yafa*, con-

taining about thirty houses and the ruins of a church. This is unquestionably the ancient town of Japhia; and also the same place which Josephus fortified, with other cities of Galilee, during the Jewish war (*Vita*, 37 and 45). It was afterwards stormed by Titus, and a vast number of its inhabitants put to the sword. The Italian monks of Nazareth call it San Giacomo, believing it to be the native place of Zebedee, and his sons James and John. (*Marinus Sanutus*, p. 253; *Early Travels in Pal.*, p. 186; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 343; *Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 385).—J. L. P.

JAPHLETI (יפלת) = the Japhletite; τὰ δρια τοῦ Ἀππαλί, Vat.; τοῦ Ἰεφαλί, Alex.; *terminus Japhleti*, Vulg.) In Josh. xvi. 3 we find 'the border of the Japhletite' ('the coast of Japhleti,' A. V.) mentioned as one of the landmarks on the southern frontier of the tribe of Ephraim. From the form of the word it is evident that we have here the name of one of the many petty tribes or clans that peopled Palestine before its occupation by the children of Israel, of which the topographical details of the book of Joshua contain many traces, e.g., the Archite (Archi, A. V.), in the preceding verse (cf. 2 Sam. xv. 32; xvii. 5); the Ophnite (Ophni, A. V.), Josh. xviii. 24; the Jebusite (Jebusi, A. V.), ver. 28; Adummim, 'the redmen,' Josh. xv. 7, etc. Japhlet occurs (1 Chron. vii. 32, 33) as a descendant of Asher, but the distance between the tribes is too great for us to suppose that the names had any connection.—E. V.

JAPHO. [JOPPA.]

JAREB (ירב; Sept. Ἰαρεμ), supposed by some to be the name of a king, by others that of the place where he was king, whilst others regard the word as an appellative of the king (Hos. v. 13; x. 6). All are agreed that the king meant is the king of Assyria. The first view is followed by the LXX., where the rendering is πρὸς βασιλεία Ἰαρεμ; also by the Syriac and Arabic. Ibn Ezra advocates the second, and says that Jareb was the name of a city of Assyria not elsewhere mentioned; but besides being purely conjectural this explanation is hardly reconcilable with the absence of the article before ירב. Similar to this view is that of Hitzig; for, though he translates ירב by *enemy*, *foe*, he regards it as a symbolical name of Assyria, as Rahab is of Egypt; an opinion obnoxious to the same objection as the preceding. Symmachus, who is followed by Jerome, gave ἐδικον or ἐδικυτήρ, *ultorem*, *avenger*, as the meaning of the word; Aquila διαζόμενον, and Theodotion κριτήρ, *judge*. The Targum gives יריתי לאחפער להון, 'who shall come to vindicate (or avenge) them.' In the A. V. the rendering in the text is 'to king Jareb,' in the margin 'to the king of Jareb or to the king that should plead.' The third way of construing the passage is that followed by most recent interpreters: Rosenmüller, 'misique legatos ad regem adversarium'; De Wette, 'Der könig der rächen soll [the king who shall avenge]'; Henderson, 'a hostile king,' etc. In this case ירב is the apocopated future in Hiphil of ירב. Rivet was of opinion that the title 'Avenger' may have been assumed by the potent king of Assyria as the French king assumes that of 'Most Christian,' and the English that of 'Defender of the Faith'

(Glass. *Phil. Sac.* 4, 3, 17, p. 644). Fürst, who inclines to the second view, suggests the possibility of Jarab being an old Assyrian word.—W. L. A.

JARHA (יֶרְחָא; Sept. Ἰωρχήλ), an Egyptian who was in the service of a Hebrew master named Sheshan, whose daughter he married, and so became his heir, and head of a house of the Jerahmeelites (1 Chron. ii. 31-35). No other case exactly similar to this is mentioned in Scripture. It is supposed by some that the name of Sheshan's daughter whom Jarha married was Ahlai, from the statement in ver. 31 compared with that in ver. 34; but the masculine form of the word, and the use of Ahlai elsewhere (1 Chron. xi. 41) for a man, is adverse to this conclusion. As Sheshan's oldest grandson by this marriage was called Attai, and as the genealogy would run through him, it is supposed by others that Ahlai is a clerical error for Attai; while others think Ahlai (אחלי), 'the disjoiner,' from (אחל) was a name given to Jarha on his incorporation into the family of Sheshan. This last seems to us the most probable view. At what time this marriage occurred we cannot certainly determine, but as Sheshan was the seventh in descent from Hezron, the grandson of Judah, it is probable he lived near the close of the time of Eli or the beginning of that of Samuel. In 1 Sam. xxx. 13 mention is made of an Egyptian who was servant to an Amalekite, and there is no reason why it should seem strange that an Egyptian should also be found in the family of a Hebrew, especially as, being a Jerahmeelite, he had his possessions in the same district as the Amalekites, in the south of Judah (1 Sam. xxvii. 8, 10).—W. L. A.

JARMUTH (יֶרְמוּת, 'lofty'; Ἰερμοῦς and Ἰερμοῦς; *Jerimoth*), an ancient royal city of Canaan, and one of the five which joined in the league against the Gibeonites, and were defeated by Joshua (Josh. x. 3). Its king was hanged with the others at Makkedah (ver. 23; ch. xii. 11). Jarmuth was situated in the Shephelah (A. V. 'Valley') or plain of Philistia, and was assigned to Judah (xv. 35). It was occupied by the Jews after the return from captivity (Neh. xi. 29). The geographical position of Jarmuth is not stated in the Bible, farther than that it lay in the Shephelah; but as it is enumerated with Adullam and Socho, we can have no difficulty in identifying it with the modern village of *Yarmut* (يَرْمُوت), a name

almost identical with the Hebrew Jarmuth. It appears to be this city which Eusebius calls Ἰερμοῦς, and Jerome *Jerimus*, stating that in their day it was a village ten miles distant from Eleutheropolis, on the road to Jerusalem (*Onomast.* s. v.) Under *Jarimuth*, however (which Eusebius writes Ἰαβεθ), Jerome states that it is a city captured by Joshua, given to Judah, and four miles distant from Eleutheropolis towards Eshtao. It would seem to be the same city which is alluded to in both places, but probably some error may have crept into the text of the *Onomasticon*. Yarmûk is about eight miles from Eleutheropolis, and is situated on the crest of a rugged hill. As the writer saw it from the vales of Bethshemesh and Elah, and again from the ridge of Beit Nettif, perched on its airy site, and clearly defined against the bright sky, he could not but think that it well

deserved its name, 'the lofty.' The village is small and poor, but there are a few traces, in the hewn stones and ruins, of past strength and greatness (*Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 281; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 17; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 324).

2. A Levitical town of Issachar (Josh. xxi. 29); identical with the Remeth of Josh. xix. 21, and the Ramoth of 1 Chron. vi. 73. See RAMOTH.—J. L. P.

JASHEN (יָשֵׁן; Ἀσάν; *Jassen*). Of the sons of Jashen, Jonathan appears in the catalogue of the mighty men of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 32). In the corresponding passage (1 Chron. xi. 34), we read, 'the sons of Hashem the Gizonite.' This form of the name is probably correct, as the LXX. in both places give Ἀσάν. In the present corrupt and dislocated state of these catalogues, it is extremely difficult to decide what is the true reading of the whole passage, but a comparison with Chronicles seems to shew that Jonathan has no connection with the B'ne-Jashen, and that a name has dropped out in both places. This name Kennicott believes (*Dissertation*, vol. i., pp. 201-203) lies concealed in the word rendered 'the Gizonite' in Chronicles, and accordingly proposes to read in both places, 'Gouni, of the sons of Hashem; Jonathan, the son of Shamha the Hararite;' his view being supported by the Alex. copy of the LXX., which reads *ἰσὶν Ἀσάν δ' Ἰωνῆ* 'Iwadhav uis Szayh d' Apapl. However, the want of the *ו* before יָשֵׁן, and the *י* prefixed to the name read by him as Gouni, are objections to this view, and Bertheau may probably be right (*Chronik.*, p. 134), that יָשֵׁן is due to a repetition of the last three letters of the preceding word, 'the Shaalbonite,' הַשְּׁעֲלֹנִי, and that we should simply read Hashem the Gizonite.—E. V.

JASHER, or rather **JASHAR**, Book of, a work quoted in Josh. x. 13, and 2 Sam. i. 18. The former passage runs thus: 'And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. Is not this written in the book of Jasher? So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day.' etc. The passage in 2 Sam. is as follows; 'And David lamented with this lamentation over Saul, and over Jonathan his son: (Also he bade them teach the children of Judah the use of the bow: behold, it is written in the book of Jasher.)'

The origin of the name Jashar is obscure. Some have supposed that the book was so called because it celebrated the praises of *just* or *righteous* men, יָשָׁר, meaning *Just*. This is more probable than that the name of its *author* was given to the book; or that it was so called from beginning with the word יָשָׁר. Bishop Lowth (*De sacra poeti*, pp. 241, 242, ed. Oxon. 1821), who adopts the latter conjecture, refers to the old Syriac translator who renders the word by *אֲשִׁיר*, i. e. *sang*, in one place where it occurs. The fact that Exod. xv. 1, begins with *אֲשִׁיר* יְהוָה, then *sang Moses*, does not much favour this assumption. It is true that the different books of the Hebrew Bible derived the names which they bore among the Jews from the initial word; but the custom was scarcely so old as the time of the book

of Jashar, except the initial word afforded a clear index to the contents of the poem or book, at the beginning of which it stood. It is against Lowth's opinion that *יָשָׁר* does not mean *he sang*. It should have been *יָשָׁר*. Besides, the article is prefixed to *יָשָׁר*, *יָשָׁר*. Ilgen supposes that the phrase means *book of dexterity or valour*, because the book consisted of poems celebrating examples of dexterity and every warlike virtue of the time, in the same way as the first book of a celebrated Arabic anthology containing poems in praise of heroic deeds, is en-

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titled *حماسة*, *Hamasa*, i. e., *warlike virtue, valour*.

Whatever may have been the origin of the title, there is little doubt that the book was a poetical anthology, or a collection of poetical pieces. As to the time of its origin we are hardly able to ascertain it with probability. David's lamentation over Saul and Jonathan was contained in it; and perhaps the collection was not begun earlier than his reign. It may have been enlarged with additions from time to time.

Some of the fathers had singular opinions about the contents of the book. Thus Jerome apparently thought that it was identical with Genesis; an opinion derived from the Jews (*Commentar. in Esaiam xlv. 2, and in Ezech. cap. viii.*) Others supposed that it included the Pentateuch, or rather that it was *the book of the law*. Such is the explanation of the Targum, with which agree Kimchi and Abarbanel. Theodoret conceived that the book of Joshua was an extract from that of Jashar, and that the author, fearing his assertion of the sun's standing still would not be credited, referred to the book itself as his authority for the miracle (*Quæst. xiv. in Josuam*, tom. i., Opp. p. 1). Rabbi Elieser supposed that the book was the same as Deuteronomy; R. Samuel ben Nachman identified it with the book of Judges. Other opinions are enumerated by Wolf (*Bibliotheca Hebræa*, ii. p. 219, *et seq.*), and Abicht (*Dissertatio de libro Recti*, p. 5, *etc.*)

The old supposition that the book contained a treatise on archery is justly exploded at the present day. The words of 2 Sam. i. 18, 'Also he bade them teach the children of Israel the bow,' mean 'the bow-song,' i. e., a poem in praise of Jonathan's bow, belonging to the book of Jashar. An ancient mode of citing a document consisted in referring to some particular word in it, such as *the bow* (i. 22).

The book of Jashar has attracted attention because it is appealed to in connection with the account of the sun and moon standing still. The compiler of the book of Joshua refers to it as containing a record of the miracle in question. It is therefore impossible to do justice to our subject without entering into an interpretation of the wonderful phenomenon on which so much ingenuity has been wasted. The mis-spent time which has been devoted to the passage in Joshua makes a critic sad indeed. Instead of looking at the words in their natural and obvious sense, men have been led away by their adherence to the letter into recondite, foolish, and absurd conjectures. One thing is a key to the right interpretation, viz., that the passage recording the miracle is a quotation from the poetical book of Jashar. The only difficulty is to discover where the quotation begins and

ends. All must allow that the words of the poetical anthology are found in—

Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon,
And thou, moon, in the valley of Ajalon.
And the sun stood still,
And the moon stayed,
Till the people had avenged themselves
Upon their enemies.

It is not easy, however, to say whether the quotation extends farther than this, and includes the following:—

So the sun stood still
In the midst of heaven,
And hasted not to go down
About a whole day.
And there was no day like that
Before it or after it,
That the Lord hearkened
Unto the voice of a man,
For the Lord fought for Israel.
And Joshua returned,
And all Israel with him,
Unto the camp, to Gilgal.

The point is, whether the question of the historian, 'Is not this written in the book of Jashar?' terminates the quotation by stating whence it is taken; or whether the citation does not proceed to the end of the 15th verse, *after this inserted notice*. We are inclined to think that the quotation included vers. 12-15. The strongest objection to the view in question is, that the statement of its being taken from the book of Jashar is thus made to stand in the middle of the passage quoted, instead of at the beginning or end, as in Num. xxi. 14, 27. But Keil replies that the cases are not analogous; for that the references to sources at the end of the biographies of the kings of Israel are not appended to *verbal extracts* from documents; and that the cited work in Num. xxi. 14, 27, as well as 2 Sam. i. 18, though named before the excerpts, is interwoven with the historical narrative itself. Another objection is, that part of the quotation is thus made to consist of prose; for when it is granted that the second half of the 13th and the 14th verses are poetical, the 15th verse still remains. But perhaps the book of Jashar had some prose interwoven with its poetical pieces (see Davidson's *Introduction to the O. T.*, vol. i. p. 431, *et seq.*)

If this explanation be correct, we have no need to resort to other interpretations. Let us glance at the principal ones, though they are now of merely historical interest.

I. Of those who take the account of the miracle literally, some believe that the sun revolved round the earth, and was stayed in his course. Rejecting the diurnal motion of the earth as inconsistent with Scripture, they reject the Copernican system. One should have thought that this view prevailed among Roman Catholics only. Yet Protestants also held it in the 18th century. Galileo's astronomy had not penetrated their unscientific minds, which clung to the literal, in opposition to enlightened, interpretation. Others have explained the miracle in accordance with the true doctrine of the earth's motion, taking the language in a popular and optical sense, and believing that *the earth* stood still at the command of Joshua, not the sun. One commentator takes a singular view of the passage, explaining it in accordance with true science, as he

things :—'Joshua's mode of expression evidently considers the sun as the great ruler or master in the system, and all the planets moving in their respective orbits at his command. He, therefore, desires him in the name and by the authority of his Creator to suspend his mandate with respect to the earth's motion, and that of its satellite the moon. Had he said *earth* stand thou still, it could not have obeyed him. Instead of doing so, he speaks to the sun, the cause of all these motions,' etc. (A. Clarke.) The strained, erroneous character of this explanation is apparent.

2. Spinoza suggested that the miracle was effected by refraction, causing the sun to appear above the horizon after its setting, or by such atmospherical phenomena as produced light enough to enable Joshua to pursue his enemies (*Tractatus theologico-politicus*, cap. ii., Opp. ed. Paulus, vol. ii. p. 180). Thus the words sun and moon are taken to mean nothing more than the *solar* and *lunar rays*, not the bodies themselves.

Maimonides seems to have rejected the idea of a miracle, for he writes that the phrase 'as an entire day,' denotes a very long day, as if the historian had said that the day was to them in Gibeon like a great and long day in summer (*More Nevochim*, translated by Buxtorf, part ii. xxxv. p. 292). His opinion was followed by Grotius and others. Even Jahn resolved the address of Joshua into a bold poetical figure (*Einleitung in die göttlichen Bücher des alten Bundes*, ii. p. 176). Hengstenberg himself wrote an able article in the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* for November 1832, pointing out the true explanation. This was translated in the *American Biblical Repository* for 1833, which journal had a good article in 1845 from the pen of Mr. Hopkins.

One would have thought that these writers must have established the right exegesis of the passages; especially as Keil took the same view in his *Commentary on Joshua*. But it was not so. There are some who must have a real miracle here, and who, unless sun and moon stand still, fear lest Christianity should be destroyed. Hence it continues to be asserted in books that there was a miracle, and that the sacred historian expressly records the event as such. Its very object is also explained, viz., to contribute to the effectual conquest of the idolatrous heathen nations who worshipped the sun and moon. But Deborah sings in her hymn of gratitude (Judg. v.), 'The stars in their courses fought against Sisera:' must this be taken literally, and not rather as a poetical hyperbole? It is only necessary to enter into the spirit of the poetry to take Joshua's words as the language of impassioned desire. The absurd lengths to which some will go in upholding the idea of a miracle in the passage before us, is remarkably shewn by the following, in a popular English book on the Bible: 'An ingenious French philosopher, who has consecrated his geological researches to the elucidation and defence of the sacred volume, has endeavoured to shew that the double day in Palestine, caused by the miracle in Josh. x., must have produced a double night in Europe. He considers that the double night so frequently mentioned by the Latin poets, and connected with the birth of Hercules, was identical with this miracle, which is thus collaterally confirmed by the testimony of ancient profane writers.' Chaubard, *Elémens de Géologie*, pp. 321-327.

Under the name *Book of Jasher*, two rabbinical works exist. One was written by Jacob ben Meir, or R. Tam, who died in 1171, and contains a treatise on Jewish ritual questions. It was published at Cracow in 1586, 4to, and again at Vienna 1811, but incorrectly. No translation of it was ever made. The second book was written in Spain and published at Venice 1625, at Cracow 1628, and at Prague 1668. It contains the histories of the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges, and intermixes many fabulous things. The preface itself relates fictions about Sidrus one of Titus's officers finding the work in a palace when Jerusalem was destroyed, where an old man was shut up who had many Hebrew books, among others, the book of Jasher, which was taken to Spain and preserved there, and thence to Naples, where it was printed. A German version of it, with additions, was published by R. Jacob at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, 1674, 8vo, with the title *יִשָּׁר הַמִּשְׁפָּט*, *perfect and right*.

In 1751 was published '*The Book of Jasher*, with testimonies and notes explanatory of the text, to which is prefixed various readings. Translated into English from Hebrew by Alcuin of Britain, who went a pilgrimage into the Holy Land,' 4to. This is a forgery. The preface, purporting to be written by Alcuin, contains an account of the finding of the book in MS. at Gazna in Persia, and the way in which it was translated. Having brought it to England, Alcuin says that he left it among other papers to a clergyman in Yorkshire. After two pages of various readings, the book itself follows, divided into thirty-seven chapters. Testimonies and notes are appended. This silly forgery was the production of Jacob Ilive, a type-founder of Bristol. The editor states in a dedication at the beginning, that he bought the MS. at an auction in the north of England, and affirms that Wickliffe had written on the outside, 'I have read the book of Jasher twice over, and I much approve of it as a piece of great antiquity and curiosity, but I cannot assent that it should be made a part of the canon of Scripture.' It was reprinted at Bristol in 1829, 4to. In an advertisement prefixed, the editor says that since 1751 the MS. was preserved with great care by a gentleman who gave it to him, and that the latter committed it to the press. He studiously omits to state that it had been printed in 1751. Some have made a mistake in saying that there was another reprint in 1833 at London. A *prospectus* of a new edition was circulated by the Rev. C. R. Bond in that year, but no reprint followed.

In 1840 there appeared at New York, in one volume 8vo, '*סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר*, or the book of Jasher, referred to in Joshua and 2 Samuel, faithfully translated from the original Hebrew into English.' This professes to be a translation of the rabbinical book already noticed, which was printed at Venice in 1625. It has a preface by M. M. Noah, a translator's preface, a translation of the Hebrew preface, and the printer's preface. The work itself contains ninety chapters.

In the year 1854 appeared—*Jasher. Fragmenta archetypa carminum Hebraicorum in Masoretico Veteris Testamenti textu passim tessellata, collecta, ordinavit, restituit, in unum corpus redegit, Latine exhibuit, commentario instruxit Joannes Gul. Donaldson, S. Theologia doctor*, 8vo. In this work the learned author maintained that the anthology

called *Jashar*, in which the religious marrow of the O. T. is contained, was put together in the reign of Solomon, either by himself, or by his advice. The critic undertook, therefore, to collect the scattered parts of the work, and restore them to their primitive order. In pursuance of this task, he distributed the book into seven parts, thus: Part i., shewing that man was made upright (יָשָׁר),

but fell into sin by carnal wisdom, consisting of two fragments, viz., a shorter Elohist poem (Gen. i. 27, 28; vi. 1, 2, 4, 5; viii. 21; vi. 6, 3); and a longer Jehovistic fragment (Gen. ii. 7-9, 15-25; iii. 1-19, 21, 23, 24). Part ii., shewing how the descendants of Abraham, as *upright* (יָשָׁר), are

adopted into the number of the sons of God, and the neighbouring nations, Cainites, Ishmaelites, Canaanites, and Edomites are rejected, consists of four fragments, viz., the rejection of the Hamites and Canaanites in general (Gen. ix. 18-27); the rejection of the Cainites (iv. 2-8, 8-16); the rejection of the Hagarenes (xvi. 1-4, 15, 16; xvii. 16, 18-26; xxi. 1-14, 20, 21); the rejection of the Edomites (xxiv. 32-34; xxvii.). Part iii. shews how the pious Israelites, having escaped from Egypt, and spent forty years in the desert, after many vicissitudes of fortune, dedicate a temple to Jehovah, under the peaceful king Solomon, in a land of tranquillity (Gen. viii. 6-12). Part iv. contains divine laws to be observed by the upright people, and consists of three fragments, viz., the ten precepts of probity (Deut. v. 1-19); the marrow of the divine law (Deut. vi. 3-5; x. 12-22; xi. 1-9); the inculcation of obedience (viii. 1-3; vi. 6-25). Part v. contains the benedictions and admonitions of the upright (Gen. xlix.; Num. xxiii., xxiv.; Deut. xxxii., xxxiii.). Part vi. contains the wonderful victories and deliverances of the upright people, and consists of Exod. xv. 1-19; Josh. x. 12-13; Judg. v. 1-20. Part vii. Various poems respecting the rule of the good, and the prosperity that characterised the reigns of David and Solomon, viz., 1 Sam. ii. 1-10; 2 Sam. i. 17-27, 33, 34; xxiii. 1-7; Ps. xviii. 1-51; 2 Sam. xxii. 1-51; Ps. xlv. 1-18; lx. 1-14; lxviii. 1-36.

It cannot be denied that the critic has shewn great ingenuity and constructive skill in elaborating his theory. His commentaries on the individual fragments composing the parts often exhibit striking and just remarks, with a right perception of the genius of some portions of the O. T. But we must pronounce the attempt a failure. The leading positions are untenable. Donaldson's arguments are often weak and baseless. Most of the contents which he assigns to the book of Jashar never belonged to it; such as the pieces of Genesis which he selects, etc. But it is needless to enter into a refutation of the hypothesis, ingeniously set forth in elegant Latin, and supported with considerable acuteness. Most of the book of Jashar cited in Joshua and 2d Samuel is lost. It is very improbable that laws, such as those in Deut. vi., x., xi.; or historical pieces like Gen. xvi. 1-4, ever belonged to it. And it is a most unfortunate conjecture that יָשָׁר, in Gen. xlix. 10, is abridged from מְלִיץ, or even if it were, that it furnishes a proof

of the poem being written while Solomon was king (p. 27). We are persuaded that the critic gives great extension of meaning to the Hebrew word

יָשָׁר, in making it almost, if not altogether, an appellation of the Israelite people. When he assumes that it is contained in יָשָׁר, the notion is erroneous (p. 23).—S. D.

JASHOBEAM (יִשְׁבָּעַם; Sept. Ἰεσβεάδ), son of Hachmoni, one of David's worthies, and the first named in the two lists which are given of them (2 Sam. xxiii. 8; 1 Chron. xi. 11). One of these texts is held to have suffered through the negligence of copyists, and as Jashobeam is not historically known, commentators have been much embarrassed in comparing them. The former attributes to him the defeat of 800, the latter of 300 Philistines; and the question has been whether there is a mistake of figures in one of these accounts, or whether two different exploits are recorded. Further difficulties will appear in comparing the two texts. We have assumed Jashobeam to be intended in both; but this is open to question. In Chronicles we read, 'Jashobeam, the Hachmonite, chief of the captains: he lifted up his spear against 300 men, slain by him at one time;' but in Samuel [margin], 'Josheb-bassebet the Tachmonite, head of the three, Adino, of Ezni, who lifted up his spear against 800 men whom he slew.' That Jashobeam the Hachmonite, and Josheb-besheth the Tachmonite, are the same person is clear; but may not Adino of Ezni, whose name forms the immediate antecedent of the exploit, which, as related here, constitutes the sole discrepancy between the two texts, be another person? Many so explain it, and thus obtain a solution of the difficulty. But a further comparison of the two verses will again suggest that the whole of the last cited must belong to Jashobeam; for not only is the parallel incomplete, if we take the last clause from him and assign it to another, but in doing this we leave the 'chief among the captains' without an exploit, in a list which records some feat of every hero. We incline, therefore, to the opinion of those who suppose that Jashobeam, or Josheb-bassebet, was the title as chief, Adino the proper name, and Hachmonite the patronymic of the same person; and the discrepancy which thus remains, we account for, not on the supposition of different exploits, but of one of those corruptions of numbers of which several will be found in comparing the books of Chronicles with those of Samuel and Kings. [EZNITE.]

The exploit of breaking through the host of the Philistines to procure David a draught of water from the well of Bethlehem, is ascribed to the three chief heroes, and therefore to Jashobeam, who was the first of the three (2 Sam. xxiii. 13-17; 1 Chron. xi. 15-19).

A Jashobeam is named among the Korhites who came to David at Ziklag (1 Chron. xii. 6); but this could scarcely have been the same with the preceding.

We also find a Jashobeam who commanded 24,000, and did duty in David's court in the month Nisan (1 Chron. xxvii. 2). He was the son of Zabdiel; if, therefore, he was the same as the first Jashobeam, his patronymic of 'the Hachmonite' must be referred to his race rather than to his immediate father. This seems likely.—J. K.

JASHUB (יִשׁוּב; Sept. Ἰασούβ), the third son of Issachar, and the head of the family or clan of

the Jashubites (Num. xxvi. 24; 1 Chron. vii. 1). In this last passage the textual reading is יָשׁוּב, but there is a K'ri יָשׁוּב. In the former passage the Samaritan has יָשׁוּב, but some copies have יָשׁוּב (see Kennicott, *Bib. Heb.* in loc.) In Gen. xvi. 13 the name appears in the form of יֹצֵב Job. As the two words have the same meaning, 'the returner' (the one from יָשׁוּב, the other from יֹצֵב or

אָזַב; Arab. اَوَّج), the one may have been substituted for the other by an oversight.

Another person of this name is mentioned Ezra x. 29.—W. L. A.

JASHUBI-LEHEM (יָשׁוּבִי-לֵחֶם, Returner to

Lehem, i. e., Bethlehem; Sept. καὶ ἀπεστρέψεν αὐτοῖς), the last in the list of the sons of Shelah (1 Chron. iv. 22). According to one Jewish tradition, as presented by the Targum, this was Boaz; but another, as given by Jerome (*Quaest. Heb. in Paralip.*), represents the words as describing Naomi and Ruth who returned to Bethlehem. The latter tradition explains the whole verse thus:—'*Who made the sun to stand*, that is, Elimelech, in whose time the sun stood because of those who acted deceitfully by the law, that by so great a miracle they might be converted to God; this failing, a famine ensued, by which they were driven from their country. *Men of a lie* (Chozeba), that is, Mahlon and Chilion, called here *Secure* (Joash), and *Flaming* (Saraph); and who are styled *princes of Moab* because they married Moabite wives. *They who returned to Lehem* are Naomi and Ruth; and these are said to be *ancient words* because they are recorded in the book of Ruth.—W. L. A.

JASON (Ἰάσων, the healer, from ἰάσθαι, to heal), the equivalent of Jesus (Ἰησοῦς). This latter is a name of frequent occurrence in Josephus, and is the Greek form of Joshua or Jeshua, a contraction of Jehoshua (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, 'whose help is Jehovah,' Gesen.; 'God the Saviour,' Pearson *On the Creed*, art. ii. p. 129, seq.). The names of Jason and Jeshua each occur twice in the list of the seventy-two elders who were sent to Ptolemy Philadelphus by Eleazar (Aristeas, *Hist. ap. Hody*, p. 7). Another instance of the interchange of Greek and Hebrew names is in the case of Alcimus or Jacimus ('Ἀλκιμος ὁ καὶ Ἰάκιμος, Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 9. 7), which are equivalent to *Jakim*, *Jachin*, and *Eliakim*. The Greek names in Josephus in connection with the Hebrew would seem to indicate that both languages were used indiscriminately by the Jews (see *Bell. Jud.*, v. 4. 1, 2).

1. JASON, THE SON OF ELEAZAR (Ἰάσων υἱὸς Ἐλεαζάρου, 1 Maccab. viii. 17; cf. Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Σιμόν, *Exed̄ar*, Alex., Ecclus. l. 27), was one of the ambassadors chosen by Judas Maccabæus, in conjunction with Eupolemus, and sent to Rome to make a league of amity and confederacy with the Romans, B.C. 161 (1 Maccab. l. c.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 10. 6).

2. JASON, THE FATHER OF ANTIPATER, who was sent by Jonathan, in conjunction with Numenius, the son of Antiochus, to Rome to renew the former treaty, is, in all probability, the same person as Jason, the son of Eleazar (1 Maccab. xii. 16; xiv. 22).

3. JASON, OF CYRENE, in Africa, was a Hellenist Jew of the race of those Jews whom Ptolemy

Soter sent into Egypt (2 Maccab. i.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 1; Prideaux, *Connection*, vol. ii., p. 176). He wrote in five books the history of Judas Maccabæus and his brethren, and the principal transactions of the Jews during the reigns of Seleucus IV. Philopator, Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, and Antiochus V. Eupator (B.C. 187-162), from which five books most of the second book of Maccabees is abridged. In all probability it was written in Greek, and from the fact of it including the wars under Antiochus V. Eupator, it must have been written after B.C. 162 [2 MACCABEES.] The sources from which Jason obtained his information are unknown, and it is not certain when either he or his epitomiser lived. His history is contained in the few verses of the 2 Maccab. ii. 19-23 (cf. Winer *Real-wörterbuch*, s. v. *Jason*).

4. JASON, THE HIGH-PRIEST, was the second son of Simon II., and the brother of Onias III. His proper name was Jesus, but he had changed it to that of Jason (Ἰασοῦς Ἰάσωνα ταυτὸν μετεώρισεν, Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 5. 1). Shortly after the accession of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, Jason offered to the king 440 talents of yearly tribute if he would invest him with the high-priesthood, to the exclusion of his elder brother. Josephus says that Onias III. was dead on the accession of Jason to the high-priesthood, and that Jason received this post in consequence of his nephew, Onias IV., the son of Onias III., being as yet an infant (*Antiq.* xii. 5. 1). Jason also offered a further 150 talents for the license 'to set him up a place of exercise, and for the training up of youth in the fashions of the heathen' (2 Maccab. iv. 7-9; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 5. 1). This offer was immediately accepted by Antiochus, and Jason built a gymnasium at Jerusalem. The effect of this innovation was to produce a stronger tendency than ever for Greek fashions and heathenish manners, and they so increased under the superintendence of the wicked Jason that the priests despised the Temple and 'hastened to be partakers of the unlawful allowance in the place of exercise, after the game of Discus [Discus] called them forth' (2 Maccab. iv. 14). Some of the Jews even 'made themselves uncircumcised' that they might appear to be Greeks when they were naked (1 Maccab. i. 15; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 5. 1). At last, as was the custom of the cities who used to send embassies to Tyre in honour of Hercules (Curt. iv. 2; Polyb. *Reliq.* xxxi. 20, 12), Jason sent special messengers (θεσποῖς) from Jerusalem, who were the newly-elected citizens of Antioch (Ἀντιοχείς ὄντας, cf. 2 Maccab. iv. 9), to carry three hundred drachms of silver to the sacrifice of that god. The money, however, contrary to the wish of the sender, was not used for the sacrifice of Hercules, but reserved for making triremes, because the bearers of it did not think it proper (διὰ τὸ μὴ καθήκειν) to employ it for the sacrifice (2 Maccab. iv. 19, 20) [HERCULES]. In B.C. 172 Jason also gave a festival to Antiochus when he visited Jerusalem, Jason and the citizens leading him in by torchlight and with great shoutings (2 Maccab. iv. 22). Josephus mentions this visit, but says that it was an expedition *against* Jerusalem, and that Antiochus, upon obtaining possession of the city, slew many of the Jews, and plundered it of a great deal of money (*Antiq.* xii. 5. 3). The crafty Jason, however, soon found a yet more cunning kinsman, who removed him from his office in much the same manner as he had done with his brother Onias

III. Menelaus, the son of Simon (Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 5. 1; Simon's brother, 2 Maccab. iv. 23), governor of the Temple, having been sent by Jason to Antiochus, knew how through flattery, and by offering three hundred talents more than Jason, to gain the favour of the king. Antiochus immediately gave him the office of high-priest, and Jason was forced to flee into the country of the Ammonites (2 Maccab. iv. 26) [MENELAUS]. In B.C. 170 Antiochus, having undertaken his second expedition into Egypt, there was a rumour that he was dead, and Jason made an attack upon Jerusalem, and committed many atrocities. He was, however, forced again to flee into the country of the Ammonites (2 Maccab. v. 5-7). At length, being accused before Aretas, king of the Arabians, he was compelled 'to flee from city to city, pursued of all men, and being held in abomination as an open enemy of his country and countrymen,' and eventually retired into Egypt (2 Maccab. v. 8). He afterwards retired to take refuge among the Lacedæmonians, 'thinking there to find succour by reason of his kindred' (2 Maccab. v. 9; cf. 1 Maccab. xii. 7. 21; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 4. 10; Prieux, *Connection*, vol. ii., p. 140), and perished miserably 'in a strange land.' His body remained without burial, and he had 'none to mourn for him' (2 Maccab. v. 9, 10).

5. JASON OF THESSALONICA was the host of Paul and Silas at that city. In consequence his house was assaulted by the Jews in order to seize the apostle, but not finding him, they dragged Jason and other brethren before the ruler of the city, who released them on security (Acts xvii. 5-9). He appears to have been the same as the Jason mentioned in Rom. xvi. 21 as one of the kinsmen of St. Paul, and probably accompanied him from Thessalonica to Corinth. He was not one of those who accompanied the apostle into Asia, though Lightfoot conjectures that Jason and Secundus were the same person (Acts xx. 4). Alford says Secundus is altogether unknown (Acts, *l.c.*) According to tradition Jason was Bishop of Tarsus. (Fabric. *Lux. Evang.*, pp. 91, 92; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, s. v. *Jason*).—F. W. M.

JASPER. [YASPEH.]

JASPIS, GOTTFRIED SIEGMUND, a German theologian, was born at Meissen, April 8, 1766. He received his education there from 1779 till 1785, when he repaired to Leipzig, where he enjoyed the advantages of Morus's lectures. The influence of this teacher upon him was beneficial and lasting. In 1792 he became pastor at Püchau, and in 1814 deacon of the Nicolaikirche in Leipzig, to which office he was recommended by Tittmann, Tschirner and Goldhorn. He died at Leipzig, February 15, 1823. Jaspis is best known by his excellent Latin translation of the apostolic Epistles, Lipsæ 1793-1795, and new ed. 1821, 8vo. His homiletic and polemical writings have passed into oblivion. He was a man of pure aims and cheerful piety, a good scholar and preacher.—S. D.

JATTIR (יַתִּיר, and יַתִּיר, 'height' יַעֲרֵב and אֲדָמָה, etc.; *Yether*), an ancient Canaanitish town situated in the mountains of Judah, and assigned to the priests (Josh. xv. 48; xxi. 14). Its inhabitants appear to have been friendly to David, for he sent them a present out of the spoils of Ziklag (1 Sam. xxx. 27). After this time we hear no

more of it in Scripture; but Eusebius and Jerome describe it as 'a very large village, twenty miles distant from Eleutheropolis, in Darom, towards Malatha, inhabited wholly by Christians' (*Onomast. s. v. Yether*). Malatha, we know lay about twenty miles due south of Hebron. Between these two places, and twelve miles from the latter, stands the village of *Attir*, which, though the name is different (عَتِير, the ع taking the place

of the י, a very unusual change), is unquestionably identical with the ancient Jattir. It is situated on a 'height,' as the old name implies; and grouped round it at the distance of a few miles are Socoh, Anab, and Eshtemoah, which are connected with it in Joshua's list (xv. 48-50; see Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 494; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, i. 353).—J. L. P.

JAVAN (יָוָן; Sept. Ἰωάν). 1. The fourth in order of the sons of Japheth, and the father of Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim (Gen. x. 2, 4). 2. In later books the designation of a place, which is coupled with Tarshish, Pul, Lud, Tubal, and 'the isles afar off,' as among the nations to which Israel should be scattered (Is. lvi. 19); and with Tubal and Meshech as carrying on traffic with the Tyrians, and especially as supplying them with slaves (Ezek. xxvii. 13). This renders it probable that Javan was the name given by the Hebrews to Greece, with its dependencies; and this rises to certainty when we find the term employed to designate the Macedonian empire in Greece (Dan. viii. 21), and find the enemies over whom the Jews were to triumph called B'ney-Javan, whether we understand this of the soldiers of Antiochus, who were Greek by descent ('Hebraei omnes illos Syriæ Ægyptique reges יְהוּדִים locant,' Grotius), or of the Greeks as representing generally the Gentile world. When we find that this name, or its analogue, is found as a designation of Greece not only in all the Shemitic dialects, but also in the Sanscrit, the Old Persian, and the Egyptian (Knobel, *Völkertafel*, p. 78, ff.); when we find it in the form of *Yacian*, or *Yanun*, in the cuneiform inscriptions, as designating the country to which the Cyprians belonged (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 474); when we remember that in the form 'Idowes,' appears in Homer as the designation of the early inhabitants of Attica (*Il.* xiii. 685), that Æschylus and Aristophanes make their Persian interlocutors call the Greeks 'Idowes' (cf. Æsch. *Pers.* 174, 555, 911, etc.; Aristoph. *Acharn.* 104, 106), and that the Scholiast on the latter of these passages from Aristophanes expressly says, *ἰδωὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας* 'Idowes of βάρβαροι ἐκδιδούω, there can remain no reasonable doubt that by Javan the Hebrews designated Greece. On this has been founded the hypothesis, that Javan, the son of Japheth, was the source of the Greek peoples, but the foundation here is slippery; for it remains a question whether the Oriental nations derived the term Javan as applied to Greece from 'Idowes, the designation of those of the Greeks with whom they came into contact, or the Greeks of Attica derived the name 'Idowes from a traditionary recollection of Javan as their progenitor. The former, it is presumed, is the more probable hypothesis. 3. A place mentioned Ezek. xxvii. 19 as supplying Tyre with sword-blades, cassia, and calamus. The

nature of these products indicates that the Javan of this verse must be different from the Javan of ver. 13, which, indeed, the separate mention of the two of itself suggests. The natural productions mentioned are from Arabia, and from it also came the famous sword-blades of Yemen. Now, in the Kamoos, there is a place mentioned of the name of Javan in Yemen; and if for *מ'oozal*, something spun, thread, from *אזל*, we read *מ'oozal* (may-oozal, from *Uzal*), which seems to be the correct reading (see Hävernicks, *in loc.*), we have here another place in Yemen mentioned along with it (comp. Gen. x. 27; see Bochart, *Geogr. Sacr.* pt. i. bk. ii. c. 21; Rosenmüller, *Bib. Geogr.* iii. 296, 305). All this renders it almost certain that an Arabic Javan is here intended. Tuch suggests (*Genesis*, p. 210) that the name may have been derived from a Greek colony having settled there; which is not improbable).—W. L. A.

JAVELIN. [ARMS.]

JEALOUSY, WATER OF. [See vol. i. p. 74; and OFFERING, vol. iii. p. 355.]

JEARIM, MOUNT (יְעָרִים), 'the mount of thickets,' Sept. *Ἰαρίμ*; Alex. *Ἰαρίμ*; *Montis Jearim*), one of the landmarks on the northern border of Judah:—'The border compassed from Baalah westward unto Mount Seir, and passed along unto the side of Mount Jearim, which is Chesalon, and went down to Bethshemesh' (Josh. xv. 10). Baalah is another name for Kirjath-jearim (ver. 9), now identified with Kuryet el-Enab; between it, therefore, and Bethshemesh, Mount Jearim must have been situated. Behind Kuryet el-Enab, on the south-west, is a steep hill, and south of this hill is the deep glen called Wady Ghurab, running from east to west. About two miles farther south is the parallel Wady Isma'il. Between the two Wadys is a high and rugged ridge, on the crest of which stands *Keslu*, the ancient Chesalon; and about six miles south-west of the latter are the ruins of Bethshemesh, in a valley. The ridge on which Keslu stands is doubtless Mount Jearim. Perhaps the hill behind Kuryet el-Enab may be Mount Seir: from it the border 'passed over (Wady Ghurab) to the shoulder (תֹּבֶר אל־כְּתִי) of Mount Jearim . . . and then went down to Bethshemesh' (Josh. xv. 10). The topography of Joshua here, as elsewhere, is wonderfully accurate. It may be that a considerable district of the mountains in this locality was called Jearim, for Baalah is called Kirjath-jearim ('the town of Jearim'); and if so, then we can see the reason why the explanatory phrase is added, 'Mount Jearim, which is Chesalon,' to limit the more general appellative to the narrow ridge between the two wadys. (See Keil on *Joshua*, ad loc.; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 11, 12; *Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 285).—J. L. P.

JEBB, JOHN, D.D., was born at Drogheda Sept. 27, 1775. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, in July 1791, was ordained deacon in Feb. 24, 1799, and in the following July became curate of Swanlibar, in the diocese of Kilmore. He received priest's orders in December of the same year, and in 1801 took his degree of A.M. In the beginning of 1804 he removed to the neighbourhood of Cashel, and in June 1810 became rector of Abington in the county of Limerick. In

1820 he was presented to the archdeaconry of Emly by the archbishop of Cashel, in the following year received the degree of D.D., and in Jan. 1823 was consecrated bishop of Limerick. He died Dec. 9, 1833. His reputation as a writer rests on the following work: *Sacred Literature, comprising a review of the principles of composition laid down by the late Robert Lowth, D.D., Lord Bishop of London, in his Prolections and Isaiahs, and an application of the principles so reviewed to the illustration of the N. T.; in a series of critical observations on the style and structure of that Sacred volume*; 8vo, Lond. 1820, 2d ed. 1831. The design of this work is to prove that the structure of the N. T. is often modelled after the poetical parts of the Old, and although the writer has often pressed his principle to an extreme, and exalted mere rhetorical antitheses into the parallelisms of Hebrew poetry, the force and beauty of many passages in the N. T. are exhibited with great clearness and interest.—S. N.

JEBERECHIAH (יְבֶרְכִּיָּה), *Bapaxlas*; *Barachias*). In Is. viii. 2 we find Jeberemiah mentioned as the father of a certain Zechariah, selected by Isaiah, together with a priest named Uriah, as witnesses to attest his prediction. Both the LXX. and the Vulgate give the name in its ordinary form, Barachiah, and as we do not find it elsewhere, the initial ' is probably an error, which may be accounted for by supposing the preceding word בְּנֵי to have been originally plural, בְּנֵי, the two witnesses being both sons of Barachiah, and the final letter, by a mistake of the copyist, to have been prefixed to the following word.

The same pair of names seems to have been of no unfrequent occurrence in the priestly houses. Zechariah the prophet was son of Berechiah (Zech. i. 1), and we have 'Zacharias, son of Barachias' (Matt. xxiii. 3, 5). Josephus also (*Jell. Jud.* iv. 5, 4) mentions another Zacharias, son of Baruch.—E. V.

JEBUS (יְבוּס), 'a place trodden down,' perhaps 'a threshing-floor,' Sept. *Ἰεβούς*; *Jebus*), the name of the ancient Canaanitish city which stood on Mount Zion, one of the hills on which Jerusalem was built. In Judg. xix. 10 it is identified with Jerusalem.—'And came over against Jebus, which is Jerusalem; and in 1 Chron. xi. 4, 5, the only other passage in which the name occurs, it is identified with the castle of Zion, subsequently called the castle or city of David.—'And David and all Israel went to Jerusalem, which is *Jebus*; where the Jebusites were, the inhabitants of the land. And the inhabitants of Jebus said to David, thou shalt not come hither. Nevertheless David took the castle of Zion, which is the city of David.' The sides of Zion descended precipitously on the west and south into the deep valley of Hinnom, and on the east into the Tyropœan, which separated it from Moriah. On the north side the upper part of the Tyropœan swept round it; and here was a ledge of rock on which a massive tower was afterwards founded, perhaps on the site of an older one. Jebus was thus naturally a place of great strength; and being strongly fortified besides, it is not strange that the Jebusites should have gloried in it as impregnable, and that the capture of it by David should have been considered one of his most brilliant achievements (2 Sam. v.

8). Even after Jebus was captured, and Jerusalem founded and made the capital of Israel, Zion was separately fortified. It seems that in addition to the 'castle' on the summit of the hill there was a lower city or suburb, perhaps lying in the bottom of the adjoining valleys; for we read that the children of Judah had captured and burned Jerusalem (Judg. i. 7, 8), while afterwards it is said 'the Benjamites did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem' (ver. 21). The Jebusites still held the 'castle' which was within the allotted territory of Benjamin, but the children of Judah drove them out of the lower town which was situated within their borders. This is in substance the explanation given by Josephus (*Antiq.* v. 2. 2 and 5). An attempt has recently been made to represent Jebus and Zion as distinct, and to identify Zion and Moriah (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. *Jerusalem*, vol. i., p. 1026), but this is plainly at variance with 1 Kings viii., where, after the building of the temple on Moriah, Solomon assembled the elders 'that they might bring up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the city of David, which is Zion' (see also 2 Chron. v. 2-7). Of course if Zion and Moriah were identical this statement would be inaccurate [ZION]. But again, as has been stated above, Jebus and the 'castle of Zion, which is the city of David,' are clearly identified in 1 Chron. xi. 4, 5. While the Jebusites had their castle or citadel upon one hill they had their threshing-floors upon another adjoining it, Mount Moriah, a thing very often seen in Syria at the present day (2 Sam. xxiv. 18-24, with 2 Chron. iii. 1).

Jebus was the stronghold and capital of the powerful tribe of the Jebusites, who were descended from one of the sons of Canaan (Gen. x. 16). We cannot tell whether the city took its name from the man who founded it, or whether the tribe took its name from the peculiar character of the hill on which their chief city was built. [JEBUSITE].—J. L. P.

JEBUSITE (יְבוּסִי; Ἰεβουσαῖος; *Jebuseus*).

The genealogy of this ancient tribe is given, with numerous others, in that invaluable 10th chapter of Genesis. At ver. 15, we read, 'And Canaan begat Sidon, his first-born, and Heth, and the *Jebusite*.' It is worthy of note, that while the two first names are those of *individuals*, the third and all that follow denote *tribes*—the *Jebusite*, etc. (הַיְבוּסִי). The only instance in which the individual name appears is as applied to the city Jebus. [JEBUS.] The Jebusites are always mentioned among the tribes who possessed Canaan before the Exodus. They dwelt in that country during the time of Abraham (Gen. xv. 21). When the twelve spies were sent by Moses from the wilderness of Paran 'to spy out the land,' they reported on their return that 'the Amalekites dwell in the land of the south; and the Hittites, and the *Jebusites*, and the Amorites, dwell in the mountains,' etc. (Num. xiii. 29). Jerusalem, the capital of the Jebusites, stands on the very crest of the mountain range. On Mount Zion they built their great stronghold (1 Chron. xi. 4, 5), and doubtless they occupied a considerable section of the surrounding hills. The Jebusites were a warlike tribe, and their king appears to have exercised extensive influence, as he was the head of the league formed against the Gibeonites (Josh. x. 1). The Israelites

conquered them, seized their land, and reduced them to tribute; but the Jebusites still held their castle on Zion, and dwelt among the Benjamites until David attacked their fortress, and Joab succeeded in scaling its cliffs and walls. Then the tribe was dispersed; though it would seem that a few of them were permitted to remain around their old capital, since David bought from Araunah the Jebusite, the threshing-floor on Moriah on which the Temple was afterwards built. From the narrative of David's remarkable interview with Araunah, it would seem that the latter was of the royal family of the Jebusites (2 Sam. xxiv. 18-25; 1 Chron. xxi. 15-30). Josephus tells us that Araunah was 'a particular friend of David's; and for that cause it was that, when he overthrew the city, he did him no harm' (*Antiq.* vii. 13. 4; and 3. 3). This is the last notice we have of the Jebusites.—J. L. P.

JECAMIAH (יְעָמְיָה; Sept. Ἰεκεμία; Alex.

Ἰεκεμία), one of seven who are mentioned as sons of Jeconiah in the line of David (1 Chron. iii. 18). By some the first in the list Shealtiel (A. V. Salathiel) alone is regarded as the son of Jeconiah, the other six being reckoned sons of Shealtiel. It is in favour of this that Zerubbabel, who appears here as the son of Pedaiah (ver. 19), is elsewhere called the son of Shealtiel (Ezra iii. 2; Hag. i. 12; Matt. i. 12); which he might be if his father Pedaiah was the son of Shealtiel, but not if he was his brother. There is a difficulty, however, in the way of this, arising from the use of the copula in ver. 18, which evidently connects Malchiram, Pedaiah, etc., with Shealtiel, as sons of Jeconiah. May not Shealtiel have been childless, and the oldest son of his brother Pedaiah be adopted by him, and appear in the genealogies as his son? We find Shealtiel or Salathiel himself appearing as the [legal] son of Neri (Luke iii. 27), though [really] the son of Jeconiah [GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST]. With the exception of Shealtiel, none of these sons of Jeconiah is mentioned elsewhere.—W. L. A.

JECONIAH, another form of Jehoiachin, king of Judah (1 Chron. iii. 16, 17; Jer. xxiv. 1; xxvii. 20; xxviii. 4; xxix. 1; Esth. ii. 6). The name is further abbreviated into Coniah.

JEDAIAH. By this word are represented in the A. V. two distinct Hebrew names. The one of this is יְדֵיָהּ, *Jah knows* (Sept. Ἰωβὰδ, Ἰεδωκ, Ἰαδίδ). Three persons of this name, apparently, are mentioned in Scripture:—

1. The head of the second course of priests according to the arrangement of David (1 Chron. xxiv. 7). In Neh. xi. 10 Jedaiah is made the son of Joiarib; but there is here an evident clerical error; for Jedaiah and Joiarib were heads of different priestly courses (comp. 1 Chron. ix. 10). A portion of those who returned from the captivity are described as the 'sons of Jedaiah, of the house of Jeshua' (Ezra ii. 36; Neh. vii. 39). Jewish tradition makes this Jeshua the famous high-priest in the time of Zerubbabel; but this may be a mistake. 2. The head of another priestly family in the time of Jeshua (Neh. xii. 7, 21). 3. A priest in the time of Jeshua (Zech. vi. 10, 14).

The other Hebrew name which Jedaiah repre-

sents is יְהִיָּה, *Praise Jah*, or *Praiser of Jah* (Sept. 'Iedad; Alex. 'Edid, 'Iedata). Two men of this name are mentioned:—1. An ancestor of Ziza, the head of a family in the tribe of Simeon (1 Chron. iv. 37). 2. The son of Harumaph, who is mentioned as one who builded over against his house in the repairing of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 10).—W. L. A.

JEDIAEL (יְדִיֵּאֵל, *God-known*). 1. (Sept. 'Iedihl; Vulg. *Jadid*, *Jadihel*). One of the lineal descendants of Benjamin, and founder of one of the leading Benjamite clans (1 Chron. vii. 6, 10, 11). On the difficulties connected with the genealogies of the tribe of Benjamin, see art. BECHER.

2. (I'edihl; Vulg. *Jedihel*). One of David's valiant men (1 Chron. xi. 45). Perhaps the same as the following; but this is altogether uncertain.

3. (P'wdihl; Alex. 'Iedihl; Vulg. *Jedihel*). One of the chief military officers of the tribe of Manasseh, who joined the army of David when the latter was retiring to Ziklag after the Philistines had refused to allow him to go up with them against Saul (1 Chron. xii. 20).

4. (I'adihl; Vulg. *Jadihel*). A Korahite (קִרְיָהּ) appointed to be one of the doorkeepers of the temple in accordance with the arrangements made by David in the last year of his life (1 Chron. xxvi. 2). He was the second son of Meshelemiah, the son of Kore (קֹרֵה).—S. N.

JEDIDIAH (יְדִידְיָהּ; Sept. 'Ieddeid; Alex. 'Iedida; *Amahils Domino*, 'darling of Jehovah').

The name bestowed on the newly-born Solomon by the prophet Nathan, by God's appointment, as a token of His love for the child, and His restored favour towards his father David, 'because of the Lord,' 'eò quod diligeret eum Dominus,' Vulg., 2 Sam. xii. 25. Ewald remarks (*Geschichte* iii. 215) on the happy omen the imposition of such an auspicious name, formed then for the first time for this express purpose, by Divine authority, must have been considered by the penitent and sorrowful David, and how naturally a child, born under such circumstances, and so pointedly owned of God, would become the best beloved of his father, and be marked out for the royal succession.

It must not be overlooked that the same root יָדָה, *amare*, appears both in David and Jedidiah, which would doubtless increase the significance in the father's mind. Ewald remarks (*l. c.* note 1) that it is still a common custom among the Orientals to give children a second name in addition to that imposed at birth, of a higher character, belonging to the man in a religious aspect.—E. V.

JEDUTHUN (יְדֻתָּן, sometimes יְדִיתָּן; Sept. 'Ιδουθών, 'Ιδιθούν, 'Ιδιθούμ), a Levite of the family of Merari, and one of the great masters of the temple music. That he was a Merarite, is proved (1) from the fact that his son Hosah (1 Chron. xvi. 38; comp. 42) was a descendant of Merari (xxvi. 10); (2) by the consideration that, as the appointment of three masters of song in the temple was determined by a regard to the three sons of Levi, and as Asaph represented the descendants of Gershon, and Heman those of Kohath, Jeduthun must be regarded as representing those of Merari; and (3) when we compare 1 Chron. xv. 17, 19,

with xvi. 41, 42; xxv. 1, 3, 6; and 2 Chron. xxxv. 15, it will appear that Jeduthun and Ethan are names of the same person; from which it follows, that as Ethan is expressly called a Merarite (1 Chron. xv. 17; vi. 29 [A. V. 44]), Jeduthun must also be such. This identification with Ethan enables us further to trace his genealogy; he was the son of Kishi, or Kushai, and was 13th in descent from Levi. The department superintended by Jeduthun and his colleagues in the temple service was that of the 'instruments of the song of God' (כְּלֵי שִׁיר אֱלֹהִים), by which are intended the nebel or psalter, the kinnor or harp, and the metsiltaim or cymbals (xv. 16). In 2 Chron. xxxv. 15 Jeduthun is called 'the king's seer,' which would seem to indicate that he was the medium of divine guidance to David. The name occurs in the title of Pss. xxxix., lxii., lxxvii., where some have thought that it indicates some special kind of composition, and others some instrument of music, but without reason.—W. L. A.

JEEZER (יִזְעָר; Sept. 'Αχιζερ), the eldest son of Gilead, and grandson of Manasseh, from whom sprang the family of the Jeezerites (Num. xxvi. 30). In Josh. xvii. 2 he is called Abiezer (אַבְיִזְעָר), and those descended from him the Abiezerites (Judg. vi. 11). One of these names is supposed to be the result of a clerical mistake; but whether the ז has been inserted in the one, or omitted in the other, remains uncertain. The LXX. would seem to have read Ἀχιζερ, but it is remarkable that in Josh. xvii. 2 they give 'Ιεζρ. This seems to countenance the suggestion that Jeezer is a contracted form of Abiezer (Simonis, *Onomast.* p. 451).—W. L. A.

JEGAR-SAHADUTHA (יְגָר שְׁהַדוּתָא; Chaldee, 'The heap of witness'; Sept. Βουνὸς τῆς μαρτυρίας; *tumulum testis*), the name given by Laban in his native Chaldee dialect to the heap of stones raised by Jacob on the spot where he made the covenant with Laban in Gilead. Laban called it Jegar-Sahadutha, but Jacob called it Galed. And Laban said, This heap (גָּל, *gal*) is a witness (עֵד, *ed*) between me and thee this day. Therefore was the name of it called *Galed* (Gen. xxxi. 46-48). It would seem from this remarkable interview that Jacob while in Mesopotamia had kept up the pure Hebrew dialect, and had trained his wives, children, and servants to the use of it. Laban and his followers, however, only understood, or at least were more familiar, with the Chaldee. Both Jacob and Laban were anxious not only to ratify the covenant between themselves personally, but also to have its solemnity deeply impressed upon their followers, and its terms fully understood by them all. Hence the different names given to that 'heap' which was, as it were, the seal of the covenant. The names *Jegar-Sahadutha* and *Galed* are not quite synonymous; the difference is accurately represented in the Septuagint, Βουνὸς τῆς μαρτυρίας and Βουνὸς μαρτύριος; and in the Old Latin *Acervum testimonii* and *Acervum testis*; but Jerome has just reversed the two in the Vulgate, *Tumulum testis* and *Acervum testimonii* (Sabatier, *Bibl. Sac. Latina Versiones*, ad loc.) An account of the covenant and the situation of the 'heap' are given under GILEAD.—J. L. P.

JEHIEL (יְהִיֵּל; Sept. 'Ιειήλ; Vulg. *Jehiel*, less frequently *Jehiel*). 1. One of the lineal descendants of Gershon, by his son Laadan, and the founder of one of the great patriarchal houses of the Levites (1 Chron. xxiii. 8). The members of this family or clan are termed Jehieli (יְהִיֵּלִי, 1 Chron. xxvii. 21, 22).

2. A Levite, and one of the singers appointed to accompany the ark from the house of Obededom (1 Chron. xv. 18, 20), and subsequently to minister before it in the tabernacle which David had prepared for it in Jerusalem (1 Chron. xvi. 5).

3. The representative of the family of the Jehieli in the reign of David, to whom were entrusted the precious stones contributed by the princes of Israel towards the erection of the temple (1 Chron. xxix. 8). Jehiel was probably his surname only, or title of rank, his personal name being Zetham (1 Chron. xxvii. 22).

4. (Sept. 'Ιειήλ; Alex. 'Ιερηήλ). Son of Hachmoni (יְחֻמֹּנִי, rendered in the A. V. 'an Hachmonite,' 1 Chron. xi. 11), and one of the officers of David's household, described as 'with the king's sons;' probably he was their tutor (1 Chron. xxvii. 32).

5. Son of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah (2 Chron. xxi. 2).

6. A Levite of the branch of Kohath, and a descendant of Heman the singer. He took an active part in the religious reformation originated by Hezekiah, and was appointed one of the overseers of the free-will offerings given for the maintenance of the priests (2 Chron. xxxi. 13).

7. A Levite, and one of the rulers of the house of God (בְּנֵי בֵּית אֱלֹהִים) in the reign of Josiah (2 Chron. xxxv. 8).

8. The father of Obadiah, the head of the Benei-Joab in the time of Ezra (Ezra viii. 9). In the book of Esdras (viii. 32) he is called Jezelus ('Ιεζήλος).

9. The father of Shechaniah, one of the contemporaries of Ezra (Ezra x. 2). He is described as one of the sons of Elam. In the book of Esdras he is styled 'one of the sons of Israel' (1 Esd. viii. 92).

10. (Sept. 'Ιαιήλ; Alex. 'Αειήλ; 1 Esd. 'Ιεζ-μιήλος.) One of the Benei-Elam who, at the exhortation of Ezra, agreed to put away his strange wife (Ezra x. 26; 1 Esd. ix. 27).

11. A priest of the course of Harim, who also made public acknowledgment of his transgression in marrying a strange wife (Ezra x. 21; also 1 Esd. ix. 21, which reads 'Ιερεήλ).—S. N.

JEHIEL (יְהִיֵּל, but according to the Keri יְהִיֵּל = JEIEL). 1. (Sept. 'Ιειήλ; Alex. 'Ιειήλ; Vulg. *Jehiel*). The chief of a Benjamite family which settled at Gibeon, and one of the ancestors of Saul (1 Chron. ix. 35, see also viii. 29).

2. ('Ιειήλ; Vulg. *Jehiel*). Son of Hotham the Areonite and one of David's valiant men (1 Chron. xi. 44).—S. N.

JEHIZKIAH (יְהִיזְכִּיָּה; Sept. 'Εζεκίας), one of the princes or chiefs of the tribe of Ephraim who, at the instigation of the prophet Oded, withstood the retaining in captivity of those whom the host of Israel under Pekah had carried away out of

Judah, and succeeded, after clothing and feeding them out of the spoils, in restoring them to their own land.—W. L. A.

JEHOAHAZ (יְהוֹאָחָז, *God-sustained*; Sept. 'Ιωδαχάφ). 1. Son of Jehu, king of Israel, who succeeded his father in B.C. 856, and reigned seventeen years. As he followed the evil courses of the house of Jeroboam, the Syrians under Hazael and Benhadad were suffered to prevail over him; so that, at length, he had only left of all his forces fifty horsemen, ten chariots, and 10,000 foot. Overwhelmed by his calamities, Jehoahaz at length acknowledged the authority of Jehovah over Israel, and humbled himself before him; in consideration of which a deliverer was raised up for Israel in the person of Jehoash, his son, who was enabled to expel the Syrians and re-establish the affairs of the kingdom (2 Kings xiii. 1-9, 25).

2. Otherwise called SHALLUM, seventeenth king of Judah, son of Josiah, whose reign began and ended in the year B.C. 608. After his father had been slain in resisting the progress of Pharaoh Necho, Jehoahaz, who was then twenty-three years of age, was raised to the throne by the people, and received at Jerusalem the regal anointing, which seems to have been usually omitted in times of order and of regular succession. He found the land full of trouble, but free from idolatry. Instead, however, of following the excellent example of his father, Jehoahaz fell into the accustomed crimes of his predecessors; and under the encouragements which his example or indifference offered, the idols soon re-appeared. It seems strange that in a time so short, and which must have been much occupied in arranging plans for resisting or pacifying the Egyptian king, he should have been able to deserve the stigma which the sacred record has left upon his name. But there is no limit except in the greatness of the divine power to the activity of evil dispositions. The sway of Jehoahaz was terminated in three months, when Pharaoh Necho, on his victorious return from the Euphrates, thinking it politic to reject a king not nominated by himself, removed him from the throne, and set thereon his brother Jehoiakim. This reign was the shortest in the kingdom of Judah, although in that of Israel there were several shorter. The deposed king was at first taken as a prisoner to Riblah in Syria; but was eventually carried to Egypt, where he died (2 Kings xxiii. 30-35; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1-4; 1 Chron. iii. 15; Jer. xxii. 10-12).

The anointing of this king has drawn attention to the defect of his title as the reason for the addition of that solemn ceremony. It appears from 1 Chron. iii. 15 that Josiah had four sons, of whom Johanan is expressly said to have been 'the first-born.' But he seems to have died before his father, as we nowhere find his name historically mentioned, while those of the other brothers are familiar to us. If, therefore, he died childless, and Jehoahaz were the next son, his claim would have been good. But he was not the next son. His name, as Shallum, occurs last of the four in 1 Chron. iii. 15; and from the historical notices in 2 Kings xxiii. and 1 Chron. xxxvi. we ascertain that when Josiah died the ages of the three surviving sons were, Eliakim (Jehoiakim) twenty-five years, Jehoahaz (Shallum) twenty-three years, Mattaniah (Zedekiah) ten years; consequently Jehoahaz was preferred by the popular favour above his elder

brother Jehoiakim, and the anointing, therefore, was doubtless intended to give to his imperfect claim the weight of that solemn ceremony. It was also probably suspected that, as actually took place, the Egyptian king would seek to annul a popular election unsanctioned by himself; but as the Egyptians anointed their own kings, and attached much importance to the ceremony, the possibility that he would hesitate more to remove an anointed than an unanointed king might afford a further reason for the anointing of Jehoahaz. [ANOINTING.]

Jehoahaz is supposed to be the person who is designated under the emblem of a young lion carried in chains to Egypt (Ezek. xix. 3, 4).—J. K.

JEHOASH. [JOASH.]

JEHOHANAN (יהוחנן), whom Jehovah bestows = Θεοδωπος, Ges., or rather, he to whom Jehovah is gracious, or the grace of Jehovah: LXX. Ἰωανᾶν, Ἰωάν, Ἰωδδᾶν; Vulg. *Johanan*). The name of several persons.

1. A military leader under Jeshophat, next to Adnah, who was first in command (2 Chron. xvii. 15; also xxiii. 1). The number of troops assigned to each commander in this connection is obviously an exaggeration.

2. The father of Azariah, who was one of the 'heads of the children of Ephraim,' who seconded the prophet Oded in opposing the retention of the two hundred thousand captives of Judah taken by Pekah, king of Israel, declaring that they should not be brought into Samaria to add to the sins of Israel; and who, in common with other chiefs, 'clothed those that were naked among them' out of the spoils, and 'gave them to eat and drink, and anointed them, and carried all that were feeble among them upon asses, and brought them back as far as Jericho, the city of palm trees' (2 Chron. xxviii. 6-15).

3. The sixth son of Meshelamiah or Shelemiah, a porter of the family of the Kohrites (1 Chron. xxvi. 3).

4. The son of Amariah, a priest, in the days of Joiakim, the high-priest (Neh. xii. 13).

5. The son of Shechaniah, the father-in-law of Tobiah, and who had married the daughter of Meshullam, the son of Berechiah, whose interest, therefore, was sufficiently powerful to support Tobiah (Neh. vi. 18).

6. The son of Eliashib, who had a chamber about the Temple, where Ezra bewailed the transgressions of the people of the captivity in the matter of the strange wives (Ezra x. 6; Neh. xii. 22, 23).

7. One of the four sons of Behai who had taken strange wives (Ezra x. 28).

8. A priest who took part in the joyful festivities of the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem, rebuilt by the returned captives (Neh. xii. 42).

In the A. V. the form of the name in Nos. 3, 5, 6, is Johanan. The name is of very frequent occurrence in later Jewish history. Its form in Josephus is Ἰωάννης = John.—I. J.

JEHOIACHIN (יהויכין, appointed by Jehovah; Sept. Ἰωαχμ), by contraction JECONIAH and CONIAH, nineteenth king of Judah, and son of Jehoiakim. When his father was slain, B.C. 599, the king of Babylon allowed him, as the rightful heir, to succeed. He was then eighteen years of age

according to 2 Kings xxiv. 8; but only eight according to 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9. Many attempts have been made to reconcile these dates, the most usual solution being that he had reigned ten years in conjunction with his father, so that he was eight when he began his joint reign, but eighteen when he began to reign alone. There are, however, difficulties in this view, which, perhaps, leave it the safest course to conclude that 'eight' in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, is a corruption of the text, such as might easily occur from the relation of the numbers eight and eighteen.

Jehoiachin followed the evil courses which had already brought so much disaster upon the royal house of David, and upon the people under its sway. He seems to have very speedily indicated a political bias adverse to the interests of the Chaldean empire; for in three months after his accession we find the generals of Nebuchadnezzar again laying siege to Jerusalem, according to the predictions of Jeremiah (xxii. 18-xxiv. 30). Convinced of the futility of resistance, Jehoiachin went out and surrendered as soon as Nebuchadnezzar arrived in person before the city. He was sent away as a captive to Babylon, with his mother, his generals, and his troops, together with the artificers and other inhabitants of Jerusalem, to the number of ten thousand. Few were left but the poorer sort of people and the unskilled labourers, few, indeed, whose presence could be useful in Babylon or dangerous in Palestine. Neither did the Babylonian king neglect to remove the treasures which could yet be gleaned from the palace or the temple; and he now made spoil of those sacred vessels of gold which had been spared on former occasions. These were cut up for present use of the metal or for more convenient transport; whereas those formerly taken had been sent to Babylon entire, and there laid up as trophies of victory. Thus ended an unhappy reign of three months and ten days. If the Chaldean king had then put an end to the show of a monarchy and annexed the country to his own dominions, the event would probably have been less unhappy for the nation. But still adhering to his former policy, he placed on the throne Mattaniah, the only surviving son of Josiah, whose name he changed to Zedekiah (2 Kings xxiv. 1-16; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, 10; Jer. xxix. 2; xxxvii. 1).

Jehoiachin remained in prison at Babylon during the lifetime of Nebuchadnezzar; but when that prince died, his son, Evil-merodach, not only released him, but gave him an honourable seat at his own table, with precedence over all the other de-throned kings who were kept at Babylon, and an allowance for the support of his rank (2 Kings xxv. 27-30; Jer. lii. 31-34). To what he owed this favour we are not told; but the Jewish commentators allege that Evil-merodach had himself been put into prison by his father during the last year of his reign, and had there contracted an intimate friendship with the deposed king of Judah.

The name of Jeconiah re-appears to fix the epoch of several of the prophecies of Ezekiel (Ezek. i. 2), and of the deportation which terminated his reign (Ezra. ii. 6). In the genealogy of Christ (Matt. i. 11) he is named as the 'son of Josias' his grandfather.—J. K.

JEHOIADA (יהויָדָע, known by Jehovah; Sept. Ἰωδαῖ). Several persons of this name are men-

tioned in the O. T., of whom the one most deserving notice is he who was high-priest in the times of Ahaziah and Athaliah. He is only known from the part which he took in recovering the throne of Judah for the young Joash, who had been saved by his wife Jehoshebah from the massacre by which Athaliah sought to exterminate the royal line of David. The particulars of this transaction are related under other heads. [ATHALIAH; JOASH.] Jehoiaida manifested much decision and forecast on this occasion; and he used for good the great power which devolved upon him during the minority of the young king, and the influence which he continued to enjoy as long as he lived. The value of this influence is shown by the misconduct and the disorders of the kingdom after his death. He died in B.C. 834, at the age of 130, and his remains were honoured with a place in the sepulchre of the kings at Jerusalem (2 Kings xi. 12; 2 Chron. xxiii. xxiv.) [For the other persons of this name see 2 Sam. viii. 18; 1 Chron. xii. 27; 1 Chron. xxvii. 34 (where for 'Jehoiaida the son of Benaiah,' we should probably read 'Benaiah the son of Jehoiaida'); 2 Kings xxv. 18; Jer. xxix. 25-29; Neh. iii. 6.]

JEHOIAKIM (יהויקים), established by Jehovah;

Sept. Ἰωακίμ), originally ELIAKIM, second son of Josiah, and eighteenth king of Judah. On the death of his father the people raised to the throne his younger brother Jehoahaz; but three months after, when the Egyptian king returned from the Euphrates, he removed Jehoahaz, and gave the crown to the rightful heir, Eliakim, whose name he changed to Jehoiakim. This change of name often took place in similar circumstances; and the altered name was in fact the badge of a tributary prince. Jehoiakim began to reign in B.C. 608, and reigned eleven years. He of course occupied the position of a vassal of the Egyptian empire, and in that capacity had to lay upon the people heavy imposts to pay the appointed tribute, in addition to the ordinary expenses of government. But, as if this were not enough, it would seem from various passages in Jeremiah (Jer. xxii. 13, etc.) that Jehoiakim aggravated the public charges, and consequently the public calamities, by a degree of luxury and magnificence in his establishments and structures very ill-suited to the condition of his kingdom and the position which he occupied. Hence much extortion and wrong-doing, much privation and deceit; and when we add to this a general forgetfulness of God and proneness to idolatry, we have the outlines of that picture which the prophet Jeremiah has drawn in the most sombre hues.

However heavy may have been the Egyptian yoke, Jehoiakim was destined to pass under one heavier still. In his time the empire of Western Asia was disputed between the kings of Egypt and Babylon; and the kingdom of Judah, pressed between these mighty rivals, and necessarily either the tributary or very feeble enemy of the one or the other, could not but suffer nearly equally, whichever proved the conqueror. The kings of Judah were therefore placed in a position of peculiar difficulty, out of which they could only escape with safety by the exercise of great discretion, and through the special mercies of the God of Israel, who had by his high covenant engaged to protect them so long as they walked uprightly. This they

did not, and were in consequence abandoned to their doom.

In the third year of his reign Jehoiakim, being besieged in Jerusalem, was forced to submit to Nebuchadnezzar, and was by his order laden with chains, with the intention of sending him captive to Babylon (2 Chron. xxxvi. 6); but eventually the conqueror changed his mind and restored the crown to him. Many persons, however, of high family, and some even of the royal blood, were sent away to Babylon. Among these was Daniel, then a mere youth. A large proportion of the treasures and sacred vessels of the temple were also taken away and deposited in the idol-temple at Babylon (Dan. i. 1, 2). The year following the Egyptians were defeated upon the Euphrates (Jer. xlvi. 2), and Jehoiakim, when he saw the remains of the defeated army pass by his territory, could not but perceive how vain had been that reliance upon Egypt against which he had been constantly cautioned by Jeremiah (Jer. xxxi. 1; xlv. 1). In the same year the prophet caused a collection of his prophecies to be written out by his faithful Baruch, and to be read publicly by him in the court of the temple. This coming to the knowledge of the king, he sent for it and had it read before him. But he heard not much of the bitter denunciations with which it was charged, before he took the roll from the reader, and after cutting it in pieces threw it into the brasier which, it being winter, was burning before him in the hall. The counsel of God against him, however, stood sure; a fresh roll was written, with the addition of a further and most awful denunciation against the king, occasioned by this foolish and sacrilegious act. 'He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David: and his dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat and in the night to the frost' (Jer. xxxvi.) All this, however, appears to have made little impression upon Jehoiakim, who still walked in his old paths.

The condition of the kingdom as tributary to the Chaldeans probably differed little from that in which it stood as tributary to the Egyptians, except that its resources were more exhausted by the course of time, and that its gold went to the east instead of the south. But at length, after three years of subjection, Jehoiakim, finding the king of Babylon fully engaged elsewhere, and deluded by the Egyptian party in his court, ventured to withhold his tribute, and thereby to throw off the Chaldean yoke. This step, taken contrary to the earnest remonstrances of Jeremiah, was the ruin of Jehoiakim. It might seem successful for a little, from the Chaldeans not then having leisure to attend to the affairs of this quarter. In due time, however, the land was invaded by their armies, accompanied by a vast number of auxiliaries from the neighbouring countries, the Edomites, Moabites, and others, who were for the most part actuated by a fierce hatred against the Jewish name and nation. The events of the war are not related. Jerusalem was taken, or rather surrendered on terms, which Josephus alleges were little heeded by Nebuchadnezzar. It is certain that Jehoiakim was slain, but whether in one of the actions, or, as Josephus says, after the surrender, we cannot determine. His body remained exposed and unlamented without the city, under the circumstances foretold by the prophet—'They shall not lament for him, saying, Ah, my brother! or, Ah, sister! They

shall not lament for him, saying, Ah, lord! or, Ah, his glory! He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem' (Jer. xxii. 18, 19; 1 Chron. iii. 15; 2 Kings xxiii. 34-37; xxiv. 1-7; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4-8).

It was not the object of Nebuchadnezzar to destroy altogether a power which, as tributary to him, formed a serviceable outpost towards Egypt, which seems to have been the great final object of all his designs in this quarter. He therefore still maintained the throne of Judah, and placed on it Jehoiachin, the son of the late king. He, however, sent away another body, a second corps of the nobles and chief persons of the nation, three thousand in number, among whom was Ezekiel, afterwards called to prophesy in the land of his exile.—J. K.

JEHOIARIB (יְהוֹיָרִיב), abbreviated to JOI-ARIB (יֹרִיב; Sept. *Ἰωάριβ*; Alex. *Ἰωαρείβ*, *Ἰαρείβ*; 1 Maccab. ii. 1, *Ἰωαρείβ*), head of the first of the twenty-four courses into which the priests were divided according to David's arrangement (1 Chron. xxiv. 7). Of these courses only four are mentioned as having returned from Babylon, those of Jedaiah, Immer, Pashur, and Harim (Ezra ii. 36-39; Neh. vii. 39-42); and Jewish tradition says that each of these was divided into six, so as to preserve the original number with the original names (Talm. Hierosol. Taanith, c. 4, p. 68, col. 1, in ed. Bomberg). This might account for our finding at a later period Mattathias described as of the course of Joarib (1 Maccab. ii. 1), even though this course did not return from Babylon (Prideaux, *Connection*, i. 136, 8th ed.) We find, however, that some of the descendants of Jehoiarib did return from Babylon (1 Chron. ix. 10; Neh. xi. 10 [JEDAHIAH]); we find also that in subsequent lists other of the priestly courses are mentioned as returning, and in one of these that of Jehoiarib is expressly mentioned (Neh. x. 2-8; xii. 1-7), and mention is made of Mattenai as chief of the house of Joarib in the days of Jeshua (xii. 19). The probability therefore is that the course of Jehoiarib did go up, but at a later date perhaps than those four mentioned Ezra ii. 36-39 and Neh. vii. 39-42. To the course of Joarib Josephus tells us he belonged (*Antiq.* xi. 6. 1; *Life*, sec. 1).—W. L. A.

JEHONADAB. [JONADAB.]

JEHONATHAN (יְהוֹנָתָן; Sept. *Ἰωανᾶδς*), the full form of the name which elsewhere appears as JONATHAN. It is used in the A. V. of three persons:—1. The officer who had charge of 'the storehouses' of David 'in the fields, in the cities, and in the villages, and in the castles,' *i.e.*, the revenues of the king drawn from his property out of Jerusalem (1 Chron. xxvii. 25). 2. One of the Levites sent by Jehoshaphat to instruct the people in the law of the Lord (2 Chron. xvii. 8). 3. A priest, chief of the family of Shemaiah in the time of Jeshua (Neh. xii. 18).—†

JEHORAM I. (יְהוֹרָם, *exalted by Jehovah*; Sept. *Ἰωραμ*), eldest son and successor of Jehoshaphat, and fifth king of Judah, who began to reign (separately) in B.C. 889, at the age of thirty-five years, and reigned five years. It is indeed said in the general account that he began to reign at the age of thirty-

two, and that he reigned eight years; but the conclusions deducible from the fact that his reign began in the seventh year of Joram, king of Israel, shew that the reign thus stated dates back three years into the reign of his father, who from this is seen to have associated his eldest son with him in the later years of his reign.

Jehoram profited little by this association. He had unhappily been married to Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel; and her influence seems to have neutralized all the good he might have derived from the example of his father. One of the first acts of his reign was to put his brothers to death and seize the valuable appanages which their father had in his lifetime bestowed upon them. After this we are not surprised to find him giving way to the gross idolatries of that new and strange kind—the Phœnician—which had been brought into Israel by Jezebel, and into Judah by her daughter Athaliah. For these atrocities the Lord let forth his anger against Jehoram and his kingdom. The Edomites revolted, and, according to old prophecies (Gen. xxvii. 40), shook off the yoke of Judah. The Philistines on one side, and the Arabians and Cushites on the other, also grew bold against a king forsaken of God, and in repeated invasions spoiled the land of all its substance; they even ravaged the royal palaces, and took away the wives and children of the king, leaving him only one son, Ahaziah. Nor was this all; Jehoram was in his last days afflicted with a frightful disease in his bowels, which, from the terms employed in describing it, appears to have been malignant dysentery in its most shocking and tormenting form. After a disgraceful reign, and a most painful death, public opinion inflicted the posthumous dishonour of refusing him a place in the sepulchre of the kings. Jehoram was by far the most impious and cruel tyrant that had as yet occupied the throne of Judah, though he was rivalled or surpassed by some of his successors (2 Kings viii. 16-24; 2 Chron. xxi.).

JEHORAM II., king of Israel. [JORAM.]—J. K.

JEHOSHAPHAT (יְהוֹשָׁפָט, *whom Jehovah judges*; Sept. *Ἰωσαφάτ*), the fourth king of Judah, and son of Asa, whom he succeeded in B.C. 914, at the age of thirty-five, and reigned twenty-five years. He commenced his reign by fortifying his kingdom against Israel; and having thus secured himself against surprise from the quarter which gave most disturbance to him, he proceeded to purge the land from the idolatries and idolatrous monuments by which it was still tainted. Even the high places and groves, which former well-disposed kings had suffered to remain, were by the zeal of Jehoshaphat in a great measure destroyed. The chiefs, with priests and Levites, proceeded from town to town, with the book of the law in their hands, instructing the people, and calling back their wandering affections to the religion of their fathers. This was a beautiful and interesting circumstance in the operations of the young king. Other good princes had been content to smite down the outward show of idolatry by force of hand; but Jehoshaphat saw that this was not of itself sufficient, and that the basis of a solid reformation must be laid by providing for the better instruction of the people in their religious duties and privileges.

Jehoshaphat was too well instructed in the great principles of the theocracy not to know that his faithful conduct had entitled him to expect the divine protection. Of that protection he soon had manifest proofs. At home he enjoyed peace and abundance, and abroad security and honour. His treasures were filled with the 'presents' which the blessing of God upon the people, 'in their basket and their store,' enabled them to bring. His renown extended into the neighbouring nations, and the Philistines, as well as the adjoining Arabian tribes, paid him rich tributes in silver and in cattle. He was thus enabled to put all his towns in good condition, to erect fortresses, to organise a powerful army, and to raise his kingdom to a degree of importance and splendour which it had not enjoyed since the revolt of the ten tribes.

The weak and impious Ahab at that time occupied the throne of Israel; and Jehoshaphat, having nothing to fear from his power, sought, or at least did not repel, an alliance with him. This is alleged to have been the grand mistake of his reign; and that it was such is proved by the consequences. Ahab might be benefited by the connection, but under no circumstance could it be of service to Jehoshaphat or his kingdom, and it might, as it actually did, involve him in much disgrace and disaster, and bring bloodshed and trouble into his house. His fault seems to have been the result of that easiness of temper and overflowing amiability of disposition, which the careful student may trace in his character; and which, although very engaging attributes in private life, are not always among the safest or most valuable qualities which a king in his public capacity might possess.

After a few years we find Jehoshaphat on a visit to Ahab, in Samaria, being the first time any of the kings of Israel and Judah had met in peace. He here experienced a reception worthy of his greatness; but Ahab failed not to take advantage of the occasion, and so worked upon the weak points of his character as to prevail upon him to take arms with him against the Syrians, with whom, hitherto, the kingdom of Judah never had any war or occasion of quarrel. However, Jehoshaphat was not so far infatuated as to proceed to the war without consulting God, who, according to the principles of the theocratic government, was the final arbiter of war and peace. The false prophets of Ahab poured forth ample promises of success, and one of them, named Zedekiah, resorting to material symbols, made him horns of iron, saying, 'Thus saith the Lord, with thee shalt thou smite the Syrians till they be consumed.' Still Jehoshaphat was not satisfied; and the answer to his further inquiries extorted from him a rebuke of the reluctance which Ahab manifested to call Micaiah, 'the prophet of the Lord.' The fearless words of this prophet did not make the impression upon the king of Judah which might have been expected; or, probably, he then felt himself too deeply bound in honour to recede. He went to the fatal battle of Ramoth-Gilead, and there nearly became the victim of a plan which Ahab had laid for his own safety at the expense of his too confiding ally. He persuaded Jehoshaphat to appear as king, while he himself went disguised to the battle. This brought the heat of the contest around him, as the Syrians took him for Ahab; and if they had not in time discovered their mistake, he would certainly have

been slain. Ahab was killed, and the battle lost [AHAB]; but Jehoshaphat escaped, and returned to Jerusalem.

On his return from this imprudent expedition he was met by the just reproaches of the prophet Jehu. The best atonement he could make for this error was by the course he actually took. He resumed his labours in the further extirpation of idolatry, in the instruction of the people, and the improvement of his realm. He now made a tour of his kingdom in person, that he might see the ordinances of God duly established, and witness the due execution of his intentions respecting the instruction of the people in the divine law. This tour enabled him to discern many defects in the local administration of justice, which he then applied himself to remedy. He appointed magistrates in every city, for the determination of causes civil and ecclesiastical; and the nature of the abuses to which the administration of justice was in those days exposed, may be gathered from his excellent charge to them:—'Take heed what ye do, for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the judgment. Wherefore now let the fear of the Lord be upon you; take heed and do it; for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts.' Then he established a supreme council of justice at Jerusalem, composed of priests, Levites, and 'the chiefs of the fathers;' to which difficult cases were referred, and appeals brought from the provincial tribunals. This tribunal also was inducted by a weighty but short charge from the king, whose conduct in this and other matters places him at the very head of the monarchs who reigned over Judah as a separate kingdom.

The activity of Jehoshaphat's mind was then turned towards the revival of that maritime commerce which had been established by Solomon. The land of Edom and the ports of the Elanitic Gulf were still under the power of Judah; and in them the king prepared a fleet for the voyage to Ophir. Unhappily, however, he yielded to the wish of the king of Israel, and allowed him to take part in the enterprise. For this the expedition was doomed of God, and the vessels were wrecked almost as soon as they quitted port. Instructed by Eliezer, the prophet, as to the cause of this disaster, Jehoshaphat equipped a new fleet, and having this time declined the co-operation of the king of Israel, the voyage prospered. The trade was not, however, prosecuted with any zeal, and was soon abandoned [COMMERCE].

In accounting for the disposition of Jehoshaphat to contract alliances with the king of Israel, we are to remember that there existed a powerful tie between the two courts in the marriage of Jehoshaphat's eldest son with Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab; and, when we advert to the part in public affairs which that princess afterwards took, it may well be conceived that even thus early she possessed an influence for evil in the court of Judah.

After the death of Ahaziah, king of Israel, Joram, his successor, persuaded Jehoshaphat to join him in an expedition against Moab. This alliance was, however, on political grounds, more excusable than the two former, as the Moabites, who were under tribute to Israel, might draw into their cause the Edomites, who were tributary to Judah. Besides, Moab could be invaded with most advantage from the south, round by the end

of the Dead Sea; and the king of Israel could not gain access to them in that quarter but by marching through the territories of Jehoshaphat. The latter not only joined Joram with his own army, but required his tributary, the king of Edom, to bring his forces into the field. During seven days' march through the wilderness of Edom, the army suffered much from want of water; and by the time the allies came in sight of the army of Moab, they were ready to perish from thirst. In this emergency the pious Jehoshaphat thought, as usual, of consulting the Lord; and hearing that the prophet Elisha was in the camp, the three kings proceeded to his tent. For the sake of Jehoshaphat, and for his sake only, deliverance was promised; and it came during the ensuing night, in the shape of an abundant supply of water, which rolled down the exhausted wadys, and filled the pools and hollow grounds. Afterwards Jehoshaphat took his full part in the operations of the campaign, till the armies were induced to withdraw in horror, by witnessing the dreadful act of Mesha, king of Moab, in offering up his eldest son in sacrifice upon the wall of the town in which he was shut up.

This war kindled another much more dangerous to Jehoshaphat. The Moabites, being highly exasperated at the part he had taken against them, turned all their wrath upon him. They induced their kindred, the Ammonites, to join them, obtained auxiliaries from the Syrians, and even drew over the Edomites; so that the strength of all the neighbouring nations may be said to have been united for this great enterprise. The allied forces entered the land of Judah and encamped at Engedi, near the western border of the Dead Sea. In this extremity Jehoshaphat felt that all his defence lay with God. A solemn fast was held, and the people repaired from the towns to Jerusalem to seek help of the Lord. In the presence of the assembled multitude the king, in the court of the temple, offered up a fervent prayer to God, concluding with—"O our God, wilt thou not judge them, for we have no might against this great company that cometh against us, neither know we what to do; but our eyes are upon thee." He ceased; and in the midst of the silence which ensued, a voice was raised pronouncing deliverance in the name of the Lord, and telling them to go out on the morrow to the cliffs overlooking the camp of the enemy, and see them all overthrown without a blow from them. The voice was that of Jahaziel, one of the Levites. His words came to pass. The allies quarrelled among themselves and destroyed each other; so that when the Judahites came the next day they found their dreaded enemies all dead, and nothing was left for them but to take the rich spoils of the slain. This done, they returned with triumphal songs to Jerusalem. This great event was recognised even by the neighbouring nations as the act of God; and so strong was the impression which it made upon them, that the remainder of the good king's reign was altogether undisturbed. His death, however, took place not very long after this, at the age of sixty, after having reigned twenty-five years, B.C. 896. He left the kingdom in a prosperous condition to his eldest son Jehoram, whom he had in the last years of his life associated with him in the government.

Jehoshaphat, who sought the Lord with all his

heart, was the character given to this king by Jehu, when, on that account, he gave to his grandson an honourable grave (2 Chron. xxii. 9). And this, in fact, was the sum and substance of his character. The Hebrew annals offer the example of no king who more carefully squared all his conduct by the principles of the theocracy. He kept the Lord always before his eyes, and was in all things obedient to his will when made known to him by the prophets. Few of the kings of Judah manifested so much zeal for the real welfare of his people, or took measures so judicious to promote it. His good talents, the benevolence of his disposition, and his generally sound judgment, are shown not only in the great measures of domestic policy which distinguished his reign, but by the manner in which they were executed. No trace can be found in him of that pride which dishonoured some and ruined others of the kings who preceded and followed him. Most of his errors arose from that dangerous facility of temper which sometimes led him to act against the dictates of his naturally sound judgment, or prevented that judgment from being fairly exercised. The kingdom of Judah was never happier or more prosperous than under his reign; and this, perhaps, is the highest praise that can be given to any king.—J. K.

[Four other persons bearing this name are mentioned in the O. T. See 2 Sam. viii. 16, and 1 Kings iv. 3; 1 Chron. xv. 24; 1 Kings iv. 17; 2 Kings ix. 2, 14.]

JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF (יְהוֹשָׁפָט בְּעֵמֶק; κοιλίς Ἰωσαφάτ; *vallis Josaphat*).

In one of the sublime prophecies of Joel, when describing the events which would occur after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, he represents the Lord as saying: 'I will gather all the nations, and bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them there, on account of my people, and Israel mine inheritance, whom they have scattered among the nations' (iii. 2, in the Hebrew iv. 2). The nations referred to appear to be those which oppressed Israel and aided in their overthrow. These then, including the Sidonians, Tyrians, and Phoenicians generally (ver. 4), were to be brought down into this valley and judged (ver. 12). The act is clearly symbolical, and in that case we can scarcely think that reference is made to any specific locality. The valley appears to have been intended to symbolise those bloody battle-fields where the hostile nations contiguous to Judæa had signal vengeance inflicted on them. The phrase יְהוֹשָׁפָט בְּעֵמֶק, literally signifies 'The valley where Jehovah judgeth'; and may thus have been intended to represent any scene of divine judgment. This is supported by the

Targum, where the words are rendered מִישַׁר פְּלִיגוֹן בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, 'the plain of the distribution of judgment'; and by the translation of Theodotion, τὴν χώραν τῆς κρίσεως, 'the place of judgment' (Henderson, *Minor Prophets*, ad loc.)

The interpretations of this passage have been both numerous and conflicting (see *Poli Synopsis Crit. Sac.* ad loc.) Many think a definite place is referred to, and some say it is the 'valley of Bera-chah' where Jehoshaphat obtained the signal victory over Ammon and Moab (2 Chron. xx. 26). Some again affirm that the valley of the Kidron is

meant—that deep valley or glen which separates Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives. This may be regarded as the traditional interpretation both among Jews and Christians. Eusebius says *κοιλὰς Ἰωσαφάτ* lay between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Coelās*), and from his time until the present day this is the common name given to the Kidron; and this reference of the prophet Joel has given rise to the current belief among Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans, that the last judgment will take place there (Robinson, *B. R.* i. 269). For this identification, however, there is not the slightest ground, either in the writings of Scripture or in Josephus. The name universally given to the glen is Kidron (2 Sam. xv. 23; 1 Kings ii. 38; John xviii. 1; Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* v. 2. 3, etc.). Not only so, but the word *מַקְדָּוֹן*, translated 'valley,' is altogether inapplicable to the Kidron; it signifies a low tract of land of wide extent, such as suited a battle-field (Job xxxix. 10, 21; Josh. xv. 8). The Kidron is always termed *נַחַל*, 'torrent valley' or 'glen,' and the Septuagint and Josephus render it *χεῖμαρρος*, and this is the word used in John xviii. 1. Josephus also applies the word *φάραγξ* to the Kidron. The Kidron is a narrow rocky ravine [KIDRON], and wholly unsuitable for such an event as is referred to by Joel; and even though we could believe that the prophet referred to a specific valley this could not be the one.—J. L. P.

JEHOSHEBAH (יְהֹשֶׁבֶת; Ἰωσαβητ; *Josaba*; 2 Kings xi. 2; 2 Chron. xxii. 11. **JEHOSHABEATH**, יְהֹשָׁבֶעֱת; Ἰωσαβηθ; *Josabeth*; Ἰωσαβηθ, Joseph. *Jehovah's oath*), daughter of Joram, king of Judah, sister of Ahaziah, but probably by a secondary wife, and so not the daughter of Athaliah, wife of the high-priest Jehoiada, 2 Chron. xxii. 11. When Athaliah had the whole of the seed royal massacred with a view to the usurpation of the throne, Jehoshebah discovered her infant nephew Joash and his nurse concealed under the heaps of corpses (Joseph. *Antiq.* ix. 7. 1), which covered the pavement of the palace, and, conveying him away secretly, hid him in one of the bedchambers annexed to the Temple, in whose sacred precincts he was brought up by her and her husband Jehoiada among their own children.

The view that she was not the daughter of Athaliah appears to be confirmed by Josephus, who calls her *Ὁμοφάτριος ἀδελφή*, and is in keeping with the subsequent measures taken by her husband Jehoiada for the death of the usurping queen. Needless doubt has been thrown upon her marriage with Jehoiada (Newman, *Heb. Monarch.*, p. 195), which is not expressly mentioned in Kings, as 'a fiction of the chronicler to glorify his greatness.' This, however, is certainly assumed in 2 Kings xi. 3, and is accepted by Ewald, *Geschichte* iii. 575, as perfectly authentic.—E. V.

JEHOSHUA (יְהֹשֻׁעַ), the full form of the name which usually appears as JOSHUA. It occurs twice in the A. V. of the leader of Israel (Num. xiii. 16; 1 Chron. vii. 27), in the latter case with a final *ā*. The LXX. in the former give Ἰησοῦς, in the latter Ἰησοῦς.—†

JEHOVAH (יְהוָה), the proper and incommunicable name of the Most High God. As usually

pointed, this word appears as יְהוָה, but, as is well known, these are the points appropriate to אֱלֹהֵינוּ, and are affixed to יְהוָה in order that in reading, the former may be substituted for the latter, so as to avoid the utterance of the peculiar name of God, which to the Jews appears irreverent.* For the same reason, where these two words occur together, the latter is pointed יְהוָה that it may be pronounced as אֱלֹהִים. In consequence of this usage, the proper pronunciation of יְהוָה has been entirely lost from traditional recollection, and can be recovered with probability only from etymological research.

1. *Etymology of the word.*—Passing over some fantastic and baseless conjectures on this head, we go at once to the passage in which we have what was undoubtedly regarded by the ancient Hebrews as the etymon of the word, Exod. iii. 14. In reply to the request of Moses that God would announce to him his name, 'God said unto Moses, *I am that I am* (אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי); and he said, *Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I am hath sent me unto you.*' Again, in ch. vi. 2, we read, 'And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, *I am Jehovah* (יְהוָה).' According to this the word must be referred to the substantive verb *יהיה*, of which the earlier form was *יהוה*; and of this *יהוה* would be the regular form of the third person sing. masc. of the future. In this case the punctuation would regularly be יְהוָה *Yih'veh*, or יְהוֹה *Yehveh*; and such is regarded by some as the original and proper pronunciation of the word. This etymology preserves the connection between the peculiar name of God and the name by which He told Moses He would be made known to the Israelites; and it falls in with the representation of Scripture that *to be* is the special characteristic of God (Ps. cii. 12, 26, 27; Is. xliii. 13; Rev. iv. 8, etc.) On this hypothesis also can be best accounted for the abbreviated forms of the word found in proper names, *יהוה* and *יה*; the *h* becomes *'* as in *יהוה* for *יהוה* (Eccles. xi. 3), and after the elision of the *He* the *Vau* may easily assume the *O* sound; so also from *יה* is formed *יה*, as in the apocopate form *יהי*, and this in composition becomes *יהי*, as in *יהושע* (Fürst, *H. W. B.* in verb.) Gesenius and Ewald prefer to punctuate and pro-

* Among those of Israel who shall not obtain eternal life, Abba Shaul includes, 'Him who shall pronounce the name by its own letters' (*Sanhedrin*, ch. xi. sec. 1, in the edit. of the Mishna by Surenhusius, vol. iv. p. 159. Comp. Philo, *De Vita Mosi*; Theodoret, *Quest. xv. in Exod.*) This disuse of the word must have begun very early, as it is not employed in the LXX. or the Apocryphal writings. Jewish tradition states that in later times the name was pronounced in the temple only by the priest on pronouncing the blessing commanded by God in the law. According to Maimonides this usage terminated with Simon the Just, or, according to others, when the temple was destroyed. Cf. Drusii *Tetragrammaton*, in *Reland's Decas Exercitationum Phil. de vera pronun. nominis Jehova.*

nounce the word יהוה *Yahveh*; but the only reason apparently that can be produced for this is that Epiphanius gives 'Iaβé as the Hebrew name for God, and Theodoret (*Quaest. in Exod. xv.*), says that so the word was pronounced by the Samaritans; to which much importance cannot be attached, as we do not know what were the means of information possessed by these writers, as they partially contradict each other, and as other writers who have sought to express the Hebrew word in Greek letters have given it otherwise, *ex. gr.*, 'Iaóv (Clemens Alex., *Strom.* v. p. 666), 'Ieúv (Porphy. ap. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* i. 9, 21), 'Iaú (Diodor. Sic. i. 94; Porphy. [quoting Sanchoniatho] ap. Theodoret *Cur. Græc. Affect.* ii. 28. 15, p. 77, ed. Gaisford; Origen, *ad. Johan.* i. 1; Euseb., *Dem. Evang.* x. p. 494, ed. Colon. 1688). Jerome gives it also (on Ps. viii. 2) as *Jaho*, for which we should probably read *Jahvo*. Irenæus (*adv. Hæc.* ii. 353) writes it *Jaoth*, where Knobel suggests that the θ in the Greek text probably was meant to represent the Heb. ה. These varieties have given ground for other modes of pointing and pronouncing the original word besides those above given. Thus several prefer יהוה *Yahvah*, where the hard

sound of the Kamets, as usually pronounced by the Jews, passes into that of Cholem, and the word becomes *Yah'voh*, the form given by Jerome, and which Fürst regards as the form represented by the 'Ieúv of Porphyry (probably pronounced *Yeuvo*), as the יהו would become 'Ieu.

We are precluded from attaching much importance to these Greek representations of the Hebrew word, not only by the reasons above assigned, but by the consideration that it is by no means certain that the word was pronounced by all the Shemitic peoples alike, or that it was the same word which they have all sought to represent. Probably the 'Iaóv of Diodorus Siculus and others is rather יהו than יהוה, and 'Iaβé may have been the Samaritan pronunciation, while that of the Jews was different, as indeed Theodoret (*loc. cit.*) attests; or it may have been, as Knobel suggests, an unhebraic form given to the word from some confusion of the Hebrew name for God with the Phœnician God 'Iaó (see Mover's *Phonizier*, i. p. 539, ff.) If we hold fast the derivation of the word from יהו we can adopt only a form such as may be legitimately obtained from this stem. Now, neither יהוה *Yahveh*, nor יהוה *Yahvah*, meets this test. The same objection applies to יהוה *Yahvoh*, which Capellus

suggests. The suggestion of Mercer and Cornelius a Lapide that we should point and read יהוה is not exposed to this objection; but it is to the objection that from this we could not get such an abbreviated form as the frequently recurring יהו in words like חלקיהו (Hilkiah), etc. Some have

even sought to defend the common punctuation as that proper to the word; but that this is utterly untenable has been fully shewn by the writers whose treatises are collected by Reland; the fact that when יהוה and יהוה occur together the latter has the points belonging to Elohim is sufficient to refute it. Usage, however, has established a prerogative for the pronunciation *Jehovah*, and it

would be pedantic now to employ any other (Reland, *Decas Exercitationum philologicarum de vera pronuntiatione nominis Jehova*, 1707).

2. *Significance of the term.*—If the etymology above indicated be adopted, this of itself will in great measure determine the meaning and force of the word. According to the analogy of futures used as proper names (comp. ירמו, ירמו, ירמו, etc.), it must be regarded as expressing the concentration, in the Being to whom it is applied, of the quality expressed by the simple verb; that is, in this case, the quality of *being* or *existence*. This term, therefore, as applied to God, intimates that *to be* is his peculiar characteristic; that *He is* in a sense in which no other being is; that *He is* self-existent, and cannot but be; that *He is* the source of all being, the unchangeable, infinite, eternal essence. With this explanation of the word all the passages in Scripture in which stress is laid on it as a designation of the Almighty accord. It is because this is his name that *He changes* not (Mal. iii. 6); that *He is king* of the whole earth, reigning for ever (Ps. x. 16; xcix. 1; cxlvi. 10); that *He is* the author of creation and the ruler of the universe (Amos v. 8; ix. 6; Ps. lxxviii. 4; Jer. xxxii. 27; comp. also the often recurring phrase יהוה צבאות, Lord of Hosts); that his people may with confidence call on Him as ever present and as having all things in his hand (Jer. xxxiii. 2; l. 33, 34); and that in this lies a security for his forgiving grace enduring from generation to generation (Exod. xxxiv. 5-7). Worthy of notice also is it, that the most solemn oath of the Jews was by *Jehovah* as the Living One (Jer. v. 2). In the opinion that in this lies the significance of the name, the ancient Jews and most scholars of eminence have concurred. R. Bechai (in Exod., fol. 65, col. 4, quoted by Buxtorf, *Lexicon* in verb.) says, 'The blessed God rules in the three times, past, present, and future, and the name alone (יהוה) embraces these three times;' and again, 'בשם המיוחד, in the appropriated name (יהוה) are comprehended these three times, as is known to all' (comp. also the Targum Jonathan on Exod. iii. 14); Buxtorf: Nomen Dei proprium ipsum ab essentia sua denominans, q. d. *ens*, existens ab æterno et in æternum; Hottinger: Nomen יהוה est *essentiale*, i. e. simplicissimum, infinitum et æternam Dei essentiam significantissime exprimit. 'The meaning,' says Knobel (*Exeget. Hdb. s. Exod.* p. 30), 'cannot be doubtful. The LXX. render אלהים אשר אלהים by *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν*, and the following אלהים by *ὁ ὢν*, and the Greco-Venet. by *ὁ ὄντων*. Theodotion gives τὸ ὢν as the rendering of יהו. Hesychius explains ἀλληλοῦσα

by *αὐτος τὸ ὄντι αὐτὸς*, and Theodoret (*Quaest. ad Paralipom.* l.) explains 'Iaó as meaning ὁ θεὸς ὢν, as also on Ps. cx. 1, יה א ὢν. Recent writers also, as Hitzig (on Is. i. 2) and Maurer (*W. B.*), embrace this meaning. *Jehovah* calls Himself THE BEING in contradistinction to the Gods of the nations, which, as gods, had no being, but were mere fictions and pretences, and therefore non-entities; He thus denotes Himself as the true and only God. Many regard this being as unchangeable and eternal (Gesén., Rosenm., Hengstenb., Reinke, Herder. *Geist. der Eb. Poes.* i. p. 108; Tuch. *Genes.* p. xxxv.; von Coelln. *Bibl. Theol.* i. p. 100), and accordingly give *Eternal* as its meaning. This is intimated already by the *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἔσθι καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος* of Apoc. i. 4, 8, and the *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ*

of ch. xi. 17, and xvi. 5; also by the $\delta\omega\kappa\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\pi\chi\beta\upsilon\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ of Clement, and the $\delta\epsilon\ \eta\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\iota\ \omega\kappa$ of Epiphanius; but how this idea lies in a derivative from יהוה, *to be*, does not appear' (*Book cited*, p. 30). The difficulty hinted at in this concluding clause may be easily obviated. If the tetragrammaton conveys the idea of absolute essence, then, as this is not separable either in reality or in thought from eternal self-existence, it must include also the latter. It has been objected to this, that the idea thus conveyed of God is too abstract to be suited to the genius of the ancient Hebrews. To meet this Gesenius has suggested (*Thes.* in voc.) that we may read the word יהוה as the fut. in

Hiphil = *He who causes to be*, the Creator. This is ingenious but purely conjectural, as the verb does not occur in the Hiphil; and besides the idea of creativeness does not predominate in the usages of the word. Havernick (*Introd.*, p. 51, E. T.) says, 'this name denotes the essence of the Godhead in its concrete relation to mankind, the revelation of the living God Himself;' and again (p. 60), that 'it does not assign so much the abstract idea of eternal existence as that rather of the concrete existence of God, and his disposition towards Israel, his permanent relationship to them.' But, though it is as Jehovah that God enters into covenant relations with men, it does not follow from this that such is the *meaning* of the word; rather it is *because* He is Jehovah, the self-existent, that such relations subsist. The proper answer to the objection is that it proceeds on an assumption which is quite gratuitous; the ancient Hebrews were not so destitute of abstract notions as it presumes. Modern Jewish translators generally prefer a rendering equivalent to *Eternal*. Since the version of Olivetan all the French versions translate the word *L'Eternel*; some German versions follow this and give *Der Ewige* (see Bunsen, *Bibelwerk*, I. p. lxxxviii.) By some recent writers stress is laid on the fact of the *future* tense being used, and a meaning corresponding to this has been attached to the word. Thus Baumgarten says (*Theol. Com.* I. p. 410), 'We must go to יהוה from the words אֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר יֵהוֹוָה, and thus Jehovah is, as He Himself declares, the historical God, the God of Abraham. The reference becomes clear when with Aquila and Theodotion we give the mood its usual, i. e., futuritive meaning. Since the repetition of אֱלֹהִים cannot be tautological, we translate: I shall be who I will and should be ('Ich werde sein der ich sein will und soll'). We have thus here the reference to the promise to the fathers, which ever points to a future manifestation of Jehovah.' Delitzsch adopts substantially the same view (*Genesis*, p. 32): 'Creation,' says he, 'is the beginning, and the bringing of every thing created perfectly to its idea is the end. The kingdom of power must become the kingdom of glory. Between lies the kingdom of grace, a long history, whose essential content is Redemption. יהוה is the Lord who mediates the beginning and the end in the lapse of this history, in one word, God the Redeemer.' That the idea here suggested is substantially true cannot be questioned; God the everlasting is from that very fact God who is ever revealing Himself to His creatures, and in the sphere of this fallen world ever revealing Himself as the Restorer and Redeemer; but that his reason for taking to Himself the name Jehovah was to convey

this truth, or that this is to be found in the futuristic form of the word seems altogether without ground.*

This idea has been carried still farther by Mr. Tyler (*Jehovah the Redeemer God*, etc., Lond. 1861), by Mr. Macwhorter (*Biblioth. Sac.*, Jan. 1857), and by Mr. Macdonald (*Introduction to the Pentateuch*); by whom the term Jehovah is made to bear reference to the future manifestation of God the Saviour in Jesus Christ. What has been advanced in illustration of their view by these writers, contains much that is ingenious, interesting, and instructive; but their entire theory seems to us to want a basis in fact on which to rest. Mr. Macwhorter renders the exclamation of Eve on the birth of her son Cain, thus: 'I have gotten a man, even him who is to be' or 'to come;' with this Mr. Tyler substantially coincides, and on this their theory rests. Now, is such a rendering grammatically possible? Can a single instance be adduced of a verb not *already* recognised as a proper name being placed in apposition with a preceding clause by means of וְ? And, with respect to the whole class to which this view belongs, may we not ask whether it be not liable to the objection of conveying to us unworthy views of God, as if He, the immutable and eternal, should give as his *peculiar* name—the symbol conveying the true concept of Him—a word which expresses rather what He is to *become*, as manifested to men, than what He *is* in Himself?

On the whole, we accept as that best sustained, the old view, that by this name God would convey to us the idea that **PURE BEING** is his peculiar and characteristic quality.

3. *Relation of Jehovah to Elohim.*—As both of these are designations of the one God, it is not surprising that we should find sometimes the one, sometimes the other, and sometimes both together, used by the sacred writers. It is remarkable, however, that usually where the writer employs the one he does not in the same section or context employ the other. [See article **GOD**.] This has excited notice, and has led to much investigation, some contending that the use of the one term or the other is determined by the suitability of its significance to the subject of the context in which it occurs; others finding in the distinctive use of the terms traces and evidences of separate authorship of the sections; while others see in this nothing but one of the accidents of composition. This is not the place to enter fully into this subject, which will be better discussed where the question becomes one of practical value as bearing on the authenticity and integrity of certain books of Scripture; but a few general observations may not be out of place here.

1. The two first of the hypotheses just stated have been generally put forth as directly antagonist

* One may cite Delitzsch here against himself. Writing of nouns formed from the future (or as he calls it, the imperfect) of verbs, he says (*Jaegoe in Gram. et Lex. Ling. Heb.*), 'In nm. formandis ad habitum quondam, vel actionis vel status qui personæ vel rei inhaerescat significandum imperfecta verba adhiberi.' This is fully supported by the usage of the language; in all such nouns it is the eminence or predominance of the quality in the object, and not progressiveness or continued development of that quality, which the form of the word is designed to convey.

to each other. Should we not, however, rather say that both rest really on the same fundamental assumption—that, namely, of such a distinction in the meaning of the two terms as renders it proper that the one and not the other should be used in certain connections? This is avowedly the assumption of those who advocate the former of the two; but it is not less by implication involved in the latter. For if the difference of usage is traceable to difference of authorship, then as each author must have had a *reason* for preferring the one name to the other, and as the only reason that could have dictated such a preference is one arising from the signification of the word, we are as much on this hypothesis as on the other thrown back on the inquiry whether any such distinction of signification can be established as will account for the one name being used in any given connection rather than the other. We say the only reason that could have led different writers to use the one word rather than the other is such a distinctive difference of sense as rendered the one word proper and the other not in the connection; for to what else can the preference of the one to the other be referred? It cannot be pretended that both names were not equally familiar to every Hebrew writer; and if it be said that *mere accident* determined it, a cause is assumed which will account for the diversity as well on the hypothesis of *one* writer throughout, as on that of *several*; which is a virtual giving up of the latter hypothesis entirely. We conclude, then, that the assumption we have specified is essential to both hypotheses. The question thus comes to be, can such a distinction of meaning be established? That the two words in their primary etymological sense are distinguishable from each other lies on the surface; but this is not the question here. The question is, Are they *so* distinct that a correct writer would feel in some connections he could use only the one, and in other connections only the other? To this question no satisfactory answer has been yet given. Many suggestions have been offered as to the distinctive difference of the two words; but they can be regarded in no other light than as the *a priori* guesses of learned and ingenious men. As yet no attempt has been made to discover by a careful induction what is the conclusion which the usage of Scripture authorises on this point. 2. Sufficient care does not seem to have been taken to eliminate passages which can contribute nothing to the settlement of the question at issue—to ‘purge the instances,’ if we may use the language of Bacon. Of the many cases in which Elohim is used, a very large number prove nothing whatever as to any *preference* on the part of the writer for that name rather than Jehovah, simply because the grammatical conditions of the sentence preclude the use of a proper name such as Jehovah. In all cases, for instance, where a pronoun or adjective has to be used along with the appellation of God, the writer lies under a necessity of using Elohim and not Jehovah. On the other hand, there are cases where Jehovah could alone be used; as, for instance, when Jacob says (Gen. xxviii. 21), ‘then shall Jehovah be my God,’ or when Pharaoh asks (Exod. v. 2), ‘Who is Jehovah that I should obey his voice?’ or when Moses said to Pharaoh that he would pray Jehovah to send a judgment on him that he might know that the earth is Jehovah’s (Exod. ix. 29), or when Moses cried when he saw the people offering idolatrous

homage to the calf, ‘Who is on the side of Jehovah?’ (Exod. xxxii. 26), and a multitude of similar instances, where from the very circumstances of the case only a proper name could be used. Such instances are obviously to be abstracted from; and when this is done with due care it will be found that a very large proportion of the cases in which either word is used is accounted for without the aid of either of the hypotheses above stated. 3. Due regard does not seem to have been paid to the bearing of *exceptive* cases on the question at issue. It is a rule of the inductive method that where any hypothesis is found irreconcilable with any ascertained fact, which, if true, it ought to embrace, it must be set aside as thereby invalidated: *Data instantia cadit inductio*. Now there are instances of the use both of Jehovah and of Elohim in the O. T. which cannot be brought under either of these hypotheses; and from this it follows that both are logically unsound; each involves the fallacy of an ‘undistributed middle.’ Such exceptional passages, for instance, in relation to the Document hypothesis are found in Gen. iv., which is said to be Jehovistic, but in which at ver. 25 we find Elohim used; in Gen. vi. 1-6, where Jehovah and Elohim are both used; in Gen. xx., where Elohim is chiefly used, but where in ver. 4 and ver. 18 we have Jehovah. Such instances are plainly utterly irreconcilable with the hypothesis of original Elohist documents with which Jehovistic documents have at a later period been interwoven. Equally irreconcilable with both hypotheses are those passages in which the narrative is plainly uniform and continuous, but where the Document hypothesis would require us violently to dislocate the whole, and where it is impossible to discover any such differences of reference and application in the portions where the two divine appellations are used respectively as a regard to the Sense hypothesis would demand. To this objection we have never seen a fair and tenable answer. It is easy to say the passages are interpolated, or to suggest the agency of a second, third, or seventh reviser; but to men of scientific habits of research such expedients only serve the more to condemn the hypothesis they are adopted to save. 4. It would be well before setting to work to frame hypotheses affecting the integrity and genuineness of the sacred books, were some attempt made to settle on a solid basis the *criteria* by which questions of this sort are to be determined. Especially in relation to such a case as that before us, it would be well to settle with some degree of precision, and by means of a large induction from the phenomena of literature, what kind and what degree of variety in phraseology and style afford a safe criterion of diversity of authorship. At present it seems to be chiefly the critic’s own subjectivity that determines his conclusion; the consequence of which is that different men arrive at conflicting conclusions, all of which are alike without any solid ground on which they can be rested. It would be well, before we dispute further on such points, that some *organon* of the higher criticism were in recognised use among critics.

These remarks are designed to point towards the desirableness of a reconsideration of the subject of the relation of Elohim to Jehovah in the usage of the sacred writers, from a more strictly scientific point of view than has hitherto been assumed. Learning has done its utmost in regard to this matter; all the facts of the case have been col-

lected and elucidated by scholars of the first eminence; it is only from a juster application of the method of scientific investigation to these facts that any further light can be hoped for. As things stand now the prevalence of the one term in a context rather than the other can be regarded in no other light than as one of those accidents of composition for which we are unable to account.

4. It yet remains to inquire at what time 'Jehovah' became known as the proper appellation of God. Here the question resolves itself very much into an inquiry into the meaning of Exod. vi. 3. Is this to be regarded as intimating the first revelation of the name as a name? or is the import of the statement that though the patriarchs before this time may have known the word as a designation of God, they had not had the means of realising the full meaning of the appellation—that not before this had all which lies involved concerning God in that word been fully made known to them. The former of these views is probably that which the first reading of the passage would suggest; but it is exposed to such serious difficulties that it seems untenable. How on this view are we to account for such a statement as that in Gen. iv. 1, that in Gen. vi. 26, that in Gen. xii. 8, and many similar passages? To say that in these passages the word is used by prolepsis, is to resort to a very arbitrary and violent expedient for escaping from a difficulty. In such a proper name also as *Moriah* (מֹרְיָה), we have evidence of early acquaintance with the name Jehovah; while from the name of the mother of Moses, *Jochbed* (יֹכְבֵד), we learn that among his maternal ancestry this name was known. In the family of Jacob also we have such names as *Ahijah* and *Abiah* (*Abijah*), to which may be added the names of the two wives of Ezra or Ezer, *Hodiah* and *Bithiah* (1 Chron. ii. 25; vii. 8; iv. 18), all indicating a familiarity with the peculiar name of God before the time of Moses. In the face of these facts, the opinion that the name Jehovah was for the first time made known to Moses on the occasion referred to cannot be retained. Adopting the other view, the statement 'by my name Jehovah was I not known to thee' is best explained by a reference to Exod. xxxiii. 19, Ps. lxxvi. 1, etc. (Hengstenberg, *Die Auth. des Pentateuch*, i. 268, ff.; Kurz, *Hist. of the Old Covenant*, ii., p. 98, 215; Delitzsch, *Genesis*, p. 26). 'The name Jehovah,' says Kurz, 'was (or rather became) undoubtedly a new one then, but only in the sense in which Christ said (John xiii. 34) 'a new commandment give I unto you'; whereas he merely repeated one of the primary commandments which we find in the O. T., and meet with on every hand in the laws of Moses. It was a commandment, however, the fulness and depth, the meaning, force, and value of which were first unfolded by the Gospel. And just as the greatest act of love which the world ever witnessed provided a new field for the exemplification of this command in greater glory than was possible under the law, and thus the old commandment became a new one; so did the new act of God in the redemption of Israel from Egypt furnish a new field in which the ancient name of God struck fresh and deeper roots, and thus the ancient name became a new one.'

5. Attempts have been made by some to find a heathen origin for the name Jehovah; but the futility of these have been so amply exposed, and

the hypothesis is now so generally repudiated by scholars, that it seems needless to occupy space by detailing them (see Tholuck, *Ueb. die Hypothese des Ursprungs des Namens Jehovah aus Aegypten Phœnicien oder Indien* in his *Verm. Schriften*, i. 377-405; Gesenius, *Thes.*, s. v.)

6. In composition the word יהוה is abbreviated into יהו *Jeho*, יי *Ji*, יי *Ji*, יהו *Jahu*. The name יה, *Jah*, is also an abbreviation of the telegraphmaton, chiefly used in poetry and in devotional ejaculations.

The name appears entire also in some proper names, viz.—

JEHOVAH JIREH (יהוה יֵרֵא), the name given by Abraham to the place where the angel of the Lord appeared to him when about to offer up his son Isaac (Gen. xxii. 14). The words mean 'Jehovah will see,' i. e., see to something, provide for it; and have evident allusion to ver. 8, where, in answer to Isaac's question, Abraham says, 'My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering.' The name thus given to the place did not continue, but seems to have given place to *Moriah* (מֹרְיָה = מִרְיָה, *sheum of Jehovah*, the place indicated by Him), which was probably also the earlier name (ver. 2). The circumstance, however, gave rise to a proverb, 'In the mountain of Jehovah it will be seen,' i. e., foreseen, provided for; so that it became a belief among the Jews that, in the place which God had pointed out as his holy mountain, the place where He would be worshipped, there should be provision for the guidance of his people; the place of worship should be the place of revelation. Mount Moriah became in after times the site of the Temple (2 Chron. iii. 1); and then did these earlier intimations receive their full accomplishment; in the place where sacrifice could alone be made Jehovah revealed Himself, and men knew that they might come and inquire in his holy temple. The LXX. render this clause by ἐν ᾧ ὁ θεὸς κύριος ὁφείλει, which would indicate that they read the text כֹּה־יֵרֵא יהוה, 'in the mountain Jehovah was seen.'

JEHOVAH NISSI (יהוה נִסִּי, *Jehovah my banner*), the name given by Moses to an altar which he erected in celebration of the great victory obtained by the Israelites over the Amalekites (Exod. xvii. 15). The design of this erection is stated in ver. 16, the meaning of which is very imperfectly brought out in the A. V. The literal rendering is, 'And he said, For a hand upon the throne (כַּסֵּא, *καθ᾽ ἑλγόμενον*) of Jah, war to Jehovah with Amalek, from generation to generation.' *Hand* (יָד) may be taken here either as the symbol of an oath (comp. Gen. xiv. 22), or in the sense of memorial (1 Sam. xv. 12; Is. lvi. 5). Luther adopts the latter sense, and renders, 'Es ist ein Malzeichen bey dem Stuhl des Herrn.' If the conjectural emendation of Le Clerc, נִסִּי for כַּסֵּא, be adopted, the meaning may be, 'The hand upon the banner,' etc., i. e., Let not the banner of Jehovah be ever furled as if peace had come, but let there be war, etc.

JEHOVAH SHALOM (יהוה שָׁלוֹם, *J. is peace*), the name given by Gideon to an altar which he had erected to commemorate the appearance to him of

the angel of the Lord who commissioned him to deliver Israel from the Midianites, and who, when Gideon was alarmed on discovering with whom he had been conversing, assuaged his fears by saying, 'Peace be with thee' (Judg. vi. 11-24). This altar was erected at Ophrah of the Abiezites, so designated to distinguish it from Ophrah in Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 23; 1 Sam. xiii. 17); and which is afterwards called Gideon's city (Judg. viii. 27). [OPHRAH.]

JEHOVAH SHAMMAH (יְהוָה שָׁמָּה, *Jehovah is there*), the name of the future Jerusalem, the church of God (Ezek. xlvi. 35). Hävernick, following Hengstenberg (*Christology*, i. 257, E. T.), contends that שָׁמָּה properly means *thither*, and remarks that 'here this meaning is alone appropriate, for Jehovah dwells not in Jerusalem properly, but in the strictest and highest sense in his sanctuary. Thence He looks forth on Jerusalem, thitherward He turns, that is, with the fulness of his grace and love. What makes Jerusalem a true city of God is the fully-turned love of God on her, his pleasure resting on her; in which complete communion with God, her sure defence, her eternal continuance, is firmly secured' (*Comment*, p. 746).

JEHOVAH TSIDQENU (יְהוָה צִדְקֵנוּ), the name that shall be given to a king whom God will raise up to David (Jer. xxiii. 6). That the king so promised is the Messiah, is the opinion of all the best interpreters, Jewish and Christian; but all are not agreed as to the meaning of the appellation. By some it is regarded as ascribing to the Messiah the name Jehovah, and asserting that He is or brings righteousness to man; while others think that the appellation here given to the Messiah is, like that given by Moses to the altar he erected, and which he called Jehovah-Nissi, simply a concise utterance of the faith of Israel, that by means of the Messiah God will cause righteousness to flourish. The strongest argument in favour of the latter is derived from Jer. xxxiii. 16, where the same name is given to the city of Jerusalem, and where it can only receive such an explanation. See on the one side, Smith's *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, i. 271, 4th ed.; Henderson's note on the passage; Alexander's *Connection and Harmony of the O. and N. T.*, p. 287, 2d ed. On the other, Hengstenberg's *Christology*, ii. 417, E. T. —W. L. A.

JEHOZABAB (יְהוֹזָבָב). 1. (Sept. Ἰωζαβὰβ; Alex. Ἰωζαβὰδ). One of the sons of Obbedom, to whom was intrusted the care of the council chamber connected with the temple (בֵּית אֲסָפִים), Beyth-Asuppim, the house of the gatherings; LXX. οἶκος Ἐσέφου; A. V. House of Asuppim, 1 Chron. xxvii. 4, 15). 2. (Sept. Ἰωζαβὰδ; Joseph. Ὀζαβάρως). One of the captains of Jehoshaphat, who had under him 180,000 men of the tribe of Benjamin (2 Chron. xvii. 18). 3. (Sept. Ἰεζεβοὺθ, Ἰωζαβὰδ). The son of Shomer or Shmirith, a Moabitess who conspired with Jozachar or Zabad, the son of Shimeath, an Ammonitess, to slay Joash king of Judah (2 Kings xii. 21; 2 Chron. xxiv. 26). —W. L. A.

JEHOZADAK (יְהוֹזָדָק, *Jehovah is righteous*; Sept. Ἰωσαδάκ, Ἰωσεδάκ; *Josedec*), the son of Seraiah, the last high-priest who

ministered in Solomon's temple. Although he succeeded to the high-priesthood after the slaughter of his father at Riblah (2 Kings xxv. 18-21), he had no opportunity of performing the functions of his office (Selden, *De success. in Pont.*, Op. ii. 104). He was carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar (1 Chron. vi. 15); and evidently died in exile, as on the return from the captivity his son Joshua is mentioned as the high-priest (Ezra iii. 2). In our A. V. the name appears in three forms: Jehozadak, 1 Chron. vi. 15; Jozadak throughout Ezra and Nehemiah; Josedech in Haggai and Zechariah. —H. C. G.

JEHU (יְהוּ, *Jehovah is*; Sept. Ἰού; Cod. Alex. Εἰηού), tenth king of Israel, and founder of its fourth dynasty, who began to reign in B.C. 884, and reigned twenty-eight years.

Jehu held a command in the Israelite army posted at Ramoth Gilead to hold in check the Syrians, who of late years had made strenuous efforts to extend their frontier to the Jordan, and had possessed themselves of much of the territory of the Israelites east of that river. The contest was in fact still carried on which had begun many years before in the reign of Ahab, the present king's father, who had lost his life in battle before this very Ramoth Gilead. Ahaziah, king of Judah, had taken part with Joram, king of Israel, in this war; and as the latter had been severely wounded in a recent action, and had gone to Jezreel to be healed of his wounds, Ahaziah had also gone thither on a visit of sympathy to him.

In this state of affairs a council of war was held among the military commanders in camp, when very unexpectedly one of the disciples of the prophets, known for such by his garb, appeared at the door of the tent, and called forth Jehu, declaring that he had a message to deliver to him. He had been sent by Elisha the prophet, in discharge of a duty which long before had been confided by the Lord to Elijah (1 Kings xix. 16), and from him had devolved on his successor. When they were alone the young man drew forth a horn of oil and poured it upon Jehu's head, with the words, 'Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, I have anointed thee king over the people of the Lord, even over Israel. And thou shalt smite the house of Ahab thy master, that I may avenge the blood of my servants the prophets, and the blood of all the servants of the Lord, at the hand of Jezebel' (2 Kings ix. 7, 8). Surprising as this message must have been, and awful the duty which it imposed, Jehu was fully equal to the task and the occasion. He returned to the council, probably with an altered air, for he was asked what had been the communication of the young prophet to him. He told them plainly; and they were obviously ripe for defection from the house of Ahab, for they were all delighted at the news, and taking him in triumph to 'the top of the stairs,' they spread their mantles beneath his feet, and proclaimed him king by sound of trumpet in the presence of all the troops.

Jehu was not a man to lose any advantage through remissness. He immediately entered his chariot, in order that his presence at Jezreel should be the first announcement which Joram could receive of this revolution.

As soon as the advance of Jehu and his party

was seen in the distance by the watchmen upon the palace-tower in Jezreel, two messengers were successively sent forth to meet him, and were commanded by Jehu to follow in his rear. But when the watchman reported that he could now recognise the furious driving of Jehu, Joram went forth himself to meet him, and was accompanied by the king of Judah. They met in the field of Naboth, so fatal to the house of Ahab. The king saluted him with 'Is it peace, Jehu?' and received the answer, 'What peace, so long as the whoredoms (idolatries) of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts are so many?' This completely opened the eyes of Joram, who exclaimed to the king of Judah, 'There is treachery, O Ahaziah!' and turned to flee. But Jehu felt no infirmity of purpose, and knew that the slightest wavering might be fatal to him. He therefore drew a bow with his full strength and sent forth an arrow which passed through the king's heart. Jehu caused the body to be thrown back into the field of Naboth, out of which he had passed in his attempt at flight, and grimly remarked to Bidkar his captain, 'Remember how that, when I and thou rode together after Ahab his father, the Lord laid *this* burden upon him.' The king of Judah contrived to escape, but not without a wound, of which he afterwards died at Megiddo [AHAZIAH]. Jehu then entered the city, whither the news of this transaction had already preceded him. As he passed under the walls of the palace Jezebel herself, studiously arrayed for effect, appeared at one of the windows, and saluted him with a question such as might have shaken a man of weaker nerves, 'Had Zimri peace who slew his master?' But Jehu was unmoved, and instead of answering her, called out, 'Who is on my side, who?' when several eunuchs made their appearance at the window, to whom he cried, 'Throw her down!' and immediately this proud and guilty woman lay a blood-stained corpse in the road, and was trodden under foot by the horses [JEZEBEL]. Jehu then went in and took possession of the palace.

He was now master of Jezreel, which was, next to Samaria, the chief town of the kingdom; but he could not feel secure while the capital itself was in the hands of the royal family, and of those who might be supposed to feel strong attachment to the house of Ahab. The force of the blow which he had struck was, however, felt even in Samaria. When therefore he wrote to the persons in authority there the somewhat ironical but designedly intimidating counsel, to set up one of the young princes in Samaria as king and fight out the matter which lay between them, they sent a very submissive answer, giving in their adhesion, and professing their readiness to obey in all things his commands. A second letter from Jehu tested this profession in a truly horrid and exceedingly Oriental manner, requiring them to appear before him on the morrow, bringing with them the heads of all the royal princes in Samaria. A fallen house meets with little pity in the East; and when the new king left his palace the next morning, he found seventy human heads piled up in two heaps at his gate. There, in the sight of these heaps, Jehu took occasion to explain his conduct, declaring that he must be regarded as the appointed minister of the divine decrees, pronounced long since against the house of Ahab

by the prophets, not one of whose words should fall to the ground. He then continued his prescriptions by exterminating in Jezreel not only all in whose veins the blood of the condemned race flowed, but also—by a considerable stretch of his commission—those officers, ministers, and creatures of the late government, who, if suffered to live, would most likely be disturbers of his own reign. He then proceeded to Samaria. So rapid had been these proceedings that he met some of the nephews of the king of Judah, who were going to join their uncle at Jezreel, and had as yet heard nothing of the revolution which had taken place. These also perished under Jehu's now fully-awakened thirst for blood, to the number of forty-two persons.

On the way he took up into his chariot the pious Jehonadab the Rechabite, whose austere virtue and respected character would, as he felt, go far to hallow his proceedings in the eyes of the multitude. At Samaria he continued the extirpation of the persons more intimately connected with the late government. This, far from being in any way singular, is a common circumstance in eastern revolutions. But the great object of Jehu was to exterminate the ministers and more devoted adherents of Baal, who had been much encouraged by Jezebel. There was even a temple to this idol in Samaria; and Jehu, never scrupulous about the means of reaching objects which he believed to be good, laid a snare by which he hoped to cut off the main body of Baal's ministers at one blow. He professed to be a more zealous servant of Baal than Ahab had been, and proclaimed a great festival in his honour, at which none but his true servants were to be present. The prophets, priests, and officers of Baal assembled from all parts for this great sacrifice, and sacerdotal vestments were given to them, that none of Jehovah's worshippers might be taken for them. When the temple was full, soldiers were posted so that none might escape; and so soon as the sacrifice had been offered, the word was given by the king, the soldiers entered the temple, and put all the worshippers to the sword. The temple itself was then demolished, the images overthrown, and the site turned into a common jakes.

Notwithstanding this zeal of Jehu in exterminating the grosser idolatries which had grown up under his immediate predecessors, he was not prepared to subvert the policy which had led Jeroboam and his successors to maintain the schismatic establishment of the golden calves in Dan and Beth-el. The grounds of this policy are explained in the article JEROBOAM, a reference to which will shew the grounds of Jehu's hesitation in this matter. This was, however, a crime in him—the worship rendered to the golden calves being plainly contrary to the law; and he should have felt that He who had appointed him to the throne would have maintained him in it, notwithstanding the apparent dangers which might seem likely to ensue from permitting his subjects to repair at the great festivals to the metropolis of the rival kingdom, which was the centre of the theocratical worship and of sacerdotal service. Here Jehu fell short: and this very policy, apparently so prudent and far-sighted, by which he hoped to secure the stability and independence of his kingdom, was that on account of which the term of rule granted to his dynasty was shortened.

For this, it was foretold that his dynasty should extend only to four generations; and for this, the divine aid was withheld from him in his wars with the Syrians under Hazael on the eastern frontier. Hence the war was disastrous to him, and the Syrians were able to maintain themselves in the possession of a great part of his territories beyond the Jordan. He died in B.C. 856, and was buried in Samaria, leaving the throne to his son Jehoahaz.

There is nothing difficult to understand in the character of Jehu. He was one of those decisive, terrible, and ambitious, yet prudent, calculating, and passionless men, whom God from time to time raises up to change the fate of empires and execute his judgments on the earth. He boasted of his zeal—'come and see my zeal for the Lord'—but at the bottom it was zeal for Jehu. His zeal was great so long as it led to acts which squared with his own interests, but it cooled marvellously when required to take a direction in his judgment less favourable to them. Even his zeal in extirpating the idolatry of Baal is not free from suspicion. The altar of Baal was that which Ahab had associated with his throne, and in overturning the latter he could not prudently let the former stand, surrounded as it was by attached adherents of the house which he had extirpated (2 Kings ix. x.)

2. The son of Hanani, a prophet, who was sent to pronounce upon Baasha, king of Israel, and his house, the same awful doom which had been already executed upon the house of Jeroboam (1 Kings xvi. 1-7). The same prophet was, many years after, commissioned to reprove Jehoshaphat for his dangerous connection with the house of Ahab (2 Chron. xix. 2).—J. K.

JEHUD (יְהוּד; Sept. 'Aḡúp; Alex. 'Ιουῦθ), a town pertaining to Dan. It is not noticed in the *Onomasticon*; but it has been conjecturally identified with a village called *d'Yehudijeh*, about five miles to the north of Lydd (Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 45; Van de Velde's map).—†

JEHUDAH B. BALAAM. [IBN BALAAM.]

JEHUDAH B. DAVID. [CHAJUG.]

JEHUDAH B. KOREISH. [IBN KOREISH.]

JEHUDAH (ARJE LOEB) B. ZEBI (HIRSH), was born at Krotoschin about 1680, and afterwards became rabbi at Carpentras and Avignon. He wrote

(1) *A Hebrew Lexicon*, entitled *אוֹרֵי יְהוּדָה*, the *tents of Judah*, which consists of two parts; the first part, called *שֵׁם עוֹלָם*, the *everlasting name*, treats especially upon proper names; the second part, denominated *יְרֵשׁ וְשֵׁם*, *place and name*, takes up the words omitted in the first part. This work partakes of the nature of a concordance as well as of a lexicon, inasmuch as it gives the places in Scripture in which every word is to be found. It was printed in Jesnitz 1719. (2) *A Hebrew*

Grammar, called *חֵלֶק יְהוּדָה*, the *portion of Judah*; of this work the introduction only, called *יסוד לשון הקודש*, the *foundation of the Sacred Language*, has been published, Wilmersdorf 1721; it contains fifteen canons and paradigms, with a German translation; and (3) *A Concordance*, entitled *נֹעַ יְהוּדָה*, the *stem of Judah*, it only goes as far as the root

נֹעַ, and was printed at Offenbach 1732. Comp. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 1378; *Bibliographisches Handbuch*, Leipzig 1859, p. 70.—C. D. G.

JEHUDAH (LEV.) DE MODENA. [MODENA.]

JEHUDAH HA-LEVI B. SAMUEL, called in Arabic ABULHASSAN, by Ibn Ezra and other Jewish writers יְהוּדָה הַלֵּוִי הַסְפָּרָדִי. This distinguished Hebraist, poet, and moral philosopher, was born in Castile about 1086, and displayed his mastery of the Hebrew language as well as his great poetical genius at the early age of fourteen or fifteen (*circa* 1100), when he wrote at Lucena some charming songs to celebrate the nuptials of his friends Ibn Migash and the birth of Baruch Ibn Albalia's first son. He spent his manhood at Toledo, where he founded a college, and had many disciples. Here he issued those sacred and secular poems in Hebrew which are to the present day the pride of Israel; and here too he laboured at and completed in his fifty-fifth year (*circa* 1141) that remarkable apology of the Jewish religion commonly called *Cusari* (כּוֹזָרִי), more properly *Khozari*, which he published in Arabic under the title of

כְּתָאב אֱלֵחָנָה וְאֶלְלִיל מִי נֹכַר אֱלֵלִיל אֶלְלִיל, the *book of evidence and argument in apology of the despised religion*, i.e., of Judaism, in reply to some of his disciples who asked him how he justified Rabbinic Judaism, and repelled the objections brought against it by philosophers, Mohammedans, Christians, and Karaites. To understand the nature of this most important work, which created a new epoch in Jewish literature, it is necessary to remark that it is founded upon the conversion of the King of Khozars to Judaism. The Khozars, a Finnish tribe, related to the Bulgarians, Avarians, and Ugrians, or Hungarians, settled down on the boundaries of Asia and Europe, and founded a dominion on the mouth of the Volga on the Caspian Sea, in the neighbourhood of Astrachan. After the destruction of the Persian empire, they invaded the Caucasus, made inroads into Armenia, conquered the Crimea, exacted tribute from the Byzantine emperors, made vassals of the Bulgarians, etc., and compelled the Russians to send annually to their kings a sword and a costly fur. Like their neighbours, the Bulgarians and Russians, they followed a species of idolatry which was connected with gross sensuality and licentiousness, but became acquainted with Christianity and Mohammedanism, through commercial intercourse with the Greeks and Arabs, and with Judaism through the Greek Jews who fled from the religious persecutions of the Byzantine emperor Leo (A.D. 723). The Jews who found refuge in the Khozarian dominions soon distinguished themselves as merchants, physicians, and councillors of state; and so great was the admiration of the Khozars for the Jewish religion when contrasted with the then corrupt Christianity and Mohammedanism, that King Bulan, the officials of state, and the majority of the people embraced Judaism, A.D. 731.* Now it is upon this fact that Jehudah Ha-

* This most important fact in Jewish history, which has only lately been established beyond the shadow of a doubt (comp. Vivien de St. Martin, *Les Khasars, mémoire lu à l'academie des inscriptions et des belles lettres*, Paris 1851; Caismoly

Levi based his work. He represents this King of Khozaris as being shaken in his idolatry, and earnestly desirous to find the true religion, for which cause he sends for two philosophers, a Christian and a Mohammedan, listens to the expositions of their respective creeds, and as they all refer to the Jews as the fountain head, he at last sends for an Israelite to propound his religious tenets, becomes convinced of their divine origin, and embraces the Jewish religion. What makes this work so important to the Biblical student, is the fact, that in the course of these discussions all subjects bearing upon the exposition of the Hebrew Scriptures, Jewish literature, history, philosophy, etc., are in turn reviewed. Thus, for instance, synagogal service, feasts, fasts, sacrifices, the Sanhedrim, the development of the Talmud, the Massora, the vowel points, the Karaites, etc., etc., are all minutely discussed in this work, which De Sacy has pronounced to be one of the most valuable and beautiful productions of the Jewish pen. It is to this work that Ibn Ezra frequently refers (comp. commentaries on Exod. iv. 10; ix. 1; xiii. 11; xxiv. 11; xxvii. 3; Deut. xiv. 20; xxvi. 17; xxix. 19; xxxiii. 5; Zech. viii. 4; Ps. xviii. 5; xxx. 8; xlix. 21; lxxiii. 25; lxxxii. 8; cxxxix. 14; cl. 1; Dan. ix. 1), and to which Kimchi alludes in his Lexicon, art. לָחַק. It was translated into Hebrew by Jehudah Ibn Tibbon, who named it סֵפֶר הַכּוֹזָרִי, the book of *Khozari*, after the hero of it, and it was first published in Fano 1506, then in Venice 1547, with an introduction and commentary by Muscato, Venice 1594; with a Latin translation and dissertations by Jo. Buxtorf, fil., Basle 1660; a Spanish translation by Abendana without the Hebrew text, Amsterdam 1663; with a commentary by Satorow, Berlin 1795; with a commentary, various readings, index, etc., by G. Brecher, Prague 1838-1840; and lastly, with a German translation, explanatory notes, etc., by Dr. David Cassel, Leipzig 1853, which is the most useful edition.

After finishing this gigantic work (circa 1141), Jehudah Ha-Levi was seized with a longing desire to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, set sail for Egypt, accompanied by some of his disciples, wrote some sublime hymns when tossed on the sea, was obliged to take refuge in Alexandria in consequence of a great storm, went to Egypt (1142) in accordance with the entreaties of Samuel Ha-Nagid, the celebrated philosopher and philologist, who was at that time the prince of the Jewish community in the land of their former bondage, then wrote at Damascus his celebrated elegy on Zion צִיּוֹן הָלֵא תִשָּׁאֵל, at the recital of which in the synagogue, in the month of Ab, when the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus is commemorated, every Jewish heart is filled with the deepest emotions; and died, most probably without seeing the land of his fathers. The year of his death and the place of his burial are alike unknown. Tradition says that he was murdered by an Arab as he was

lying on his face under the walls of Jerusalem and mourning over the ruins of Zion; and that he was buried at Kephrah Kabul. Comp. Geiger, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, vol. i., Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1835, p. 158, ff.; vol. ii. (1836), p. 367, ff.; Cassei, *Das Buch Kusari*, Leipzig 1853, p. v. xxxv.; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. vi., Leipzig 1861, p. 140-167; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 1338-1342.

JEHUDIJAH (יְהוּדִיָּה), 'Aḏia; Alex. 'Idia; *Ju-daia*). Though this appears as a proper name in the E. V., 1 Chron. iv. 18, as well as in the LXX., there can be little doubt that it is really an appellative, and should be translated 'the Jewess,' as in the margin. The same person is perhaps intended by 'Hodiah,' E. V. (*Idovia, Odaia*), in ver. 19, where the Alexandrine copy of the LXX. renders it *ἡ ἑβραῖος τῆς Ἰουδαίας*. The whole genealogy, vers. 17-19, appears to be so dislocated and corrupt that it is almost impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. It would however become intelligible and consistent with itself if we supposed that Mered the son of Ezra, of the tribe of Judah, had two wives, one an Egyptian, 'Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh,' ver. 18 (for though the difficulty in the way of supposing a daughter of the royal house of Egypt to have become the wife of an Israelite is considerable, it is utterly improbable that the title 'Pharaoh' should have been borne as a proper name by a Hebrew), and the other a Jewess. The sons of the Egyptian wife we may conceive to be given by the latter clause of ver. 17. Adopting the conjecture of Michaelis (accepted by Bertheau, *Chronik*, p. 41) that the closing words of ver. 18, 'And these are the sons of Bithiah,' etc., should be read before 'And she bare Miriam,' etc., ver. 17, the remaining portions of vers. 18, 19, would then define the Jewish wife by the mention of her brother Naham, the father of the inhabitants of Keilah and Esh-temoa, and name her sons, Jered, Heber, and Jekuthiel [BITHIAH; HODIAH.]

It may be remarked that Bertheau argues against identifying Hodiah, ver. 19, with Jehudijah, ver. 18, regarding it as the name of a man, and reading the sons of the wife of Hodiah, 'which wife was the sister of Naham,' etc. Vatablus *in loc.* adopts the view that they were the same.—E. V.

JEKABZEEL (יְכָאֲבָזֵאֵל), Neh. xi. 20. [KARZEEL.]

JEKUTHIEL (יְכֻתִּיֵּאל), *God is my hope*; LXX. *Ἰεκθυήλ*, *Xerthā*; Vulg. *Icuthiel*), a proper name occurring 1 Chron. iv. 18. This passage, as it now stands, is in utter confusion. To remedy this, Michaelis and others have proposed to transfer the last clause of ver. 18 to the middle of ver. 17, which in some measure answers the purpose. Jekuthiel then appears as the son of Mered by Jehudijah, or rather, the Jewess, to distinguish her from Mered's other wife, Bithiah, a daughter of Pharaoh (see BITHIAH). Yet, much as this conjectural emendation helps to clear the passage, it is not wholly satisfactory, for it still leaves the 19th verse isolated and meaningless. The probability is, that the words *Bithiah* and *Mered* have fallen out of the text in ver. 17; which being supplied before 'Miriam,' the confusion is removed, and any disturbance of the text rendered unneces-

Itinéraires de la terre sainte, Bruxelles 1847, des Kohozor, p. 1-104; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. v., Magdeburg 1860, p. 210-216), throws light upon Eldad Ha-Dani's description of the lost tribes [ELDAD]; the references in the Chaldee paraphrase on Chron. i. 5, 26; the allusion in Josippon b. Gorion, chap. x., ed. Breithaupt; and many other theories about the whereabouts of the ten tribes.

sary—'And Bithiah bore to Mered,' etc. Then his Jewish wife and children are named, after which the annalist adds the latter part of the 18th and 19th verses as an emphatic repetition.*

The *Targum of Rabbi Joseph* on Chronicles makes Jekuthiel to be Moses. The passage is so curious as to deserve transcription:—'And his wife (Ezra's) brought up Moses when he was drawn out of the water, and called his name Jered, because he made manna to descend for Israel; Prince of Gedor, because he restored (or built up) the desolation of Israel; and Cheber, because he united Israel to their Father who is in heaven; Prince of Socho, because he overshadowed the house of Israel with his justice (or purity); and JEKUTHIEL, because Israel waited on the God of heaven in his days forty years in the wilderness; Prince of Zanoach, because God remitted the sins of Israel for his sake. By these names the daughter of Pharaoh called him, in the spirit of prophecy, for she became a proselyte, and Mered took her to himself for a wife. This is Caleb, so called, because he opposed the purpose or counsel of the spies.'

In the prayers of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, a curious reference to Jekuthiel occurs:—'O may Elijah the prophet come to us speedily, with Messiah, the son of David, to whom tidings of peace were delivered by the hand of Jekuthiel' (Allen's *Mod. Jud.*, p. 229, 2d ed.)—I. J.

JEKUTHIEL B. ISAAC BLITZ (יְקוּתִּיאֵל בֶּן יִצְחָק בליץ), also called by his father's name only, *Isaac Blitz*, was corrector of the press at the printing establishment of Uri Phöbus, and has the honour of being the first Jew who translated the whole O. T. into German. It was published under the title *תנ"ך בלשון אשכנז*, the *four-and-twenty books translated into German*, with *תועלות הרלב"ג* (Rabbi's *Usus* on Joshua, Judges, and Samuel, and a threefold introduction, viz., a Hebrew introduction by the translator, a Latin diploma from the Polish king John Sobieski III., a Judæo-German introduction by Uri Phöbus, the publisher, and a German introduction by the translator, Amsterdam 1676-1678. A specimen of this translation is given by Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, vol. iv., p. 183-187. Comp. also vol. ii., p. 454 of the same work; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 175.—C. D. G.

JEKUTHIEL B. JEHUDAH COHEN, also called *Salman Nakdon*, i. e., the *Punctuator*, and by contraction *Iehavi* (יְהוֹבִי = יהודה בן יהודה), a distinguished Massorite and editor of the Hebrew Scriptures, who flourished in Prague about A.D. 1250-1300. He edited a very correct text of the Pentateuch and the Book of Esther, with the vowels and accents, and used, in preparing it, six old Spanish codices, which he denominates א"ז, א"ט, א"ח, א"ב, א"ק, ת"א, and which Heidenheim ex-

plains to mean קדמון, חשוב, מסוריות, טוב, זקן, תיקון אחד, the prefix א denoting Spain (comp. *on Num.* xxxiv. 28). Jekuthiel embodied the results of his critical labours in a work which he called עין קורא, the *eye of the reader*, and in which he quotes Ben-Naphtali, Ben-Asher, Chajug, Ibn Ganach, Ibn Ezra, Parchon, Tam, Samuel, etc., as well as the book הוריות הקורא, by an anonymous writer. Connected with this is a grammatical treatise, denominated דרכי הנקוד or

כללי הנקוד, the *laws of the vowel points*, which is divided into sections (שערים), treating upon the *quiescent letters* (שער נוח התיבות), the *vowels* (שער הניקוד), the *Dagesh* (שער הדיגש), the *accents* (שער מצב הניגונים), the *heavy and light Metheg* (שער

המקפים), the *Makef* (שער המכפף), etc. His (1) *Massoretic Criticisms on the*

Pentateuch על התורה הקורא, which are quoted in the margin of ancient codd. by the abbreviation ע"ה, i. e., עין הקורא, and have been used by De Balmes, Elias Levita, etc., have been published for the first time by Heidenheim in his edition of the Pentateuch called מאור עינים, Rödelheim 1818-1821.

(2) *The Massoretic Criticisms on Esther* (עין הקורא)

(על מגלת אסתר) have also been published by Heidenheim in his *מאור עינים*, Rödelheim 1825. (3) The introduction, as well as the practical part of the *Grammatical Treatise*, have appeared in Heidenheim's *מאור עינים*, Rödelheim 1818-1821. Comp. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, Berlin 1845, p. 115; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica* ii., p. 53; Geiger, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Jüdische Theologie*, vol. v., p. 418-420; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 1381.—C. D. G.

JEMIMA (יְמִימָה), the first-born of the daughters of Job after his affliction (Job. xlii. 14). The LXX. render by *ἡμέρα*, and the Vulg. has *dies*, as if the word came from יום. It is more probably from the Arab. *Yemamah*, a dove.—†

JENNINGS, DAVID, D.D., an eminent Dissenting minister and tutor, son of one of the ejected Nonconformists, was born at Kibworth, Leicester, in 1691, and died in 1762. He studied under Dr. Chauncy in London; and after certain minor appointments, became assistant pastor of the Congregational Church of Old Gravel Lane, Wapping, where he continued forty years. In 1740 he wrote against Dr. Taylor in defence of original sin. In 1744 he was appointed theological tutor in Coward's College, in which office he exhibited great adaptation for his work, and had great success. In 1747 the university of St. Andrews conferred on him the degree of D.D. His principal work, and the only one which here requires notice, is—*Jewish Antiquities; or a Course of Lectures on the Three First Books of Godwin's Moses and Aaron. To which is annexed a Dissertation on the Hebrew Language*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1766. It is divided into three books, treating respectively of persons, places, and times. His work, which has been often reprinted in various forms, is distinguished by learning and sound sense, and long held a distinguished place on account of its solid worth; but, as might be expected, has been quite

* Dathe supplies omissions, and renders the passage thus:—'*Uxor Meredi gravida peperit Mirjamum, etc.; uxor ejus Judijah peperit,*' etc.; and says in his note, '*Hoc nomen suppleendum esse ex sequenti versu observat Clericus. Deest enim nomen uxoris, quæ peperit.*'

superseded by more recent and accurate works on the subject.—I. J.

JEPHTHAH (יִפְתָּח, *opener*; Sept. Ἰεφθάς), ninth judge of Israel, of the tribe of Manasseh. He was the son of a person named Gilead by a concubine. After the death of his father he was expelled from his home by the envy of his brothers, who refused him any share of the heritage, and he withdrew to the land of Tob, beyond the frontier of the Hebrew territories. It is clear that he had before this distinguished himself by his daring character and skill in arms; for no sooner was his withdrawal known than a great number of men of desperate fortunes repaired to him, and he became their chief. His position was now very similar to that of David when he withdrew from the court of Saul. To maintain the people who had thus linked their fortunes with his, there was no other resource than that sort of brigandage which is accounted honourable in the East, so long as it is exercised against public or private enemies, and is not marked by needless cruelty and outrage. Even our different climate and manners afford some parallel in the Robin Hoods of former days; in the border forays, when England and Scotland were ostensibly at peace; and—in principle, however great the formal difference—in the authorised and popular piracies of Drake, Raleigh, and the other naval heroes of the Elizabethan era. So Jephthah confined his aggressions to the borders of the small neighbouring nations, who were in some sort regarded as the natural enemies of Israel, even when there was no actual war between them.

Jephthah led this kind of life for some years, during which his dashing exploits and successful enterprises procured him a higher military reputation than any other man of his time enjoyed. The qualities required to ensure success in such operations were little different from those required in actual warfare, as warfare was conducted in the East before fire-arms came into general use; and hence the reputation which might be thus acquired was more truly military than is easily conceivable by modern and occidental readers.

After the death of Jair the Israelites gradually fell into their favourite idolatries, and were punished by subjection to the Philistines on the west of the Jordan, and to the Ammonites on the east of that river. The oppression which they sustained for eighteen years became at length so heavy that they recovered their senses and returned to the God of their fathers with humiliation and tears; and he was appeased, and promised them deliverance from their affliction (B.C. 1143).

The tribes beyond the Jordan having resolved to oppose the Ammonites, Jephthah seems to occur to every one as the most fitting leader. A deputation was accordingly sent to invite him to take the command. After some demur, on account of the treatment he had formerly received, he consented. The rude hero commenced his operations with a degree of diplomatic consideration and dignity for which we are not prepared. The Ammonites being assembled in force for one of those ravaging incursions by which they had repeatedly desolated the land, he sent to their camp a formal complaint of the invasion, and a demand of the ground of their proceeding. This is highly interesting, because it shows that even in that

age a cause for war was judged necessary—no one being supposed to war without provocation; and in this case Jephthah demanded what cause the Ammonites alleged to justify their aggressive operations. Their answer was, that the land of the Israelites beyond the Jordan was theirs. It had originally belonged to them, from whom it had been taken by the Amorites, who had been dispossessed by the Israelites: and on this ground they claimed the restitution of these lands. Jephthah's reply laid down the just principle which has been followed out in the practice of civilized nations, and is maintained by all the great writers on the law of nations. The land belonged to the Israelites by right of conquest from the *actual* possessors; and they could not be expected to recognise any antecedent claim of former possessors, for whom they had not acted, who had rendered them no assistance, and who had themselves displayed hostility against the Israelites. It was not to be expected that they would conquer the country from the powerful kings who had it in possession, for the mere purpose of restoring it to the ancient occupants, of whom they had no favourable knowledge, and of whose previous claims they were scarcely cognizant. But the Ammonites re-asserted their former views, and on this issue they took the field.

When Jephthah set forth against the Ammonites he solemnly vowed to the Lord, 'If thou shalt without fail deliver the children of Ammon into my hands, then it shall be, that whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, shall surely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt offering.' He *was* victorious. The Ammonites sustained a terrible overthrow. He *did* return in peace to his house in Mizpeh. As he drew nigh his house, the one that came forth to meet him was his own daughter, his only child, in whom his heart was bound up. She, with her fair companions, came to greet the triumphant hero 'with timbrels and with dances. But he no sooner saw her than he rent his robes, and cried, 'Alas, my daughter! thou hast brought me very low; . . . for I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and cannot go back.' Nor did she ask it. She replied, 'My father, if thou hast opened thy mouth unto the Lord, do to me according to that which has proceeded out of thy mouth; forasmuch as the Lord hath taken vengeance for thee of thine enemies, the children of Ammon.' But after a pause she added, 'Let this thing be done for me: let me alone two months, that I may go up and down upon the mountains, and bewail my virginity, I and my fellows.' Her father of course assented; and when the time expired she returned, and, we are told, 'he did with her according to his vow.' It is then added that it became 'a custom in Israel, that the daughters of Israel went yearly to lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite four days in the year.'

The victory over the Ammonites was followed by a quarrel with the proud and powerful Ephraimites on the west of the Jordan. This tribe was displeased at having had no share in the glory of the recent victory, and a large body of men belonging to it, who had crossed the river to share in the action, used very high and threatening language when they found their services were not

required. Jephthah, finding his remonstrances had no effect, re-assembled some of his disbanded troops and gave the Ephraimites battle, when they were defeated with much loss. The victors seized the fords of the Jordan, and when any one came to pass over, they made him pronounce the word *Shibboleth* [an ear of corn], but if he could not give the aspiration, and pronounced the word as *Sibboleth*, they knew him for an Ephraimite, and slew him on the spot. This is a remarkable instance of the dialectical differences, answering to the varieties in our provincialisms, which had already sprung up among the tribes, and of which other instances occur in Scripture.

Jephthah judged Israel six years, during which we have reason to conclude that the exercise of his authority was almost if not altogether confined to the country east of the Jordan.

Volumes have been written on the subject of 'Jephthah's rash vow'; the question being whether, in doing to his daughter 'according to his vow,' he really did offer her in sacrifice or not. The negative has been stoutly maintained by many able pens, from a natural anxiety to clear the character of one of the heroes in Israel from so dark a stain. But the more the plain rules of common sense have been exercised in our view of Biblical transactions; and the better we have succeeded in realizing a distinct idea of the times in which Jephthah lived and of the position which he occupied, the less reluctance there has been to admit the interpretation which the first view of the passage suggests to every reader, which is, that he really did offer her in sacrifice. The explanation which denies this maintains that she was rather doomed to perpetual celibacy; and this, as it appears to us, on the strength of phrases which, to one who really understands the character of the Hebrew people and their language, suggest nothing more than that it was considered a lamentable thing for any daughter of Israel to die childless. To *live* unmarried was required by no law, custom, or devotion among the Jews: no one had a right to impose so odious a condition on another, nor is any such condition implied or expressed in the vow which Jephthah uttered. To get rid of a difficulty which has no place in the text, but arises from our reluctance to receive that text in its obvious meaning—we invent a new thing in Israel, a thing never heard of among the Hebrews in ancient or modern times, and more entirely opposed to their peculiar notions than any thing which the wit of man ever devised—such as that a damsel should be consecrated to perpetual virginity in consequence of a vow of her father, which vow itself says nothing of the kind. If people allow themselves to be influenced in their interpretations of Scripture by dislike to take the words in their obvious meaning, we might at least expect that the explanations they would have us receive should be in accordance with the notions of the Hebrew people, instead of being entirely and obviously opposed to them. The Jewish commentators themselves generally admit that Jephthah really sacrificed his daughter; and even go so far as to allege that the change in the pontifical dynasty from the house of Eleazar to that of Ithamar was caused by the high-priest of the time having suffered this transaction to take place.

It is very true that human sacrifices were forbidden by the law. But in the rude and unsettled

age in which the judges lived, when the Israelites had adopted a vast number of erroneous notions and practices from their heathen neighbours, many things were done, even by good men, which the law forbade quite as positively as human sacrifice. Such, for instance, was the setting up of the altar by Gideon at his native Ophrah, in direct but undesignated opposition to one of the most stringent enactments of the Mosaic code.

It is certain that human sacrifice was deemed meritorious and propitiatory by the neighbouring nations [SACRIFICE]; and, considering the manner of life the hero had led, the recent idolatries in which the people had been plunged, and the peculiarly vague notions of the tribes beyond the Jordan, it is highly probable that he contemplated from the first a human sacrifice, as the most costly offering to God known to him. It is difficult to conceive that he could expect any other creature than a human being to come forth *out of the door of his house* to meet him on his return. His house was surely not a place for flocks and herds, nor could any animal be expected to come forth 'to meet him,' *i. e.*, with the purpose of meeting him, on his return. We think it likely that he even contemplated the possibility that his daughter might be the person to come forth, and that he took merit to himself for not expressly withholding even his only child from the operation of a vow which he deemed likely to promote the success of his arms. His affliction when his daughter actually came forth is quite compatible with this notion; and the depth of that affliction is scarcely reconcilable with any other alternative than the actual sacrifice.

If we again look at the text, Jephthah vows that whatsoever came forth from the door of his house to meet him 'shall surely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt-offering,' which, in fact, was the regular way of making a thing wholly the Lord's. Afterwards we are told that 'he did with her according to his vow,' that is, according to the plain meaning of plain words, offered her for a burnt-offering. Then follows the intimation that the daughters of Israel lamented her four days every year. People lament the dead, not the living. The whole story is consistent and intelligible, while the sacrifice is understood to have actually taken place; but becomes perplexed and difficult as soon as we begin to turn aside from this obvious meaning in search of recondite explanations.

The circumstances of this immolation we can never know. It probably took place at some one of the altars beyond the Jordan. That it took place at the altar of the tabernacle, and that the high-priest was the sacrificer, as painters usually represent the scene, and even as some Jewish writers believe, is outrageously contrary to all the probabilities of the case.

Professor Bush, in his elaborate note on the text, maintains with us that a human sacrifice was all along contemplated. But he suggests that during the two months, Jephthah might have obtained better information respecting the nature of vows, by which he would have learned that his daughter could not be legally offered, but might be redeemed at a valuation (Lev. xxvii. 2-12). This is possible, and is much more likely than the popular alternative of perpetual celibacy: but we have serious doubts whether even this meets the conclusion that 'he did with her according to his vow.' Besides,

In this case, where was the ground for the annual 'lamentations' of the daughters of Israel, or even for the 'celebrations' which some understand the word to mean? See the Notes of the *Pictorial Bible* and Bush's *Notes on Judges*; comp. Calmet's *Dissertation sur le Vœu de Jephthé*, in *Comment. Littéral*, tom. ii.; Dresde, *Votum Jephthæ ex Antiq. Judaica illustr.* 1778; Randolph, *Erklär. d. Gelübdes Jephthas*, in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, viii. 13; Lightfoot's *Harmony*, under Judges xi.; *Erubhin*, cap. xvi., *Sermon* on Judges xi. 39; Bishop Russell's *Connection of Sacred and Profane History*, i. 479-492.—J. K.

Addendum.—In this article the opinion that Jephthah offered up his daughter as a burnt-offering to the Lord is supported by the usual arguments, but the reasons for the other view hardly receive justice. It may be well, therefore, briefly to state them. 1. Jephthah, in making his vow, must have distinctly contemplated the possibility, or rather the probability, that the first thing that should come forth from his house to meet him on his return would be a human being. He must, therefore, have clearly intended to offer to the Lord in some way a human being, in case such was the first to come forth. 2. It is improbable that he deliberately purposed to slay and offer as a burnt-offering to the Lord one of his fellow-creatures, in case such should be the first to come forth to meet him. We have no reason to regard Jephthah as a barbarian or as a heathen, though he led a roving and warlike life. He was a worshipper of Jehovah, as his vow indicates, and if he knew anything of the true God at all he must have known that a human sacrifice would be abominable to him. We may presume, also, that his own feelings would have revolted from such an act. It is not until idolatry had taken firm hold of the Israelites that we find such sacrifices regarded by them otherwise than with horror. When the king of Moab in his extremity slew his son as a sacrifice to his God, the deed filled the Israelites with anger and abhorrence (2 Kings iii. 27): can we suppose that one of their own judges would deliberately purpose and actually offer a similar sacrifice? 3. According to the Mosaic law a man might vow to the Lord persons or animals (Lev. xxvii. 1-13); the former being redeemable, the latter not, except in the case of unclean animals. Now Jephthah seems to have distinctly contemplated this alternative in his vow,

וְיִהְיֶה לַיהוָה וְהָעֵלִיתִי וְלֹאֵלֶּהָ, which may be rendered 'It shall be to the Lord, or I will offer it for an offering.' It is true that this is not the usual meaning of the conj. ו, but it is sometimes so used, and the context seems to require such rendering here; for as everything devoted to the altar was given to the Lord, it would have been superfluous to add this had not an alternative been contemplated. In making his vow, therefore, Jephthah probably intended to offer in sacrifice only an animal in case that should be the first to meet him; in the case of a human being his vow bound him to devote him or her irredeemably to the Lord. 4. Jephthah did to his daughter according to his vow. But it is not said that he offered her in sacrifice; and in so singular a case it can hardly be supposed that the writer would have failed to say this had it really been done. 5. Jephthah's daughter requested to be allowed to go with her companions for two months up and down

among the mountains to bewail her virginity. Now, if it was to death she was doomed, why mourn her virginity? or, if by this is meant merely her young life, why not spend her last hours in her father's house? why go to lonely and unfrequented places with her companions to utter her wail? why not enjoy all the comfort she could so long as life was allowed her? If, on the other hand, it was to perpetual virginity she was doomed, what more natural than that, with her virgin associates, she should mourn this which, in her estimation and theirs, would appear a sacrifice as great as that of life, and should select for this a solitary scene far from the inspection or hearing of the other sex? 6. If Jephthah's daughter was put to death, what need was there for adding that 'she knew no man?' As she was a virgin at the time of the vow, have not these words a prospective sense, and intimate that though she lived after this she never ceased to be a virgin? 7. The A. V., following the older versions, says that 'the daughters of Israel went yearly to lament the daughter of Jephthah.' But is לָחֹנֵת properly rendered by *lament*? For this the usage of the word gives no authority. In Piel the verb denotes to praise, celebrate, rehearse in eulogy (comp. Judg. v. 11), so that the proper rendering of the passage is, 'The daughters of Israel went yearly to celebrate the daughter of Jephthah.' But why so if she was offered in sacrifice? On the other hand, if she was devoted to perpetual virginity, her virtue would merit perpetual celebration (comp. Eurip., *Hippol.*, 1425, ff., especially the words δὲ τοῦ σπονδίου ἐλς αὐτὴν παρθένων ἔσται μέριμνα). See the article JEPHTA by Cassel in Herzog's *Real Cycl.*—W. L. A.

JEPHUNNEH (יִפְנֵה). 1. (Sept. Ἰεφοννη)

The father of Caleb the spy. The name occurs in the form Jephunna in the A. V. of Eccles. xlv. 7. 2. (Sept. Ἰεφνᾶ). The eldest son of Jether, of the tribe of Asher (1 Chron. vii. 38).—†

JERAH (יֵרָח, *month*, from the same root as יָרַח, *the moon*; Sept. Ἰαρᾶχ; Alex. Ἰαρᾶδ; *Jarc*), a son of Joktan (Gen. x. 26; 1 Chron. i. 20). As he is placed next in succession to Hazarmaveth, we may conclude that the region colonized by him was in or near the province of Hadhramaut [HAZARMAVETH]. To determine it with greater precision requires a more accurate knowledge of Arabia than we possess at present. The conclusions of Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. xix.) and Michaelis (*Spicil.* ii., p. 161), although approved by eminent critics, seem precarious. Bochart, looking to the Hebrew derivation of the word, considers Jerah to be the Hebrew translation of the name of the Alilæi of the ancient geographers (*Diod. Sic.* iii. 45), whom he asserts to have been thus called on account of their worshipping the moon. In proof of this being their practice he appeals to the testimony of Herodotus (iii. 8) that the Arabs in their language 'call Bacchus Orotal, and Urania, Alilat.' The Alilæi he further identifies with the Bene Helal (Niebuhr, *Arabia*, sec. xviii., c. v.), Helal, in Arabic, signifying the *new moon*, a tribe dwelling in the north of Yemen, not far from Chaulan, and distinguished from the inhabitants of Djidda and Yemen by dialect and peculiar religious usages. But it seems fatal to this hypothesis that Arabian writers themselves assign an

Ishmaelitic origin to the Bene Helal (Knobel, *Völkertafel*, p. 195). The view of Michaelis is less liable to objection. He also takes the word to be the Hebrew translation of an Arabic name; and he finds traces of it in 'the mountain of the moon (*kamar*)' and 'the coast of the moon (*kamar*)', localities mentioned by Edrisi as near Hadhrumaut (Winer, *Realw.* s. v.) However, there is no evidence of the existence at any time of a people bearing this name. The most satisfactory identification yet given seems to be that of Mr. E. S. Poole (Smith's *Dict.* s. v.) with the fortress of Yerakh, belonging to the district of the Nijjad.—H. C. G.

JERAHMEEL (יְרַחְמֵל, *Jerachmed*; Sept. Ἰεραχμὴλ). 1. The eldest son of Hezron, and grandson of Judah (1 Chron. ii. 9, 25-27, 33, 42). From him descended the JERAHMEELITES (1 Sam. xxvii. 10). 2. A Levite of the house of Merari, head of the family of Kish in the time of David (1 Chron. xxiv. 29). 3. The son of Hammelech (τὸν βασιλέως, LXX.) who was commanded, along with others, by Jehoiakim, to seize Jeremiah and Baruch (Jer. xxxvi. 26).

JERED (יֶרֶד, Sept. Ἰάρεδ; *Jared*). 1. The son of Mahalaleel, of the line of Seth (Gen. v. 15), where the name in the A. V. appears as Jared. The supposed similarity between this name and that of the Cainite Irad, which has been used as an argument for the original identity of the two family lists given in the 4th and 5th chapters of Genesis, vanishes when the Hebrew original is inspected. The two words differ essentially in form and signification; Jered, יֶרֶד, signifying 'descent,' and Irad, עִירָד, 'wild ass.'

2. According to the arrangement generally adopted of the text of the very confused passage 1 Chron. iv. 17-19 [BITHIAH], the son of Mered by his Jewish wife, and the head or leader of the clan which settled in Gedor.—H. C. G.

JEREMIAH (יֵרֵמְיָהּ and יְרֵמְיָה, *raised up* or *appointed by God*; Sept. Ἰερεμίας). 1. **LIFE.** The prophet Jeremiah was the son of Hilkiah, a priest of Anathoth, in the land of Benjamin [ANATHOTH]. Many have supposed that his father was the high-priest of the same name (2 Kings xxii. 8), who found the book of the law in the eighteenth year of Josiah (Umbreit, *Praktischer Commentar über den Jeremia*, p. x; see Carpzov, *Introd.* part iii., p. 130). This, however, seems improbable on several grounds:—first, there is nothing in the writings of Jeremiah to lead us to think that his father was more than an ordinary priest ('Hilkiah [one] of the priests,' Jer. i. 1);—again, the name Hilkiah was common amongst the Jews (see 2 Kings xviii. 18; 1 Chron. vi. 45, xxvi. 11; Neh. viii. 4; Jer. xxix. 3);—and lastly, his residence at Anathoth is evidence that he belonged to the line of Abiathar (1 Kings ii. 26-35), who was deposed from the high-priest's office by Solomon: after which time the office appears to have remained in the line of Zadok. Jeremiah was very young when the word of the Lord first came to him (ch. i. 6). This event took place in the thirteenth year of Josiah (B.C. 629), whilst the youthful prophet still lived at Anathoth. It would seem that he remained in his native city several years, but at

length, in order to escape the persecution of his fellow-townsmen (ch. xi. 21), and even of his own family (ch. xii. 6), as well as to have a wider field for his exertions, he left Anathoth and took up his residence at Jerusalem. The finding of the book of the law, five years after the commencement of his predictions, must have produced a powerful influence on the mind of Jeremiah, and king Josiah no doubt found him a powerful ally in carrying into effect the reformation of religious worship (2 Kings xxiii. 1-25). During the reign of this monarch, we may readily believe that Jeremiah would be in no way molested in his work; and that from the time of his quitting Anathoth to the eighteenth year of his ministry, he probably uttered his warnings without interruption, though with little success (see ch. xi.) Indeed, the reformation itself was nothing more than the forcible repression of idolatrous and heathen rites, and the re-establishment of the external service of God, by the command of the king. No sooner, therefore, was the influence of the court on behalf of the true religion withdrawn, than it was evident that no real improvement had taken place in the minds of the people. Jeremiah, who hitherto was at least protected by the influence of the pious king Josiah soon became the object of attack, as he must doubtless have long been the object of dislike, to those whose interests were identified with the corruptions of religion. We hear nothing of the prophet during the three months which constituted the short reign of Jehoahaz; but 'in the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim' the prophet was interrupted in his ministry by 'the priests and the prophets,' who with the populace brought him before the civil authorities, urging that capital punishment should be inflicted on him for his threatenings of evil on the city unless the people amended their ways (ch. xxvi.) The princes seem to have been in some degree aware of the results which the general corruption was bringing on the state, and if they did not themselves yield to the exhortations of the prophet they acknowledged that he spoke in the name of the Lord, and were quite averse from so openly renouncing his authority as to put his messenger to death. It appears, however, that it was rather owing to the personal influence of one or two, especially Ahikam, than to any general feeling favourable to Jeremiah, that his life was preserved; and it would seem that he was then either placed under restraint or else was in so much danger from the animosity of his adversaries as to make it prudent for him not to appear in public. In the fourth year of Jehoiakim (B.C. 606) he was commanded to write the predictions which had been given through him, and to read them to the people. From the cause, probably, which we have intimated above, he was, as he says, 'shut up,' and could not himself go into the house of the Lord (ch. xxxvi. 5). He therefore deputed Baruch to write the predictions after him, and to read them publicly on the fast-day. These threatenings being thus anew made public, Baruch was summoned before the princes to give an account of the manner in which the roll containing them had come into his possession. The princes, who, without strength of principle to oppose the wickedness of the king, had sufficient respect for religion, as well as sagacity enough to discern the importance of listening to the voice of God's prophet, advised both Baruch and Jeremiah to conceal them-

selves, whilst they endeavoured to influence the mind of the king by reading the roll to him. The result shewed that their precautions were not needless. The bold self-will and reckless daring of the monarch refused to listen to any advice, even though coming with the professed sanction of the Most High. Having read three or four leaves 'he cut the roll with the penknife and cast it into the fire that was on the hearth, until all the roll was consumed,' and gave immediate orders for the apprehension of Jeremiah and Baruch, who, however, were both preserved from the vindictive monarch. Of the history of Jeremiah during the eight or nine remaining years of the reign of Jehoiaquim we have no certain account. At the command of God he procured another roll, in which he wrote all that was in the roll destroyed by the king, 'and added besides unto them many like words' (ch. xxxvi. 32). In the short reign of his successor Jehoiachin or Jeconiah, we find him still uttering his voice of warning (see ch. xiii. 18; comp. 2 Kings xxiv. 12, and ch. xxii. 24-30), though without effect. It was probably either during this reign, or at the commencement of the reign of Zedekiah, that he was put in confinement by Pashur, the 'chief governor of the house of the Lord.' He seems, however, soon to have been liberated, as we find that 'they had not put him into prison' when the army of Nebuchadnezzar commenced the siege of Jerusalem. The Chaldeans drew off their army for a time, on the report of help coming from Egypt to the besieged city; and now feeling the danger to be imminent, and yet a ray of hope brightening their prospects, the king entreated Jeremiah to pray to the Lord for them. The hopes of the king were not responded to in the message which Jeremiah received from God. He was assured that the Egyptian army should return to their own land, that the Chaldeans should come again, and that they should take the city and burn it with fire (ch. xxxvii. 7, 8). The princes, apparently irritated by a message so contrary to their wishes, made the departure of Jeremiah from the city, during the short respite, the pretext for accusing him of deserting to the Chaldeans, and he was forthwith cast into prison. The king seems to have been throughout inclined to favour the prophet, and sought to know from him the word of the Lord; but he was wholly under the influence of the princes, and dared not communicate with him except in secret (ch. xxxviii. 14, 28); much less could he follow advice so obnoxious to their views as that which the prophet gave. Jeremiah, therefore, more from the hostility of the princes than the inclination of the king, was still in confinement when the city was taken. Nebuchadnezzar formed a more just estimate of his character and of the value of his counsels, and gave a special charge to his captain Nebuzar-adan, not only to provide for him but to follow his advice (ch. xxxix. 12). He was accordingly taken from the prison and allowed free choice either to go to Babylon, where doubtless he would have been held in honour in the royal court, or to remain with his own people. We need scarcely be told that he who had devoted more than forty years of unrequited service to the welfare of his falling country, should choose to remain with the remnant of his people rather than seek the precarious fame which might await him at the court of the king of Babylon. Accordingly he went to Mizpah with Gedaliah,

whom the Babylonian monarch had appointed governor of Judæa; and after his murder, sought to persuade Johanan, who was then the recognised leader of the people, to remain in the land, assuring him and the people, by a message from God in answer to their inquiries, that if they did so the Lord would build them up, but if they went to Egypt the evils which they sought to escape should come upon them there (ch. xlii.) The people refused to attend to the divine message, and under the command of Johanan went into Egypt, taking Jeremiah and Baruch along with them (ch. xliii. 6). In Egypt the prophet still sought to turn the people to the Lord, from whom they had so long and so deeply revolted (ch. xliv.); but his writings give us no subsequent information respecting his personal history. Ancient traditions assert that he spent the remainder of his life in Egypt. According to the pseudo-Epiphanius he was stoned by the people at Taphnæ (*ἡ Τάφνας*), the same as Taphanhes, where the Jews were settled (*De Vitis Prophet.* tom. ii. p. 239, quoted by Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus V. T.* tom. i. p. 1110). It is said that his bones were removed by Alexander the Great to Alexandria (Carpov. *Introd.* part iii. p. 138, where other traditions respecting him will be found).

Jeremiah was contemporary with Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Ezekiel, and Daniel. None of these, however, are in any remarkable way connected with him, except Ezekiel. The writings and character of these two eminent prophets furnish many very interesting points both of comparison and contrast. Both, during a long series of years, were labouring at the same time and for the same object. The representations of both, far separated as they were from each other, are in substance singularly accordant; yet there is at the same time a marked difference in their modes of statement, and a still more striking diversity in the character and natural disposition of the two. No one who compares them can fail to perceive that the mind of Jeremiah was of a softer and more delicate texture than that of his illustrious contemporary. His whole history convinces us that he was by nature mild and retiring (Ewald, *Propheten des Alt. Bund.* p. 2), highly susceptible and sensitive, especially to sorrowful emotions, and rather inclined, as we should imagine, to shrink from danger than to brave it. Yet, with this acute perception of injury, and natural repugnance from being 'a man of strife,' he never in the least degree shrinks from publicity; nor is he at all intimidated by reproach or insult, or even by actual punishment and threatened death, when he has the message of God to deliver. Kings and priests, princes and people, are opposed with the most resolute determination, and threatened, if they disobey, in the most emphatic terms. When he is alone, we hear him lamenting the hard lot which compelled him to sustain a character so alien to his natural temper; but no sooner does the divine call summon him to bear testimony for God and against the evils which surrounded him, than he forgets his fears and complaints, and stands forth in the might of the Lord. He is, in truth, as remarkable an instance, though in a different way, of the overpowering influence of the divine energy, as Ezekiel. The one presents the spectacle of the power of divine inspiration acting on a mind naturally of the firmest texture, and at once subduing to itself every element of the soul; whilst the other

furnishes an example, not less memorable, of moral courage sustained by the same divine inspiration against the constantly opposing influence of a love of retirement and strong susceptibility to impressions of outward evil. Ezekiel views the conduct of his countrymen as opposed to righteousness and truth, Jeremiah thinks of it rather as productive of evil and misery to themselves—Ezekiel's indignation is roused at the sins of his people, Jeremiah's pity is excited by the consequences of their sins—the former takes an objective, the latter a subjective view of the evils by which both were surrounded.

II. WRITINGS.—The style of Jeremiah corresponds with this view of the character of his mind; though not deficient in power, it is peculiarly marked by pathos. He delights in the expression of the tender emotions, and employs all the resources of his imagination to excite corresponding feelings in his readers. He has an irresistible sympathy with the miserable, which finds utterance in the most touching descriptions of their condition. He seizes with wonderful tact those circumstances which point out the objects of his pity as the objects of sympathy, and founds his expostulations on the miseries which are thus exhibited. His book of Lamentations is an astonishing exhibition of his power to accumulate images of sorrow. The whole series of elegies has but one object—the expression of sorrow for the forlorn condition of his country; and yet he presents this to us in so many lights, alludes to it by so many figures, that not only are his mournful strains not felt to be tedious reiterations, but the reader is captivated by the plaintive melancholy which pervades the whole. 'Nullum, opinor,' says Lowth (*De Sacra Poesi Heb.*, ed. Michaelis, p. 458), 'aliud extat poema ubi intra tam breve spatium tanta, tam felix, tam lecta, tam illustris adjunctorum atque imaginum varietas eluceat. Quid tam elegans et poeticum, ac urbs illa florentissima pridem et inter gentes princeps, nunc sola sedens, afflicta, vidua; deserta ab amicis, prodita a necessariis; frustra tendens manus, nec inveniens qui eam consoletur. . . . Verum omnes locos elegantes proferre, id sane esset totum poema exscribere.' The style of Jeremiah is marked by the peculiarities which belong to the later Hebrew, and by the introduction of Aramaic forms (Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, vol. iii. p. 122; Gesenius, *Geschichte der Heb. Sprache*, p. 35). It was, we imagine, on this account that Jerome complained of a certain rusticity in Jeremiah's style. Lowth, however, says he can discover no traces of it, and regards Jeremiah as nearly equal in sublimity in many parts to Isaiah (*De Sacra Poesi Heb.*, p. 426).

The genuineness and canonicity of the writings of Jeremiah in general are established both by the testimony of ancient writers, and by quotations and references which occur in the N. T. Thus the son of Sirach refers to him as a prophet consecrated from the womb, and quotes from Jer. i. 10, the commission with which he was intrusted ('αὐτὸς ἐν μήτρᾳ ἠγιάσθη προφήτης ἐκρίζουν καὶ κακοῦν καὶ ἀπολλύνειν, ὡσαύτως οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ καταφτυνεῖν,' Ecclus. xlix. 7). In 2 Maccab. ii. 1-8, there is a tradition respecting his hiding the tabernacle and the ark in a rock, in which he is called Ἱερεμίας ὁ προφήτης. Philo speaks of him as προφήτης, υἱόςτης, ἱεροφάντης, and calls a passage which he quotes from Jer. iii. 4, an oracle, χρησμὸν (Eich-

horn, *Einleitung*, vol. i. p. 95). Josephus refers to him by name as the prophet who predicted the evils which were coming on the city, and speaks of him as the author of Lamentations (μῆλος θρήνη-τικόν) which are still existing (*Antiq.*, lib. x. 5. 1). His writings are included in the list of canonical books given by Melito, Origen (whose words are remarkable, Ἱερεμίας σὺν θρήνοις καὶ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἐν ἐν), Jerome, and the Talmud (Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, vol. iii. p. 184). In the N. T. Jeremiah is referred to by name in Matt. ii. 17, where a passage is quoted from Jer. xxxi. 15, and in Matt. xvi. 14; in Heb. viii. 8-12, a passage is quoted from Jer. xxxi. 31-34. There is one other place in which the name of Jeremiah occurs, Matt. xxvii. 9, which has occasioned considerable difficulty, because the passage there quoted is not found in the extant writings of the prophet. Jerome affirms that he found the exact passage in a Hebrew apocryphal book (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudep.* i. 1103); but there is no proof that that book was in existence before the time of Christ. It is probable that the passage intended by Matthew is Zech. xi. 12, 13, which in part corresponds with the quotation he gives, and that the name is a gloss which has found its way into the text (see Olshausen, *Commentar über N. T.*, vol. ii. p. 493).

Much difficulty has arisen in reference to the writings of Jeremiah from the apparent disorder in which they stand in our present copies, and from the many disagreements between the Hebrew text and that found in the Septuagint version; and many conjectures have been hazarded respecting the occasion of this disorder. The following are the principal diversities between the two texts:—
1. The prophecies against foreign nations, which in the Hebrew occupy chs. xvi.-li. at the close of the book, are in the Greek placed after ch. xxv. 14, forming chs. xxvi.-xxxi.; the remainder of ch. xxv. of the Heb. is ch. xxxii. of the Sept. The following chapters proceed in the same order in both chs. xlv. and xlv. of the Heb. forming ch. li. of the Sept.; and the historical appendix, ch. lii., is placed at the close in both. 2. The prophecies against the heathen nations stand in a different order in the two editions, as is shown in the following table:—

Hebrew.	Sept.
Egypt.	Elam.
Philistines.	Egypt.
Moab.	Babylon.
Ammon.	Philistines.
Edom.	Edom.
Damascus.	Ammon.
Kedar.	Kedar.
Elam.	Damascus.
Babylon.	Moab.

3. Various passages which exist in the Hebrew are not found in the Greek copies (e.g., ch. xxvii. 19-22; xxxiii. 14-26; xxxix. 4-14; xlviii. 45-47). Besides these discrepancies, there are numerous omissions and frequent variations of single words and phrases (Movers, *De utriusque Vaticiniumum Jeremia recensionis indole et origine*, pp. 8-32). To explain these diversities recourse has been had to the hypothesis of a double recension, an hypothesis which, with various modifications, is held by most modern critics (Movers, *ut supra*; De Wette, *Lehrbuch der Hist.-Crit. Einleitung in*

A.T., p. 303; Ewald, *Propheten des Alt. Bund.* vol. ii. p. 23).

The genuineness of some portions of the book has been of late disputed by German critics. Movers, whose views have been adopted by De Wette and Hitzig, attributes ch. x. 1-16, and chs. xxx., xxxi., and xxxiii., to the author of the concluding portion of the book of Isaiah. His fundamental argument against the last-named portion is, that the prophet Zechariah (ch. viii. 7, 8) quotes from Jer. xxxi. 7, 8, 33, and in ver. 9 speaks of the author as one who lived 'in the day that the foundation of the house of the Lord of hosts was laid.' He must, therefore, have been contemporary with Zechariah himself. This view obliges him, of course, to consider ch. xxx. 1, with which he joins the three following verses, as a later addition. By an elaborate comparison of the peculiarities of style he endeavours to shew that the author of these chapters was the so-called pseudo-Isaiah. He acknowledges, however, that there are many expressions peculiar to Jeremiah, and supposes that it was in consequence of these that the prediction was placed among his writings. These similarities he accounts for by assuming that the later unknown prophet accommodated the writings of the earlier to his own use. Every one will see how slight is the external ground on which Movers' argument rests; for there is nothing in ver. 7, 8, of Zechariah to prove that it is intended to be a quotation from any written prophecy, much less from this portion of Jeremiah. The quotation, if it be such, is made up by joining together phrases of frequent recurrence in the prophets picked out from amongst many others. Then, again, the mention of *prophets* is evidence that Zechariah was not referring to the writings of one individual; and, lastly, the necessity of rejecting the exordium, without any positive ground for suspecting its integrity, is a strong argument against the position of Movers. Hitzig (*Jeremia*, p. 230) is induced, by the force of these considerations, to give up the external evidence on which Movers had relied. The internal evidence arising from the examination of particular words and phrases—a species of proof which, when standing alone, is always to be received with great caution—is rendered of still less weight by the evidence of an opposite kind, the existence of which Movers himself acknowledges, 'quumque indicia usus loquendi tantummodo Jeremiae peculiaris haud raro inveniantur' (p. 42). And this evidence becomes absolutely nothing, if the authenticity of the latter portion of Isaiah is maintained;* for it is quite likely that prophecies of Jeremiah would, when relating to the same subject, bear marks of similarity to those of his illustrious predecessor. We may mention also that Ewald, who is by no means accustomed to acquiesce in received opinions as such, agrees that the chapters in question, as well as the other passage mentioned ch. x. 1-16, are the work of Jeremiah. The authenticity of this latter portion is denied solely on internal grounds, and the remarks we have already made will, in substance, apply also to these verses. It

seems, however, not improbable that the Chaldee of ver. 11 is a gloss which has crept into the text—both because it is (apparently without reason) in another language, and because it seems to interrupt the progress of thought. The predictions against Babylon in chs. I. and li. are objected to by Movers, De Wette, and others, on the ground that they contain many interpolations. Ewald attributes them to some unknown prophet who imitated the style of Jeremiah. Their authenticity is maintained by Hitzig (p. 391), and by Umbreit (pp. 290-293), to whom we must refer for an answer to the objections made against them. The last chapter is generally regarded as an appendix added by some later author. It is almost verbally the same as the account in 2 Kings xxiv. 18; xxv. 30, and it carries the history down to a later period probably than that of the death of Jeremiah: that it is not his work seems to be indicated in the last verse of ch. li.

It is impossible, within the limits assigned to this article, even to notice all the attempts which have been made to account for the apparent disorder of Jeremiah's prophecies. Blayney speaks of their present disposition as a 'preposterous jumbling together of the prophecies of the reigns of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah,' and concludes that 'the original order has, most probably, by some accident or other, been distributed' (Notes, p. 3). Eichhorn says that no other explanation can be given than that the prophet wrote his oracles on single rolls, larger or smaller as they came to his hand, and that, as he was desirous to give his countrymen a copy of them when they went into captivity, he dictated them to an amanuensis from the separate rolls without attending to the order of time, and then preserved the rolls in the same order (*Eini.* iii. 134). Later critics have attempted in different ways to trace some plan in the present arrangement. Thus Movers supposes the whole collection to have consisted of six books—the longest being that written by Baruch (Jer. xxxvi. 2, 32), which was taken by the collector as his foundation, into which he inserted the other books in such places as seemed, on a very slight glance at their contents, to be suitable. All such theories, however, proceed on the presumption that the present arrangement is the work of a compiler, which, therefore, we are at liberty to alter at pleasure; and though they offer boundless scope for ingenuity in suggesting a better arrangement, they serve us very little in respect to the explanation of the book itself. Ewald adopts another principle, which, if it be found valid, cannot fail to throw much light on the connection and meaning of the predictions. He maintains that the book, in its present form, is, from ch. i. to ch. xlix., substantially the same as it came from the hand of the prophet, or his amanuensis, and seeks to discover in the present arrangement some plan according to which it is disposed. He finds that various portions are prefaced by the same formula, 'The word which came to Jeremiah from the Lord' (vii. 1; xi. 1; xviii. 1; xxi. 1; xxv. 1; xxx. 1; xxxi. 1; xxxiv. 1, 8; xxxv. 1; xl. 1; xlv. 1), or by the very similar expression, 'The word of the Lord which came to Jeremiah' (xiv. 1; xvi. 1; xvii. 1; xlix. 34). The notices of time distinctly mark some other divisions which are more or less historical (xxvi. 1; xxvii. 1; xxxvi. 1; xxxvii. 1). Two other portions are in

* For a proof of its authenticity, see Hengstenberg's *Christologie*, vol. i. c. 2, pp. 168-206 (translated in the *Am. Biblical Repository*, vol. i. pp. 700-733) E. T. [Clark]; see also the article *ISAIAH*.

themselves sufficiently distinct without such indication (xxix. 1; xlv. 1), whilst the general introduction to the book serves for the section contained in ch. i. There are left two sections (ch. ii. iii.), the former of which has only the shorter introduction, which generally designates the commencement of a strophe; while the latter, as it now stands, seems to be imperfect, having as an introduction merely the word 'saying.' Thus the book is divided into twenty-three separate and independent sections, which, in the poetical parts, are again divided into strophes of from seven to nine verses, frequently distinguished by such a phrase as 'The Lord said also unto me.' These separate sections are arranged by Ewald so as to form five distinct books:—I. The introduction, ch. i.;—II. Reproofs of the sins of the Jews, ch. ii.-xxiv., consisting of seven sections, viz.—1. ch. ii., 2. ch. iii.-vi., 3. ch. vii.-x., 4. ch. xi.-xiii., 5. ch. xiv.-xvii., 6. ch. xviii. 19^a-xx., 7. ch. xxi.-xxiv.;—III. A general review of all nations, the heathen as well as the people of Israel, consisting of two sections, 1. ch. xlv.-xlix. (which he thinks have been transposed), 2. ch. xxv., and an historical appendix of three sections, 1. ch. xxvi., 2. ch. xxvii., and 3. ch. xxviii.-xxix.;—IV. Two sections picturing the hopes of brighter times, 1. ch. xxx.-xxxii., and 2. ch. xxxiii.-xxxv., to which, as in the last book, is added an historical appendix in three sections, 1. ch. xxxiv. 1-7, 2. ch. xxxiv. 8-22, 3. ch. xxxv.;—V. The conclusion, in two sections, 1. ch. xxxvi., 2. ch. xlv. All this, he supposes, was arranged in Palestine, during the short interval of rest between the taking of the city and the departure of Jeremiah with the remnant of the Jews, to Egypt. In Egypt, after some interval, Jeremiah added three sections, viz., ch. xxxvii.-xxxix., xl.-xliii., and xlv. At the same time, probably, he added ch. xlv. 13-26 to the previous prophecy respecting Egypt, and, perhaps, made some additions to other parts previously written. We do not profess to agree with Ewald in all the details of this arrangement, but we certainly prefer the principle he adopts to that of any former critic. We may add that Umbreit (*Praktischer Comm. üb. d. Jeremia*, p. xxvii.) states, that he has found himself more nearly in agreement with Ewald, as to arrangement, than with any one else.

The principal predictions relating to the Messiah are found in ch. xxiii. 1-8; xxvi. 31-40; xxxiii. 14-26 (Hengstenberg's *Christologie*, vol. iii. pp. 495-619).—F. W. G.

[*Literature*.—Nagel, *Dissert. in var. lectt. 25 cupp. priorem Jer. ex duobus codd. MSS. Hebr. desumptas*, Altorf 1772; Leiste, *Obs. ad Jer. vaticinia spec. I.*, Gött. 1794; Spohn, *Jer. Vat. e vers. Judaeorum Alex. emendatus*, Lips. 1824; Küper, *Jer. Libb. Sacc. interpres et vindex*, 1837; Moers, *De utriusque recensionis vaticin. Jer. indole et origine*, 1837; Wichelhaus, *De Jerem. vers. Alex.*, 1847. Commentaries:—Besides the homilies of Origen, the Scholia of Theodoret, and the Commentary of Jerome among the Fathers, and those of Oecolampad and Calvin among the Reformers, may be mentioned those of Piscator, 1614; Sanctius, 1618; Ghislerus, 3 tom. fol. 1623; Schmidt, 1685; Venema, 2 vols. 4to, 1784;

Blayney, 1784; Michaelis, 1796; Schnurrer, 1793. 97, in Velthusen's *Commentationes Theologicae*, vol. iii.; Dahler, 1825, 2 vols.; Rosenmüller in his *Scholia*, in *Vet. Test.* viii.; Ewald, 1840; Hitzig, 1841; Umbreit, 1842; Henderson, 1852. To which may be added Hensler, *Bemerk. über Stellen in Jer. Weiss.*, 1806; Gaab, *Erklär. schwerer st. in d. Weiss. Jer.*, 1824; Hengstenberg, *Christology*, E. T., vol. iii.

For Jeremiah's other writing, see LAMENTATIONS.

JEREMIAH. Besides the prophet, seven other persons bearing this name are mentioned in Scripture, viz.—Jeremiah of Libnah, the father of Hamutal, wife of king Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 31); the head of one of the houses of Manasseh (1 Chron. v. 24); three of the warriors who joined David at Ziklag (1 Chron. xii. 4, 10, 13); a priest, one of those who sealed the covenant along with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 2, 8), and after whom one of the courses of the priests under Zerubbabel was named (xii. 1, 12); the father of Jazaniah, a contemporary of the prophet (Jer. xxxv. 3).

JEREMIAH, THE EPISTLE OF, one of the apocryphal writings, purporting to proceed from the pen of the prophet Jeremiah.

1. *Title and position*.—This apocryphal piece, which derives its title ἐπιστολὴ Ἱερემίου (Sept., Vulg., Syriac, etc.) from purporting to be an epistle sent by the prophet Jeremiah 'to them which were to be led captive to Babylon,' has different positions in the different Codd. It is placed after the Lamentations in Origen's Hexaplas, according to the Syriac Hexapla codex in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, in the cod. Alex., the Arabic versions, etc.; in some editions of the Sept., in the Latin, and the Syriac, which was followed by Luther, the Zurich Bible, Coverdale, the Geneva Version, the Bishops' Bible, and the A. V., it constitutes the sixth chapter of the apocryphal book of Baruch, whilst Theodoret, Hilary of Poitiers, and several MSS. of the Sept. entirely omit it. It is, however, an independent production, and has nothing to do with Baruch.

2. *Design and contents*.—The design of this epistle is to admonish the Jews who were going into captivity with the king, to beware of the idolatry which they would see in Babylon. It tells the people of God not to become idolaters like the strangers, but to serve their own God whose angel is with them (1-7), and it exposes in a rhetorical declamation the folly of idolatry (8-72), concluding every group of verses, which contains a fresh proof of its folly, with the reiterated remarks '*seeing that they are no gods, fear them not*' (vers. 16, 23, 29, 66), '*how can a man think that they are gods?*' (vers. 40, 44, 56, 64, 69), '*how can a man not see that they are not gods?*' (vers. 49, 53).

3. *Author, date, original language, canonicity, etc.*—The inscription claims the authorship of this epistle for Jeremiah, who, it is said, wrote it just as the Jews were going to Babylon, which is generally reckoned to be the first year of Nebuchadnezzar the Great, i. e., A. M. 3398, or B. C. 606. This is the general opinion of the Roman Church, which, as a matter of course, regards it as canonical. But modern critics, both Jewish and Christian, who deny the power to any church to override internal evidence, and defy the laws

* Ewald supposes that the proper place of the introductory formula to ch. xviii. 1, is ch. xvii. 19.

of criticism, have shewn satisfactorily that its original language is Greek, and that it was written by Hellenistic Jews in imitation of Jeremiah, chaps. x. and xxix. This is corroborated by the fact that this epistle does not exist in the Hebrew, was never included in the Jewish canon, is designated by St. Jerome, who knew more than any father what the Jewish canon contained, as *Ψευδεπίγραφος* (*Pseum. Comment. in Hierom.*), was marked with *obeli* by Origen in his Hexapla, as is evident from the note of Cod. Chisianus (*Βαρύχθλος ὠβελίσταται κατὰ τοὺς ὀβ.*), and was passed over by Theodoret, though he explained the Book of Baruch. The date of this epistle cannot be definitely settled. It is generally supposed that 2 Maccab. ii. 2 alludes to this epistle, and that it must, therefore, be older than this book of Maccabees. Herzfeld (*Geschichte d. V. Israel vor d. Zerstörung d. ersten Tempels*, Brunswick 1847, p. 316) infers from it the very reverse, namely, that this epistle was written after the passage in 2 Maccab., whilst Fritzsche and Davidson are utterly unable to see the appropriateness of the supposed reference. It is most probable that the writer lived towards the end of the Maccabæan period.

4. *Literature.*—Arnald, *A Critical Commentary on the Apocryphal Books; being a continuation of Patrick and Lowth*; Eichhorn, *Einleitung in die apokryphische Schriften des Alten Testaments*, Leipzig 1795, p. 390, ff.; De Wette, *Einleitung in d. Alte Testament*, sec. 324; Fritzsche, *Kurzfassendes exegetisches Handbuch z. d. apokr. d. Alten Testaments*, part i., Leipzig 1851, p. 205, ff.; Keil, *Einleitung in d. Alte Testament*, 1859, p. 731, ff.; Davidson, *The Text of the Old Testament considered*, London 1856, p. 1038, etc.—C. D. G.

JEREMOTH (ירמיות, *loftinesses*). 1. (LXX.

'Iarimōth; Vulg. *Jerimoth*.) A lineal descendant of Mushi, son of Merari, and founder of one of the twenty-four (?) patriarchal houses of the Levites (1 Chron. xxiii. 23). He is called Jerimoth, chap. xxiv. ver. 30.

2. (LXX. 'Arimōth; Alex. 'Iarimōth; Vulg. *Jerimoth*.) A Benjamite, one of the 'heads of the fathers' of the Beni-Elpaal (1 Chron. viii. 14).

3. (LXX. 'Ierimōth; Vulg. *Jerimoth*.) A Levite, son of Heman the singer, who was one of those who were chosen to preside respectively over the twenty-four courses of musicians instituted by David for the service of song in the house of the Lord. In the distribution of the courses by lot, the fifteenth was assigned to Jeremoth (1 Chron. xxv. 22). In verse 4 of the same chapter he is called Jerimoth.

4. (LXX. 'Iarimōth; Alex. 'Ierimōth; Vulg. *Jerimoth*.) One of the Beni-Elam, who, at the exhortation, publicly agreed to put away his strange wife (Ezra x. 26). In Esdras his name occurs under the form Hieremoth (Ἱερεμώθ, 1 Esd. ix. 27).

5. (LXX. 'Arimōth; Alex. 'Iarimōth; Vulg. *Jerimoth*.) One of Beni-Zattu, and another of those who had married strange wives, and joined in the public expression of their penitence (Ezra x. 27).

6. The name, according to the written text, of one of the Beni-Bani, who also took part in the same public acknowledgment of guilt (Ezra x. 29). The marginal note (*Ἀρι*) reads, 'and Rainoth'

(רַיְנוֹת), and this is followed by the LXX. (Ρῆνιμώθ) and Vulgate (*Rainoth*). In Esdras the name is Hieremoth (Ἱερεμώθ, 1 Esd. ix. 30).—S. N.

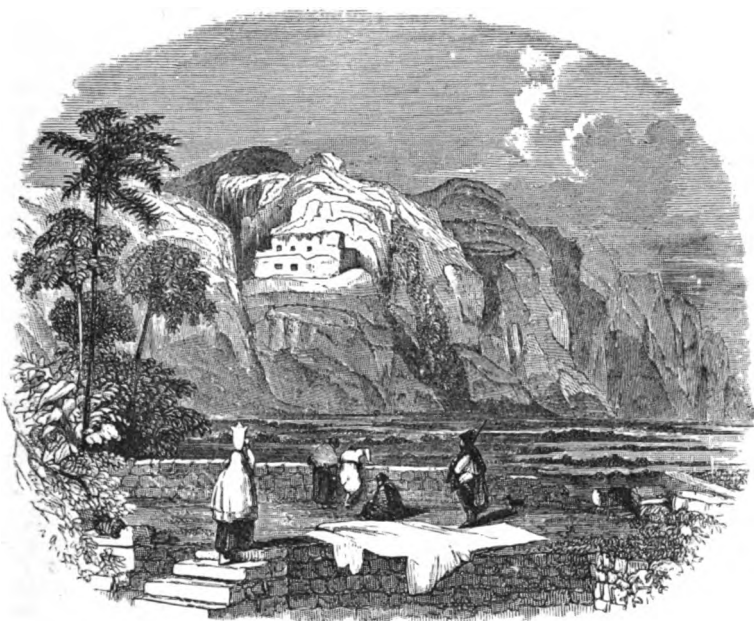
JERICOH (יריחו, יריחו, and יריח), the first

form of the name would signify 'city of the moon,' but the second, 'a fragrant place'; 'Ierimōth; *Jericho*), a well-known city of Canaan, situated in the valley of the Jordan, about eight miles from the mouth of that river. Nothing is known of the origin of Jericho. It is first mentioned in connection with the approach of the Israelites to Palestine. The Israelites 'pitched in the plains of Moab, on this side Jordan by Jericho' (Num. xxii. 1). It was then a large and strong city, and must have existed for a long period. The probability is, that on the destruction of the cities of the plain by fire from heaven, Jericho was founded, and perhaps by some who had resided nearer the scene of the catastrophe, but who abandoned their houses in fear. Had the city existed in the time of Abraham and Lot, it would scarcely have escaped notice when the latter looked down on the plain of Jordan from the heights of Bethel (Gen. xiii.) From the manner in which it is referred to, and the frequency with which it is mentioned, it was evidently the most important city in the Jordan valley at the time of the Exodus (Num. xxxiv. 15; xxxi. 12; xxxv. 1, etc.) It was then encompassed by groves of palms, which attracted the special attention of the Israelites as they looked down upon its plain from the heights of Moab, and led them to call it the 'city of palm trees' (Deut. xxxiv. 3). Jericho was the first city captured by the Israelites west of the Jordan, and the story of the two spies who were sent to it, and of its subsequent siege and destruction, forms one of the most wonderful and romantic episodes in sacred history (Josh. ii. 6). Scarcely less remarkable was the curse pronounced upon the city by Joshua—'Cursed be the man before the Lord, that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho; he shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it' (vi. 26). It is evident this was no hasty or causeless anathema. The sin of Sodom appears to have clung to the spot, perhaps in some measure owing to the relaxing nature of the climate and the great productiveness of the soil, generating habits of idle luxury. On the division of the land among the tribes, Jericho was one of the marks on the border of Benjamin, whose territory extended down in a narrow point to the Jordan (Josh. xvi. 1-7). But though the Benjamites possessed the site of the city (xviii. 21), and though a few inhabitants gathered round it to cultivate the plain (Judg. iii. 13; 2 Sam. x. 5), the ban of Joshua lay upon it for nearly five centuries. We read that, in the reign of Ahab, 'Hiel the Bethelite built Jericho: he laid the foundation thereof in Abiram his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the Lord' (1 Kings xvi. 34). Jericho thus became once more a large and important city; and notwithstanding the curse of Joshua and the fatality attendant on its rebuilding, the prophets gathered round it, established a famous school, and gave it a name for sanctity and learning which it retained down to the commencement of our own era. Doubtless the visit of Elijah and Elisha, the

translation of the former on the opposite bank of the Jordan, and the miraculous healing of the poisonous fountain by the latter, contributed much to the celebrity of the place (2 Kings ii.) With the exception of two incidental references (2 Kings xxv. 5; 2 Chron. xxviii. 15), we hear nothing more of the city till after the captivity. Of 'the children of Jericho three hundred and forty and five' returned from Babylon (Ezra ii. 34), and aided in rebuilding Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 2). In the interval between the O. T. and N. T. histories, Jericho was a place of note. It was one of the towns fortified by Bacchides, a general of Demetrius Soter, when defeated by the Jews under Jonathan Maccabeus (1 Maccab. ix. 50; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. i. 3). Pompey encamped here on his way to Jerusalem in B. C. 63 (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 1; *Bell. Jud.* i.

6. 6). Antony gave Jericho with nearly all Palestine to Cleopatra (*Antiq.* xv. 4. 2), and there is an old tradition that she caused slips of the balsam shrub, for which the gardens of Jericho were famous, to be taken to Egypt and planted at Heliopolis (Brocardus, *Descriptio Terra Sancta*, xiii.) From Cleopatra Jericho and its plain were farmed by Herod the Great (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 4. 2), who adorned them with splendid palaces, castles, and theatres. The city became one of his favourite places of residence, and in it he died (*Bell. Jud.* i. 21. 4 and 9; *Antiq.* xvii. 8).

The history of Jericho is incomplete. It appears that its site was changed; but at what period or for what reason we cannot tell. The city destroyed by Joshua and rebuilt by Hiel stood beside Elisha's fountain. This we infer from the



283. Jericho.

narrative in 2 Kings ii. 19-21; and Josephus says, 'In the immediate vicinity of Jericho is a copious spring of great virtue in irrigation. It bursts forth near the ancient town, the first in the land of the Canaanites which yielded to the arms of Israel' (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 8. 3). There can be no doubt that the spring here mentioned is that now called *Ain-es-Sultan*, and also sometimes 'Elisha's fountain,' which is situated about a mile and a half north-west of the village of Rîha. Now, from the *Jerusalem Itinerary* we learn that the Jericho of the 4th century, which was identical with that of the first, stood at the base of the mountains, on the right of the place where the road from Jerusalem enters the plain, and nearly two miles south of the fountain. After describing the fountain, the author of the *Itinerary* says, 'Ibi fuit civitas Hiericho, cujus muros gyrauerunt cum arca Testamenti filii Israel et ceciderunt muri' (*Vetera Romanorum Itineraria*, ed. Wesseling).

The writer of this article was acquainted with these facts before he visited the plain of Jericho, and was hence led to make a careful survey. The substance of the following sentences was written on the spot. The ancient, and indeed the only practicable road from Jerusalem zigzags down the rugged and bare mountain side, close to the south bank of Wady el-Kelt, one of the most sublime ravines in Palestine. In the plain, half a mile from the foot of the pass, and a short distance south of the road to Rîha, is an immense reservoir, now dry, and round it are extensive ruins, consisting of mounds of rubbish and ancient foundations. Riding northward similar remains were seen on both sides of Wady el-Kelt. Half a mile farther north we enter cultivated ground, interspersed with clumps of thorny *nubb* ('lote-tree') and other shrubs; another half mile brings us to Ain-es-Sultân, a large fountain bursting forth from the foot of a mound. The water though warm is sweet,

and is extensively used in the irrigation of the surrounding plain. The whole plain immediately around the fountain is strewn with ancient ruins and heaps of rubbish. There can be no doubt that this is the fountain healed by Elisha, and that the ruins beside it are those of the city captured by Joshua and rebuilt by Hiel the Bethelite; while the ruins lying at the foot of the pass, and on the banks of the Kelt, mark the site of the Jericho of the N. T.

The more modern city thus lay on the direct route from Peræa to Jerusalem. Our Lord followed this route. On approaching Jericho he appears to have cured one blind man (Luke xviii. 35); and on leaving it on the opposite side he cured another (Mark x. 46). Then, proceeding on his journey, a vast crowd having gathered round him, he saw Zaccheus up in the sycamore tree, went into his house, probably a villa in the gardens near the road, and having rested there for a time, and related the parable of the Ten Pounds, 'he went forward, ascending up (by the steep wild mountain road) to Jerusalem' (Luke xix. 1-28). At this period the environs of Jericho must have been exceedingly rich and beautiful. The abundant waters of Elisha's fountain, and of other larger fountains at the foot of the mountains northward, were conducted by aqueducts and canals, and distributed far and wide over the vast plain. The gardens and orchards abounded in spices, shrubs, and fruit trees of the rarest kinds, and were dotted besides with the palaces of the Jewish princes and nobles (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvi. 5. 2; xviii. 13. 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. 21, 4-9; iv. 8. 2 and 3).

The subsequent history of Jericho contains little worthy of note. It was made the head of one of the toparchies of Palestine under Vespasian (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iii. 3. 5). Eusebius and Jerome state that it was destroyed during the siege of Jerusalem (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Jericho*). It afterwards contained a considerable Christian population, and was for a long period the seat of a bishopric (S. Paul, *Geogr. Sacra*, ed. Holsten. p. 306; Reland, *Palæstina*, p. 215). A church and hospice were built here by the Emperor Justinian (Procopius, *De Edific. Justiniani*, 5, 9); but these buildings and the city appear to have been destroyed during or soon after the Mohammedan conquest, for Adamnanus at the close of the 7th century describes the site as deserted, with the exception of Rahab's house (*De Locis Sanctis*, 2, 13). During the rule of the Saracens, Jericho again in some measure revived; the old aqueducts were repaired, and the plain rendered fruitful. But it would seem that the site was again changed, and the new town or village built where the little hamlet of Rîha now stands (Jacob de Vitry in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 1076; see also Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 561). When the Crusaders conquered Palestine the plain of Jericho was one of the most fertile regions in the country, and was assigned to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (William of Tyre in *Gesta Dei*, xi. 15). After the close of the Crusades Jericho again gradually declined, and it has never since revived (Brochardus, chap. vii.; Maundrell, March 29; Pococke, ii. 1, p. 31).

Rîha (written in Arabic رِيحَا, *Ertha* = Heb. יְרִיחוֹ), the only modern representative of the ancient royal city of Jericho, is a small, poor, filthy

hamlet. The houses consist of rough walls of old building stones, roofed with straw and brushwood. Each has in front of it an enclosure for cattle fenced with branches of the thorny nubk; and a stronger fence of the same material surrounds the whole village, forming a rude barrier against the raids of the Bedawin. Not far from the village is a little square castle or tower, evidently of Saracenic origin, but now dignified by the title of 'the house of Zaccheus.' This village, though it bears the name of Jericho, is, as has been stated, about a mile and a half distant both from the Jericho of the prophets and that of the Evangelists. Very probably it may occupy the site of Gilgal [GILGAL]. The soil of the plain is unsurpassed in fertility; there is abundance of water for irrigation, and many of the old aqueducts are almost perfect; yet nearly the whole plain is waste and desolate. The few fields of wheat and Indian corn, and the few orchards of figs, are enough to show what the place might become under proper cultivation. But the people are now few in number, indolent, and licentious. The palms which gave the ancient city a distinctive appellation are gone; even that 'single solitary palm' which Dr. Robinson saw, exists no more. The climate of Jericho is exceedingly hot and unhealthy. On the 13th of May the thermometer rose to 102° Fahr. in Dr. Robinson's tent beside the village; and the writer can testify that he never suffered so severely from the effects of intense heat as during two days he spent in the plain of Jericho in April 1858. The heat is accounted for by the depression of the plain, which is about 1200 feet below the level of the sea. The reflection of the sun's rays from the bare white cliffs and mountain ranges which shut in the plain, and the noisome exhalations from the lake, and from the numerous salt springs around it, are enough to poison the atmosphere.

Jericho owed its ancient wealth and importance to a variety of circumstances. First, The site is one of nature's own making. Water is the first grand requisite for an eastern city. Here the stream of the Kelt, issuing from a sublime ravine, flows across an alluvial plain. A little more than a mile northward is the large fountain of Eli-ha; and still farther the fountain of Dûk. Three copious streams thus combined by the aid of a little human skill and industry to convert a parched plain into a paradise. No more fitting site could have been chosen for a great city.

Second, The climate of this plain is different from that of any other part of Palestine; it is in fact tropical. The people of the country soon found that the fruits, spices, and perfumes of other climes could be grown there in great abundance. The palms of Jericho equalled those of Egypt. The gardens of Jericho produced the sweet-smelling *heina*, called 'camphire' (Heb. כַּמְפִיר, in the English version of Cant. i. 14; also the useful *myrobalan*, known to the Arabs as zukkûm; and the rare and fragrant *balsam*, or 'balm of Gilead,' which was in ancient times so highly esteemed both as a perfume and a medicine (Gen. xliii. 11; Jer. viii. 22; xlv. 11). The balsam was peculiar to Palestine (Strabo, xvi. 2; Pliny, xii. 25, 54); and Josephus informs us that it was chiefly produced in the environs of Jericho (*Antiq.* xiv. 4. 1; xv. 4. 2). In addition to these the ordinary fruits grew more luxuriantly, and ripened sooner, in the plain of Jericho than elsewhere. Josephus is lavish in his praises of its

amazing fertility. He calls it the most fertile tract in Judæa—a divine region (*θεῖον χωριον*, *Bell. Jud.* iv. 8. 3).

Third, After the destruction of Sodom and its rich plain, the site of Jericho was the only one in the southern section of the Jordan valley adapted for a great city. Fugitives from the surrounding country would naturally concentrate here, and Jericho, when founded, would become what Sodom had been, the capital of the Arabah.

Fourth, The principal parts of the lower Jordan are opposite Jericho. The valley is bounded on the west by a steep and rugged line of mountains which form a great natural barrier to that division of Palestine. The two main passes through this barrier—to Jerusalem, and to Bethel—converge at Jericho; and a strong city built there would thus form the key of Palestine. So Joshua found it; and when Jericho fell the way was opened into the whole country.

The forest gardens and verdant fields and meadows of Jericho must have been a glorious sight to the Israelites from the mountain sides of Moab, and to Moses from the top of Pisgah. After the bare rocks of Sinai, and the bare valley of Arabah, and the bare downs of Moab, the waving palm groves, and broad plains sparkling with streams, and the wide sea would seem an earthly paradise. And desolate as the plain has now become, it is still beautiful to the eye of the pilgrim, after his six hours' weary march down through the white and parched wilderness of Judæa. The glory of the 'city of palm-trees' has long since passed away; but the beauty of the site is perennial.—J. L. P.

JERIMOTH (ירמיות; *Vulg. Jerimoth*). 1.

(*Ἰερμιώθ*.) A lineal descendant of Mushi, son of Merari, and founder of one of the Levitical families (1 Chron. xxiv. 30). [See JEREMOTH, 1.]

2. (*Ἰερμιούθ*.) One of the Benei-Bela, and founder of one of the patriarchal houses of the Benjamites (1 Chron. vii. 7).

3. (*ירמיות*; *Ἰερμιούθ*.) One of the Benei-Becher, and founder of another of the Benjamite families (1 Chron. vii. 8).

4. (*Ἀρμιούθ*; *Alex. Ἰαρμιούθ*; *Vulg. Jerimuth*.) A Benjamite, one of the ambidextrous warriors who joined the party of David at Ziklag (1 Chron. xii. 5).

5. (*Ἰερμιώθ*.) Son of Heman, and leader of the fifteenth course of musicians (1 Chron. xxv. 4). [See JEREMOTH, 3.]

6. (*Ἰερμιώθ*.) Son of Azriel, and ruler, (*נָּיִד*) or prince (*שָׂר*) of the tribe of Naphtali, in the latter part of the reign of David (1 Chron. xxvii. 19).

7. (*Ἰερμιούθ*; *Alex. Ἐρμιούθ*.) Son of David, and the father of Mahalath, the wife of Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 18). The name of his mother is not known.

8. (*Ἰερμιώθ*.) A Levite, one of the officers appointed by Hezekiah to the oversight of the free-will offerings given for the maintenance of the priests and Levites (2 Chron. xxxi. 13).—S. N.

JERIOTH (יריח); Sept. *Ἰεριώθ*, the wife or concubine of Caleb, the son of Hezron (1 Chron. ii. 18). Her descendants are not mentioned, but they probably stood in the genealogy, and were omitted by the chronicler for some reason. If we

knew nothing from other sources of Achsah, the isolated mention of her at ver. 49 would be analogous to the mention of Jerioth here. The *Vulg.* makes Jerioth the daughter of Azubah, Caleb's wife; and some of the older interpreters regard Jerioth as another name of Azubah; but both expedients are arbitrary.—W. L. A.

JEROBOAM I. (ירבעם; Sept. *Ἰερωβόδαμ*), the son of Nebat, and first king of Israel, who became king B.C. 975, and reigned 22 years.

He was of the tribe of Ephraim, the son of a widow named Zeruiah, when he was noticed by Solomon as a clever and active young man, and was appointed one of the superintendents of the works which that magnificent king was carrying on at Jerusalem. This appointment, the reward of his merits, might have satisfied his ambition, had not the declaration of the prophet Ahijah given him higher hopes. When informed that, by the divine appointment, he was to become king over the ten tribes about to be rent from the house of David, he was not content to wait patiently for the death of Solomon, but began to form plots and conspiracies, the discovery of which constrained him to flee to Egypt to escape condign punishment. The king of that country was but too ready to encourage one whose success must necessarily weaken the kingdom which had become great and formidable under David and Solomon, and which had already pushed its frontier to the Red Sea (1 Kings xi. 26-40).

When Solomon died, the ten tribes sent to call Jeroboam from Egypt; and he appears to have headed the deputation which came before the son of Solomon with a demand of new securities for the rights which the measures of the late king had compromised. It may somewhat excuse the harsh answer of Rehoboam, that the demand was urged by a body of men headed by one whose pretensions were so well known and so odious to the house of David. It cannot be denied, that in making their applications thus offensively, they struck the first blow; although it is possible that they, in the first instance, intended to use the presence of Jeroboam for no other purpose than to frighten the king into compliance. The imprudent answer of Rehoboam rendered a revolution inevitable, and Jeroboam was then called to reign over the ten tribes, by the style of 'King of Israel' (1 Kings xii. 1-20).

The general course of his conduct on the throne has already been indicated [ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF], and need not be repeated in this place. The leading object of his policy was to widen the breach between the two kingdoms, and to rend asunder those common interests among all the descendants of Jacob, which it was one great object of the law to combine and interlace. To this end he scrupled not to sacrifice the most sacred and inviolable interests and obligations of the covenant people, by forbidding his subjects to resort to the one temple and altar of Jehovah at Jerusalem, and by establishing shrines at Dan and Beth-el—the extremities of his kingdom—where 'golden calves' were set up as the symbols of Jehovah, to which the people were enjoined to resort and bring their offerings. The pontificate of the new establishment he united to his crown, in imitation of the Egyptian kings. He was officiating in that capacity at Beth-el, offering incense, when a prophet appeared, and in the name of the Lord announced a coming time,

as yet far off, in which a king of the house of David, Josiah by name, should burn upon that unholy altar the bones of its ministers. He was then preparing to verify, by a commissioned prodigy, the truth of the oracle he had delivered, when the king attempted to arrest him, but was smitten with palsy in the arm he stretched forth. At the same moment the threatened prodigy took place, the altar was rent asunder, and the ashes strewed far around. This measure had, however, no abiding effect. The policy on which he acted lay too deep in what he deemed the vital interests of his separate kingdom, to be even thus abandoned: and the force of the considerations which determined his conduct may in part be appreciated from the fact that no subsequent king of Israel, however well disposed in other respects, ever ventured to lay a finger on this schismatical establishment. Hence 'the sin of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he sinned and made Israel to sin,' became a standing phrase in describing that iniquity from which no king of Israel departed (1 Kings xii. 25-33; xiii.)

The contumacy of Jeroboam eventually brought upon him the doom which he probably dreaded beyond all others—the speedy extinction of the dynasty which he had taken so much pains and incurred so much guilt to establish on firm foundations. His son Abijah being sick, he sent his wife disguised to consult the prophet Ahijah, who had predicted that he should be king of Israel. The prophet, although he had become blind with age, knew the queen, and saluted her with—'Come in, thou wife of Jeroboam, for I am sent to thee with heavy tidings.' These were not merely that the son should die—for that was intended in mercy to one who alone, of all the house of Jeroboam, had remained faithful to his God, and was the only one who should obtain an honoured grave—but that his race should be violently and utterly extinguished: 'I will take away the remnant of the house of Jeroboam as a man taketh away dung, till it be all gone' (1 Kings xiv. 1-18).

The son died so soon as the mother crossed the threshold on her return; and as the death of Jeroboam himself is the next event recorded, it would seem that he did not long survive his son. He died in B.C. 954 (1 Kings xiv. 20).

Jeroboam was perhaps a less remarkable man than the circumstance of his being the founder of a new kingdom might lead us to expect. The tribes would have revolted without him; and he was chosen king merely because he had been pointed out by previous circumstances. His government exhibits but one idea—that of raising a barrier against the re-union of the tribes. Of this idea he was the slave and victim; and although the barrier which he raised was effectual for its purpose, it only served to show the weakness of the man who could deem needful the protection for his separate interests which such a barrier offered.

JEROBOAM II., thirteenth king of Israel, son of Joash, whom, in B.C. 824, he succeeded on the throne, and reigned forty-one years. He followed the example of the first Jeroboam in keeping up the idolatry of the golden calves. Nevertheless the Lord had pity upon Israel, the time of its ruin was not yet come, and this reign was long and flourishing. Jeroboam brought to a success-

ful result the wars which his father had undertaken, and was always victorious over the Syrians. He even took their chief cities of Damascus and Hamath, which had formerly been subject to the sceptre of David, and restored to the realm of Israel the ancient eastern limits from Lebanon to the Dead Sea. He died in B.C. 783 (2 Kings xiii. 13; xiv. 16, 23-29).

The Scriptural account of this reign is too short to enable us to judge of the character of a prince under whom the kingdom of Israel seems to have reached a degree of prosperity which it had never before enjoyed, and was not able long to preserve.—J. K.

JEROHAM (יֶרֶחָם, *who finds mercy*; LXX.

Ἰερεμήα, Ἰεροβοάμ, Ἰωπόμ, Ἰεπόμ, Ἰεπαδμ; Vulg. *Jeroham*). Several persons bear this name.

1. The father of Elkanah, and grandfather of Samuel the prophet (1 Sam. i. 1; 1 Chron. vi. 27, 34). His father's name is variously given: Elihu (1 Sam. i. 1), Eliab (1 Chron. vi. 27), Eliel (1 Chron. vi. 34).

2. The father of Adaiah, a priest of the returned captives, and son of Pashur, whose brethren are described as 'very able men for the work of the service of the house of God' (1 Chron. ix. 12, 13. It is surely the same who is mentioned Neh. xi. 12, notwithstanding the discrepancy).

3. The father of Azareel, who was a prince of the tribe of Dan in the days of David (1 Chron. xxvii. 22).

4. The father of Azariah, one of the 'captains of hundreds' who aided Jehoiada to put down the infamous Athaliah, and place Josiah, the rightful heir, on the throne (2 Chron. xxiii. 1).

5. A man of Benjamin, the father of six sons, who were of 'the heads of the fathers, by their generations, chief men' (1 Chron. viii. 27).

6. A man of Benjamin, the father of Ibneiah, who with his brethren lived in Jerusalem (1 Chron. ix. 8).

7. A man of Gedor, whose sons, described as 'mighty men, helpers in the war,' although they were 'of Saul's brethren of Benjamin,' yet united themselves with David at Ziklag (1 Chron. xii. 1, 2, 7).—I. J.

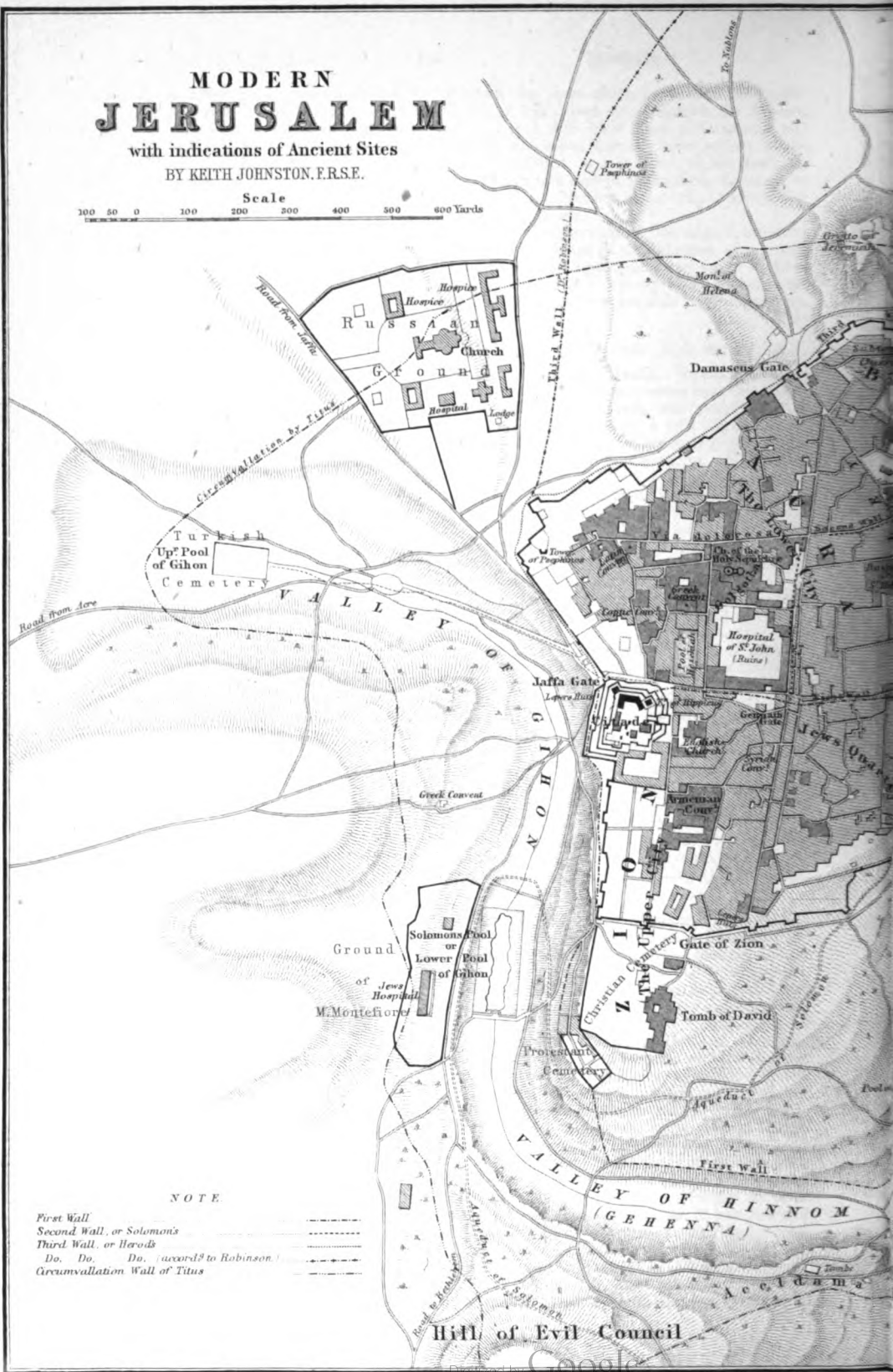
JEROME, EUSEBIUS HIERONYMUS SOPHRONIUS, one of the greatest and most learned of the Latin fathers, was born at a place called Stridon, in Dalmatia, about A.D. 346. He died at Bethlehem, Sept. 30, 420. The name of his father, who was a wealthy man and a Christian, was Eusebius. At the age of 18, Jerome was sent to Rome, where he studied under the grammarian Donatus. He does not appear to have been baptised till he was about 20, and, according to his own admissions, he fell afterwards into a course of dissipation, though not to the extent that Augustine had so deeply to deplore. After a residence of some years at Rome, he travelled into Gaul, Germany, and Britain. At Treves he commenced the study of theology, and in order to prosecute it, retired into a cell in the desert of Chalcis, near Antioch, where for four years he devoted himself to a life of penance and study. Here he acquired that skill in the Hebrew language for which he afterwards became so celebrated, and which he turned to such good account. He also visited Palestine and Constantinople, where he formed a friendship with Gregory Nazianzen,

MODERN JERUSALEM

with indications of Ancient Sites

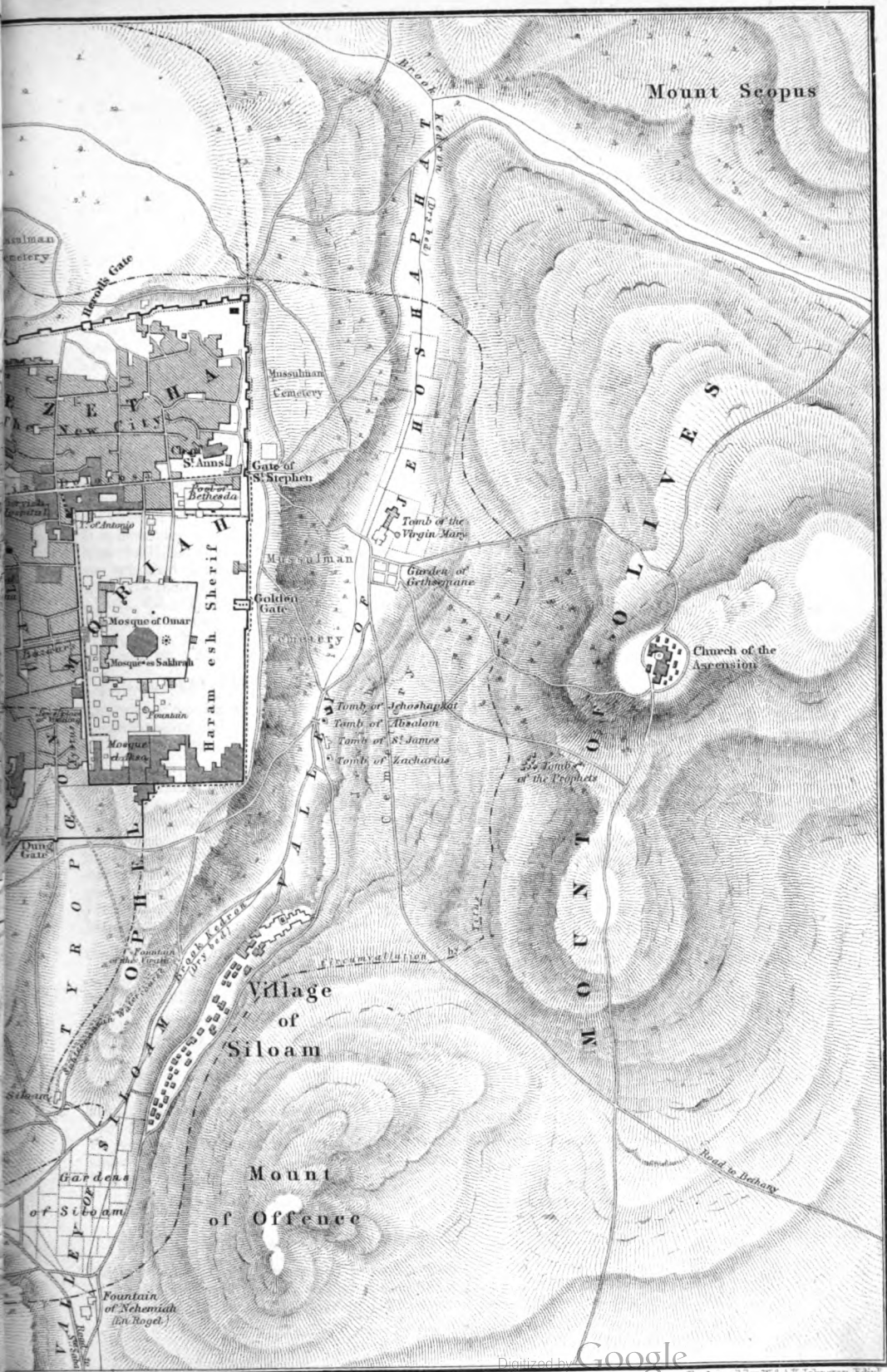
BY KEITH JOHNSTON, F.R.S.E.

Scale
100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500 600 Yards



NOTE

- First Wall
- Second Wall, or Solomon's
- Third Wall, or Herod's
- Do. Do. Do. (according to Robinson)
- Circumvallation Wall of Titus



at that time bishop there, and the only man who, since St. John, had won the title of 'the Divine.' Jerome calls him his father, preceptor, and catechist. It was here that he translated the chronicle of Eusebius and 14 homilies of Origen. In 382 a council was called at Rome by Damasus. Jerome attended it and stayed there till the death of Damasus in 385. It is not clearly known why he left Rome, but he does not seem to have gained the affection of the bishop who succeeded Damasus. On leaving Italy he retired to Bethlehem, where he continued till his death.

His works are partly exegetical and partly explanatory. He took part in the controversies against the Arians, Sabellians, Luciferians, and Pelagians; wrote commentaries on Ecclesiastes, Canticles, the Prophets, greater and less, St. Matthew, and St. Paul's Epistles; also *Questionum Hebraicarum in Genesim liber* and *De Viris illustribus*, and 35 short notices of defenders of the faith, beginning with Peter and James and ending with himself; but the great work for which he is chiefly renowned is the translation of the Scriptures from the Hebrew, which is the only one sanctioned by the Council of Trent, and is known as the Vulgate. It is uncertain what help he derived in this work from the Hexapla and the older Italic versions that are supposed to have existed. The first complete edition of Jerome was that by Erasmus, Basle 1516, 9 vols. fol. There is also the Benedictine edit. 1693-1706, 5 vols. fol.; and that of Vallarsi, Verona 1734-42, 11 vols. fol., reprinted and improved, Venice 1766, 11 vols. 4to.—S. L.

JERUBBAAL (יִרְבֵּעַל; Sept. Ἰεροβάαλ; Alex. δικάσθησιον τοῦ Βααλ), the name given to Gideon in consequence of his destroying the altar of Baal at Ophrah (Judg. vi. 32). The name is a compound of ירב and בעל, and may signify either, *Let Baal contend*, or *Be it contended with Baal*; the addition כִּי shews that here the former meaning is to be adopted. In the A. V. the giving of the name is assigned to Joash, the father of Gideon; but instead of 'he gave,' it is better to use the indefinite form 'they gave,' i. e., the name was given to him by common consent. Instead of Jerubbaal we have in 2 Sam. xi. 21 the name Jerubbesheth (יִרְבֵּשֶׁת), in which בָּשֶׁת = נִשֶּׁת is a term used by the Jews as a substitute for Baal; comp. אִשְׁבַּעַל *Eshbaal*, 1 Chron. viii. 33; ix. 39 for the אִשְׁבֶּשֶׁת, *Ish-bosheth*, of the books of Samuel; מֵרִיב־בַּעַל *Merib-baal*, 1 Chron. viii. 34, for מִפְּיִבֶשֶׁת, *Mephibosheth*, etc. The name Jerubbaal appears in the Grecised form of *Hierombal* (Ἱερομβάλος) in a fragment of Philo-Byblius preserved by Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* i. 9); but the identity of name does not authorise us to conclude that it is Gideon who is there referred to. In the Palmyrene inscriptions, ʿIaḥḥbōlos appears as the name of a deity (Gesenius, *Monum. Phœnic.* 229; Movers, *Phöniciæ*, i. 434).—W. L. A.

JERUBBESHETH. [JERUBBAAL.]

JERUEL, WILDERNESS OF (יְרֻעַל; מְדִבְרָא יְרֻעַל)

Sept. ἡ ἐρήμος Ἰερουζαλ, the scene of the discomfiture of the Ammonites, Moabites, and other Arab tribes who invaded Judæa in the reign of Jehoshaphat

(2 Chron. xx. 16). Although not mentioned elsewhere, the situation of this region may be determined with tolerable precision from the circumstantial details given in the chapter cited. The invading tribes having marched round the south of the Dead Sea had encamped at Engedi. The road thence to Jerusalem ascends from the shore by a steep and 'terrible pass' (Walcott, *Bib. Sac.* i. p. 69), and thence leads northwards, passing below Tekoa (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i. 501, 508). Jehoshaphat, by the direction of Jahaziel, goes forth from Jerusalem to the wilderness of Tekoa. He is told that the invaders are coming up by the ascent of Ziz (or Hazziz, Sept. Ἰαζίζ; Alex. Ἀζαί; comp. Bertheau, *ad loc.*), evidently the difficult pass just mentioned,* and that he should find them 'at the end of the brook before the wilderness of Jeruel.' Three days having been consumed in spoiling the dead, he leads his army to the valley of Berachah (Bereikût) to offer thanks for the deliverance. The wilderness of Jeruel must therefore have been traversed by the road from Engedi to Jerusalem, adjacent to the wilderness of Tekoa, and distant by a short march from Bereikût. In all these respects the large tract of table land called el-Husasah from a wady on its northern side (Robinson, i. 527), and extending 'in verdant slopes' to the hill country about Tekoa (Walcott, *l. c.*), satisfies the requirements of the narrative.—H. C. G.

JERUSALEM (יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, *habitation* or *foundation of peace*; Sept. Ἱερουσαλὴμ; Vulg. *Hierosolyma*;

Arab. القُدس, *El Kuds*), the Jewish capital of Palestine.

PART I.—NAME AND HISTORY.—This famed and most sacred of all cities has a name which at once suggests inquiry as to its meaning and origin. The old traditions and natural prepossessions both of Jews and Christians connect it with that Salem of which Melchizedek, the priest of the Most High God, was king, and there is no doubt that it is the place which the Psalmist had in view when he sung—"In Judah is God known; his name is great in Israel. In Salem also is his tabernacle, and his dwelling-place in Zion." It is also worthy of note that, at the conquest of Canaan by the descendants of Abraham, the king of Jerusalem had a name, Adonizedek (*Lord of Righteousness*), almost identical in meaning with that of Melchizedek (*King of Righteousness*), who was king of Salem in the time of Abraham.

Josephus, writing in Greek, endeavours to clothe the Jewish notions on the subject in a Greek dress, by saying that the city having been formerly called Σόλυμα, received the name of Ἱεροσόλυμα, or the sacred Solyma, from its Hebrew captors. This would be an easy explanation of the change of name from Salem to Jerusalem, if there was anything in the prefixed syllables of the Hebrew word, יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, to

convey that idea of sacredness which is asserted by the Greek prefix Ἱερο. It is needless to say that such is not the case. Various opinions are entertained as to the meaning of the Hebrew prefix, but

* Compare the account given by Joseph., *Antiq.* ix. 1, εὐρήσεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς μεταξύ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Ἐγγαδδῆς ἀναβάσεως.

none of them quite satisfactory or quite consistent with the rules of Hebrew etymology. We may dismiss, almost without consideration, supported though it be by Lightfoot, the rabbinical notion that the word Jerusalem is derived from Jireh, the name given to the place by Abraham (Gen. xxii. 14), and Shalem, the name which it received from Shem, whom they hold to be the same person as Melchizedek. Of the derivations enumerated by Gesenius, and which would give to the word the several meanings of *fearing peace*, *fearing Salem*, *possession of peace*, *Salem a possession*, *house of peace*, *foundation of peace*, he prefers the last, expressing this name in German by the word *Friedensgrund*. There is also something in the latter part of the word which is suggestive of inquiry. Though the letters are the same as those of the word Salem, the vowel-

points are different, the one being written שָׁלֵם, *Shalem*, and the other שְׁלַם, *Shalaim*, and in some places with the insertion of a י, שְׁלַיִם, *Shalaimim*. This gives to the word a dual character, which has been considered referable to the two cities, the one on a height and the other in a valley, of which it consisted. Nor is it unnatural to suppose that the original name of the place having been Salem, it might in the course of time, when it embraced more ground within its circuit, and became a double city, have acquired a pronunciation which described to the ear its local form and character. At the conquest of Canaan the place was known by quite another name. It was called Jebus or Jebusi, which simply means the city of the Jebusite, just as we find innumerable French towns of the present day with names derived from tribes enumerated by Cæsar. Thus we may imagine such a combination of words as Salem Jebus, or Salem Jebusi, with a meaning analogous to that of *Lutetia Parisiorum*; and as Paris is the only portion of this appellation which has been retained, we can conjecture how Jebus may have usurped the place of Salem at the time of Joshua. Some, indeed, have supposed that the word Jebus still lies concealed in the first syllables of the word Jerusalem, while others are led by St. Jerome to identify the Salem of Melchizedek with that 'Shalem, a city of Shechem,' upwards of seventy miles to the north of Jerusalem, in the neighbourhood of Scythopolis (or Bethshan), to which Jacob came after he had left Padanaram (Gen. xxxiii. 18). There is little, however, beyond the mere assertion of St. Jerome to contradict the uniform tradition both of Jews and Christians; and the inference we are disposed to draw from the above considerations is that Jerusalem was originally the Salem of Melchizedek, that the place was afterwards familiarly known as Jebusi or Jebus, from the name of the people who occupied it, while its older name was still kept in memory; and that it received the name of Jerusalem when it was finally conquered by David, partly in memory of its ancient founder, partly to indicate the secure enjoyment of peace which the acquisition of so important a fortress seemed to promise. The use of the word in Joshua and Judges, either by itself or as an equivalent of Jebus, was probably in anticipation of the name which it afterwards received. The dual form of its termination, which was first embodied in the letters of the word by the prophet Jeremiah 400 years after its conquest by David, may have crept

gradually into use; and be now indicated by the Masoretic vowel-points *wherever the word occurs*, because it had long since been established as its proper form when those points were invented (A.D. 500).

The position of Jerusalem was such as to make it a place of leading importance at the time of the invasion of the land by Joshua; and we accordingly find Adonizedek its 'king' summoning four other chieftains of the land to punish Gibeon for having made peace with Israel. Its great strength also appears in the fact that it was not one of the places sacked by Joshua after he had slain Adonizedek and the other four kings who had gone up with him against Gibeon, and that the Jebusites continued to hold it for so long a period afterwards. We are told in Joshua (xv. 63) that the children of Judah could not, and in Judges (i. 21), after an account of the taking and burning of Jerusalem by the children of Judah, that the children of Benjamin did not, drive out the Jebusites; and it is added in the former verse, 'but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah,' and in the latter, 'but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day.' The difficulty of dislodging the Jebusites, followed as it is by the account of the sacking and burning of Jerusalem, and again by the repetition of the statement that the Jebusites continued to dwell with the children of Israel in Jerusalem, point clearly to the fact of the natural division of the place into an upper and lower town. Of the upper town, inclosed within powerful defences and forming the stronghold of Zion, the Jebusites no doubt maintained possession while the rest of the city was in flames, and they continued to dwell there after the children of Benjamin had established themselves in the valley at its foot, or on contiguous but lower heights. This view is confirmed by the authority of Josephus, from whom we also learn that the children of Judah, disappointed in their attempt upon the upper town, withdrew to Hebron, about thirty miles to the south of Jerusalem. This would naturally give the tribe of Benjamin an opportunity for occupying the ruined town which Judah had abandoned; as the boundary line which separated the northern edge of the territory apportioned to Judah from the southern edge of that apportioned to Benjamin passed through, or close to Jerusalem, possibly at the foot of Zion* (comp. Josh. xv. 8, and xviii. 28, with Ps. xlviii. 2).

The stronghold of Zion, which was thus maintained by the Jebusites in this first recorded siege of Jerusalem (B.C. 1443) continued in their hands throughout the whole of the troubled times of the judges, and the early days of the kingdom of Israel. It was about 400 years afterwards, according to the chronology of the A. V.—though not more than 200 according to another computation †—that David *the man of Judah*, having finally triumphed over the house of Saul *the Benjamite*, and being firmly established on the throne of the kingdom of all Israel as well as Judah. (B.C. 1048), in that Hebron which had been the

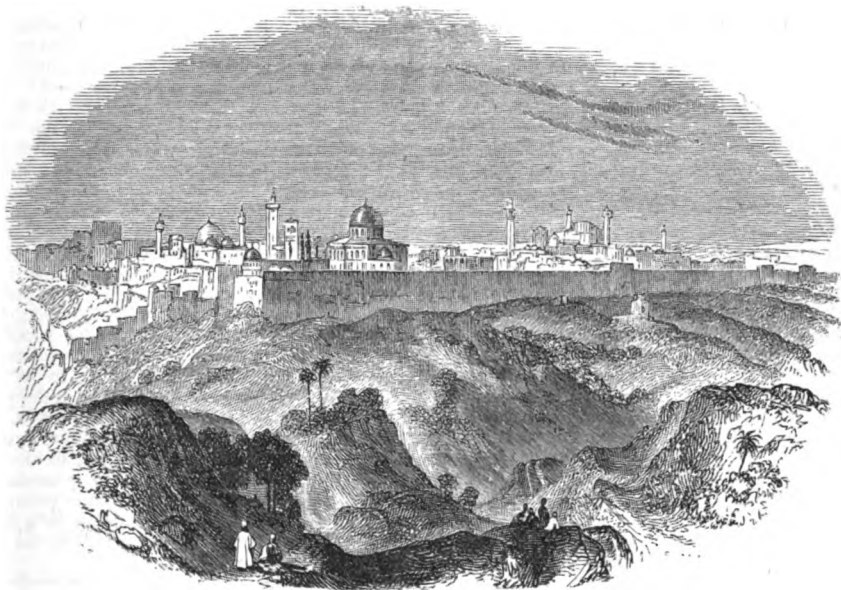
* There is a rabbinical tradition that part of the Temple was in the lot of Judah, and part of it in that of Benjamin (Lightfoot, vol. i. p. 1050, London 1684).

† See article GENEALOGY.

chief city of the tribe of Judah ever since its first ineffectual attempt on the stronghold of Zion, gathered together his forces for a fresh attempt on the fortress which had hitherto baffled the efforts of its Hebrew invaders. Great as was the reputation of David, the confidence of the men of Jebus was still greater. As the Hebrew armies lay round about them, they shouted insultingly from their walls: 'Except thou take away the blind and the lame thou shalt not come in hither.' The simplest interpretation of this insult seems to be that the lame and the blind, the most infirm and helpless of the place, were exhibited on the walls as a sufficient defence against its besiegers. Others have thought that the idols of the Jebusites were so displayed, and that the words lame and blind were used ironically and derisively in allusion to the terms in which those idols were spoken of by the

Israelites. This futile taunt, however, only served to rouse the indignation of the divinely assisted hero whom the giant of Gath had once so vainly cursed by his gods, threatening to give his flesh to the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field. A fresh impulse was added to the zeal of the besiegers, and the hill of Zion was taken.

Jerusalem was now made the capital of the united kingdoms of Israel and Judah, and Zion its stronghold, henceforth dignified by the name of the City of David, became the residence of the king, and the site of that royal palace, for the building of which 'cedar trees, and carpenters and masons' were furnished by Hiram, king of Tyre. The position of the new capital, with reference to the territories of the several tribes, was eminently suited to give it a commanding influence among them. It rested on the southern edge of that grand and lofty pla-



284. Jerusalem.

teau which—interrupted only by the valley of Esdraelon crossing it mid-way between its northern and southern extremity—occupies the entire area of the Holy Land between the valley of the Jordan and the low lands bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. And yet it did not occupy, like Hebron, Shechem, and other great cities of Israel, the crest of one particular hill, but was seated at a height of some 3000 feet above the level of the sea, at a point on the eastern edge of the great southern table-land which is protected on its south and east sides by two deep valleys or ravines running down from the west and north, and joining at its south-east corner, where they form the head of a deep winding cleft rather than valley, which reaches to the Dead Sea, and forms the dry bed of the Kedron. This stream also gives its name to the ravine which comes from the north and protects Jerusalem on the east, while the southern ravine is known as the valley of Hinnom. Jerusalem being thus defended against invaders on the south and east, and partly

on the north, by these ravines, is open and able to extend itself, and hold ready communication with the whole country towards the west and north-west over the undulating height of the plateau on which it rests. This peculiarity of position is the key to much of its subsequent history.

But Jerusalem was something more than the civil capital of the kingdom. It was the place which had been fore-ordained by the wisdom of God to be its spiritual centre, the Holy City to which the tribes of the Lord were to go up every year to celebrate at different seasons their three great festivals. David accordingly proceeded to invest it with that sacredness of character which it was to possess throughout all future ages. The ark of the covenant, that mysterious testimony of God's favour and presence which had been constructed according to his express directions in the wilderness, was still resting at Kirjath-jearim, where it had remained ever since the high-priesthood of Eli and those terrible manifestations of its sanctity which fell both

on Philistines and Israelites after its removal from the tabernacle at Shiloh. This sacred receptacle with its mysterious contents David now resolved to carry to Jerusalem. But its progress to its intended shrine was again arrested by the anger of God, which burst with fatal violence on the head of Uzzah, a man who had ventured to steady it with his hand as it tottered with the motion of the cart which bore it on its way. The revered and dreaded object, left once more in charge of a private person, became a blessing to those who sheltered it with reverence, and David was again encouraged to carry out his purpose. This time a troop of Levites was employed to bear it with staves on their shoulders, according to the directions of the law of Moses, and David himself headed a great procession, which conducted it in triumph, with music, and singing, and dancing, to the tabernacle prepared for it on Mount Zion. We then find David performing the functions of priest as well as king, offering burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and blessing the people in the name of the Lord. He also appointed certain Levites to minister before the ark continually, and to 'record, and to thank and praise the Lord God of Israel.'

In the meantime the building of Jerusalem, and its enclosure within walls of wider circuit than those which had surrounded the Jebusite city, was carried on with that zeal which distinguished all the actions of the poet king. But he could not see the contrast between his own palace, adorned with kingly magnificence, and the slight structure which sheltered the ark, without fervent desires to build for it a temple more suited to the majesty of God. Besides which, the divine oracles seemed to point at a centralization of his worship which was not yet realized; for while the 'ark of the covenant' was enshrined in the City of David, the tabernacle of the Lord was at Gibeon, and there the whole ritual of the Mosaic law continued to be observed by the high-priest and his attendant priests and Levites.

His pious wish was made known to the prophet Nathan, who at first applauded the design, but was afterwards instructed by special revelation to forbid its present accomplishment, while he foretold the perpetual establishment of the house of David, and the birth of a son who would carry out his father's purpose in more peaceful times.

There are many passages in the life of David which one cannot read without feeling how deeply we are indebted to the teaching of our Lord and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on his church for the purity of Christian morals. For while David has left on record in his Psalms the fullest evidence of that fervour of devotion and confidence in God, and that deep humility and penitence which made him the man after God's own heart, we find him living in the unrestrained practice of such habits as are now universally felt to weaken the moral sense and deteriorate the character. Already while he reigned at Hebron, the number of his wives and concubines was considerable, and we read that he took him more concubines and wives out of Jerusalem after he was come from Hebron. This was in direct disobedience to the law of Moses (Deut. xvii. 17), and with it was connected much of the sin and sorrow of his subsequent history. We need only refer to his evening walk 'on the roof of the king's house,' followed by the crimes of adultery and murder, to the incest committed by Amnon, and

the murder committed by Absalom—too faithful imitators of their father's errors—and to the revolt of Absalom, and his incestuous intercourse with his father's concubines in the sight of all Israel, on the same spot which had been the scene of David's temptation and sin. These melancholy transactions, interspersed with victories over the Philistines and other heathen nations, and terminated by his sorrowful triumph over his own misguided son, occupied about twelve years, and brought David to the sixty-third year of his age.

Our next scene in the history of Jerusalem is one of affecting interest. About six years after the last event, David was moved, contrary to the advice of Joab, to make a census of the people of Israel and Judah, either for the purpose of taxation or to ascertain the number of fighting men he could command. By so doing he incurred the displeasure of God, who, to punish him for his fault, destroyed 70,000 of his subjects by a pestilence of three days' duration. The destroying angel was standing over Jerusalem on Mount Moriah, his hand was uplifted and ready to fall upon the city, when the Lord said, 'It is enough, stay now thine hand.' This occurred near the threshing-floor of Ornan or Araunah, a Jebusite, and probably of the blood royal of that race; at the same place, according to Jewish tradition, where Abraham had his knife unsheathed to slay his son. David himself saw the angel standing between earth and heaven with the drawn sword in his hand, and by his command, conveyed through the prophet Gad, he set up an altar on the threshing-floor of Araunah, the site of which he purchased for 600 shekels of gold (having given 50 shekels of silver for the threshing-floor itself with the oxen and materials for sacrifice). This spot thus distinguished by these two instances of God's sparing mercy, and about to be still further honoured by its near proximity to the place of the great sacrifice for the sin of the world, was selected by the Lord as the site of his future temple. David recognised the divine purpose in the fire which came down from heaven to consume his burnt-offering, and he devoted the short remainder of his life to the collection of materials for a fabric of exceeding magnificence to be reared on the spot after his death by his son Solomon.

Solomon was very young when he succeeded his father (B. C. 1015). Josephus, followed by Lightfoot, says twelve, but he was probably a few years older. No prince could display greater wisdom and magnificence than he did in the works which occupied him during the first twenty years of his reign. The Temple, for which he made preparations, with the help of Hiram, king of Tyre, during three years, and of which another Hiram, born in Tyre, but of Hebrew descent, was architect, occupied seven years and a half in building, and was completed and dedicated B. C. 1004. The ark of the covenant was brought with imposing ceremonies, and placed in the Holy of Holies beneath the wings of the cherubim. The tabernacle also, and all its sacred vessels, were conveyed thither from Gibeon, and probably deposited as sacred memorials within its walls (1 Kings viii. 4; 2 Chron. v. 5; Lightfoot, vol. i. p. 2063). The name of the high-priest at this time was Azariah; he was a descendant, perhaps grandson (cf. 1 Kings vi. 2; 1 Chron. vi. 8-10), of Zadok, who was high-priest at Gibeon when David brought the ark from Kirjath-jearim, and was of the house of Eleazar, the eldest

son of Aaron—the high-priesthood of the house of Ithamar, Aaron's younger son, having been forfeited through the sins of Hophni and Phineas, and having terminated in Abiathar, from whom it was taken by Solomon for his share in the revolt of Adonijah (1 Kings ii. 35). After the completion of the Temple, Solomon surrounded Jerusalem with strong walls and towers, and filled it with magnificent structures—his own palace, the vast establishment for his chariots and horses, the palace which he built for Pharaoh's daughter, and the palace of the forest of Lebanon. In the mean time other cities were built in different parts of his dominions; he formed alliances with powerful princes, and carried on a lucrative commerce with Egypt by land, with Eastern Africa and India by the Red Sea, and with Spain and Western Africa by the Mediterranean. By his wealth and influence, and the prestige of his power, he extended the range of his dominion from the Euphrates to the Nile (1 Kings iv. 21; 2 Chron. ix. 26). At the beginning of his reign he organised a government, at the head of which was Azariah, the son (or grandson) of Zadok, who was afterwards high-priest. Lightfoot says that his office was that of chief of the Sanhedrim. This ancient and venerable council is supposed to have originated in the seventy elders appointed by Moses to help him to govern the people in the wilderness, and is believed by some to have continued throughout the whole period of the Jewish history, while others contend that it existed as a national council only from the time of the Maccabees.

But Solomon, who filled the world with the fame of his wisdom, and received so many testimonies of the favour of God during his youth and manhood, was at length insatuated by the same seductions which brought so much sorrow on his father. Towards the close of his reign—

His heart, though large,
Beguiled by fair idolatresses fell
To idols foul;

and he built temples for Ashtoreth, Chemosh, and Milcom on the right hand (*i. e.*, the south side) of the Mount of Corruption (1 Kings xi. 7; 2 Kings xxiii. 13). There can be no doubt that this means on one or more of the four hills lying to the east of Jerusalem, on the opposite side of the valley of the Kedron, and constituting together what we know as the Mount of Olives. The name *Corruption* (Hammashchith) seems to have been given to this range of hills on account of its desecration by Solomon, and to be a sort of play upon the word Hammishchah, which means *unclean*, and which it may be supposed to have derived from the olives for which it was famous. These temples continued to give a character of unholiness to the ground which was afterwards made so holy by the footsteps of our Lord, till Josiah removed them, about 360 years afterwards. The same dishonour was done to the Valley of Hinnom on its south side, by the establishment there of the worship of Molech (2 Kings xxiii. 10).

Grievous troubles fell upon Solomon as a punishment for these sins, the worst of them all being the threatened disruption of his kingdom under his son and successor Rehoboam. Egypt, the old enemy of Israel, was the fosterer of this revolution; Jeroboam, who had been announced by prophecy as its instrument, having sought shelter there from

the expected indignation of Solomon. After Solomon's death, the separation of the kingdoms took place through Rehoboam's weakness and folly, and it was followed (B. C. 972), in the fifth year of his reign, by an invasion of his kingdom, and a siege of Jerusalem by Shishak, king of Egypt. Rehoboam made no attempt to withstand him, but cowered within the walls of the city, which Shishak plundered of all its treasures. He then retired without doing further injury to its inhabitants.

His grandson Asa was a thoughtful and high-minded prince, who did much by his zeal and influence to banish idolatry and its attendant gross immorality from Jerusalem. He repelled a vast Cushite army which invaded his kingdom, and enriched himself with its spoils, much of which he devoted to the service of the Temple, in place of the treasures of which it had been rifled by Shishak. But he made use of these same dedicated treasures to purchase the help of Benhadad, king of Syria, against Baasha, king of Israel, who made war upon him, B. C. 930, and imprisoned the prophet Hanani, who reproached him with this sin.

His son Jehoshaphat was an upright and most powerful monarch, who promoted religion and the administration of justice, and gained great influence over neighbouring nations; but he acted inconsistently in making alliances both with Ahab and Ahaziah, the wicked kings of Israel, and married his son Joram to Athaliah, Ahab's daughter. The influence of this wretched marriage pervaded the three following reigns of Joram, Ahaziah, his son by Athaliah, and Athaliah herself, who made her way to the throne by destroying all the princes of the house of Judah except the infant Joash, her own grandchild, who was snatched out of her hands, and educated in the Temple till he was seven years old. She and her sons (2 Chron. xxiv. 7)—Lightfoot interprets *natural* sons, and Hales *adherents*—partially destroyed the Temple, and took from it the holy things, which they dedicated to the service of Baal. But she was overthrown and put to death by Jehoiada, the high-priest and guardian of young Joash, B. C. 878.

The temple and worship of Baal were immediately destroyed, and as long as Jehoiada lived, Joash submitted himself to his guidance, and did much for the good of his people and the restoration of the house of the Lord. But he was a weak prince, and on Jehoiada's death fell into idolatry, and put Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, to death, for his testimony against it. He bought off Hazael from an invasion of Jerusalem by the gift of the treasures of the Temple, and perished by the hands of his own servants, B. C. 839.

His son and successor Amaziah made war against Joash, king of Israel, who defeated and took him prisoner, broke down 400 cubits of the wall of Jerusalem, and plundered the Temple. He died the victim of a conspiracy, B. C. 810.

Uzziah, his son, was very successful in war, and greatly strengthened the fortifications of Jerusalem, which he furnished with engines for throwing great stones and arrows. His long reign of fifty-two years was the age of the prophets Hosea, Joel, Amos, and Isaiah, and was marked by the occurrence of three terrible judgments, which had been the subject of prophetic warnings—an earthquake;

a plague of locusts, caterpillars, and cankerworms; and an extreme drought. Uzziah died a leper for having dared to burn incense on the altar of incense in the Temple, B.C. 758.

The reigns of Jotham and Ahaz followed—the former a good prince, who built the gate between the king's house and the Temple; the latter an idolater, who caused his sons to pass through the fire to Molech, and by trying to gain the help of the Assyrians against Israel gave them a footing in Jerusalem. Isaiah and Micah continued to prophesy during these reigns.

Hezekiah succeeded Ahaz, and was an eminent reformer of religion and restorer of the Temple and temple worship, not only destroying every vestige of idolatry in Judah, but inviting all the people of Israel, in spite of the laughter and derision of many of them, to come up and keep the passover in Jerusalem.

Assyria was now at the height of her glory and ambition. She had already, B.C. 721, taken possession of Samaria and carried the ten tribes into captivity. She had acquired an ascendancy over Judah, and was endeavouring to subjugate Egypt. Hezekiah, however, had resisted her authority, and Sennacherib, the Assyrian monarch, stopped in his progress towards Egypt to reassert his supremacy over Judah and obtain tangible proofs of submission from her king. Hezekiah was alarmed, and once more the Temple was stripped of its treasures to avert the anger of a heathen conqueror. But Sennacherib, so far from being appeased by this gift, sent his messenger Rabshakeh, not improbably an apostate Jew, to threaten Jerusalem with destruction unless its inhabitants would submit to his dictation and consent to migrate where he pleased. After the delivery of this message Rabshakeh retired, and the consternation of the people was only relieved by the assurance of Divine aid given to them by the prophet Isaiah. It was probably after this that Hezekiah constructed his famous works for drawing the waters of the Gihon from their source into the city to supply the citizens, and distress the enemy, in the event of a siege.

After Sennacherib's attempt on Egypt he returned towards Jerusalem, approaching it from the west, and this time encamped his whole vast army near its walls, in a place which was known long afterwards as the camp of the Assyrians. It was made famous by his terrible and complete discomfiture, 185,000 of his host having died by the visitation of God in one night. Hezekiah, meanwhile, had recovered, by Divine interposition, from a disorder of great malignity; and the report of his danger and miraculous restoration having spread as far as Babylon, Merodach-Baladan, its viceroy under the Assyrian king, sent messengers to congratulate him on the event. Hezekiah, in the thoughtless exuberance of his feelings, showed them all his treasures. The treasures of Jerusalem seem at all times to have been famous, quickly replaced after spoliation, and ever offering a fresh bait to the cupidity of invaders; but it is probable that objects were displayed at this time which had hitherto escaped notice.

By this act of ostentation Hezekiah incurred the severe displeasure of God, and was forewarned by the prophet that all these things, together with many of his own descendants, would one day be carried captive to Babylon. This prophecy re-

ceived a partial fulfilment in the reign of his son Manasseh, who re-established idolatry under its most repulsive forms, for he was himself carried captive to Babylon by the Assyrians, and there repented of his sin. After a captivity of twelve years he was released, and on his return to Jerusalem strengthened the fortifications of the city and laboured to extirpate the idolatry which he had established. His son Amon, however, revived it, and continuing impenitent, was killed through a conspiracy of his own servants (B.C. 641).

Josiah his son began his reign at eight years of age, under the tutelage of the high-priest. He was one of the best kings of Judah, and began at an early age to seek after the God of his father David. Before he was eighteen he had destroyed the idols and places of idolatrous worship throughout all the land of Israel as well as Judah; and then began to repair the breaches of the house of the Lord. The discovery of the books of the law by Hilkiah the high-priest, during the progress of these repairs, led to the celebration of a passover in strict accordance with the Mosaic rule, after a neglect of centuries. But Jerusalem and its kings were to become involved in the mighty struggle which at this time agitated the rival powers of the East. The Medes and Babylonians had risen against Assyria and were besieging Nineveh; and the Egyptian Pharaoh Necho took advantage of the distress of Assyria to make an attempt on Carchemish—one of its important posts on the Euphrates. As he was advancing from the sea coast, through the valley of Esdraelon, for this purpose, Josiah encountered him at Megiddo, and there received his death wound. He was, however, carried to die at Jerusalem. Of the three sons whom he left—Eliakim, Jehoahaz or Shallum, and Zedekiah—Jehoahaz was elected king by the people; but Pharaoh Necho deposed him, and carried him captive into Egypt on his return from his expedition into Assyria, having taken Carchemish (B.C. 608). He also placed his elder brother Eliakim upon the throne, changing his name to Jehoiakim; and he imposed a heavy fine upon the people.

The next visit paid to Jerusalem was that of Nebuchadnezzar. It is doubtful at what time, but probably after the victory which he in his turn obtained over Pharaoh Necho at Carchemish (B.C. 605), in the fourth year of Jehoiakim. He obliged Jehoiakim to acknowledge himself his subject, and took some treasure and captives to Babylon, among the rest Daniel and the 'three Hebrew children.' But Jehoiakim rebelling three years afterwards, Jerusalem was beset by the tributaries of Nebuchadnezzar, who carried on a harassing warfare against it until his death, in the eleventh year of his reign. His son Jehoiakim succeeded him, and Jerusalem being now besieged by Nebuchadnezzar in person, he came out with his mother, servants, princes, and officers, and delivered himself into his hands. Then it was that Nebuchadnezzar took possession of all the treasures of the king's house and of the Temple, and carried away from Jerusalem all the princes and chief men, as well as all the ingenious craftsmen and artificers, and all that were strong and apt for war, leaving only the poorest of the people; and over these he set an uncle of Jehoiachin to whom he gave the name of Zedekiah, and 'made him swear by God' that he would remain his subject (Ezek. xvii. 14). This oath Zedekiah (2 Chron. xxxvi. 13) broke, trusting

in the help of Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt; and thereby not only provoked the vengeance of Nebuchadnezzar but incurred the anger of God. Nebuchadnezzar invested Jerusalem on the tenth day of the tenth month (B.C. 588), in the ninth year of Zedekiah. Engines of war raised on heights about the walls hurled weighty missiles into the city, the walls were battered with rams, and famine and pestilence prevailed within them. There was a temporary lull in the siege, during which the Chaldean army went to meet the Egyptians who were coming to the relief of Jerusalem, but the Egyptians returned back without an encounter, and the siege was resumed. The wall was broken on the ninth day of the fourth month of the second year of the siege, and Zedekiah secretly took flight, passing over the Mount of Olives towards the Jordan; but he was taken near Jericho and conveyed to Riblah in Coele-Syria, on the extreme north of Palestine, where Nebuchadnezzar was watching from afar the siege of Tyre. There his two sons were slain before his eyes, and he was deprived of sight and carried to Babylon. There also were slain Seraiah the chief priest and Zephaniah the second priest, three doorkeepers of the Temple, five officers of the court, two of the army, and sixty persons of note who were found in Jerusalem. The rest of the people, with the remaining treasure of the Temple—some of it broken in pieces for facility of removal, including the great brazen sea and the two pillars Jachin and Boaz—were carried away. This was the third great deportation of captives and treasure from Jerusalem to Babylon. It was effected by Nebuzaradan about a month after the siege. He completed his work by burning the Temple and the city, and razing the walls to the ground. From this time the land 'enjoyed her sabbaths' till the end of the seventy years.

Sacred and profane history agree with the general tradition of the East, and the testimony of ancient inscriptions, in asserting the fact that in the latter part of the 6th century before Christ a prince named Cyrus, of the hitherto unimportant state of Persia, conquered the greater part of Asia. This prince, whom the Lord by the mouth of the prophet Isaiah had named as his 'shepherd' and his 'anointed one' 200 years before, wrested Babylon out of the hands of Belshazzar (538 B.C.) at the very moment when he was profaning the vessels of the Lord's house by using them at his impious revels. The successes of this conqueror had been foretold in the ancient writings of a people whom he found in captivity within its walls, and he was glad to co-operate with the Divine Being who had thus singled him out as his instrument in restoring that people to their own land and enabling them to raise again the Temple and the city on which their hearts still dwelt with such tender recollection.

From a comparison of Ezra i. 1 with Daniel ii. 1 we may infer that after the capture of Babylon Cyrus set 'Darius the Mede' upon the throne, perhaps conjointly with himself, giving him the dignity of the position while he undertook its toils and responsibilities. Certain it is, that in the first year of his own reign he invited any among the Jews who might feel so disposed to go up to Jerusalem and build the house of the Lord God of Israel, and directed all those that remained to assist them liberally with treasure, while he restored to them all the sacred vessels which Nebuchadnezzar

had taken from the Temple. Joshua and Zerubbabel were the leaders of the noble band of 42,360, comprising within it members of the royal family, priests, Levites, servants of the Temple, and private persons, which set out from Babylon to re-colonise the country of their forefathers.

Seven months were spent in the necessary work of settling themselves in the different cities of the holy land to which their families belonged, after which they all collected together at the ruins of Jerusalem. Their first work on arriving there was to set up an altar to the Lord, their next to lay the foundation of the Temple. They were soon hindered by the officious zeal of some of their neighbours, who first proposed to assist them in their work and afterwards represented it as a source of danger to the Persian empire. Other casualties, incident to all new settlements, delayed their operations, and at length the representations of their enemies led to a stoppage of the works by order of Artaxerxes (the pseudo-Smerdis who succeeded Cambyses, B.C. 522); but, urged by the exhortations of Haggai and Zechariah, who reproached the people with living in 'ceiled houses' while the Temple lay waste, Zerubbabel and Joshua began the work again in the second year of Darius Hystaspes; and on a report of their proceedings being sent to that prince by Tatnai, the Persian governor of the province, he caused a search to be made, and the original decree of Cyrus for the building of the Temple being discovered, he not only ordered it to proceed, but directed Tatnai and his subordinate officers to co-operate heartily in the work; which went on so prosperously that it was completed, and the feast of its dedication kept, in the sixth year of his reign (B.C. 515).

An interval of fifty-eight years follows, of which we have no account, but, on the first day of the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (457 B.C.), Ezra, a priest of the line of Eleazar, with a small party of seventeen or eighteen hundred men of all classes, left Babylon furnished with a commission from Artaxerxes to collect money for the temple service, and inquire into the state of the Jews at Jerusalem. His journey occupied four months, and on his arrival he found it necessary to effect an important and very difficult reform among the people who were already settled in the land; for priests, Levites, and persons of all classes had broken the Mosaic law by connecting themselves with women of heathen parentage. The matter was solemnly brought before the Lord and the assembled people with prayers, humiliations, and confessions of sin. A plan of examination into the several cases was agreed upon, and the evil was put an end to by the voluntary submission of those who had transgressed.

Eleven years afterwards Jerusalem was visited by another eminent reformer, Nehemiah, a great Jewish officer of the court of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Morally and externally the Holy City was at this time in a lamentable condition, its walls unbuilt, its houses in ruins, and mixed marriages and other bad practices continued. A report of the state of things determined Nehemiah, with the sanction and credentials of his royal master, who appointed him Tirshatha, or governor of the district, to visit Jerusalem. His arrival caused dismay to the principal foreigners, one of whom had a daughter married into the high-priest's family. On the third day after his arrival he made a secret inspection of the

walls by night, and soon afterwards called all the people together, and exhorted them to lay themselves out with one accord for the work of rebuilding them; and they undertook this work with so much system, zeal, and perseverance, that in spite of the opposition, both open and secret, of the powerful foreigners, which obliged them to build with arms in their hands and be ready at any moment for a hostile interruption, the whole wall was finished in fifty-two days. Other work was done in the meantime, usury renounced, restitution made, a genealogical enumeration of the people recorded, and strict and self-denying economy introduced. Public readings and explanations of the law by Ezra, and an appointed staff of priests and Levites, were set on foot. The Feast of Tabernacles was celebrated for the first time since the days of Joshua (Neh. viii. 17), a solemn fast with confession of sin was held, and a covenant of obedience made and signed in the name of the people, of princes, priests, and Levites. The numbers who were to live at Jerusalem were appointed, and an unceasing effort made by the great and good Nehemiah to correct, by his personal influence, every practice inconsistent with the character of the people of God.

In the last chapter of the book of Nehemiah, which closes the inspired records, we learn that one of the sons, *i.e.*, grandsons, of Joiada the son of Eliashib, the high-priest, was son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite. This disposition to an admixture with powerful foreigners on the part of the rulers of the people is a key to much of their subsequent history.

Eliashib was succeeded in the high-priesthood by his son Joiada, and he in time by his son Jonathan or Johanan (Neh. xii. 11, 22), who killed his own brother Joshua in the Temple for having endeavoured through Persian influence to supplant him in his office. Jonathan had two sons, Jaddua and Manasseh. It was Manasseh who had married the daughter of the Horonite. He seems notwithstanding this to have had at one time some share in the high-priesthood at Jerusalem (Josephus), but being obliged to give it up, probably through the same influence which caused the expulsion of Tobiah from the Temple (Neh. xiii. 8), he became the first priest of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim. Jaddua succeeded Jonathan. He is the high-priest who is said to have met Alexander the Great, with a company of priests in white robes, when he came from the siege of Tyre with hostile intentions to Jerusalem. Jaddua had refused to assist him against Tyre on account of his allegiance to Darius, but he obtained his favour and important immunities for the Jews by shewing him the prophecies concerning himself in the book of Daniel. Jaddua was succeeded by Onias I. the year before the death of Alexander.

The short-lived empire which Alexander raised on the ruins of the empire of Persia split at his death into four kingdoms (Dan. xi. 1-4), governed by four of his generals. These were Thrace, ruled by Lysimachus, Asia Minor by Antigonius, Syria by Seleucus Nicator, and Egypt by Ptolemy Soter. In 320 B.C. Ptolemy Soter made an incursion into Syria and took Jerusalem, his conquest being facilitated by the refusal of the Jews to fight on the Sabbath. They suffered severely afterwards, and multitudes of the people were carried captive to Egypt and Northern Africa.

The possession of Jerusalem was secured to the Ptolemies by the defeat of Antigonius at Ipsus, B.C. 301, and remained in their hands for more than 100 years. In the following year Simon the Just succeeded Onias I. in the high-priesthood. He adorned the Temple, extended and deepened its foundations, and strengthened the walls of the city. Under the peaceful rule of the Ptolemies Jerusalem increased in wealth and prosperity.

Philadelphus, the immediate successor of Soter, caused the Hebrew Bible to be translated into Greek [SEPTUAGINT.] He also made many presents to the Temple. This was during the high-priesthood of Eleazar, who had succeeded his brother Simon the Just, B.C. 291; Eleazar, the brother, was succeeded by Manasseh, the *uncle*, and he by Onias II., the *son* of Simon the Just. Onias II. was of a mean and covetous disposition; he allowed the tribute payable to Egypt to fall into arrear for a long time, and when Ptolemy Euergetes sent to reclaim it, he allowed his nephew Joseph to go to Egypt and plead for its remission. Joseph not only succeeded in this object, but obtained from the court of Egypt for himself and his family the valuable privilege of farming the revenues of Judaea, Samaria, Phœnicia, and Cœle-Syria. This was a source of such great wealth to his house that it soon rivalled that of the high-priest in power and influence, while the quarrels and intrigues which this rivalry occasioned provoked the interference of the ruling state.

From Onias II. the high-priesthood descended successively to Simon II. his son, and Onias III. his grandson. During the high-priesthood of Simon II., Ptolemy Philopator, who had succeeded Euergetes (B.C. 221), visited Jerusalem, and offered a sacrifice in the court of the Temple, but to his extreme indignation was prevented by Simon from entering the sanctuary. This offence cost the Jews a good deal of persecution and the loss of many immunities which they had previously enjoyed.

But the power soon passed into other hands. Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, the great grandson of Alexander's general Seleucus Nicator, had already endeavoured without success to wrest from Ptolemy Philopator the provinces of Phœnicia, Palestine, and Cœle-Syria, which he claimed as belonging to his own kingdom. The attempt was renewed with various results, when Philopator was succeeded by Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of five years old (B.C. 105), but it was not till B.C. 198 that he was finally successful. In that year he gained a decisive victory over Scopas the Egyptian general. Jerusalem opened her gates to receive him, and the Jews were glad to help him in reducing the garrison which Scopas had the year before set over their city.

As long as Antiochus lived, and in the first year of his son Seleucus Philopator, Jerusalem enjoyed great prosperity under its excellent high-priest Onias III. But Seleucus was induced by a wretched informer named Simon to attempt to gain possession of the treasures of the Temple. His own treasurer Heliodorus, who afterwards murdered him, was sent to execute this act of spoliation, but was deterred from its performance by a terrible appearance, which is recorded in 2 Maccab. iii. But the whole story is rendered doubtful by the silence of Josephus.

Seleucus Philopator was succeeded by his brother,

the detestable Antiochus Epiphanes, B.C. 175. Onias III., who was then high-priest, had two brothers, Joshua, and another *also* named Onias. Joshua changed his name to Jason, and having purchased the high-priesthood from Antiochus, forced his brother out of the office, and did his utmost to introduce into Jerusalem the morals and customs of a Greek city. He established a gym-

nasium, and induced his young countrymen to practise the Grecian games, and to pay court to the king by calling themselves Antiochians. Jason was in his turn ousted from the high-priesthood by the third brother Onias, who took the name of Menelaus, and robbed the temple to pay to Antiochus the price of his office. Thence ensued party riots and merciless slaughter. Antiochus



285. Jerusalem.—*The Modern City.*

was at this time in Egypt, of which he had almost effected the conquest, on the plea of re-asserting his claim to the possession of Coele-Syria and Palestine.* On his return from Egypt he visited Jerusalem, to quell the disturbances and take

* These territories had been given up to Egypt on the betrothal of Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus the Great, to Ptolemy Epiphanes, and were reclaimed by Syria on account of her death before marriage.

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vengeance on the partizans of Pompey. Massacre and pillage followed. The Temple was once more robbed of its treasures, and a great train of captives carried to Antioch. Two years afterwards there was a fresh attack upon Jerusalem. Fresh slaughter, fresh pillage, and burning of the city. A Syrian garrison seized and fortified a height within the city called the Acra.* The Temple was

* It is difficult to say whether *this height*, called Acra, or the *hill* on which the upper city was

2 L

profaned by idolatrous rites, enactments were made against the practice of the Jewish ritual, persecution and martyrdom followed.

All this led to an insurrection, which was begun at some distance from Jerusalem by an aged man of priestly family named Mattathias, the father of five sons. His noble opposition to the tyrant aroused a war of independence, in the first year of which he died. But he left behind him a family of heroes. His son Judas gained signal victories over the Syrians, and thereby obtained for himself and his race the surname of Maccabeus, from the Hebrew word *Makkab*, a hammer. Having conquered Lysias, a general of Antiochus, at Bethzur (B.C. 165), he repaired to Jerusalem, and found the sacred enclosures of the Temple encumbered with ruins, the altar of burnt-offering surmounted by an altar to Jupiter, the sanctuary open and empty, and the whole place overgrown with shrubs and herbage.

He cleansed and repaired it, and it was once more dedicated to God (B.C. 165), three years after its desecration. He also fortified the Temple, and placed in it a Jewish garrison, the Syrian garrison retaining possession of the Acra, and annoying the people by frequent sallies. Judas attempted the siege of this place the year after, but was withdrawn from it by an attack made on Bethzur, one of his own strongholds, by Antiochus Eupator, who had just succeeded his father Epiphanes. His small force was defeated, and his brother Eleazer killed by one of the elephants of the king's army near Bethzur, and he was himself obliged to retire within the fortress of the Temple. There he was besieged for a considerable time, but at last accepted the terms offered to him by Antiochus, who was called away to resist the claim of his cousin Demetrius to the throne of Syria. Demetrius, who was in fact the lawful heir, was successful, and Antiochus and his general Lysias were slain. Representations against Judas were immediately made to the new king by Alcimus (Eliakim), a Hellenizing Jew of priestly descent, who, by the influence of Lysias, had been appointed high-priest on the death of Menelaus. Demetrius sent him back to Jerusalem with Bacchides, one of his own officers, and a large force, to act against Judas. But nothing was accomplished beyond the murder of sixty of the pious Jews who trusted themselves to Alcimus, because he was high-priest and of the family of Aaron. Demetrius sent another army against Judas under the Syrian general Nicanor, but Judas was now victorious, and Nicanor obliged to take refuge in the Acra. From that stronghold he sallied out on one occasion and cruelly interrupted the worshippers in the Temple, but having obtained reinforcements, and again met Judas in the field, he was beaten and killed, and his head and right arm carried away and nailed up in Jerusalem. Judas Maccabeus died B.C. 161, leaving his brothers Jonathan and Simon to carry on the work he had begun.

There were now two parties at Jerusalem—the pious Jews or Chasidim, a word Grecised into

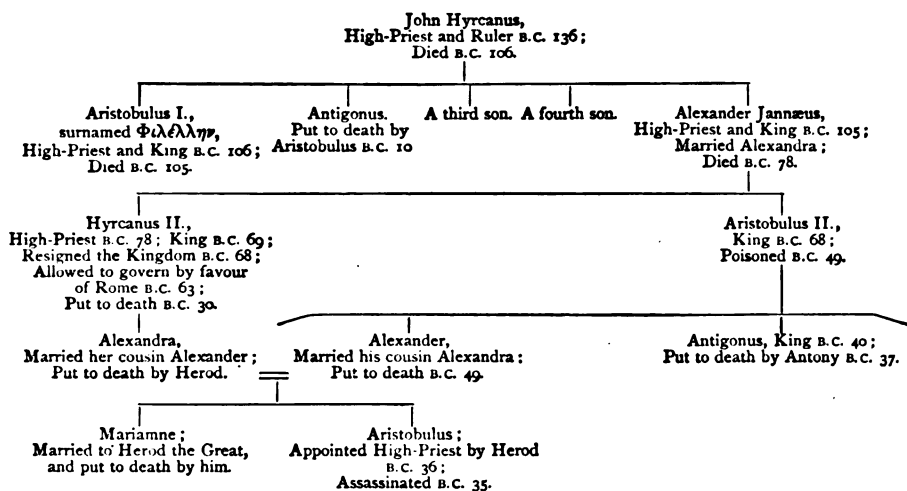
built, was the original Mount Sion. The former lay to the north, the latter to the west, of Mount Moriah, a hill of lower elevation, which was occupied by the Temple and its precincts, and is sometimes called the 'Mountain of the House of the Lord.'

Assidæi, connected with the Maccabees, and the so-called impious or Hellenizing faction, under the lead of Alcimus, who, acting with Bacchides, strengthened the Acra, and placed within it as hostages the children of some of the principal families of Judæa. He was on the point of making some objectionable alteration in the structure of the Temple when he died; after which Bacchides returned to Antioch, and things remained quiet at Jerusalem for some years, the Syrian garrison, however, still holding the Acra and retaining the hostages.

In 153 B.C. there was a new claimant for the throne of Syria—Alexander Balas, calling himself the son of Antiochus Epiphanes. This added to the power of the Maccabees, for both parties courted them; so that Jonathan was able to release the hostages from the Acra, to repair the city, and fortify Mount Sion. He was also appointed to the high-priesthood by Alexander; while Demetrius, recognising Jerusalem as 'holy and free,' and renouncing all right to the Acra, not only freed the Temple from taxation, but richly endowed it and authorised its repair, and promised that Jerusalem should be fortified at his own expense.

Jonathan, however, was so mixed up for some years with the contentions for the throne of Syria, and so enormous was the strength of the Acra, that it was not till 142 B.C.—two years after his death—that it was forced by famine to capitulate. Simon, who was now high-priest, having thus fully accomplished the independence of Judæa, demolished the Acra and lowered the height on which it stood. He also built a very strong tower—the Baris, afterwards called Antonia—close to the wall of the Temple, to command its site, and in this tower he resided with his followers. No event of importance occurred at Jerusalem till his death, B.C. 135. He was treacherously killed, with two of his sons, Judas and Mattathias, by his son-in-law Ptolemy, just as he had succeeded in resisting an attempt of Antiochus VII., second son of Demetrius Soter, to regain possession of Judæa. Simon was succeeded as high-priest and chief by John Hyrcanus, his remaining son; and Antiochus immediately repeated his attempt upon Judæa. Jerusalem was invested; a hundred towers were raised on its north side to hurl projectiles into the city, and a deep ditch made in front of the towers to impede the sallies of the besieged. Hyrcanus was induced, by a failure of water and the prospect of a long siege, to send all the aged and infirm out of the city; and on the approach of the Feast of Tabernacles he requested Antiochus to grant a truce for its celebration. The request was complied with, and further negotiations led to an honourable capitulation and a peace, B.C. 133. Hostages and a heavy payment were required by Antiochus, and the city walls were dismantled. But the walls were afterwards repaired, and Hyrcanus ruled in great peace and prosperity for many years. He had belonged originally to the sect of the Pharisees, but he afterwards became a Sadducee, and took their part strongly against his former friends. During the wars of his long government, he subdued the Idumeans—whom he obliged to conform to the laws and customs of the Jews—and Samaria, which he razed to the ground. He died B.C. 106.

A short pedigree of the descendants of John Hyrcanus will here be useful:—



Aristobulus was the first of the Maccabees who assumed the title of king. He was a promoter of Greek habits and manners, as his name and surname indicate. His death was hastened by remorse for the murder of his brother Antigonus, whom he caused to be put to death in a subterraneous passage between the Baris and the Temple. During the reign of his brother, Alexander Jannæus, who was chiefly engaged in distant wars, Jerusalem was a scene of fierce strife between Pharisees and Sadducees; and once, at the instigation of the Pharisees, Alexander himself was pelted with citrons while performing the high-priest's office during the Feast of Tabernacles. This led to cruel retaliation, and 6000 citizens were put to death. On a subsequent occasion, 800 of his opponents were crucified, and their wives and children slain before their eyes, while he and his concubines feasted in their presence. But, perceiving that the Pharisees were the more powerful of the two sects, he directed his queen Alexandra, to whom he bequeathed his authority, to join their party. She thus secured to herself the peaceable possession of the throne at his death, while Hyrcanus took the high-priesthood, and Aristobulus the command of the army. At her death Hyrcanus claimed the crown, but yielded it to his brother after a few months' possession. He was, however, persuaded by Antipater, an Idumean noble who had been brought up at his father's court, to seek the protection and help of Aretas, king of Arabia Petraea. Aretas, at his instigation, invaded Judæa and besieged Jerusalem, B.C. 65, but was interrupted by Scaurus, one of Pompey's lieutenants, whose aid Aristobulus had purchased by a gift of 400 talents. It was in the same year that Antiochus XIII. was conquered, and Syria constituted a Roman province by Pompey, and the rival brothers appeared to plead their cause before the great Roman general. Aristobulus saw that Pompey was disposed to favour Hyrcanus, and returned to Jerusalem to prepare for resistance; but thinking it hopeless, went to meet Pompey as he approached the city, and offered to surrender. Pompey sent on Gabinius to take possession, but he was refused admittance, and Aristobulus was carried there a prisoner. The city was now in possession of Hyrcanus, who received Pompey

with open arms; but the Temple was occupied by the friends of Aristobulus, who sustained a determined and most severe siege with admirable courage and magnanimity. The temple-worship was carried on all the time with the greatest exactness, and had it not been for the opportunity they gave their assailants to make their approaches and repair their engines on the Sabbath, the Roman battering-rams might never have been brought to bear against the works. But a breach was made at the end of three months, and, after great slaughter, the Temple was taken by Pompey, who was amazed, on exploring the Holy of Holies, to find there no image of any God. He left the sacred things and treasures untouched, but imposed a tribute upon the city and demolished its walls, B.C. 63. Hyrcanus was allowed to govern as high-priest, but without the title of king, and Aristobulus and his sons, Alexander and Antigonus, were carried to Rome. Hyrcanus governed peacefully for a great many years under the favour of Rome, and by the advice of Antipater the Idumean, and about the year 47 B.C. received the title of Ethnarch from Julius Cæsar, together with confirmation in the high-priesthood, for help given to his ally Mithridates. Cæsar also made Antipater procurator of Judæa, and allowed the walls of Jerusalem to be rebuilt.

But some events of importance had happened in the meantime. Crassus had visited Jerusalem, and rifled the Temple of its treasures on his way to Parthia; and Gabinius, who had been made proconsul of Syria, had established in Jerusalem one of the five Sanhedrims or Senates, by which the country was to be governed. Four years later Antipater was poisoned by Malichus, a man who owed him his life. Malichus was in his turn assassinated by order of Herod, the young son of Antipater. This young man had been made governor of Galilee when his father was made procurator of Judæa. He had early displayed his arrogance when brought before the Sanhedrim to answer the charge of having put Jewish citizens to death without a trial, and he now bid defiance to the friends of Malichus, who sought to expel him and his brother Phasael from Jerusalem. About this time Antigonus, the only surviving son of Aristobulus, appeared in Judæa to assert his claim to the throne,

and a Parthian army under Pacorus, son of Arsaces XIV., encouraged by the distracted state of the Roman commonwealth after the death of Cæsar, invaded Syria. Antigonus applied for help to the Parthian, and, with the aid received, penetrated into Jerusalem, took Phasael prisoner, forced Herod to fly, and being himself made king, bit off the ear of the aged Hyrcanus while he knelt before him as a suppliant—to prevent him by this mutilation from ever again acting as high-priest (B.C. 40).

Herod fled to Rome, and through the influence of Antony and Octavius (afterwards the Emperor Augustus), obtained a decree of the senate, appointing him king of Judæa. He soon appeared with an army before the walls of Jerusalem, but events called him away, and it was not till B.C. 37 that he began the siege, which was conducted much as Pompey's had been twenty-six years before. The invading army approached from Jericho, but attacked the city from the level country on the north. Similar works were carried on, similar courage displayed by the besieged. Herod absented himself for a time to celebrate his marriage with Mariamne, the granddaughter both of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, and the niece of Antigonus, but returned with renewed zeal, and an army of 50,000 men under Sosius, the Roman governor of Syria.

The Temple and city, all except the impregnable Baris, where Antigonus lay concealed, were taken by storm. There was dreadful slaughter, and Herod had to stand with a drawn sword at the door of the sanctuary to prevent its plunder and desecration by the Roman soldiers. Antigonus obtained his life from Sosius, but he was afterwards put to death by Antony. Herod also put to death all the chiefs of the Asmonean party, including the whole Sanhedrim except the two great Hebrew doctors, Hillel and Shammai. He appointed to the high-priesthood a Babylonian Jew named Ananel, but displaced him afterwards, at the earnest solicitation of Mariamne, in favour of her brother Aristobulus, a boy of sixteen. The people hailed the appointment of the young Asmonean with too much pleasure; he was therefore put to death while bathing, and Ananel reinstated in his dignity.

B.C. 34 Jerusalem was visited by Cleopatra on her return from the Euphrates. Three years later a great part of the city was destroyed, and ten or twenty thousand persons killed, by an earthquake. In B.C. 30 Herod put Hyrcanus to death, and in the next year Mariamne. Soon afterwards he built a theatre and instituted quinquennial games. This innovation nearly cost him his life by assassination. He enlarged and strengthened the Baris, and named it Antonia in honour of Antony. In B.C. 25 there was a famine in Judæa, and Herod sacrificed great treasure to procure corn from Egypt, for distribution among the people, and for seed. He married a second Mariamne, the daughter of an obscure priest named Simon, whom he raised to the high-priesthood. He built and fortified a new palace, and, after two years' preparation, laid the foundation of his magnificent Temple, the principal buildings of which were completed B.C. 9. He also built three towers of immense strength and size, which he called Hippicus, Mariamne, and Phasaelus, at the north-west corner of the city, where it was most exposed to attack, and one, which he called Psephinus, as an outwork, a little to the north. B.C. 7 he fixed a large golden eagle (as an emblem of the Roman rule) over the

entrance to the sanctuary. This, as a breach of the second commandment, was most offensive to the Jews, and it was torn down in open day at the instigation of two of the chief Rabbis, who were in consequence burnt to death by Herod's orders. His sons, Aristobulus and Alexander, were put to death on pretence of plotting against him, B.C. 6, and his son Antipater, who did plot against him, five days before his own, which occurred a few months after the birth of our Lord, in B.C. 4 of our era. The succession of high-priests during Herod's reign was Ananel, Aristobulus, Ananel a second time, Jesus son of Faneus, Simon son of Boethus, Matthias son of Theophilus, Jozarus son of Simon.

Archelaus (the son of Malthace) now reigned in the room of his father Herod, though he never received or assumed the title of king. He began his rule with great moderation. But this encouraged the people to make demands for a remission of taxes and liberation of prisoners. The crowds who had assembled for the Passover made these demands more formidable, and they were not put down without recourse to arms, and the massacre of 3000 persons. Another disturbance, accompanied by fresh slaughter and plunder of the sacred treasures, took place soon afterwards, while Archelaus was at Rome, whither he had gone to obtain the ratification of his father's will.* He was appointed ethnarch† by the senate, and on his return made Eleazar high-priest, instead of his brother Jozar; but was himself deposed, and banished to Vienne in Gaul, on account of his tyranny, A.D. 6, mainly at the instigation of his brothers, Herod Antipas and Philip. Judæa now became a Roman province under the governor of Syria, and was administered by a procurator or lieutenant-governor of its own. But the procurator resided at Cæsarea, leaving the affairs of Jerusalem to be managed by the high-priest and Sanhedrim—an arrangement which greatly tended to promote its peace and quiet for the next twenty years. Quirinus, called by St. Luke Cyrenius, was governor of Syria, and Coponius procurator of Judæa, immediately after the deposition of Archelaus. Coponius was followed by M. Ambivius, Annus Rufus, Val. Gratus, and Pontius Pilate, in succession. The latter departed from the custom of his predecessors in bringing his troops to winter quarters at Jerusalem, and a riot was the immediate consequence. The eagles and images of the emperor on the Roman standards excited such commotion, that Pilate was obliged to withdraw them, and the same thing happened in the case of some shields consecrated to heathen deities, and inscribed with their names,

* It is to this circumstance—Archelaus going to Rome to be confirmed in the kingdom left to him by his father—that our Lord alludes in the parable, Luke xix. 12.

† This word, which means *ruler of a nation*, and tetrarch, which means *ruler of the fourth part of a country*, were given by the Romans to the native princes of tributary states which were not of sufficient importance to be governed by kings. They bore much the same relations to the Roman government which the great Zemindars of India bear to our own. Tetrarch is an ancient Greek title, and was originally applied to the several rulers of the four districts of Thessaly, Phthiotis, Histiaotis, Thessalotis, and Pelasgiotis.

which were hung up in the palace at Jerusalem. Another disturbance was occasioned by the appropriation of a large sum of money, dedicated to God by voluntary offering [CORBAN; see Mark vii. 11], to the construction of an aqueduct.

The received and most probable date of our blessed Lord's crucifixion is A.D. 29 [CHRONOLOGY], when—dating his birth B.C. 4—he would be thirty-three years of age.* The succession of high-priests up to this date from Eleazar, who was appointed by Archelaus, was as follows:—Jesus son of Sie, Jozar a second time, Ananus (called Annas in N. T.), Ishmael son of Phabi, Eleazar son of Ananus, Simon son of Kamith, † Caiaphas, called also Joseph. Ananus was appointed by Quirinus, and his successors by the contemporary procurators of Judæa. It was Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, the brother of Archelaus, who was at Jerusalem at the time of the crucifixion.

Pontius Pilate was removed from his office on account of his tyrannical conduct A.D. 36, and thereupon Vitellius, the governor of Syria, visited Jerusalem and conferred some benefits upon the people.

The Emperor Tiberius was succeeded by Caligula, A.D. 37; with him Herod Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great, had formed an intimacy at Rome, where, like many others of his family, he resided in his youth. On the accession of Caligula he received from him several of the Syrian tetrarchies, and was able by his influence to save Jerusalem from the dishonour of having a statue of the emperor set up in the Temple. On the accession of Claudius, who had been his schoolfellow, Judæa and Samaria were added to his dominions (A.D. 41), and one of his first acts in coming to take possession of his kingdom was to visit the Temple, where he offered sacrifice, and dedicated a gold chain which had been given to him by Caligula.‡

Herod Agrippa, like his grandfather Herod the Great, added greatly to the outward magnificence of Jerusalem. His chief work was to increase the size of the city by encircling with a massive wall an important suburb called Bezetha, which had sprung up on its northern side. The work was interrupted for a time by orders from Rome, but was afterwards completed, and some of the great stones of which it was built are still to be seen in their original position. But an evil fame attends him for his treatment of the Christians. He began by killing James, and proceeded to take Peter, hoping

perhaps in this way to exterminate the whole sect, when he was stopped by Divine interposition. His own death, under fearful circumstances, soon followed (A.D. 44), Acts xii. During this and the following years Jerusalem was visited with a severe famine, which was alleviated by the contributions of the Christians of Antioch, and of Helena, widow of Monobazus, king of Adiabene, who had become a convert to Judaism.

Herod Agrippa, at his death, left a son aged seventeen, who was then receiving his education at the court of Claudius; but as he was too young to take the government of so troubled a kingdom, Cuspius Fadus was made procurator of Judæa, while the superintendence of the Temple and the right of appointing the high-priest was conferred on Herod, king of Chalcis, the brother of the late king of Judæa. Cuspius Fadus was succeeded about A.D. 46 by Tiberius Alexander, the *Alabarch*, or chief magistrate of the Jews at Alexandria, and he in A.D. 48 by Ventidius Cumanus.

A strong feeling of jealousy had long been growing up between the Jews and Romans. The former would not tolerate the overbearing interference which the latter would exercise in the details of their religion. It was with great difficulty that they retained in their hands the custody of the high-priest's robes, and this year the Roman policy of placing a cohort in the portico (or cloisters) of the Temple to prevent disturbance at the Passover led to a frightful tumult and destruction of life, the people trampling on one another in their endeavour to escape through the narrow streets from the great body of troops which Cumanus thought it right to bring up and place in the Antonia after the first outbreak.

Herod, king of Chalcis, died in the same year, and a year or two later the younger Agrippa succeeded him in that kingdom, as well as in the government of the Temple. He afterwards resigned Chalcis for the tetrarchies which had been held by Lysanias and Philip, but was still honoured with the title of king (Acts xxv. 13). In A.D. 52 Cumanus was removed from the procuratorship of Judæa, being unable or unwilling to check the growing disturbances, and Felix was appointed in his place.

Brigandage, impostures, and assassinations were now rife. High-priests and priests quarrelled for their share of the tithes, and acts of violence ensued, which were referred to Rome. Jerusalem was infested with a banditti (Sicarii), who cloaked their murders and robberies with a pretended zeal for Jewish interests. Felix aggravated rather than repressed these disorders, exercising his almost unlimited powers for the gratification of his own cupidity and malice with a mean and servile disposition [TACITUS]. He was superseded by Porcius Festus, A.D. 60.

The troubles continued. Agrippa gave great offence by erecting in the palace of the Herods a chamber at such an elevation that he could see from it what took place in the courts of the Temple. The priests in their turn built a wall which shut out the view, not only from him, but from the station at which the Romans kept guard at the great festivals. This dispute was referred to Nero, who decided in favour of the priests, through the influence of Poppæa, but Agrippa deprived the high-priest of his office, and he was afterwards beheaded at Cyrene. Festus died in 61 or 62, and

* Blair adopts A.D. 33 as the date of the crucifixion, making our Lord thirty-seven years of age at the time. Dr. Hales adopts March 27, 31, placing his birth in autumn, B.C. 5.

† His mother. She is said to have had seven sons who all served in the office of high-priest, whence the Rabbinical proverb, 'All meal is meal, but Kamith's meal is fine flour' (Lightfoot). The actual high-priest might often be under the necessity of having his office performed by another person. Thus Caiaphas appears to have been assisted during his high-priesthood by Annas, his father-in-law, who had been high-priest some years before (Luke iii. 2).

‡ He had been imprisoned by Tiberius for expressing a wish that Caligula might soon succeed him, and Caligula, on his accession, presented him with a gold chain of the same weight as the iron one he had worn in prison.

Albinus was appointed to succeed him, but before his arrival at Jerusalem Annas the high-priest had summoned the Sanhedrim and condemned to death St. James and other Christians. On this Agrippa deposed Annas, and appointed Jesus, son of Damneus, in his place.

Albinus busied himself in putting down the banditti, but was too ready to accept ransom from those whom he got into his power, while Jesus, son of Damneus, who in his turn was deposed from the high-priesthood; Jesus, son of Gamaliel, the new high-priest; and Annas, the former one, had each his party of banditti at command. The quarrel about tithes continued, and a new subject of discussion arose among the priests from a permission granted by Agrippa to the Levites to wear, for the first time, a distinctive dress. Things were in this state of ferment when 18,000 workmen were put out of employment by the completion of the repairs of the Temple.

The appointment of Gessius Florus to succeed Albinus brought matters to a crisis. His cruelty and rapacity, and the impunity enjoyed by plunderers who were willing to give him a share of their spoils, were intolerable, and produced a representation to Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, which Florus treated with contempt. He sent from Cæsarea to demand seventeen talents out of the treasury of the Temple, and when a large body of the people came to meet him as he approached Jerusalem, he not only put them to flight, but the next day insisted that they should be given up to him for punishment, and, when this was refused, he commanded a general pillage and massacre by his soldiers. A few days afterwards he provoked a fresh outrage and inflicted fresh vengeance. But he failed in his object of penetrating into the Temple for plunder, as the Jews, by breaking down the cloisters of the Temple, interrupted the passage of communication between it and the Antonia Tower. Three thousand six hundred persons were slaughtered on this occasion, and the cruelty of the punishments which he inflicted on the noblest of the Jewish citizens drew Bernice from the palace of the Asmonæans to plead for them in vain with prayers and tears and bare feet at his tribunal.

After Florus had returned to Cæsarea, Agrippa visited Jerusalem, hoping to quiet the people, and he prevailed on them to restore the communication between the Antonia and the Temple, and to pay their arrears of tribute; but on his proposing that they should submit themselves to Florus till another procurator was appointed, they were filled with fury, and treated him with such violence that he was obliged to leave the city. Scarcely was he gone, when Eleazar the son of Ananias the high-priest, who was at that time captain of the Temple, raised the standard of revolt by refusing to offer the customary sacrifice for the emperor and the Roman people. Immediate notice of this bold act was given to Agrippa and to Florus by the more aged and wiser citizens, that they might stifle the sedition at its birth. Florus paid no attention to the message, but Agrippa sent 3000 horse, who, acting with those who wished to preserve peace, held possession of the upper town while Eleazar and his adherents, among whom was a large body of bandits who had returned to Jerusalem after surprising and murdering the Roman garrison at Masada on the Dead Sea, occupied the Temple and the lower town. For seven days there was a fierce

contest, which ended in the triumph of the rebels. The house of the high-priest and the palace of Agrippa and Bernice were set on fire. Fire was also carried to the Chamber of Archives to gain the debtors to their side by destroying the evidences of their debts. Another three days' struggle ended in the burning of the Antonia, and the slaughtering of the small Roman garrison (September 6, A.D. 66). Herod's palace was next taken, and there the high-priest Annas was found and slain, while the Roman soldiers who had kept it first took refuge in the three great towers, and afterwards, on their surrender, were put to the sword.

It was now time for Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, to interfere. He came from Antioch with the twelfth legion, burnt on his way the town of Lidda, and at Bethhoron engaged without result a large body of the rebels who had gone to meet him. He afterwards pushed on towards the city, and encamped for three days at Scopus, a few furlongs off, hoping that the moderate party would propose conditions of surrender. He then made his way into the new suburb, which he occupied, forcing the Jews to take refuge within the walls surrounding the Temple and the inner city. For six days he assaulted the wall without success, and then, apparently without cause, but, as Josephus hints, through the secret influence of Florus, withdrew his whole force back to Scopus. Thither he was followed by the now exulting rebels, who spoiled his camp, carried off his war engines, and killed 5000 of his troops.

The Jews now began an organized resistance to the sovereign state, and the most important posts throughout the country were assigned to their bravest and best citizens. Josephus, son of Gorion, and the high-priest Ananus had the command at Jerusalem, Josephus the historian in Galilee, and Eleazar in Iturea. And, Cestius Gallus and Florus being both dead, Nero gave the government of Syria to Vespasian, who desired his son Titus to come to him from Egypt with the seventh and tenth legions.

Father and son met at Ptolemais in the winter of A.D. 66-7, and during the following summer and autumn the important places of the country fell one after another into their hands. Among the rest Jotapata, with its governor Josephus the historian, who was made prisoner, but treated with respect; and Giscala, whose chief, John, the subsequently famous John of Giscala, escaped to Jerusalem. That unhappy city in the meantime became the most frightful scene of civil strife and violence. It comprised two great parties, those who wished for order and peace, and those who, guided by wild fanaticism or rapacity, thirsted only for deeds of violence. These latter were now known by the general name of zealots, and were not less dreaded by the quieter citizens than the Romans themselves, while they were ever ready to split into new factions and fall upon one another like wild beasts. This was the state of things in the summer of 68, when Vespasian, who had now approached Jerusalem, hearing of the death of Nero, sent Titus for fresh orders from his successor Galba. It was about the same time that the quieter party in Jerusalem, unable to bear the excesses of the zealots led by Eleazar and by John of Giscala, invited Simon, son of Gioras, the leader of a band of marauding Galileans, to come to their assistance. In the

middle of the following year Vespasian himself was made emperor and went to Rome. Titus devoted the remainder of it to active preparations for the siege, and, when the city was crowded with the multitudes who came up for the Feast of the Passover, which was to occur in April A.D. 70, he drew up his forces and placed them on the heights which lay to the north and east of Jerusalem, three legions on Scopus and one on the Mount of Olives. When the ground between Scopus and the city was cleared of obstruction, and made fit for the march of an army, the three legions advanced forward, and bearing to the west, made their attack on one of the western faces of Agrippa's wall, in order, as Cestius had done three years and a half before, to break into the new suburb. But the besieged were now better prepared for resistance, and what Cestius seems to have accomplished by escalade, was not done without the aid of catapult and battering-ram and the erection of mounds surmounted by lofty towers, from which the assailants could cast their arrows at the defenders, who on their side sallied out from the gates, fought from the walls, and made good use of the engines they had taken from the Antonia and the camp of Cestius Gallus. At length, however, they were driven back by the missiles discharged from the Roman towers, a breach was made in the wall on the fifteenth day of the siege, the gates were thrown open, and the whole of the Assyrian camp and Bezetha suburb were in the hands of Titus.

This suburb occupying the ground on the north of the city, Titus had three points of attack before him—the upper city facing him on the west, the Temple and its precincts on the east, and the lower city protected by the second wall, cropping out towards him in the middle. Within this second wall Simon had retired. The same efforts were now repeated by both parties as at the first wall. The Jews sallied out and attacked their invaders with desperate bravery, the Romans drove them back with equal courage. This went on for five days, and at length a breach was made in the second wall. Titus did as little harm as he could, hoping the people would now surrender, but he entered with a thousand picked men. They were met with determined obstinacy by constantly increasing numbers in the narrow streets and lanes of the lower city, and were at length obliged to retreat. But Titus repeated his efforts, an entrance was once more effected, and this time he took care to demolish the whole wall, and become master of all that portion of the city which was not surrounded by the first (or innermost) wall, *i.e.*, the Temple with the Antonia and the adjoining structures, and the upper city. The engines on the Mount of Olives had been hurling their huge projectiles on the Temple and its precincts since the beginning of the siege, and four great mounds were now erected within the suburb, two facing the Temple and two facing the upper city, to act upon these places from the north. But the two mounds opposite the Temple had been undermined and sunk by the skill and untiring efforts of John of Giscala, and the engines on the other two had been burnt by the no less pertinacious bravery of Simon and his men. This disheartened the Romans a good deal. But in the meantime famine had begun its horrors, and many daily crept out of the city on the sides where it was not invested to seek for food. Great numbers of these wretched people were

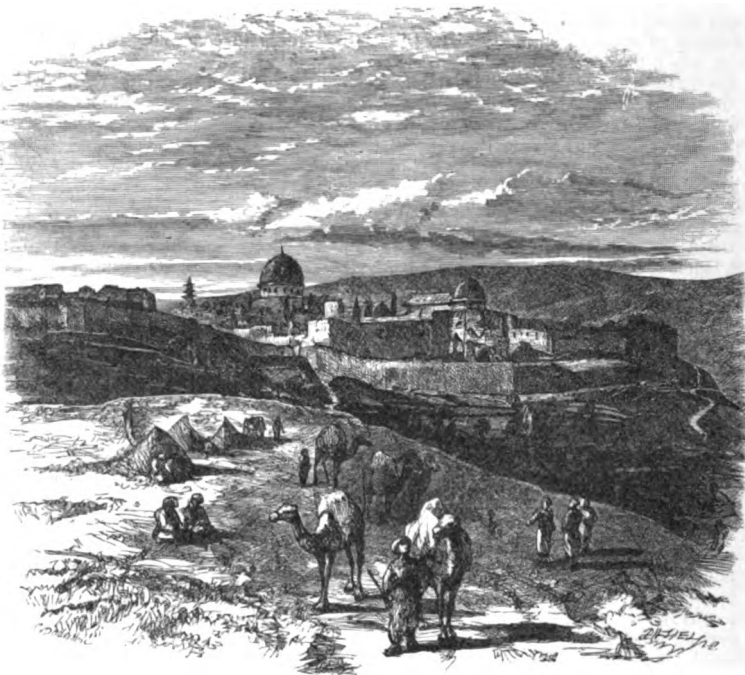
caught by the Roman soldiers and cruelly scourged and crucified in the sight of their fellow-citizens. At last, to shut out all hope of escape, Titus determined to surround the city with a wall. This was completed in three days by the united efforts of the whole Roman army; and the siege was then recommenced with fresh vigour.

The whole strength of the besiegers was now directed against the Antonia and the Temple. The Antonia lay before them to the east, a strong and lofty tower, within a square inclosed by strong walls. Behind the Antonia, stretching farther to the east, lay the much larger square of 'the mountain of the Lord's house;' this too was protected with strong walls lined on the inside by lofty pillared cloisters, the flat roof of which ran nearly on a level with the top of the wall. Within this large square was another inclosure of an oblong shape, also protected by walls of great strength, cloistered like the others on the inside, and containing within them the sacred courts of the Lord's house and the holy edifice itself. The whole of this ground was called the Temple, and with it the Antonia was connected by a passage opening upon the cloisters of the great square at its north-west corner. Titus began by raising four fresh mounds to act against the Antonia. These mounds were of great size, and it took twenty-one days to complete them. They seem to have been erected as a support for the engines by which projectiles were thrown into the fortress, while the battering-rams acted against its walls. Some sallies were in the meantime made by the besieged, but not with as much vigour as before, nor did they interfere much with the progress of the besiegers; and such was the effect of one day's battering upon the wall, the foundations of which had been already loosened by the mine which had destroyed the first mounds, that it fell in the night. It was then discovered that the besieged had built a second wall within, and the ruins of the first had fallen against it, and formed a sort of bank by which it might be scaled. A forlorn hope of twelve men, fired by the exhortations of Titus, and the example of their leader, sprung forward, but perished in their attempt to dislodge the enemy. Two nights afterwards another party of twelve stole in over the ruins, killed the guards of the Antonia Tower, and let in the Romans. Then followed a scene of terrible struggling and bloodshed, while Roman and Jew fought together in a space too narrow for the action of great numbers, both parties urged forward from behind and the places of the slain perpetually filled up by fresh men, the Romans striving to press through the passage from the Antonia into the Temple, the Jews thrusting them back. That day's fight accomplished nothing, and Titus resolved to clear a passage through the Antonia precincts for the main body of his troops. In the meantime he strove to win the Jews to submission by sending them proposals of peace, and graciously receiving those who placed themselves in his power, while famine and its usual attendants, death, pestilence, and horrible rapacity, added force to his persuasions. But they were met with obstinate refusal and contempt by the heads of the fighting party, while the unhappy sufferers could do nothing. On the 17th Tammuz (June 23), about the time of the first attack upon the Temple, the daily sacrifice ceased for want of priests to offer it, and from that day to the 9th Ab (July 14), was the last death-struggle of Jerusalem. Titus hemming

in the holy places closer and closer, every inch of the way to the inner courts disputed, and again and again recovered, the wall of the great court taken and its cloisters burnt, the inner court invested, its walls battered in vain, its silver-plated gates forced by fire, its cloisters and encircling chambers burnt piece by piece. Onward still went the flames making their way round the court of the priests, burning down cloister and sacred chamber, while the holy fane itself still reared its 'polished corners' in all their glory, resplendent with gold and marble, before the astonished eyes of its besiegers, still sheltered its ministering priests, its priceless treasures, and its objects of mysterious sanctity. Titus anxiously desired to preserve it; but a Roman soldier flung a burning brand through a window

which opened into its exterior chambers. The fire once kindled never ceased to rage till the whole was a ruin, and the roar of its burning was mingled with cries of agony, terror, and despair.

On the south side of the great inclosure of the Temple were two gates, which led by a bridge across the deep valley of the cheesemongers (Tyropæon) to the upper city. Along this way now rushed the crowd of fighting men, leaving 10,000 of the more helpless, who had sought shelter in the Temple, to be butchered by the Roman soldiers, who, when the work of destruction was over, set up their standards before the east gate of the Temple, paid them divine honours, and saluted Titus as Emperor. After this, the conqueror, still anxious to spare the people and the city, held



286. Jerusalem as seen from Mount of Olives.

a parley with the chiefs of the insurrection, the two parties standing at opposite ends of the bridge. Titus required an unconditional surrender, but promised them their lives and kind treatment. This they refused, requiring permission to leave the city with their wives and children. Titus thereupon directed its plunder and destruction. This was not the work of a day, nor was it accomplished without a valorous resistance. But at length the whole city was reduced to ashes, except the three great towers on the western wall, and all its inhabitants put to the sword, except those who were reserved for slavery or to grace the triumph of the conqueror.

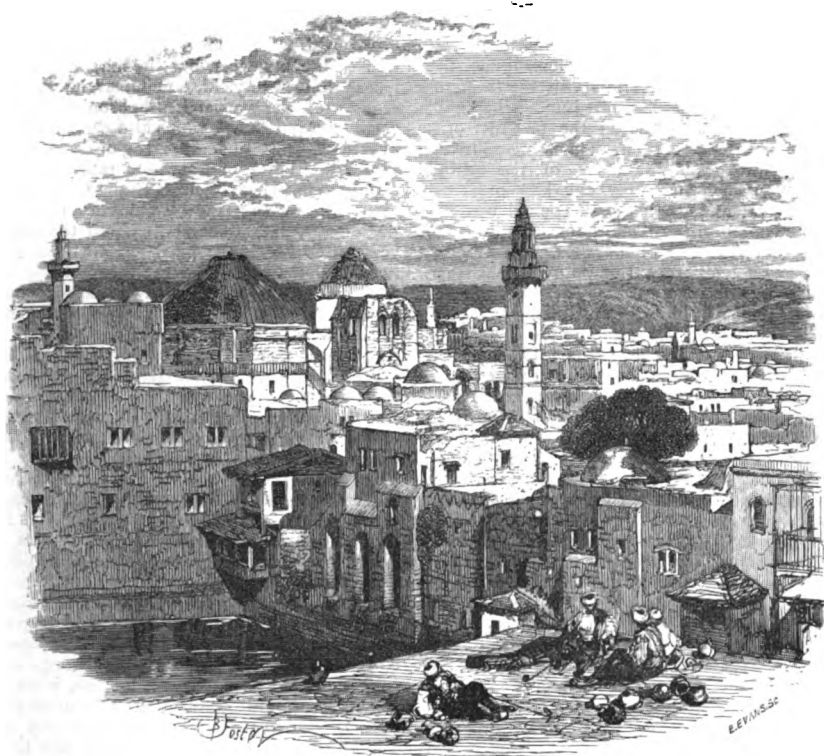
After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and the occupation of a military post among its ruins by a Roman garrison, we hear nothing of any consequence connected with the city till A.D. 130. In that year the Emperor Hadrian took some first

steps with a view to the rebuilding of Jerusalem for his own purposes. Stringent laws had been made for the control of the Jews, and a heavy tribute exacted from them immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem, and violent outbreaks had occurred among them in various parts of the empire, at Cyrene, in Egypt, in Cyprus, in Mesopotamia; and it was obviously important that Rome should have a powerful centre of dominion in the midst of them, and that a race possessing so much vitality and so turbulent a spirit should be prevented from seizing it themselves. He was interrupted in this design by a more serious outbreak than any previous one, which led to another long Jewish war, and which cost Rome so much blood that the victory by which it was finally suppressed was not considered a subject for congratulation. The leader of the insurrection was Ben Coziba, a

bandit chief, who proclaimed himself to be the Messiah, and changed his name to Barchochab or Barchocheba (son of a star), in allusion to the star foretold by Balaam. He took possession of Jerusalem, stamped money there with his own insignia, and was so bold and specious an impostor that Rabbi Akibah, a president of the Sanhedrim,* was induced to join him and become his armour-bearer. Julius Severus was summoned from Britain in this emergency, and two years were spent in various attempts to suppress the insurrection before Jerusalem was taken, after an obstinate defence, and Barchocheba slain. The insurgents then betook

themselves to Bether (otherwise written Bitter and Beth Tar), a strong place near Jerusalem, which was also taken with terrible slaughter after great sufferings from famine and disease, A.D. 135. R. Akibah was made prisoner, and after a close confinement of two years, cruelly put to death.

Hadrian's first work after this victory was the utter demolition of all remains of the old Jerusalem; his next was to build a new city with a new name, and occupying a site rather more to the north than the former one, so as to exclude the suburb of Ophel, to the south of the Temple, and a portion of what had been the upper city. To this



287. Pool of Hezekiah—Jerusalem.

new city he gave the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, from his own name, *Publius Ælius Hadrianus*, and that of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. All persons of Jewish descent were excluded from it by peremptory decree. They were not even to approach it within a distance of three miles; and to extinguish

* This body, which originally held its sittings in a chamber of the Temple, continued to exist, and was treated with some favour by the Romans, after the destruction of Jerusalem. It sat first at Japhne, afterwards at Tiberias. It was a school of education rather than a centre of government. But its influence was considerable, and it became wealthy by the exaction of a small tax, which was readily paid by the Jews.

all affectionate remembrance of the place, everything was done to give it the character of a heathen city. A temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* and statues of the emperor occupied the site of the Lord's House; a temple of *Astarte*, the ancient *Ashtoreth* or *Syrian Venus*, was built on the place afterwards recognised as the holy sepulchre. The worship of *Serapis* was introduced from Egypt; and the military ensigns of Rome were sculptured over the gates.

But though Jews were so rigorously excluded from Rome, Christians of Gentile descent were allowed to reside there; and consequently we find that the return of the Christian church of Jerusalem from Pella—where, according to our Lord's forewarning, it had taken refuge before the siege by Titus—and the appointment of the first Gentile

bishop, were contemporaneous with the foundation of the new Roman colony of *Ælia Capitolina*. From St. James, the first bishop, to Jude II., who died A. D. 136, there had been a series of fifteen bishops of Jewish descent; and from Marcus, who succeeded Simeon, to Macarius, who presided over the church of Jerusalem under Constantine, there was a series of twenty-three bishops of Gentile descent, but beyond a bare list of their names, little is known of the church or of the city of Jerusalem during the whole of this latter period.

The adoption of Christianity as the religion of the empire, which dates from the edict of Milan, A. D. 313 (the year in which Macarius began his episcopate), produced a great change in the circumstances of Jerusalem. Pilgrimages had already been made to the holy places in the previous centuries. In the year 326 they were visited by the Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine, then in her eightieth year. At this visit the true cross is said to have been discovered under the temple dedicated to Astarte, during the progress of its demolition. It is certain that noble Christian churches now took the place of the heathen temples by which the holy city had previously been defiled; and, A. D. 335, a council was held at Jerusalem for their dedication. It was at this council that Arius, abetted by Eusebius of Nicomedia, had a temporary triumph over Athanasius. Twenty-seven years later an attempt was made by the Emperor Julian, the apostate, to falsify the predictions of our Lord by rebuilding the Temple and re-establishing the Mosaic ritual. The plan was adopted with enthusiasm by the Jews, who thought no sacrifice too costly to promote the work. It was, however, interrupted, tradition says by whirlwind, earthquake, and fire, which destroyed the workmen and consumed their tools. After the death of Julian, the Jews were again rigorously excluded from Jerusalem, except on the anniversary of its capture, when they were allowed to enter the city and weep over it. Their appointed wailing-place remains, and their practice of wailing there continues to the present day.

During the two following centuries little is known of Jerusalem beyond the part taken by its bishops in councils, which determined various ecclesiastical and theological questions. At the council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, Jerusalem was made an independent patriarchate; and a synod held at Jerusalem, A. D. 536, affirmed the twofold nature of our Lord. In A. D. 529, Justinian built a church in honour of the Virgin Mary on the site of the ancient temple, founded several convents in or near Jerusalem and Jericho, and at least one hospital for pilgrims. But the peace of Jerusalem was to be interrupted by a fresh storm of invasion. The Persian dynasty, which had originated in Ardechyr, the son of Sassan, A. D. 226, had long struggled, first with the Roman, and afterwards with the Greek empire, for the dominion of the East, and now its reigning monarch Chosroes II. conducts a victorious army—swelled by 24,000 Jews eager to emerge from their state of subjection and to be avenged on their oppressors—from Syria to Palestine. The combined forces stormed Jerusalem, A. D. 614. The churches were sacked and plundered, the Christian inhabitants put to the sword without mercy, and the supposed true cross carried away. But as Chosroes advanced towards Constantinople, he was met by the Emperor

Heraclius, who defeated him, and after further triumphs came to Jerusalem as a pilgrim, bearing the true cross on his shoulders, rebuilt the churches which had been destroyed, and re-enacted Hadrian's law, forbidding the Jews to come within three miles of the city.

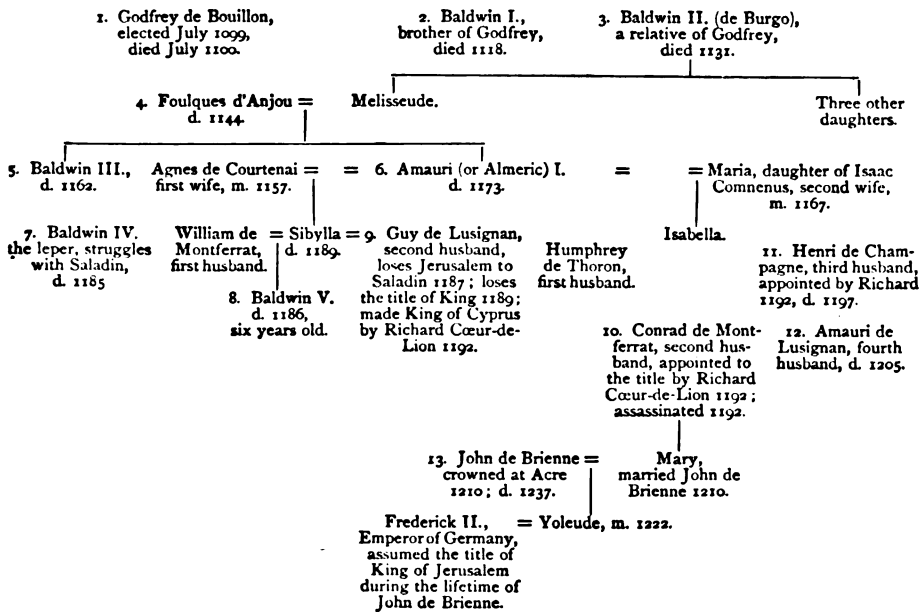
But a new power, and one more formidable than that of Persia, was now springing up—the religion and rule of the impostor Mohammed. He died A. D. 632, and then the work of spreading his system through the world was taken up with ardour by his followers, whose successive leaders received the title of khalif or vicegerent of the prophet. Omar, the second of the khalifs, a man of singular austerity, enthusiasm, and elevation of character, having conquered Arabia, Syria, and Egypt, sent his forces against Jerusalem. The valour with which they were met won the admiration of the besiegers, but the inhabitants were at length obliged to yield, and Omar himself, at the request of the patriarch Sophronius, proceeded there on a red camel, which also carried his simple provisions—a bag of corn, a bag of dates, a wooden dish, and a bottle of water—to ratify the terms of capitulation, which secured to the Christians their liberty to worship in the churches they already possessed. This done, he entered the city, conversed freely with the patriarch on its antiquities, and knelt for prayer on the steps of the church built by Constantine. The Mosque of Omar is an existing record of his conquest, and of his desire to raise a temple to the honour of God in a place regarded so sacred both by Jews and Christians.

After the conquest of Jerusalem by Omar, it passed to the different Arab powers which successively had dominion in the East, and was from time to time snatched out of their hands by the Turks, the general name by which all the Tartar tribes called themselves. Finally, in the year 1076 it was taken from the Fatimite Arabs, who then possessed it, by Acsis, an officer of the Sultan Malek Shah, of the race of the Seljouk Turks. Previously to this it had been visited by many pilgrims, and had once been the scene of an interchange of courteous messages between Haroun-el-Raschid, the great Eastern ruler, and Charlemagne, the emperor of the West. But its Seljouk masters, a barbarous and cruel race, heaped wrongs and insults upon the Christians, and these wrongs and insults awakened throughout Christendom that burning desire to possess the holy city which, during a period of 200 years, gave rise to seven crusades, conducted by the monarchs, the nobles, and the people of Europe, to effect or maintain its conquest. Jerusalem was taken by the first Crusaders, A. D. 1099, after a fearful slaughter of its defenders—now again the Fatimites of Egypt, who had expelled the Seljouks eleven months before.

Godfrey de Bouillon was elected to be its king, notwithstanding the opposition of the bishops, who said—*non debere ibi eligi Regem, ubi Deus passus et coronatus est*; the feudal system was adopted, and a code of laws, called the Assize of Jerusalem, drawn up for the government of its people. Godfrey was the first of a dynasty of thirteen Latin kings, nine of whom—ending in Guy de Lusignan, husband of Sybilla, great-grand-daughter of Baldwin II.—reigned successively in Jerusalem, till it was taken by Saladin, Oct. 2, 1187.

* The third elected king.

LATIN KINGS OF JERUSALEM.



The possession of Jerusalem during this period by a Christian power gave birth to the two great orders of knighthood, that of the Temple and that of St. John of Jerusalem; the former of which was distributed throughout Europe, and the latter—known also under the name of Knights Hospitallers—first fixed themselves at Rhodes, and afterwards dwindled down into the little society of the Knights of Malta. The Teutonic order sprung up at Acre in 1191, and its grand masters, who became hereditary, were the ancestors of the house of Brandenburg, and the kings of Prussia. The capture of the city by Saladin produced the third crusade, but it was never retaken by the Christians, and the remaining kings of the series—ending in Jean de Brienne—were only titular, and resided at Tyre, Acre, or elsewhere in Palestine. In 1229—during the lifetime of Jean de Brienne—the Emperor Frederic II. of Germany entered and took possession of Jerusalem by virtue of a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt; but ten years later it fell once more, through neglect, into the hands of the Mohammedans. In 1241 it was again given up to the Christians by the Sultan of Damascus, to induce them to help him against Egypt, but three years afterwards it was taken, after a battle of two days' duration, and the loss of the grand masters and most of the knights of the two great orders, by the Kharismians, a Tartar horde driven out of their country by more powerful tribes. The Kharismians were themselves dispossessed of Jerusalem, and driven back to the Caspian Sea by the Mohammedans of Syria, A.D. 1247.

The Ottoman Sultan Selim I. took possession of Jerusalem with the rest of Syria and Egypt in 1517, and his successor, Soliman the Magnificent, built its present walls in 1542. In 1832 Jerusalem became

subject to Mohammed Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, receiving him without resistance within its gates. In 1841 he was deprived of all his Syrian possessions by European interference, and Jerusalem was again subjected to the government of the Ottoman Porte, and in the same year a bishopric of the Anglican church was established there by the combined movement of England and Prussia.

In 1850 a dispute about the guardianship of the holy places between the monks of the Greek and Latin churches, in which Nicholas Emperor of Russia sided with the Greeks, and Louis Napoleon, Emperor of the French, with the Latins, led to a decision of the question by the Porte, which was unsatisfactory to Russia, and which resulted in a war of considerable magnitude between that country, on the one side, and the allied forces of England and France on the other.

For the history of Jerusalem see *History von Jerusalem*, Strasbourg 1518; Spalding, *Gesch. d. Christl. Königsreichs Jerusalem*, Berlin 1803; Deyling, *Æliæ Capitolinæ Orig. et Historia*, Lips. 1743; Poujoulat, *Histoire de Jérusalem*, Brux. 1842; Raumer's *Palästina*; Robinson's *Bib. Researches in Palestine*; also Lightfoot; Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*; *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*; *Universal History Ancient and Modern*; Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, etc.—M. H.

PART II.—TOPOGRAPHY. 1. *Site of the City*.—Jerusalem lies near the summit of a broad mountain-ridge. This ridge, or mountainous tract, extends, without interruption, from the plain of Esdraelon to a line drawn between the south end of the Dead Sea and the south-east corner of the Mediterranean; or, more properly, perhaps, it may be regarded as extending as far south as to Jebel Arâif in the Desert, where it sinks down at once to the level of the great western plateau.

This tract, which is everywhere not less than from 20 to 25 geographical miles in breadth, is, in fact, high uneven table-land. It everywhere forms the precipitous western wall of the great valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea; while towards the west it sinks down by an offset, into a range of lower hills, which lie between it and the great plain along the coast of the Mediterranean. The surface of this upper region is everywhere rocky, uneven, and mountainous; and is, moreover, cut up by deep valleys which run east or west on either side towards the Jordan or the Mediterranean. The line of division, or water-shed, between the waters of these valleys—a term which here applies almost exclusively to the waters of the rainy season—follows for the most part the height of land along the ridge; yet not so but that the heads of the valleys, which run off in different directions, often interlap for a considerable distance. Thus, for example, a valley which descends to the Jordan, often has its head a mile or two westward of the commencement of other valleys which run to the western sea.

From the great plain of Esdraelon onwards towards the south, the mountainous country rises gradually, forming the tract anciently known as the mountains of Ephraim and Judah; until, in the vicinity of Hebron, it attains an elevation of nearly 3000 Paris feet [ab. 3,200 Eng.] above the level of the Mediterranean Sea. Further north, on a line drawn from the north end of the Dead Sea towards the true west, the ridge has an elevation of only about 2500 Paris feet [ab. 2,700 Eng.]; and here, close up to the water-shed, lies the city of Jerusalem. Its mean geographical position is in lat. $31^{\circ} 46' 35''$ N., and long. $35^{\circ} 18' 30''$ E. from Greenwich.

Six or seven miles N. and N.W. of the city is spread out the open plain or basin round about el-Jib (Gibeon), extending also towards el-Bireh (Beeroth); the waters of which flow off at its S.E. part through the deep valley here called by the Arabs Wady Beit Hanina; but to which the monks and travellers have usually given the name of the 'Valley of Turpentine,' or of the Terebinth, on the mistaken supposition that it is the ancient Valley of Elah. This great valley passes along in a S.W. direction, an hour or more west of Jerusalem; and finally opens out from the mountains into the western plain, at the distance of six or eight hours S.W. from the city, under the name of Wady es Sûrâr. The traveller, on his way from Ramleh to Jerusalem, descends into and crosses this deep valley at the village of Kulônîeh on its western side, an hour and a half from the latter city. On again reaching the high ground on its eastern side, he enters upon an open tract sloping gradually downwards towards the east; and sees before him, at the distance of about two miles, the walls and domes of the holy city, and beyond them the higher ridge or summit of the Mount of Olives. The traveller now descends gradually towards the city along a broad swell of ground, having at some distance on his left the shallow northern part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat; close at hand on his right the basin which forms the beginning of the Valley of Hinnom. Further down both these valleys become deep, narrow, and precipitous; that of Hinnom bends south and again east nearly at right angles, and unites with the other, which then continues its course to the Dead Sea. Upon the broad and elevated pro-

montory within the fork of these two valleys lies the holy city. All around are higher hills; on the east the Mount of Olives; on the south the Hill of Evil Counsel, so called, rising directly from the Vale of Hinnom; on the west the ground rises gently, as above described, to the borders of the great Wady; while on the north, a bend of the ridge, connected with the Mount of Olives, bounds the prospect at the distance of more than a mile. Towards the S.W. the view is somewhat more open; for here lies the plain of Rephaim, commencing just at the southern brink of the Valley of Hinnom, and stretching off S.W., where it runs to the western sea. In the N.W., too, the eye reaches up along the upper part of the valley of Jehoshaphat; and from many points can discern the mosque of Neby Samwîl, situated on a lofty ridge beyond the great Wady, at the distance of two hours.

The surface of the elevated promontory itself, on which the city stands, slopes somewhat steeply towards the east, terminating on the brink of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. From the northern part, near the present Damascus gate, a depression or shallow wady runs in a southern direction, having on the west the ancient hills of Akra and Zion, and on the east the lower ones of Bezetha and Moriah. Between the hills of Akra and Zion another depression or shallow wady (still easy to be traced) comes down from near the Jaffa gate, and joins the former. It then continues obliquely down the slope, but with a deeper bed, in a southern direction, quite to the pool of Siloam and the Valley of Jehoshaphat. This is the ancient Tyropæon. West of its lower part Zion rises loftily, lying mostly without the modern city; while on the east of the Tyropæon and the valley first mentioned, lie Bezetha, Moriah, and Ophel, the last a long and comparatively narrow ridge, also outside of the modern city, and terminating in a rocky point over the pool of Siloam. These three last hills may strictly be taken as only parts of one and the same ridge. The breadth of the whole site of Jerusalem, from the brow of the Valley of Hinnom, near the Jaffa gate, to the brink of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, is about 1020 yards, or nearly half a geographical mile; of which distance 318 yards are occupied by the area of the great mosque el-Haram esh-Sherîf. North of the Jaffa gate the city wall sweeps round more to the west, and increases the breadth of the city in that part.

The country around Jerusalem is all of limestone formation, and not particularly fertile. The rocks everywhere come out above the surface, which in many parts is also thickly strewed with loose stones; and the aspect of the whole region is barren and dreary; yet the olive thrives here abundantly, and fields of grain are seen in the valleys and other places, but they are less productive than in the region of Hebron and Nablus. Neither vineyards nor fig-trees flourish on the high-ground around the city, though the latter are found in the gardens below Siloam, and very frequently in the vicinity of Bethlehem.

This description of the site of the city, written by Dr. Robinson in 1838 (*Bib. Researches*, vol. I., pp. 258-260), is so perspicuous and so minutely accurate, that few later travellers have attempted to improve upon it. The second visit of Dr. Robinson in 1852, while more fruitful in the discussion of particular physical features of the Holy

City, made no additions to his first description of its general topography. Stanley calls attention to the central situation of the city with regard to the territory of which it was the capital. 'Jerusalem was on the ridge, the broadest and most strongly marked ridge of the back-bone of the complicated hills which extend through the whole country from the Desert to the plain of Esdraelon. Every wanderer, every conqueror, every traveller who has trod the central route of Palestine from north to south, must have passed through the table-land of Jerusalem. It was the water-shed between the streams, or rather the torrent-beds, which find their way eastward to the Jordan, and those which pass westward to the Mediterranean' (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. 175). This double promontory, with its twin steps, Zion and Moriah, separated upon three sides by deep ravines from the surrounding mountains, some of which are slightly above its own level, answers to the Psalmist's picture of Jerusalem as at once founded upon the mountains and encompassed by them: 'His foundation is in the holy mountains.' 'Beautiful for situation is Mount Zion—the mountain of his holiness.' 'As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about his people.'

2. *Topography of the Ancient City*.—The foregoing description by Dr. Robinson incidentally assumes as settled certain points in the interior topography of Jerusalem, such as the position of Akra, and the course of the Tyropœon, which are yet in controversy. Indeed, hardly any point in the topography of the city as described by Josephus, which has a bearing upon questions of ecclesiastical tradition, can be regarded as settled beyond dispute; so that, as Isaac Taylor has said, in making what at first appears to be so simple a thing as a plan of ancient Jerusalem, one must 'take position upon a battle-field; and he must prepare himself to defend, by all available means, every inch of that position; he must, in fact, make himself a party in an eager controversy, which has enlisted, and which continues to enlist, feelings and prepossessions of no ordinary depth and intensity' (Traill's *Josephus*, note cxxi.). It is possible, however,—and this is the design of the present article,—to survey this battle-field as spectators, and even to reconnoitre it minutely as engineers, without taking a position as combatants. Every reader of Scripture feels a natural anxiety to form some notion of the appearance and condition of Jerusalem as it existed in the time of Christ, or rather as it stood before its destruction by the Romans. There are unusual difficulties in the way of satisfying this desire, although it need not be left altogether ungratified. The principal sources of these difficulties have been indicated by different travellers, and by none more forcibly than by Richardson (*Travels*, ii. 251). 'It is a tantalizing circumstance, however, for the traveller who wishes to recognise in his walks the site of particular buildings, or the scenes of memorable events, that the greater part of the objects mentioned in the description, both of the inspired and of the Jewish historian, are entirely razed from their foundation, without leaving a single trace or name behind to point out where they stood. Not an ancient tower, or gate, or wall, or hardly even a stone remains. The foundations are not only broken up, but every fragment of which they were composed is swept away, and the spectator looks upon the bare rock

with hardly a sprinkling of earth to point out her gardens of pleasure, or groves of idolatrous devotion. A few gardens still remain on the sloping base of Mount Zion, watered from the pool of Siloam: the gardens of Gethsemane are still in a sort of ruined cultivation; the fences are broken down and the olive-trees decaying, as if the hand which dressed and fed them were withdrawn: the Mount of Olives still retains a languishing verdure, and nourishes a few of those trees from which it derives its name;* but all round about Jerusalem the general aspect is blighted and barren: the grass is withered: the bare rock looks through the scanty sward, and the grain itself, like the starving progeny of famine, seems in doubt whether to come to maturity or die in the ear.'

It is impossible for the Christian traveller to look upon Jerusalem with the same feelings with which he would contemplate the ruins of any other city which the world ever saw. There is in all the doings of the Jews, their virtues and their vices, their wisdom and their folly, a height and a depth, a breadth and a length, that angels cannot fathom; their whole history is a history of miracles; the precepts of their sacred book are the most profound, and the best adapted to every station in which man can be placed: they moderate him in prosperity, sustain him in adversity, guide him in health, console him in sickness, support him at the close of life, travel on with him through death, live with him throughout endless ages of eternity, and Jerusalem lends its name to the eternal mansions of the blessed in heaven which man is admitted to enjoy through the atonement of Christ, who was born of a descendant of Judah.

In determining the topography of Jerusalem, 'the chief diversities of opinion have arisen in endeavouring to apply the descriptions of Josephus to the present physical features of the Holy City. Thus it is the valley of the Tyropœon, the hills Akra and Bezetha, the course of the second wall, the place of the ancient bridge, the extent of the Temple area, and the relation to it of the fortress Antonia, it is these which have formed the chief topics of inquiry, and the themes of disquisition, sometimes anything but tranquil. Nor is it wonderful that the subject should be environed with difficulties. Ever since Jerusalem became the capital of the chosen people, she has been subjected to calamities, to revolutions, to overthrows, almost without number. Even of old, in the time of the exile, it was predicted, that 'the city should be builded upon her own heap;' and how often has she since been thus rebuild'd? Her walls and dwellings, her fortresses, palaces, and temple, have been laid in ruins, and have crumbled into dust. The ruins and rubbish of nearly thirty centuries are strewn over her surface; and no wonder that her hollows and ravines are filled up, and her hills made low' (Robinson, iii. 204). Some notion of this may be formed from the fact that in seeking a foundation for the Protestant church on Mount Zion, superincumbent rubbish to the depth of fifty feet was dug through before reaching the solid rock (Olin, ii. 254). Not only a very minute survey, but numerous excavations would be necessary to the ends of a really satisfactory investigation.

* [This does not seem to be the case now. In May 1863 the fences were good, and the trees carefully preserved.]

Of late years increasing facilities have been afforded for such explorations through the relaxing of Mohammedan prejudices against the infidel Franks. The fanatical jealousy which once held such strict surveillance over the approaches to the mosque of Omar, and threatened with death any non-Mussulman invader of its holy precincts, has so far subsided that, with proper pains and courtesy, the traveller may gain admittance to the interior. Barclay and Thomson have had free access, where Robinson and Stanley were denied, and where Catherwood ventured only in disguise and at the risk of his life. The anticipation of Isaac Taylor begins to be fulfilled: 'that in the almost inevitable progress of European affairs Palestine must come under the wing of one of the great European states; that this land will receive ere long a Christian and civilized government—will have a police—will afford a secure and tranquil liberty of travel and of residence—a liberty of wandering and strolling about, even as one does in the highlands of Scotland, or in the valleys of Switzerland; that it will give leisurely opportunity to dig and to trench, to upturn and to excavate.'

'When such a time comes, or within a period of five years after it has come, Palestine—a region not more extensive than any three adjoining English counties—will have opened its long hidden secrets to antiquarian eyes; its few square miles of soil, teeming with historic materials, will have been, if not sifted, yet turned over, or pierced here and there, and especially the lowest basements of the Holy City will have been moved from their places, or sufficiently exposed to view.'

'Such a time will not pass without yielding evidence enough for constructing an *authentic* plan of ancient Jerusalem; and may it not be well until then to hold in suspense our opinion, whatever it may be, on matters which at present cannot be conclusively determined. Let the Turk retire and the topographer may step forward' (Traill's *Josephus*, II., cxxi.)

The Mohammedan jealousy of the exploration of Jerusalem by the Franks is due mainly to two causes,—the apprehension that a military survey of the city will thus be secured as a guide in some future assault, and the suspicion that the Franks by some divining art have ascertained the locality of hidden treasures, and intend to deprive the Moslem of unknown spoils. These, with a religious aversion toward Christians, and a constitutional aversion to innovation, have created a formidable barrier to topographical research in Jerusalem. Resident foreigners, by patience, kindness, watchfulness, and firmness, can do much to overcome this prejudice, and to further such investigation. In this respect the long residence of Dr. Barclay at Jerusalem in the capacity of a medical missionary was of much service, and we shall have occasion in this article to profit by his personal researches (*City of the Great King*, pp. 456-512).

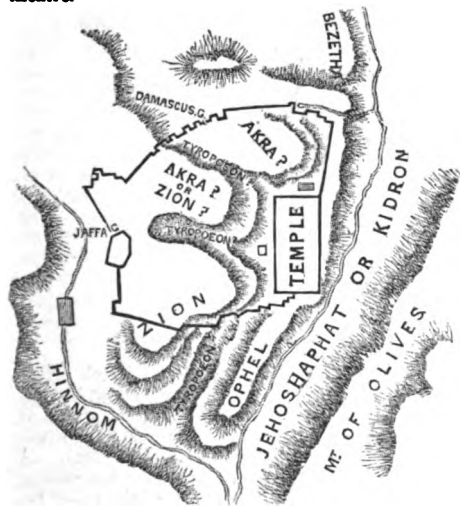
As the ground plan of the topography of ancient Jerusalem we have the following description by Josephus:—'It was built upon two hills, one part facing the other (*ἀντιπροσώτως*, *face to face*), separated by an intervening valley, at which, one upon another (*i.e.*, crowded together), the houses ended. Of these hills, that on which the upper city stood was much the higher and straighter in its length. Accordingly, on account of its strength, it was called the fortress of King David, the father of

Solomon, by whom the Temple was originally built, but by us it is called the upper market-place. The other hill, called Akra, which sustains the lower city, was curved on each side (*ἀμφικυρτός*, *gibbous*). Over against this was a third hill, naturally lower than Akra, and formerly separated from it by another broad ravine. Afterwards, however, when the Asmonæans were in power, desiring to connect the city with the Temple, they filled in this ravine, and, cutting down the summit of Akra, they reduced its elevation so that the Temple might appear above it. The valley called Tyropæon, which we have said separated the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extends as far as Siloam, for so we call a fountain whose waters are both sweet and abundant. From without (*i.e.*, exterior to the city) the two hills of the city were encompassed by deep ravines, and because of the precipices on both sides there was nowhere any approach' (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* v. 4. 1).

The main features of this description are confirmed by the terse and graphic picture which Tacitus gives of the siege of the city:—'Two hills of immense height were inclosed by walls projecting outward or retiring inward. The extremities of the rock were abrupt. . . . The Temple was like a citadel, with walls of its own. . . . Thus Jerusalem, by nature difficult of approach, was fortified by works which would have been a sufficient defence had the city stood upon a plain' (Tac. *Hist.*, v. 10, 11, 12).

Leaving out of view all details as to the interior of the modern city, and all questions of the sacred places, and regarding only the general face of the country, it seems not difficult to project upon paper a ground-plan of Jerusalem as Josephus describes it. We first lay down upon the map a lofty craggy hill, or rather a bold promontory, with steep declivities upon three sides. Facing this at some part, with a valley intervening, we lay down a second hill, somewhat lower than the first, but like it steep and craggy upon its outer side. Opposite to this must now be placed a third hill—the site of Solomon's Temple. But at what point? In designating the three hills the Jewish historian gives no hint of their relations to the points of the compass; but elsewhere, in describing the gates of the Temple, he gives a clue to the relative position of the first and third hills. 'In the western parts of the enclosure stood four gates, one leading over to the royal palace, the valley between being intercepted to form a passage, two leading to the suburb, and the remaining one into the other city being distinguished by many steps down into the valley, and from this up again upon the ascent, for the city lay over against the Temple in the manner of a theatre, being encompassed by a deep valley on all its southern quarter.' This statement places the third or Temple-hill upon the east, and the first or Palace-hill upon the west, of a dividing valley, and bounds the Palace-hill, or Zion, by another 'deep valley' upon the south. In this first rough draft of the topography of Jerusalem we therefore have two hills—Zion and Moriah, or the upper city and the Temple-hill—proximately determined; and the problem of ascertaining the position of Akra, a hill opposite to both these and separated from each by a valley. Had Josephus or any other competent authority anywhere stated that Akra lay north of Zion and west of the Temple-hill, or east of Zion and north of the Temple-hill, there could

have been no difficulty in identifying its site. But the absence of any such definite statement leaves the position of Akra a question of uncertainty and of superabundant controversy. The general outline and the relative position of Zion and Moriah are agreed upon by nearly all archaeologists. The southernmost and westward knob of the double promontory already mentioned as marking the site of Jerusalem is Mount Zion, the sharper, narrower eastward ridge is Moriah, or the Temple-hill with the pointed elongation of Ophel. The valley of Hinnom bounds Zion on the west, and passing around its southern extremity unites with the valley of Jehoshaphat, which bounds Moriah upon the east. These two valleys define the promontory upon which the city was built. Between Zion and Moriah, it is also agreed, is the valley known anciently as the Tyropœon, extending northward from the Pool of Siloam. Over this valley passed the viaduct leading from the Temple-gate to the royal palace. Thus far all is plain. But above the point where it separates Zion from Moriah, the Tyropœon also separated Zion from Akra; and the topographical puzzle is to ascertain the proper starting-point of this valley. If it began at or near the present Jaffa gate, then Akra lay north of Zion, between the Jaffa and Damascus gates, and while facing Zion with a valley between, it also stood 'over against the Temple, with the valley that extends southward from the Damascus gate separating it from Moriah.' This fulfils the conditions of Josephus. On the other hand, if the Tyropœon began at the Damascus gate, Akra lay upon its eastern side, facing Zion (which must then be made to include in whole or in part the ridge of the 'Christian Quarter'), and consequently it lay north of the Temple-hill, or the present Haram, from which it was separated by a valley, the traces of which are now hardly discernible. This also fulfils the conditions of Josephus; and upon either supposition the city, as comprising Zion and Akra, 'lay over against the Temple in the manner of a theatre.'



288. Zion and the Temple-hill.

The accompanying sketch exhibits at a glance these two theories. Zion and the Temple-hill,

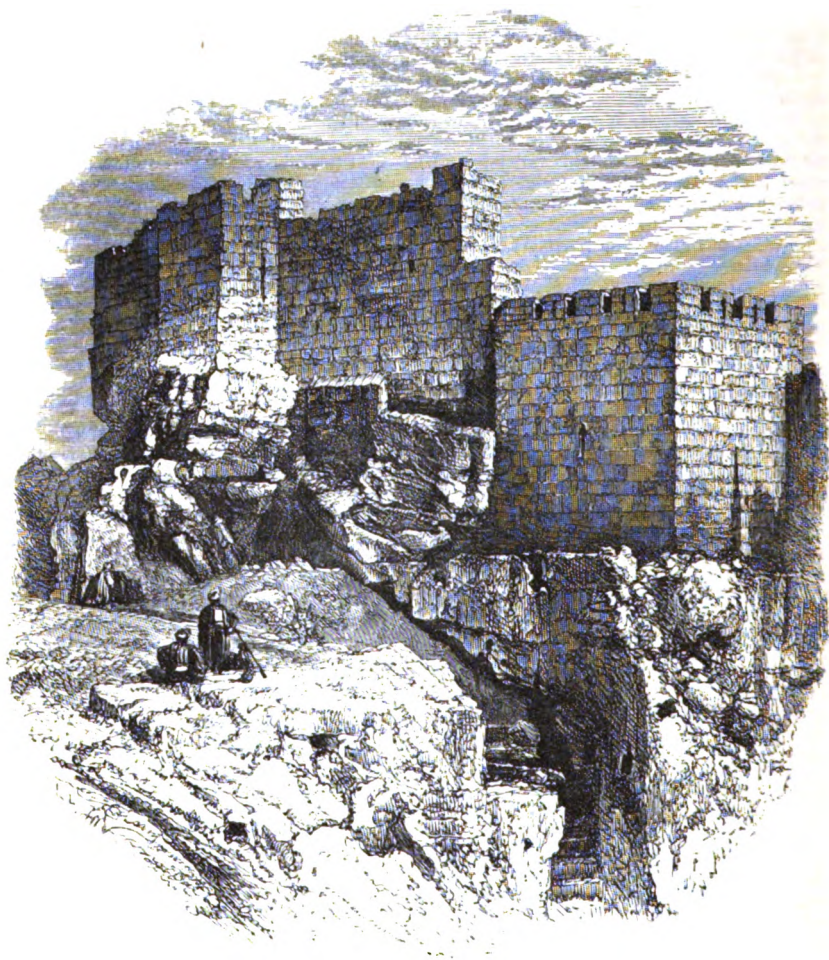
with the intervening section of the Tyropœon, are marked as definite; the situation of Akra and the upper part of the Tyropœon are hypothetical; the Jaffa and Damascus gates are indicated as modern landmarks.

Upon a superficial view of the locality, the claims of the Damascus valley to be the continuation of the Tyropœon are altogether the most striking. One cannot cross the city from west to east, or look down into it from the walls, without noting this deep depression; whereas the Jaffa valley is now but a gentle descent, hardly perceptible to the eye; though excavations have been made through rubbish at a point near the gate to the depth of about 40 feet before reaching the natural soil. Even Dr. Robinson, who strenuously contends that 'the beginning of the Tyropœon must be sought near the Jaffa gate,' admits that first impressions are against this view. 'When the traveller first enters Jerusalem, with the description of Josephus before his mind, and sees the most marked valley of the city to be that extending southward from the Damascus gate to Siloam, he is naturally led, at the first glance, to inquire whether this valley is not the Tyropœon. Such was my own experience, and has, doubtless, been that of very many others' (iii. 207). But Dr. Robinson rejects this first impression of the topography of the ancient city, because 'the position thus assumed for the Tyropœon would require Akra to be on the north of the Temple, and would separate it from Zion, not by a single valley only, but by two large depressions with a rocky ridge between.' He therefore makes this ridge itself—lying between the obvious valley running down from the Damascus gate, and the valley supposed to have begun at a point near the Jaffa gate—the Akra of Josephus. And indeed this has been the prevailing view of scholars and Biblical geographers, from Reland downward. Some recent visitors, however, transfer Akra to the northern section of the Temple-hill; and one, at least, regards the hill Akra as nearly identical with the citadel of the same name, situated on the northern side of the Temple. But, unless Zion is made to include the ridge between the Jaffa and Damascus gates, this view greatly circumscribes the area of the ancient city. Hence a theory has been started which makes the valley running down from the Damascus gate the Tyropœon, places Akra upon the east of this and north of the Haram, and extends Zion northwards, so as to include as a spur of its own the ridge commonly designated as the Akra of Josephus. This brings Akra and Zion face to face, and so meets the objection made above by Dr. Robinson to locating Akra east of the Damascus valley.

In this diversity of opinions—we had almost said conjectures—are there no other landmarks given by the Jewish historian which may serve to fix the relative position of these hills? The closing sentence of the passage already quoted from Josephus is significant, 'from without, the two hills of the city were encompassed by deep ravines, and because of the precipices on both sides there was nowhere any approach.' The hills here spoken of are unquestionably Zion and Akra; but this description cannot apply to the ridge between the Jaffa and Damascus gates, for there is at that point no ravine exterior to the city. Ritter regards this passage as almost decisive for locating Akra upon the eastern side of the Damascus gate valley.

The 'inaccessible sides,' described by Josephus, can be found nowhere upon the north; indeed, in that quarter the city was so assailable from without that it was fortified with a triple wall. The 'steep declivities upon both sides' can be identified only with the valley of Jehoshaphat upon the east, and that of Hinnom upon the south and west; and therefore the one hill can only be Zion with its prolongation towards the north, and the other,

Akra, must be the section bounded on the east by the valley of Jehoshaphat, and which extends southward as the Temple-hill, which Josephus describes as a third hill, by nature lower than Akra. The Tyropœon, which separated the two hills as the upper and lower city, must then be sought in the direction of the present Mill Street, i.e., running from north to south, from the Damascus gate to Siloam (*Erdkunde*, xvi. 407).



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If this view can be maintained, it conforms to the ground-plan of the city as sketched by Josephus, and at the same time enlarges its dimensions more nearly to the demands of its estimated population. Ritter's inference from this statement of Josephus touching the 'steep declivities upon both sides,' Dr. Robinson—whom we quote as ablest advocate of the westward location of Akra—seeks to obviate by taking the expression the two hills as 'by synecdoche for the whole city.' He says, 'if the historian here means the two particular hills of Zion

and Akra (as the insertion of the Greek article might seem to imply), the language is not literally exact; but if, as is more probable, this is a mere form of expression intended to embrace the whole city, then it presents no difficulty' (i. 281). A better solution seems to be that Josephus, having already mentioned the filling up of the valley between Akra and Moriah, treats these hills as practically one. 'The city,' he says, 'was fortified by three walls, wherever it was not encircled by impassable ravines: for in that part there was but

one wall.' Now, we know also from Josephus that this old first wall encompassed the Temple-hill upon the south and the east, and that the third wall, or the wall of Agrippa, intercepted it north of the Temple, at or in the valley of the Kidron (*Bell. Jud.* v. 4. 2). Of course, then, when he speaks of the city as a whole as fortified by three walls, Josephus includes the Temple as part of the city; and does not here, as elsewhere, distinguish between them.

The city, *i.e.*, the whole area within the walls, he describes in general terms as 'built upon two hills, with a valley between them'—the Tyropœon. These two hills were the upper city, or Zion, and Akra or the lower city. But opposite to Akra there was also a third hill, formerly separated from it by a broad valley, which, in the time of the Maccabees, was filled in so as to connect the city with the Temple—the crown of Akra being levelled so that the Temple might appear above it. Thus Akra and the Temple-hill were virtually made one. Hence the city, including the Temple within its walls, could be spoken of in a general way as built upon two hills. The Tyropœon, extending down to Siloam, separated within the city the upper and lower hills; but from without the two hills of the city were encompassed by deep valleys; and because of the steep declivities on both sides, there was nowhere any approach. If Akra and Moriah are taken as one hill, the former valley between them being almost obliterated, this description is intelligible and literally exact. Then Zion is bounded on the south-west by the steep ravine of Hinnom; and Akra, taken in connection with the Temple-hill, is bounded on the east by the steep ravine of the Kidron. Such, apparently, was the picture before the mind of Tacitus, 'two hills of immense elevation,' with steep rocky sides. It is therefore credible at least that Akra was an elevation north of the Temple-hill, and that the two were sometimes spoken of as one.

Another element for determining this question is the situation of the tower of Hippicus. This is commonly identified with the tower of David, near the Jaffa gate. Hippicus is, with Josephus, the starting-point in describing the course of the several walls, and it evidently stood at the north-west angle of the first wall—the original enclosure of Mount Zion. The third wall began at Hippicus, and ran in a north-westerly direction to the tower of Psephinos, where it turned to the east, and, passing in face of the monument of Helena and the tombs of the kings, terminated in a junction with the old wall, at the brink of the Kedron valley. The great octagonal tower of Psephinos stood in the extreme north-west corner of this wall. 'Over against' this, in the corresponding angle of the first wall, and at the junction of the first wall with the third, stood the tower Hippicus; and on a line with this, built also on the north side of the old or first wall, were two other towers, Phasaëlus and Mariamne. To determine the position of Hippicus it is necessary to keep in mind its relation to these several towers. For this purpose, the position of Psephinos becomes important, though this tower belonged to the third wall, which was not built until several years after the death of Christ. From Psephinos 'could be seen Arabia towards the rising sun, and the inheritance of the Hebrews quite to the sea. This shews that it must have stood upon the high swell of ground which extends up

north-north-west from the north-west corner of the present city. In this quarter there are traces of ancient substructions, apparently of towers or other fortifications.' This is at a distance of 700 feet from the north-west corner of the present city. The position of Psephinos being thus proximately determined, we must seek for Hippicus in nearly a direct line southward from it, 'over against,' or answering to it. This could hardly be said of the so-called castle of David, near the Jaffa gate, which is too far eastward from the supposed site of Psephinos, and too remote for the proper distribution of such a line of military defences. Besides, this tower is in a re-entering angle, whereas Hippicus was a projecting corner. Moreover, the measurement of the inner tower of the present castle far exceeds that of the Hippicus of Josephus. He describes Hippicus as a square tower, measuring twenty-five cubits, or about thirty-eight feet on each side. But the tower of David measures fifty-six feet by seventy. Still Dr. Robinson argues, from the solidity of the lower part of this tower, and the size and levelling of its stones, both features of the Hippicus, that this is the foundation of that tower; and he disposes of the marked variation in the dimensions of the two, by saying that 'Josephus probably had no such specific measurements; he was writing, after the lapse of years, at Rome, and the numbers here given must therefore be regarded only in the light of conjectural estimates.' Upon other points, however, this learned and cautious critic places much dependence upon the minute details of Josephus. It is difficult to believe that the Jewish historian could have given the dimensions of Hippicus from 'conjectural estimates.' He says, 'It was a quadrangular structure, twenty-five cubits on each side, and built up entirely solid to the height of thirty cubits. Above this solid part was a cistern twenty cubits high; and then, for twenty-five cubits more, were chambers of various kinds, with a breast-work of two cubits, and battlements of three cubits upon the top. The altitude of the whole tower was consequently eighty cubits. The stones of which it was built were very large, twenty cubits long by ten broad and five high, and were of white marble.' This reads like an accurate, not a conjectural description; and it is not likely that the author would have given these minute proportions without data, or have mistaken a quadrangle fifty-six feet by seventy, for a square of but little more than one-half its superficial area. But Josephus describes also two other towers—those of Phasaëlus and Mariamne, both built by Herod, one of them being named after a friend, and the other after his favourite wife. These stood not far from Hippicus, upon the first or most ancient wall, which ran from the latter tower eastward along the northern brow of Zion. Connected with these towers and Hippicus was the royal castle or palace of the first Herod, which was enclosed by this wall on the north, and on the other sides by a wall thirty cubits high. The whole was finished with great strength and regal splendour, and furnished with halls, galleries, cisterns, and apartments without number (*Joseph. De Bell. Jud.*, v. 4. 3, v. 4. 4). Indeed, the historian says that the Temple itself—though rebuilt by Herod in a style of great magnificence—bore no comparison with the palace he built for himself in the upper town. This contained two very spacious buildings, which were named after his friends, the one Cæsarium, the other Agrippium

(*Bell. Jud.* i. 21. 1). Accordingly, Hippicus must be located at a point in the first wall 'over against' Psephinos at the north-west angle of the third wall, and with enough space along the northern extremity of Zion to admit of two large towers in the line of the wall eastward from Hippicus, and of the very spacious palace of Herod adjoining these several towers, upon the southern or inner side of the first wall. All this would seem to require that Hippicus should be placed further north than the tower of David. The three towers named above as standing in a row upon the north line of the old wall must have been nearly upon a line with the tower of Antonia, which was north of the Temple. For, when Herod's palace was destroyed by fire, 'the conflagration began at the Antonia, passed onward to the palace, and consumed the roofs of the three towers' (*Bell. Jud.* v. 4). The rabbi, Joseph Schwartz, in his descriptive geography of Palestine (pp. 250-51) states that the Targumist, Jonathan Ben Uzziel, who lived at Jerusalem in the time of king Herod, refers to the tower of Hippicus, built by that monarch, as representing the site of the tower of Hananeel, spoken of by Jeremiah (xxxi. 38) and by Zechariah (xiv. 10). The site of Hananeel was north-east of the prison gate, which Schwartz assumes to have been at or near the grotto of Jeremiah. But this would locate Hippicus too far to the east. Fergusson conjectures that the ruins of the *Kasr Jalud* in the north-western angle of the modern wall may represent the site of Hippicus; and Robinson, while he maintains the identity of the tower of David with the Hippicus of Herod, conjectures that the ruins near the Damascus gate 'were ancient towers of a date anterior to the time of Herod.' But if Hippicus stood on the spot of the *Kasr Jalud*, then those ruins may mark the site of Mariamne on the north-eastern brow of Zion, or of a portion of Herod's palace, which would thus be brought directly opposite the tower of Antonia, so that the fire, as described by Josephus, could easily have communicated from the fortress on the north of the Temple to the palace in the upper city, and thence to the towers in its northern wall. In identifying the tower of David with Hippicus, Dr. Robinson attaches much importance to 'the solidity of the antique part' of the structure near the Jaffa gate. While he rejects the measurements of Hippicus by Josephus as 'conjectural estimates,' he says, 'the solidity of the lower part of the tower is a circumstance so remarkable, and was probably of such publicity, that it cannot well be referred to the imagination of the historian' (i. 307). But Josephus states expressly that every one of the towers in the third wall was built in the same manner. 'On this wall were erected towers, twenty cubits in breadth, and the same in height, square, and solid as the wall itself. . . . Over the solid altitude of the towers, which was twenty cubits, were sumptuous apartments; and above these, again, upper rooms and numerous cisterns therein to receive the rain water, and to each room wide staircases. Of such towers the third wall had ninety, disposed at intervals of 200 cubits' (*Bell. Jud.* v. 4. 3). This 'solidity of the lower part of the tower,' so far from being a remarkable feature of Hippicus, was the common feature of them all; and therefore, when Josephus gives this portion of Hippicus of larger dimensions than the corresponding portion in the rest—Hippicus having a solid

foundation twenty-five cubits square, and thirty high and the other towers a solid cubic foundation of twenty cubits—the presumption is, that his estimates are not 'conjectural,' but literally exact. But these measurements do not at all correspond with the dimensions of the present tower of David, which, in the solid part, measures fifty-six feet by seventy. Josephus describes the towers of Phasaelus and Mariamne as minutely as Hippicus. Both these exhibited the same 'solidity in the lower part,' which Dr. Robinson regards as the reliable feature in the Jewish historian's description of that tower; indeed, in Phasaelus, there was a cubic mass of stone as a foundation, measuring forty cubits either way, and the entire altitude of this tower was about ninety cubits, that of Hippicus being about eighty cubits. We cannot then discard the measurements which Josephus gives of Hippicus as 'conjectural;' and therefore we cannot regard it as settled that the tower of such very different dimensions near the Jaffa gate is the representative of the tower that Herod built at the north-west corner of the old wall of Zion. But if Hippicus be displaced from that point, and if to bring it over against Psephinos, and in due range of a fire spreading from Antonia, and also to make room for the three great towers of Herod, and his contiguous palace upon the high northern point of Zion—it seems necessary to place Hippicus near the north-western angle of the modern wall;—then the Zion or upper city of Josephus included the ridge lying between the Jaffa and Damascus gates—the Christian quarter of the present city—and Akra must be looked for upon the eastern side of the Damascus gate valley.

Again, Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* v. 4. 1) states that opposite to Akra was a third hill, naturally lower, and separated from it by a broad valley; but that the Asmoneans, during their reign, filled up the valley with the intention of uniting the city to the Temple; and, levelling the summit of Akra, they reduced its elevation, so that the Temple might be conspicuous above other objects in this quarter also. A more particular account of this is given in the *Antiquities* (bk. xiii. 64. 7), where it is stated that Simon, having taken the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, razed it to the ground, and persuaded the people, as a measure of precaution, to level the very mountain upon which the citadel stood,—'a work which cost them three whole years before it was removed and brought to an entire level with the rest of the city.' Now, if Akra were upon the western side of the Damascus valley, and north of Zion, it could not have abstracted the view of the Temple from the latter hill, nor the view upon that side from without the city as much as Zion itself obstructed it. But if Akra and its citadel were upon the eastern side of that valley, and north of the Temple—and there is much reason to believe that the citadel was there—then the hill, with its buildings, would obstruct the view of the Temple from the north, besides commanding the sacred edifice strategically from that quarter. According to Josephus, Antiochus built in the lower city a fortress (*Akra*), which was lofty, and overlooked the Temple; and, indeed, was so near to it, that its garrison could seriously annoy the labourers whom Judas brought to purify and restore the building (*Antiq.* xii. 5. 4, 7, 6, 9. 3). In the first book of Maccabees (xiv. 36), this Akra is described as a stronghold from which the heathen 'issued

and polluted all about the sanctuary, and did much hurt in the holy place.' Josephus states that this citadel overlooked the Temple so closely, that its soldiers would sometimes rush out and slay those who were going up to the Temple to worship (*Antiq.* xii. 9. 3). When Simon became master of the city, he 'strengthened the hill of the Temple that was by the fortress (1 Maccab. xiii. 52); afterwards, as stated above, he razed the Akra to its foundations, lowered the hill upon which it stood, and filled in the valley between it and the Temple. All this accords extremely well with the supposition that the hill and citadel of Akra were adjacent to the Temple-hill upon the north. Moreover, in every capture of the city Akra and the Temple go together; to secure one was practically to secure the other, while Zion required a separate siege. Thus, in Herod's siege, when the outer court of the Temple and the lower city were taken, the Jews took refuge in the inner court of the Temple and in the upper city (*Antiq.* xiv. 16. 2). Thus Akra and the Temple are always represented as in close proximity. North of the Haram area are traces of indentations in the surface of the mountain which may possibly represent the broad or flat [Quere, shallow?] valley that anciently separated Akra from the Temple-hill. Dr. Robinson insists that 'in no possible shape or sense can the hill north of Moriah be said to be gibbas or *ἀμφικυρτός*,' and therefore that it cannot be the Akra of Josephus (*Bib. Sac.*, 1846, p. 424). But the author of the *Biblical Researches* elsewhere states that 'this word *ἀμφικυρτός* may mean nothing more than that Akra was *sloping on both sides*, i. e., was a ridge running down into the city' (i. 278, note 3); and the hill north of the Temple answers to this meaning.

A more serious objection to regarding this hill as the Akra of Josephus is found in the description that he gives of the gates on the west of the Temple enclosure. 'In the western parts of the enclosure stood four gates; one leading over to the royal palace, the valley between being intercepted to form a passage; two leading to the suburb; and the remaining one into the other city, being distinguished by many steps down into the valley, and from this up again upon the ascent; for the city lay over against the Temple in the manner of a theatre, being encompassed by a deep valley on all its southern quarter' (*Antiq.* xv. 11. 5). Upon this Dr. Robinson remarks, that 'the gate with many steps led to the other city; which, as thus mentioned after the royal palace on Zion, can only be the lower city or Akra. Here, then, we have direct testimony by the Jewish historian, that Akra formed part of the general acclivity on the west of Moriah.' But if Akra and Moriah had been made virtually one, then 'the other city' would be the Upper city, in distinction from the Lower, which was more closely identified with the Temple; and the steps would provide the public with a way of access from one to the other, in distinction from the viaduct which connected the Temple directly with the royal palace. Besides, how could Akra and the Temple have been connected by this double flight of steps for descending and ascending the two hills, when the valley that formerly separated them had been filled in so as to connect the Temple with the lower city?

But any theory which would transfer Akra from the western to the eastern side of the Damascus

gate valley, must be made to harmonize with the express statement of Josephus, that *Bezetha* lay upon that side, north of the Temple area, and adjacent to the tower of Antonia, from which it was separated by an artificial trench or fosse. In describing the third wall, built by Agrippa, Josephus says: 'The city, overflowing with population, had gradually crept beyond the walls, and incorporating with itself the parts on the north of the Temple close to the hill, had extended not a little; so that a fourth hill, called *Bezetha*, was now occupied, lying over against Antonia, and separated from it by a deep fosse. For a trench had been dug on purpose, lest the foundations of Antonia, being joined to this hill, should be less high and easily accessible' (*Bell. Jud.* v. 4. 2). Again, in describing the Temple, Josephus says: 'The hill *Bezetha* was separated, as I have said, from Antonia; and being the highest of all, it was built up adjoining a part of the new city, and alone obstructed the view of the Temple on the north' (*Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 8).

The fortress of Antonia, it is generally agreed, bounded the north-west angle of the Temple area, whatever the dimensions of that area may have been. Adjacent to this, upon the north, was the hill *Bezetha*, which, in its highest elevation, cut off the view of the Temple from that quarter. But the fortress Antonia was evidently included within the circuit of the second wall, which, beginning at the gate Gennath in the first wall, enclosed Akra, or the lower city: and the wall which was overflowed by a population crowding outwards upon *Bezetha* was the northern wall of Akra. Moreover, the Akra, i. e., the tower of the Akra hill, is described as commanding the Temple in the time of the Asmonæans, as Antonia commanded it in the time of Herod (1 Maccab. xiii. 52). If, then, we may regard the fortress Baxis, afterwards Antonia, as identical with the Akra of Antiochus Epiphanes, the hill Akra was the ridge north of the Temple area sloping toward the Damascus valley—then the Tyropæon—and *Bezetha*, the ridge rising northward from this, and skirted by the valley of Jehoshaphat. As was remarked above, it greatly relieves the perplexity of this subject, if we can conceive of Akra and the Temple-hill as made virtually one by the Asmonæans, and as so regarded by Josephus in his general descriptions of the city. In his account of the sack of the city by Titus, when as yet only the lower city and the Temple had been taken, Josephus states that Roman soldiers 'set fire to the residence of the magistrates, the Akra, the council-chamber, and the place called Ophla, the flames spreading as far as the palace of Queen Helena, which was in the centre of the Akra. The streets also were consumed, and the houses. . . . On the next day the Romans, having driven the brigands from the lower town, burned all, as far as Siloam;' and while the four legions were raising mounds on the western side of the upper city, the auxiliaries 'laboured in the region of the Xystus, the bridge, and the tower of Simon' (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 6. 6, vi. 7. 2, vi. 8. 1). Thus, the historian seems to group the lower city with Ophel and other localities lying eastward of Zion. Upon the whole, then, the site of Akra is still a question of *probabilities*; and as yet we can but state the various theories propounded by scholars and topographers, and await the results of future explorations upon the ground. These theories are—

1. Akra is the ridge between the Jaffa and Damascus gates, the principal Christian quarter of the modern city. See in Reland, Von Raumer, Robinson, Stanley, etc. As yet the weight of authorities favours this view. The Tyropœon then began at the Jaffa gate.

2. Akra is north of the Haram area and contiguous to it, and east of the valley that runs southward from the Damascus gate, which then becomes the Tyropœon—Zion is extended northward so as to embrace in whole or in part the ridge which is the Akra of No. 1. The argument for this theory is given above from Ritter. See also in Rabbi Schwartz. Akra thus lies wholly within the Mohammedan quarter of the modern city, and Zion includes the whole of the Christian, Armenian, and Jewish quarters.

3. Akra, as above, is identified with the hill of the present Mohammedan quarter; but Zion is *not* extended northward so as to stand 'face to face' with it, as the statement of Josephus would require (Williams in *Holy City*, and in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*). The course which Williams assigns to the second wall includes the Tyropœon with the inclosure of the lower city, instead of making it the division between this and the upper city.

4. Akra was that portion of the Haram es-Sherif which was not occupied by the Temple (Schultz and Krafft). This reduces Akra to the insignificant area of fifteen or twenty acres; and the geological structure of the Temple-hill forbids the supposition that the Haram was ever crossed at that point by a valley from east to west which could answer to Josephus' description of the broad valley separating Akra from Moriah.

5. Akra was the ridge south of the Temple area, and east of Zion, commonly known as Ophel (Prof. Justus Olshausen). But there never was room for a city on that rocky declivity; it could not have been separated from the Temple by a valley; and it is *naturally* lower than the site of the Temple, whereas Akra was originally higher.

6. Akra was the lower eastern portion of the hill commonly known as Zion, *i.e.*, Akra answers to the Jewish quarter, and Zion to the Armenian quarter of the modern city (Dr. Titus Tobler). But this theory greatly contracts the area of the city, and interposes Akra between Zion and the Temple, which Josephus states were directly connected by a viaduct.

7. Akra is the entire ridge of the Haram, from Stephen's gate to Siloam, including of course the site of the Temple (Thrupp). Thus the Temple stood within the lower city. Thrupp and Fergusson agree that the Temple-hill was the ancient Zion, the city of David. Among all these theories the first and second appear the more tenable in view of all the data furnished by Josephus; and yet those data alone are insufficient to determine the question in favour of either site as the true Akra.

The Walls.—Next in importance to the relative location of the hills of Jerusalem, is the course of the several walls mentioned by Josephus. His general description of these walls is to the following purport. The single wall which inclosed that part of the city skirted by precipitous valleys began on the north at the tower of Hippicus. On the west it extended (southward) through a place called Bethso to the gate of the Essenes; thence it kept along on the south to a point over against

Siloam; and thence bending to the east it was carried along by Solomon's Pool and Ophla (Ophel), till it joined the eastern portico of the Temple. On the north this wall began at the tower of Hippicus, and extending (along the northern brow of Zion) to the Xystus, terminated at the western portico of the Temple. The second wall began at the gate of Gennath (apparently near Hippicus), and, encircling only the northern part of the city, extended to the castle of Antonia at the north-west corner of the area of the Temple. The third wall was built by Agrippa at a later period; it also had its beginning at the tower of Hippicus, ran northward as far as the tower of Psephinos; and thence sweeping round towards the north-east by east, it turned afterwards towards the south, and was joined to the ancient wall at or in the valley of the Kidron. This wall enclosed the hill Bezetha (*Bell. Jud. v. 4. 2*). The Xystus here spoken of was an open area upon the eastern brow of Zion, extending from the first wall, which there crossed the Tyropœon, southward to the bridge which connected the Temple with the upper city. In this area, where perhaps there was a colonnade, the people were accustomed to gather upon public occasions. The position of the *bridge*, so often referred to by Josephus in connection with the Xystus, has been well identified with the immense fragment of an ancient arch discovered by Dr. Robinson in the western wall of the Haram enclosure, near the south-west corner (*Bib. Res. i. 287; iii. 221*). This arch measures fifty-one feet along the wall, and three courses of its stones remain. Some of the stones are of great size.

The valley at this point is about 116 yards in width. The discovery of this bridge is of great importance in determining the position of the Xystus, and the line of the western wall of the Temple. Dr. Robinson was the first explorer who identified this fragment of an arch with the bridge that spanned the Tyropœon from the Temple to the upper city.

The first or most ancient wall described above appears to have inclosed the whole of Mount Zion toward the south. Indeed it must have formed the exterior and sole wall on that side, overlooking the deep valleys below Mount Zion; and the northern part evidently passed from the tower of Hippicus on the west side along the northern brow of Zion, and across the valley, to the western side of the Temple area. It probably nearly coincided with the ancient wall which existed before the time of David, and which enabled the Jebusites to maintain themselves in possession of the upper city, long after the lower city had been in the hands of the Israelites. Much of Mount Zion upon the south lies without the walls of the modern city. Some traces of this old wall were visible in the time of Benjamin of Tudela, who says that the stones of the foundation were then taken away for building (*Itiner. ed. Asher, i. 73*). No trace of it can now be perceived; but by digging through the rubbish the foundations might perhaps be discovered.

The account given by Josephus of the second wall is very short and unsatisfactory. This is the more to be regretted, as on the course taken by the eastern part of that wall rests the question, whether that which is now shown as the site of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre was anciently beyond the wall or not. While the traditional and the historical evidences are strongly urged in favour of the pre-

sent site, the topographical evidence is urged as strongly against it. Reference is made to both classes of evidences in the article on GOLGOTHA. The topographical argument is here in place. If the location assigned to Akra in No. 2 above be accepted, with a corresponding extension of Zion, of course the present church of the holy sepulchre cannot mark the scene of our Lord's crucifixion and burial, for it must have been far within the wall of Zion.

The Akra of No. 1 is almost equally fatal to the identity of the alleged site; since the course of the second wall from its starting point at the gate Gennath, near Hippicus, would naturally have included this site in what Josephus describes as its 'circling' sweep northward and eastward to the Temple. The precise course of this wall might perhaps be determined by excavations; especially along one of the two streets which intersect the *via Dolorosa*. It is likely that the foundations of the old wall still exist; and if it lay at a point *within* the present wall, those foundations must pass under this street, and an excavation of not greater extent than those which are made every day in London for sewerage would bring them to light, and shew whether the alleged site of Calvary lay within or without the second wall. Dr. Robinson argues that the gate Gennath in the first wall, from which the second wall had its beginning, being a gate that led out of Zion into the country, must have been but a little to the east of Hippicus, which he locates at the Jaffa gate. Regarding the chambers near the Damascus gate as remnants of a gate in the second wall, he claims also to have found traces of an ancient wall running from the Damascus gate to a point near the Latin convent. By this course the second wall would be carried far to the west of the church of the sepulchre, thus including that site within the city walls. Assuming that Zion terminated at the Jaffa gate, and that Gennath was near the present tower of David, this supposed line of wall would answer well to the statement of Josephus that, 'encircling the tract in the north, it extended to Antonia.' Those who advocate the genuineness of the site of the Holy Sepulchre are obliged either to transfer Akra to the east of the Damascus gate valley, *without a corresponding extension of Zion to the north*; or to place the gate Gennath so far eastward from the Jaffa gate, as greatly to contract the lower city by a wall from that point to Antonia, or to violate Josephus by making a wall with re-entering angles, constructed as if on purpose to throw the Holy Sepulchre without the wall; and in either case to violate the strategic conditions of the ridge in question, by running the wall across the slope of the hill, where it could be easily overtopped by engines of war from without. In a word, then, the whole weight of topographical evidence is against the alleged site of the sepulchre.

Nor is the traditional and historical evidence for this site so continuous and conclusive as is sometimes represented. The historical evidence seeks to identify the site with that selected by Constantine for his commemorative church as described by Eusebius. But if this be assumed, to insist that after Jerusalem had for three centuries been either a desolation or the abode of Pagan contemners, a foreign prince so manifestly given to enthusiasm and superstition as was Constantine, would identify the very place of the crucifixion—

which the gospels had left unmarked by any 'local sanctity'—is to demand, not faith in historical evidence, nor even in local tradition, but simple credulity for legendary trifles. We are liable to be misled as to the value of tradition in such a case, by comparing three centuries with nineteen, and imagining that one living in the 4th century after Christ was so *near* to the events embodied in the traditions as to be able to judge correctly of their truth. But if we go back 300 years from our own time, how obscure and uncertain is oral tradition, how conflicting often are written statements touching important events in church and state! One of the earliest and best sustained traditions makes the ascension of Christ to have taken place from the *summit* of Olivet; whereas Luke places it near Bethany. When Constantine determined the site of the holy sepulchre, Jerusalem had already been for three centuries in the hands either of Jewish or of Pagan enemies of the Christian faith.

The historical identity of the church of the holy sepulchre with the site selected by Constantine has been called in question by Mr. James Fergusson in an original and very able argument. This writer regards the Mosque of Omar, so called, in the enclosure of the Haram, as the church of the Anastasis, built by Constantine; and the Khubbit-es-Sakrah, or holy stone within the mosque, as the sepulchre of rock in which the Lord was laid. Accordingly, he greatly reduces the Temple area as compared with the Haram; that being an irregular parallelogram about 1500 feet long by from 900 to 1000 in breadth; and the Temple area having been a square of 600 feet at its south-western corner. Thus, he would throw the rock outside of the wall of the old city. He argues also that Eusebius is to be understood as fixing the church of the Anastasis upon the eastern hill of the city, opposite to Zion. 'On the very spot which witnessed the Saviour's sufferings, a new Jerusalem was constructed *over against* the one so celebrated of old, which, since the foul stain of guilt brought upon it by the murder of the Lord, had experienced the extremity of desolation. It was *opposite* the city that the emperor began to rear a monument to the Saviour's victory over death, with rich and lavish magnificence' (*Life of Con.*, iii. 33). But Mr. Fergusson's main reliance is upon the architecture of the mosque and of the so-called golden gate—a point upon which he is certainly a high authority, and of which he does not hesitate to speak with the utmost confidence. This he assigns unhesitatingly to 'the first half of the 4th century'; and he makes the golden gate 'the propylon of Constantine's basilica,' and the mosque or 'dome of the rock,' the 'Anastasis built by him.' By reducing the Temple area to the exact dimensions given by Josephus, and locating Antonia close upon its north-western corner, this writer throws the dome of the rock outside of the ancient city wall. His arguments for circumscribing the Temple area to a square of 600 feet are borne out, not only by the frequent statements of Josephus upon that point, but by the appearance of the substructions of the Haram area in its south-western corner. This theory is combated with acrimonious vigour in the *Edinburgh Review* (Oct. 1860), as violating the relative positions assigned by Eusebius to the Basilica and the Anastasis of Constantine, and his statement that

the *propylon* faced an open market-place, for which the steep brow overhanging Jehoshaphat affords no room. Upon the whole, while the topographical argument appears conclusive against the church of the holy sepulchre as the authentic site of the sepulchre of our Lord, the site proposed by Mr. Fergusson, though urged with so much ability and enthusiasm, can hardly be accepted as satisfactory. Future excavations in Jerusalem may bring to light some reliable evidence touching the sacred places, though they may also undermine and demolish all existing theories upon the subject. The genuineness of the traditional site of the sepulchre is *disproved* by any plausible and defensible theory of Akra and the second wall, and by the strategical lay of the hill upon which the church of the sepulchre stands: while of Mr. Fergusson's theory it is enough to say, according to a peculiar Scottish verdict, that it is '*not proven*.' Dr. Barclay suggests that the place of crucifixion may have been a spur of the ridge 'projecting south-eastwardly into the Kidron valley, a short distance above Gethsemane.' But this is only conjecture; and we must rather say with *Kble*—

'Dear sacred haunts of glory and of woe,
Help us, one hour, to trace His musings high
and low;
One heart-ennobling hour! it may not be;
Th' unearthly thoughts have pass'd from
earth away,
And fast as evening sunbeams from the sea
Thy footsteps all in *Sion's* deep decay
Were blotted from the holy ground: yet dear
Is every stone of hers; FOR THOU WAST
SURELY HERE.'

Later Walls.—Although the two walls above described were the only walls that existed in the time of our Saviour, we are not to infer that the habitable city was confined within their limits. On the contrary, it was because the city had extended northward far beyond the second wall, that a third was built to cover the defenceless suburb: and there is no reason to doubt that this unprotected suburb, called Bezetha, existed in the time of Christ. This wall has already been described as having also begun at the tower of Hippicus; it ran northward as far as to the tower Psephinos, then passed down opposite the sepulchre of Helena (queen of Adiabene), and being carried along through the royal sepulchres, turned at the corner tower by the Fullers' monument, and ended by making a junction with the ancient wall at the valley of the Kidron. It was begun ten or twelve years after our Lord's crucifixion by the elder Herod Agrippa, who desisted from completing it for fear of offending the Emperor Claudius. But the design was afterwards taken up and completed by the Jews themselves, although on a scale of less strength and magnificence. Some traces of this wall have been found to the north of the modern city wall.

Robinson thinks that the wall of the new city, the *Ælia* of Adrian, nearly coincided with that of the present Jerusalem; and the portion of Mount Zion which now lies outside would seem then also to have been excluded, for Eusebius and Cyrill, in the 4th century, speak of the denunciation of the prophet being fulfilled, and describes Zion as 'a ploughed field' (Mic. iii. 2).

We know from Josephus that the circumference

of the ancient city was 33 stadia, equivalent to nearly four English miles. The circumference of the present walls does not exceed two and a half geographical miles; but the extent of Mount Zion, now without the walls, and the tract on the north formerly enclosed, or partly so, by the third wall, sufficiently account for the difference. (See wood-cut, page 528.)

The present walls have a solid and formidable appearance, especially when cursorily observed from without; and they are strengthened, or rather ornamented, with towers and battlements after the Saracenic style. They are built of limestone, the stones being not commonly more than a foot or fifteen inches square. The height varies with the various elevations of the ground. The lower parts are probably about twenty-five feet high, while in more exposed localities, where the ravines contribute less to the security of the city, they have an elevation of sixty or seventy feet.

The Ancient Gates.—Much uncertainty exists respecting the ancient gates of Jerusalem. It has been objected that the gates named in the Scriptures are more in number than a town of the size of Jerusalem could require, especially as they all occur within the extent embraced by the first and second walls, the third not then existing. It has, therefore, been suggested as more than probable that some of these gates were within the city, in the walls which separated the town from the Temple and the upper town from the lower, in which gates certainly existed. On the other hand, considering the circumstances under which the wall was rebuilt in the time of Nehemiah, it is difficult to suppose that more than the outer wall was then constructed, and certainly it was in the wall then built that the ten or twelve gates mentioned by Nehemiah occur. But these may be somewhat reduced by supposing that two or more of the names mentioned were applied to the same gate. If this view of the matter be taken, no better distribution of these gates can be given than that suggested by Raumer (*Palestina*, 3d ed., p. 256).

A. On the north side.

1. The *Old Gate*, probably at the north-east corner (Neh. iii. 6; xii. 39).

2. The *Gate of Ephraim* or *Benjamin* (Jer. xxxviii. 7; xxxvii. 13; Neh. xii. 9; 2 Chron. xxv. 23). This gate derived its names from its leading to the territory of Ephraim and Benjamin.

3. The *Corner-gate*, 300 cubits from the former, and at the north-west corner (2 Chron. xxv. 9; 2 Kings xiv. 13; Zech. xiv. 10). Probably the *Gate of the Furnaces* is the same (Neh. iii. 2; xii. 38).

B. On the west side.

4. The *Valley-gate*, over against the Dragon-fountain of Gihon (Neh. ii. 13; iii. 13; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9). It was probably about the north-west corner of Zion, where there appears to have been always a gate. Dr. Robinson supposes it to be the same with the Gennath of Josephus.

C. On the south side.

5. The *Dung-gate*, perhaps the same as Josephus's Gate of the Essenes (Neh. ii. 13; xii. 31). It was 1000 cubits from the valley-gate (Neh. iii. 14), and the dragon-well was between them (Neh. ii. 13). This gate is probably also identical with 'the gate between two walls' (2 Kings xxv. 4; Jer. xxxix. 4; Lam. ii. 7).

6. The *Gate of the Fountain*, to the south-east (Neh. ii. 14; iii. 15); the gate of the fountain near the king's pool (Neh. ii. 14); the gate of the fountain near 'the pool of Siloah by the king's garden' (Neh. iii. 15). The same gate is probably denoted in all these instances, and the pools seem to have been also the same. It is also possible that this fountain-gate was the same otherwise distinguished as the brick-gate (or potter's gate), leading to the valley of Hinnom (Jer. xix. 2, where the A. V. has 'east-gate').

d. On the east side.

7. The *Water-gate* (Neh. iii. 26).

8. The *Prison-gate*, otherwise the *Horse-gate*, near the Temple (Neh. iii. 28; xii. 39, 40).

9. The *Sheep-gate*, probably near the sheep-pool (Neh. iii. 1-32; xii. 29).

10. The *Fish-gate* was quite at the north-east (Neh. iii. 3; xii. 39; Zeph. i. 10; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14).

It will be observed that in two of the cases the distances of the gates from each other are mentioned. Thus the corner gate (3) was only 300 cubits from the gate of Ephraim (2), and the dung-gate (5) was 1000 cubits from the valley-gate (4). If the circumference of the wall of Jerusalem before the third wall was added be assumed to have been two miles and a half, or equal to the present wall, then this extent would have allowed ten gates at the highest named distance of 1000 cubits apart, and more than thrice that number at the lowest named distance of 300 cubits.

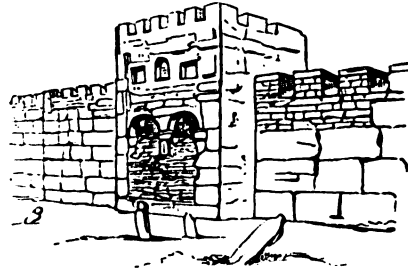
In the Middle Ages there appear to have been two gates on each side of the city, making eight in all; and this number, being only two short of those assigned in the above estimate to the ancient Jerusalem, seems to vindicate that estimate from the objections which have been urged against it.

On the west side were two gates, of which the principal was the *Porta David*, Gate of David, often mentioned by the writers on the Crusades. It was called by the Arabs *Bab el-Mihrab*, and corresponds to the present Jaffa gate, or *Bab el-Khulil*. The other was the gate of the Fuller's Field (*Porta Villa Fullonis*), so called from Is. vii. 3. This seems to be the same which others call *Porta Judiciaria*, and which is described as being in the wall over against the church of the holy sepulchre, leading to Silo (Neby Samw'el) and Gibeon. This seems to be that which the Arabian writers call *Serb*. There is no trace of it in the present wall.

On the north there were also two gates; and all the middle-age writers speak of the principal of them as the gate of St. Stephen, from the notion that the death of the protomartyr took place near it. This was also called the gate of Ephraim, in reference to its probable ancient name. Arabic writers called it *Bab 'Amud el-Ghurab*, of which the present name, *Bab el-'Amud*, is only a contraction. The present gate of St. Stephen is on the east of the city, and the scene of the martyrdom is now placed near it; but there is no account of the change. Further east was the gate of Benjamin (*Porta Benjaminis*), corresponding apparently to what is now called the gate of Herod.

On the east there seem to have been at least two gates. The northernmost is described by Adamnanus as a small portal leading down to the valley of Jehoshaphat. It was called the gate of

Jehoshaphat, from the valley to which it led. It seems to be represented by the present gate of St. Stephen. The Arabian writers call it *Bab el-Ubat*, Gate of the tribes, being another form of the modern Arabic name *Bab es-Subat*. The present gate of St. Stephen has four lions sculptured over it on the outside, which, as well as the architecture, show that it existed before the present walls. The other gate is the famous Golden



290. The Golden Gate.

Gate (*Porta aurea*) in the eastern wall of the Temple area. It is now called by the Arabs *Bab el-Dukariyeh*, but formerly *Bab er-Rahmeh*, 'Gate of Mercy.' The name Golden Gate appears to have come from a supposed connection with one of the ancient gates of the Temple, which are said to have been covered with gold; but this name cannot be traced back beyond the historians of the Crusades. This gate is, from its architecture, obviously of Roman origin, and is conjectured by some to have belonged to the enclosure of the Temple of Jupiter which was built by Adrian upon Mount Moriah; but Mr. Fergusson, as seen above, ascribes it to Constantine. The exterior is now walled up; but being double, the interior forms within the area a recess, which is used for prayer by the Moslem worshipper. Different reasons are given for the closing of this gate. It was probably because it was found inconvenient that a gate to the mosque should be open in the exterior wall. Although not walled up, it was kept closed even when the Crusaders were in possession of the city, and only opened once a year, on Palm Sunday, in celebration of our Lord's supposed triumphal entry through it to the Temple.

On the south side were also two gates. The easternmost is now called by the Franks the Dung-gate, and by the natives *Bab el-Mugharibeh*. The earliest mention of this gate is by Brocard, about A.D. 1283, who regards it as the ancient Water-gate. Further west, between the eastern brow of Zion and the gate of David, the Crusaders found a gate which they call the Gate of Zion, corresponding to one which now bears the same name.

It thus appears that before the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem by the Turks in the 16th century, the principal gates of the city were much the same as at the present day. But of the seven gates mentioned as still existing, three, the Dung Gate, the Golden Gate, and Herod's Gate, are closed. Thus there are only four gates now in use, one on each side of the town, all of which have been enumerated. St. Stephen's, on the east, leads to the Mount of Olives, Bethany, and Jericho. From the nature of the ground, taken in connection with the situation of the Temple, a

little south, there must always have been a great thoroughfare here. Zion Gate, on the south side of the city, connects the populous quarter around the Armenian convent with that part of Mount Zion which is outside the walls, and which is much resorted to as being the great field of Christian burial, as well as for its traditional sanctity as the site of David's tomb, the house of Caiaphas, house of Mary, etc. The Jaffa Gate, on the west, is the termination of the important routes from Jaffa, Bethlehem, and Hebron. The formation of the ground suggests this as one of the great thoroughfares of the ancient city, which could here be approached from the quarters just indicated much more conveniently than at any other point. The Damascus Gate, on the north, is planted in a vale, which in every age of Jerusalem must have been a great public way, and the easiest approach from Samaria and Galilee.

Subterranean Quarries.—Dr. Barclay was so fortunate as to discover near the Damascus gate an entrance to a large excavation under Bezetha, which was probably the quarry from which much of the stone was taken for building the Temple. The principal cave is upwards of 3000 feet in circumference, its roof about 30 feet high, supported by rude pillars of rock. There are numerous lateral galleries leading to halls of various sizes, in some of which are traces of artificial excavation. Dr. W. M. Thomson, who also visited the quarry, gives the following graphic description of it:—

'The excavations under the ridge which extends from the north-west corner of the Temple area to the north wall of the city are most extraordinary. I spent a large part of this forenoon examining them with a company of friends from the city. Passing out at the Damascus gate, we ascended the hill of rubbish east of it, and just under the high precipice over which the wall is carried, we crept or rather *backed* through a narrow opening, and, letting ourselves down some five feet on the inside, we stood within the cavern. Lighting our candles, we began to explore. For some distance the descent southward was rapid, down a vast bed of soft earth. Pausing to take breath and look about, I was surprised at the immense dimensions of the room. The roof of rock is about thirty feet high, even above these huge heaps of rubbish, and is sustained by large, shapeless columns of the original rock, left for that purpose by the quarriers, I suppose. On we went, down, down from one depth to a lower, wandering now this, now that way, and ever in danger of getting lost, or of falling over some of the many precipices into the yawning darkness beneath. In some places we climbed with difficulty over large masses of rock, which appear to have been shaken down from the roof, and suggest to the nervous the possibility of being ground to powder by similar masses which hang overhead. In other parts our progress was arrested by pyramids of rubbish which had fallen from above, through apertures in the vault, either natural or artificial. We found water trickling down in several places, and in one there was a small natural pool full to the brim. This trickling water has covered many parts with crystalline incrustations, pure and white—in others, stalactites hang from the roof, and stalagmites have grown up from the floor. The entire rock is remarkably white, and, though not very hard, will take a polish quite sufficient for architectural beauty

'The general direction of these excavations is south-east, and about parallel with the valley which descends from the Damascus Gate. I suspect that they extend down to the Temple area, and also that it was into these caverns that many of the Jews retired when Titus took the Temple, as we read in Josephus. The whole city might be stowed away in them; and it is my opinion that a great part of the very white stone of the Temple must have been taken from these subterranean quarries' (Thomson's *Land and Book*, vol. ii. pp. 491, 492).

Water Resources of Jerusalem.—In his account of the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey, Strabo says that the town was well provided with water within the walls, but that there was none in the environs (*Geog.* xvi. 2, 40). Probably the Roman troops then suffered from want of water, as did other armies which laid siege to Jerusalem. In the narratives of such sieges we almost never read of the besieged suffering from thirst, although driven to the most dreadful extremities and resources by hunger, while the besiegers are frequently described as suffering greatly from want of water, and as being obliged to fetch it from a great distance. The agonies of thirst sustained by the first Crusaders in their siege of Jerusalem will be remembered by most readers from the vivid picture drawn by Tasso, if not from the account furnished by William of Tyre. Yet when the town was taken plenty of water was found within it. This singular circumstance is only in part explained by reference to the system of preserving water in cisterns, as at this day, in Jerusalem. Every house is furnished with cisterns and tanks, into which the rain-water is conducted. Some of the reservoirs are very capacious.

Besides these there were several aqueducts for conveying water from reservoirs outside of the city. The principal of these was that leading from the enormous pools of Solomon near Bethlehem. But in time of war these external supplies of water could be cut off by the besiegers. At the siege of Titus the well of Siloam may have been in possession of the Jews, *i. e.*, within the walls; but at the siege by the Crusaders it was certainly held by the besieging Franks: and yet the latter perished from thirst, while the besieged had '*ingentes copias aquæ*.' There is good ground to conclude that from very ancient times there has been under the Temple an unfailing source of water, derived by secret and subterranean channels from springs to the west of the town, and communicating by other subterranean passages with the pool of Siloam and the fountain of the Virgin in the east of the town, whether they were within or without the walls of the town.

Barclay is of opinion that there was a natural but small fountain under the Temple; but he thinks the early travellers and geographers who speak of this were misled by the sound of water falling into a subterranean reservoir from the aqueduct of Ethaia; and that the overflow of this reservoir produced the stream that Oman found flowing from the Temple area when he took the city. The existence of a perennial source of water below the Temple has always been admitted. Tacitus knew of it (*Hist.* v. 12); and Aristeas, in describing the ancient Temple, informs us that 'the supply of water was unfailing, inasmuch as there was an abundant natural fountain flowing in the interior, and reservoirs of admirable construction under

ground, extending five stadia round the Temple, with pipes and conduits unknown to all except those to whom the service was entrusted, by which the water was brought to various parts of the Temple and again conducted off.' The Moslems also have constantly affirmed the existence of this fountain or cistern. But a reserve has always been kept up as to the means by which it is supplied. This reserve seems to have been maintained by the successive occupants of Jerusalem as a point of civic honour; and this fact alone intimates that there was danger to the town in its becoming known, and points to the fact that the supply came from without the city by secret channels, which it was of importance not to disclose. Yet we are plainly told in the Bible that Hezekiah 'stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it down to the west side of the city of David' (1 Kings i. 33, 38); from 2 Chron. xxxii. 30, it seems that all the neighbouring fountains were thus 'stopped' or covered, and the brook which they had formed diverted by subterranean channels into the town, for the express purpose of preventing besiegers from finding the 'much water' which previously existed outside the walls (comp. also Eccus. xlviii. 17). Perhaps, likewise, the prophet Ezekiel (xlvi. 1-12) alludes to this secret fountain under the Temple when he speaks of waters issuing from the threshold of the Temple towards the east, and flowing down towards the desert as an abundant and beautiful stream. This figure may be drawn from the waters of the inner source, under the Temple, being at the time of the overflow discharged by the outlets at Siloam into the Kidron, which takes the eastward course thus described. (See woodcut, page 521.)

There are certainly wells, or rather shafts, in and near the Temple area, which are alleged to derive their waters through a passage of masonry four or five feet high, from a chamber or reservoir cut in the solid rock under the grand mosque, in which the water is said to rise from the rock into a basin at the bottom. The existence of this reservoir and source of water is affirmed by all Moslems, and coincides with the preceding intimations, but it must be left for future explorers to clear up all the obscurities in which the matter is involved.

Dr. Barclay, who has given much attention to the water sources of Jerusalem, both ancient and modern, and who made several fruitless attempts to explore this subterranean stream, leaves the question of its origin in uncertainty. 'Whether there be indeed any natural spring of water deep-seated within the Temple enclosure, and the waste of which runs off at Siloam, cannot perhaps at present be certainly determined; it is a question which, with many others of the same kind, must await the time when the Holy City comes under the sway of some civilized government' (*City of the Great King*, p. 293; see also Thomson's *Land and Book*, vol. ii. p. 530).

The Modern City.—To comprehend the general topography of Jerusalem and its environs, one should have before him Altmüller's raised map of the modern city. Upon the whole the best verbal description of Jerusalem is that from the pen of Dr. Olin. The summit of the Mount of Olives is about half a mile east from the city, which it completely overlooks, every considerable edifice and almost every house being visible. The city seen from this point appears to be a regular in-

clined plain, sloping gently and uniformly from west to east, or towards the observer, and indented by a slight depression or shallow vale, running nearly through the centre in the same direction. The south-east corner of the quadrangle—for that may be assumed as the figure formed by the rocks—that which is nearest to the observer, is occupied by the mosque of Omar and its extensive and beautiful grounds. This is Mount Moriah, the site of Solomon's temple, and the ground embraced in the sacred enclosure occupies about an eighth of the whole modern city. It is covered with green sward and planted sparingly with olive, cypress, and other trees, and it is certainly the most lovely feature of the town, whether we have reference to the splendid structures or the beautiful lawn spread out around them. (See woodcut, page 520.)

The south-west quarter, embracing that part of Mount Zion which is within the modern town, is to a great extent occupied by the Armenian convent, an enormous edifice, which is the only conspicuous object in this neighbourhood. The north-west is largely occupied by the Latin convent, another very extensive establishment. About midway between these two convents is the castle or citadel, close to the Bethlehem gate, already mentioned. The north-east quarter of Jerusalem is but partially built up, and it has more the aspect of a rambling agricultural village than that of a crowded city. The vacant spots here are green with gardens and olive-trees. There is another large vacant tract along the southern wall, and west of the Haram, also covered with verdure. Near the centre of the city also appear two or three green spots, which are small gardens. The church of the Holy Sepulchre is the only conspicuous edifice in this vicinity, and its domes are striking objects. There are no buildings which, either from their size or beauty, are likely to engage the attention. Eight or ten minarets mark the position of so many mosques in different parts of the town, but they are only noticed because of their elevation above the surrounding edifices. Upon the same principle the eye rests for a moment upon a great number of low domes, which form the roofs of the principal dwellings, and relieve the heavy uniformity of the flat plastered roofs which cover the greater mass of more humble habitations. Many ruinous piles and a thousand disgusting objects are concealed or disguised by the distance. Many inequalities of surface, which exist to so great an extent that there is not a level street of any length in Jerusalem, are also unperceived.

From the same commanding point of view a few olive and fig-trees are seen in the lower part of the valley of Jehoshaphat, and scattered over the side of Olivet from its base to the summit. These are sprinkled yet more sparingly on the southern side of the city on Mounts Zion and Ophel. North of Jerusalem the olive plantations appear more numerous as well as thriving, and thus offer a grateful contrast to the sun-burnt fields and bare rocks which predominate in this landscape. The region west of the city appears to be destitute of trees. Fields of stunted wheat, yellow with the drought rather than white for the harvest, are seen on all sides of the town.

Jerusalem, as seen from Mount Olivet, is a plain inclining gently and equably to the East. (See woodcut, page 520.) Once enter its gates, however, and it is found to be full of inequali-

ties. The passenger is always ascending or descending. There are no level streets, and little skill or labour has been employed to remove or diminish the inequalities which nature or time has produced. Houses are built upon mountains of rubbish, which are probably twenty, thirty, or fifty feet above the natural level, and the streets are constructed with the same disregard to convenience, with this difference, that some slight attention is paid to the possibility of carrying off surplus water. The streets are, without exception, narrow, seldom exceeding eight or ten feet in breadth. The houses often meet, and in some instances a building occupies both sides of the street, which runs under a succession of arches barely high enough to permit an equestrian to pass under them. A canopy of old mats or of plank is suspended over the principal streets when not arched. This custom had its origin, no doubt, in the heat of the climate, which is very intense in summer, and it gives a gloomy aspect to all the most thronged and lively parts of the city. These covered ways are often pervaded by currents of air when a perfect calm prevails in other places. The principal streets of Jerusalem run nearly at right angles to each other. Very few, if any, of them bear names among the native population. They are badly paved, being merely laid irregularly with raised stones, with a deep square channel for beasts of burden, in the middle; but the steepness of the ground contributes to keep them cleaner than in most Oriental cities.

The houses of Jerusalem are substantially built of the limestone of which the whole of this part of Palestine is composed: not usually hewn, but broken into regular forms, and making a solid wall of very respectable appearance. For the most part there are no windows next to the street, and the few which exist for the purposes of light or ventilation are completely masked by casements and lattice-work. The apartments receive their light from the open courts within. The ground plot is usually surrounded by a high enclosure, commonly forming the walls of the house only, but sometimes embracing a small garden and some vacant ground. The rain-water which falls upon the pavement is carefully conducted, by means of gutters, into cisterns, where it is preserved for domestic uses. The people of Jerusalem rely chiefly upon these reservoirs for their supply of this indispensable article. Every house has its cistern, and the larger habitations are provided with a considerable number of them, which occupy the ground-story or cells formed for the purpose below it. Stone is employed in building for all the purposes to which it can possibly be applied, and Jerusalem is hardly more exposed to accidents by fire than a quarry or subterranean cavern. The floors, stairs, etc., are of stone, and the ceiling is usually formed by a coat of plaster laid upon the stones, which at the same time form the roof and the vaulted top of the room. Doors, sashes, and a few other appurtenances, are all that can usually be afforded of a material so expensive as wood. The little timber which is used is mostly brought from Mount Lebanon, as in the time of Solomon. A rough, crooked stick of the fig-tree, or some gnarled, twisted planks made of the olive—the growth of Palestine—are occasionally seen. In other respects the description in the article HOUSE will afford a sufficient notion of those in Jerusalem. A large

number of houses in Jerusalem are in a dilapidated and ruinous state. Nobody seems to make repairs so long as his dwelling does not absolutely refuse him shelter and safety. If one room tumbles about his ears he removes into another, and permits rubbish and vermin to accumulate as they will in the deserted halls. Tottering staircases are propped to prevent their fall; and when the edifice becomes untenable, the occupant seeks another a little less ruinous, leaving the wreck to a smaller or more wretched family, or, more probably, to a goatherd and his flock. Habitations which have a very respectable appearance as seen from the street, are often found, upon entering them, to be little better than heaps of ruins.

Nothing of this would be suspected from the general appearance of the city as seen from the various commanding points without the walls, nor from anything that meets the eye in the streets. Few towns in the East offer a more imposing spectacle to the view of the approaching stranger. He is struck with the height and massiveness of the walls, which are kept in perfect repair, and naturally produce a favourable opinion of the wealth and comfort which they are designed to protect. Upon entering the gates, he is apt, after all that has been published about the solitude that reigns in the streets, to be surprised at meeting large numbers of people in the chief thoroughfares, almost without exception decently clad. A longer and more intimate acquaintance with Jerusalem, however, does not fail to correct this too favourable impression, and demonstrate the existence and general prevalence of the poverty and even wretchedness which must result in every country from oppression, from the absence of trade, and the utter stagnation of all branches of industry. Considerable activity is displayed in the bazaars, which are supplied scantily, like those of other Eastern towns, with provisions, tobacco, coarse cottons, and other articles of prime necessity. A considerable business is still done in beads, crosses, and other sacred trinkets, which are purchased to a vast amount by the pilgrims who annually throng the holy city. The support and even the existence of the considerable population of Jerusalem depend upon this transient patronage—a circumstance to which a great part of the prevailing poverty and degradation is justly ascribed. The articles employed in this pitiful trade are, almost without exception, brought from other places, especially Hebron and Bethlehem—the former celebrated for its baubles of glass, the latter chiefly for rosaries, crucifixes, and other toys made of mother-of-pearl, olive-wood, black stones from the Dead Sea, etc. These are eagerly bought up by the ignorant pilgrims, sprinkled with holy water by the priests, or consecrated by some other religious mummery, and carried off in triumph and worn as ornaments to charm away disease and misfortune, and probably to be buried with the deluded enthusiast in his coffin, as a sure passport to eternal blessedness. With the departure of the swarms of pilgrims, however, even this poor semblance of active industry and prosperity deserts the city. With the exception of some establishments for soap-making, a tannery, and a very few weavers of coarse cottons, there do not appear to be any manufacturers properly belonging to the place. Agriculture is almost equally wretched, and can only give employment to a few hundred people. The masses

really seem to be without any regular employment. A considerable number, especially of the Jews, professedly live on charity. Many Christian pilgrims annually find their way hither on similar resources, and the approaches to the holy places are thronged with beggars, who in piteous tones demand alms in the name of Christ and the Blessed Virgin. The general condition of the population is that of abject poverty. A few Turkish officials, ecclesiastical, civil, and military; some remains of the old Mohammedan aristocracy—once powerful and rich, but now much impoverished and nearly extinct; together with a few tradesmen in easy circumstances, form almost the only exceptions to the prevailing indigence.

Inhabitants.—The number of the inhabitants of Jerusalem has been variously estimated by different travellers, some making it as high as 30,000, others as low as 12,000. An average of these estimates would make it somewhere between 15,000 and 20,000. Of these, Dr. Barclay enumerates the Christians at about 4500. The Jewish population is perhaps a little less; though Barclay gives about 11,000 for his missionary *district*, of which this city was the head. The Moslems exceed in number the Jews or Christians respectively, but are fewer than these two bodies united. To all these classes Jerusalem is holy; and it is the only city in the world which peoples of such different origin, races, language, and religions, agree to regard with nearly equal veneration. The language most generally spoken among them is the Arabic. Schools are rare, and consequently facility in reading is not often met with.

The Turkish governor of the town holds the rank of Pasha, but is responsible to the Pasha of Beirout. The government is somewhat milder than before the period of the Egyptian dominion; and has felt somewhat the restraining influence of the treaty of Paris. Yet the Moslems reverence the same spots which the Jews and Christians account holy, the holy sepulchre only excepted. Formerly there were in Palestine monks of the Benedictine and Augustine orders, and of those of St. Basil and St. Anthony; but since 1304 there have been none but Franciscans, who have charge of the Latin convent and the holy places. They resided on Mount Zion till A. D. 1561, when the Turks allowed them the monastery of St. Salvador, which they now occupy. They had formerly a handsome revenue out of all Roman Catholic countries, but these sources have fallen off since the French revolution, and the establishment is said to be poor and deeply in debt. The expenses arise from the duty imposed upon the convent of entertaining pilgrims; and the cost of maintaining the twenty convents belonging to the establishment of the Terra Santa is estimated at 40,000 Spanish dollars a year. Formerly it was much higher, in consequence of the heavy exactions of the Turkish government. Burckhardt says that the brotherhood paid annually £12,000 to the Pasha of Damascus. But the Egyptian government relieved them from these heavy charges, and imposed instead a regular tax on the property possessed. For the buildings and lands in and around Jerusalem the annual tax was fixed at 7000 piastres, or about £80 sterling. The convent contains fifty monks, half Italians and half Spaniards. In it resides the Intendant or the Principal of all the convents, with the rank of abbot, and the title of Guardian

of Mount Zion and Custos of the Holy Land. He is always an Italian, and has charge of all the spiritual affairs of the Roman Catholics in the Holy Land. There is also a president or vicar, who takes the place of the guardian in case of absence or death: he was formerly a Frenchman, but is now either an Italian or Spaniard. The procurator, who manages their temporal affairs, is always a Spaniard. A council, called Discretorium, composed of these officials and three other monks, has the general management of both spiritual and temporal matters. Much of the attention of the order is occupied, and much of its expense incurred, in entertaining pilgrims and in the distribution of alms. The native Roman Catholics live around the convent, on which they are wholly dependent. They are native Arabs, and are said to be descended from converts in the times of the Crusades.

There is a Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, but he usually resides at Constantinople, and is represented in the holy city by one or more vicars who are bishops residing in the great convent near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. At present the vicars are the bishops of Lydda, Nazareth, and Kerek (Petra), assisted by the other bishops resident in the convent. In addition to thirteen monasteries in Jerusalem, they possess the convent of the Holy Cross near Jerusalem, that of St. Helena, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and that of St. John, between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. All the monks of the convents are foreigners. The Christians of the Greek rite who are not monks are all native Arabs with their native priests, who are allowed to perform the church services in their mother tongue—the Arabic.

The Armenians in Jerusalem have a patriarch, with three convents and 100 monks. They have also convents at Bethlehem, Ramleh, and Jaffa. Few of the Armenians are natives; they are mostly merchants, and among the wealthiest inhabitants of the place; and their convent in Jerusalem is deemed the richest in the Levant. Their church of St. James upon Mount Zion is very showy in its decorations, but void of taste. The Coptic Christians at Jerusalem are only some monks residing in the convent of Es-Sultan, on the north side of the pool of Hezekiah. There is also a convent of the Abyssinians, and one belonging to the Jacobite Syrians.

The number of Jews in Jerusalem varies with the emigration from special causes. They inhabit a distinct quarter of the town between Mount Zion and Mount Moriah. This is the worst and dirtiest part of the holy city, and that in which the plague never fails to make its first appearance. Few of the Jerusalem Jews are natives; and most of them come from foreign parts to die in the city of their fathers' sepulchres. The greater proportion of them are from different parts of the Levant, and appear to be mostly of Spanish and Polish origin. Few are from Germany, or understand the German language. They are for the most part wretchedly poor, and depend in a great degree for their subsistence upon the contributions of their brethren in different countries. These contributions have of late years been smaller than usual, and when they arrive are the occasion of much heartburning and strife. The Scottish Deputation (*Narrative*, p. 148) say, 'They are always quarrelling, and frequently apply to the

consul to settle their disputes. The expectation of support from the annual European contributions leads many of them to live in idleness. Hence there are in Jerusalem several hundreds who are acknowledged paupers, or who receive charity in a quiet way. Many are so poor that, if not relieved, they would not stand out the winter season. A few are shopkeepers, and a few more hawkers, and a very few are operatives. Few of them are agriculturists, though the colony at Wady-Ustas has done something to revive a taste for the cultivation of the soil. Reisner, *Jerusalem Velustissima Descripta*, Francof. 1563; Olshausen, *Zur Topographie d. alten Jerusalem*, Kiel 1833; Adrichomius, *Jerusalem sicut Christi tempore floruit*, Colon. 1593; Chrysanthi (Beat. Patr. Hierosolymorum), *Historia et Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ, Urbisque Sanctæ Hierusalem*, Venet. 1728 (this work is in Greek); D'Anville, *Dissert. sur l'Etendue de l'Ancienne Jerusalem*, Paris 1747; the articles on JERUSALEM in Ersch. and Gruber's *Encyclopædie*; in Raumer's *Palästina*; in Winer's *Realwörterbuch*; in Eugene Roger's *La Terre Sainte, ou Descript. Topographique très-particulière des Saintes Lieux, et de la Terre de Promission*, Paris 1646; and in Dr. Robinson's *Bibl. Researches in Palestine*; with the additions since published in the *Biblical Repository* and *Bibliotheca Sacra*: also, the notices of Jerusalem in various books of travels, particularly those of Cotovicus, Zualart, Radzivil, Morison, Nau, Sandys, Doubdan, D'Arvieux, Maundrell, Pococke, Niebuhr, Clarke, Turner, Buckingham, Richardson, Richter, Jolliffe, Jowett, Prokesh, Scholz, Monro, Hardy, Stephens, Paxton, Schubert, Olin, Stent, Formby, Gerardy-Saintine (Par. 1860), and the Scottish Deputation. —J. K. and J. T.

JESHAIAH. יֵשַׁעְיָה [same as Isaiah]; Sept. Ἰσαΐας; Alex. Ἰεσα καὶ Σεφεί, 1 Chron. xxv. 3; Ἰωσά in ver. 15; Alex. Ἰολας.) A son of Jeduthun, chief of the eighth division of the singers in the Temple. 2. (Sept. Ἰωσά; Alex. Ἰωσας.) A Levite in the reign of David [ISSIAH]. 3. (שֵׁעִיָּה; Sept. Ἰολας; Alex. Ἡσαΐα.) The son of Athaliah, and head of the sons of Elam, who with fifty males accompanied Ezra on his return from Babylon (Ezra viii. 7). In 1 Esdr. viii. 33 he is called Josias. 4. (Sept. Ἰωσά.) A Merarite who returned with Ezra (Ezra viii. 19), called Osias in 1 Esdr. viii. 48. —W. L. A.

JESHANAH (יֵשָׁנָה; Sept. ἡ Ἰεσάνη), a town with its dependencies taken by Abijah from Jeroboam (2 Chron. xiii. 19). It has not been identified.

JESHIMON (יֵשִׁמוֹן). In our A. V. this word is rendered as a proper name in six passages in which it has the article (Num. xxi. 20; xxiii. 28; 1 Sam. xxiii. 19 and 24; xxvi. 1, 3). In two of these passages the Septuagint reads ἔρημος; in the others Ἰεσσαίμους. The Vulgate reads *desertum, solitudo*, and *Jesimon*. The word also occurs in the following poetical passages:—Deut. xxxii. 10 and Ps. lxxviii. 7, in which it is translated *wilderness*; Ps. lxxviii. 40, cvi. 14, and Is. lxiii. 19, 20, translated *desert*; and Ps. cvii. 4, translated *solitary*. There can be no doubt that in 'the poetical passages' it means simply *wilderness*, and is applied to the 'wilderness of Sinai.' In the

other passages its import is not so clear. It may possibly be a proper name; but if so there were two Jeshimons; one east of the Jordan, connected with Pisgah and Peor (Num. xxi. 20); the other west of the Jordan, and connected with Hachilah and Maon (1 Sam. xxiii. 19, etc.). We are inclined to believe that in these cases also it means 'wilderness;' in the former the 'wilderness of Arabia,' in the latter the 'wilderness of Judæa.' For farther details see the articles DESERT and HACHILAH. —J. L. P.

JESHUA OR JESHUAH (יֵשׁוּעַ; Sept. Ἰησοῦς), a contraction of Jehoshua, and the same as Joshua, for which it is sometimes substituted, as in Num. viii. 17 for Joshua, the son of Nun [JOSHUA, 1], and in Ezra and Nehemiah for Joshua the high-priest [JOSHUA, 4]. The other persons thus designated in the O. T. are—1. A priest in the reign of David, to whom the ninth course was allotted (1 Chron. xxiv. 11). 2. A Levite in the reign of Hezekiah, to whom, along with others, was assigned the office under Kore of distributing to their brethren, in the cities of the priests, the free-will offerings of the people (2 Chron. xxxi. 15). 3. The son of Azaniah (Neh. x. 9), a descendant of Hodaviah, whose descendants came up with Ezra from Babylon (Ezra ii. 40). In this passage he is associated with Kadmiel, another descendant of Hodaviah, also in Neh. ix. 4, 5; xii. 8, etc.; but in Neh. xii. 24 he is called 'the son of Kadmiel,' which is doubtless to be traced to a clerical mistake. 4. In Neh. vii. 11 mention is made of 'the children of Jeshua and Joab' as included in, or represented by 'the children of Pahath-Moab.' Pahath-Moab was one of the chiefs of the people (Neh. x. 4; Ezra x. 30), but in what relation the children of Jeshua stood to him is uncertain.

JESHUA is also the name of a town mentioned, along with Molada and Beth-Phelet, as one of those occupied by the children of Judah after their return from exile (Neh. xi. 26). —W. L. A.

JESHURUN (יֵשׁוּרֻן), a poetical name for Israel (Deut. xxxii. 15; xxxiii. 5, 26; Is. xlv. 2 [Jeshurun, A. V.]). Various explanations of the word have been given. The opinion generally held by the best authorities is, that it is a diminutive from יָשָׁר *Yashar*, upright, pious, and is used as a term of endearment, 'quasi *rectulus*, justulus' (Gesén.); 'das fromme Völkchen, etwa *Frommchen*' (Fürst). The LXX. render it by ὁ ἀγαπῶμενος, but Aquila and Symmachus give εὖδος, the Vulg. *rectissimus* & *dilectus*, and the other ancient versions accord. The notion of Grotius, that the word is a contraction of יִשְׂרָאֵל *Yisraelun*, a diminutive from יִשְׂרָאֵל *Yisrad*, is now deservedly rejected by all scholars. —W. L. A.

JESSE (יֵשִׁי; Sept. and N. T. Ἰεσσαί), the father of David, described as 'the Bethlehemite' (1 Sam. xvi. 1, 18), or more fully as the Ephraimite of Bethlehem-Judah (xvii. 12). He was the son of Obed, and the grandson of Boaz and Ruth. Though of illustrious descent (Ruth iv. 18-22), he does not seem to have possessed much wealth; what he had consisted in sheep and goats, of which his son David had the care (1 Sam. xvi. 11; xvii. 34-35). Jewish tradition says that he was a weaver of veils for the sanctuary (Targ. Jonath. in

2 Sam. xxi. 19); but for this there is probably no foundation [JAARE-OREGIM]. When his son David was in hiding from Saul, 'his brethren and all his father's house' joined him in the cave of Adullam (1 Sam. xxii. 1); and David, to secure a retreat for his aged parents, took them to Mizpeh of Moab, where he left them under the protection of the king of Moab (vers. 3-4). At this point they disappear from Scripture history, but tradition asserts that they, with all their sons except two—David and another—were put to death by the king of Moab. In two passages of the O. T. (Is. xi. 1, 10), the Messiah is described by his relation to Jesse; whilst elsewhere it is as the son of David that he is presented. As in these passages it is as a shoot from the root that the Messiah is figuratively set forth, this probably determined the reference to the parent of David rather than to David himself. In the N. T. Christ is spoken of as ἡ ρίζα Δαβὶδ (Apoc. v. 5; xxii. 16), though St. Paul, citing from Isaiah, calls him also ἡ ρίζα τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ (Rom. xv. 16).—W. L. A.

JESUS CHRIST (Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός [in the Epistles often without the article Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, less frequently Χρ. Ἰη.; in the Gospels generally Ἰησοῦς is used]), the ordinary designation of the incarnate Son of God, and Saviour of mankind.

I. IMPORT OF THIS DESIGNATION.—This double designation is not, like Simon Peter, John Mark, Josias Barnabas, composed of a name and a surname, but, like John the Baptist, Simon Magus, Bar-Jesus Elymas, of a proper name, and an official title. JESUS was our Lord's proper name, just as Peter, James, and John, were the proper names of three of his disciples. The name seems not to have been an uncommon one among the Jews. The apocryphal book Ecclesiasticus is attributed to Jesus the son of Sirach; and, in the N. T., we read of Jesus, the father of Elymas, the sorcerer (Acts xiii. 6), and of 'Jesus, which is called Justus, of the circumcision' (Col. iv. 11), one of Paul's 'fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God which had been a comfort to him.' To distinguish our Lord from others bearing the name, he was termed Jesus of Nazareth (John xviii. 7, etc.), Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος, and Jesus the son of Joseph (John vi. 42, etc.).

Some of the fathers, from their ignorance of the Hebrew language, have given a Greek etymology to the name. They derive it from the noun, *ἰασις*, healing. Thus Eusebius, Ἰησοῦς ὠνομάζετο παρ' ὅσων τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχῶν ἰάσεως τε καὶ θεραπείας χαρίν τὴν παροδόν ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐποιεῖτο (*Demost. Evang.* lib. iv.); and Cyril of Jerusalem, Ἰησοῦς καλεῖται φερωνύμως, ἐκ τῆς σωτηριώδους ἰάσεως ἔχων τὴν προσγορίαν (*Catech. Illum.* x.).*

There can be no doubt that Jesus is the Greek form of a Hebrew name, which had been borne by two illustrious individuals in former periods of the Jewish history,—the successor of Moses and introducer of Israel into the promised land (Exod. xxiv. 13), and the high-priest who, along with

Zerubbabel (Zech. iii. 1), took so active a part in the re-establishment of the civil and religious polity of the Jews on their return from the Babylonish captivity. Its original and full form is Jehoshua (Num. xiii. 16). By contraction it became Joshua, or Jeshua; and when transferred into Greek, by taking the termination characteristic of that language, it assumed the form Jesus. It is thus the names of the illustrious individuals referred to are uniformly written in the Sept.; and the first of them is twice mentioned in the N. T. by this name (Acts vii. 45; Heb. iv. 8).

The conferring of this name on our Lord was not the result of accident, or of the ordinary course of things, there being 'none of his kindred,' so far as we can trace from the two genealogies, 'called by that name' (Luke i. 61). It was the consequence of a twofold miraculous interposition. The angel who announced to his virgin mother that she was to be 'the most honoured of women,' in giving birth to the Son of God and the Saviour of men, intimated also to her the name by which the holy child was to be called: 'Thou shalt call his name Jesus' (Luke i. 31). And it was probably the same heavenly messenger who appeared to Joseph, and, to remove his suspicions and quiet his fears, said to him, 'That which is conceived in thy wife Mary is of the Holy Ghost, and she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus' (Matt. i. 20, 21). The pious pair were 'not disobedient to the heavenly vision.' 'When eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child, his name was called Jesus, which was so named of the angel before he was conceived in the womb' (Luke ii. 21).

The name Jesus, like most of Jewish proper names, was significant; and, as might well be expected, when we consider who imposed it, its meaning is at once important and appropriate. The *precise* import of the word has been a subject of doubt and debate among interpreters. As to its *general* meaning there is all but an unanimous concurrence. It was intended to denote that he who bore it was to be a Deliverer or Saviour. This, whatever more, is indicated in the original word; and the reason given by the angel for the imposition of this name on the Virgin's son was 'because he shall save his people from their sins' (Matt. i. 21). But while some interpreters hold that it is just a part of the verb signifying to save, in the form Hiphil, slightly modified, and that it signifies 'he shall save,' others hold that it is a compound word formed by the addition of two letters of the incommunicable name of the divinity, יהוה, to that verb, and that it is equivalent to 'The salvation of the Lord,' or 'The Lord the Saviour.' It is not a matter of vital importance. The following circumstances seem to give probability to the latter opinion. It does not appear likely that Moses would have changed the name of his destined successor from Oshea, which signifies 'saviour,' into Jehoshua (Num. xiii. 16), if the latter signified merely he shall save; whereas, if the word be a compound term, embodying in it the name Jehovah, we see an adequate reason for the change. In the first chapter of the Gospel by Matthew (Matt. i. 22, 23), the most natural interpretation of the words (though they admit of another exegesis) seems to imply that the prediction of Isaiah, that the Virgin's son should be called Immanuel, was fulfilled in the imposition of the name Jesus on the

* Some of the Patristic etymologies are really very odd. Πάσχα is traced to πάσχω; Αεὐτήρης is derived from the Latin *levis*; and Αἰδβολος from δύο and βῶλος, because he who bears that name swallows man at two bites, first the soul, and then the body.

Son of Mary. This would be the case only on the supposition that Immanuel and Jesus are equivalent terms, a supposition which cannot be sustained unless *Jesus* can be fairly rendered 'Jehovah will save,' or 'Jehovah the Saviour.' In that case, Jesus and Immanuel—God *with* us, *i. e.*, on our side—express the same ideas.

It is right, however, to remark, that the merely bearing such a name as either Immanuel or Jesus, even by divine appointment, is not of *itself* evidence of the divinity of him who bears it. The Hebrews were in the habit of giving names, both to persons and places, which were intended not to describe their distinctive properties, but to express some important general truth. Jacob called an altar built by him El-Elohe-Israel (Gen. xxxiii. 20), 'God the God of Israel,' *i. e.*, God is the God of Israel. Moses called an altar he built Jehovah Nissi (Exod. xvii. 15), 'Jehovah my banner,' *i. e.*, Jehovah is my banner. The name Jehoshua, as borne by him who brought the people of the Lord into the heritage of the Gentiles, means no more than that by him Jehovah would deliver his people. In many of the proper names in the O. T., the name El, or Jehovah, forms a part. Yet when, as in the case before us, he who bears such a name, by express divine appointment, is shewn 'by many infallible proofs' to be indeed an incarnation of divinity, we cannot but perceive a peculiar propriety in this divine appointment, and find in it, if not a new argument, a corroboration of the host of arguments which lead us to the conclusion that He who, 'according to the flesh,' was the Son of David, 'according to the Spirit of Holiness' was 'the Son of God,' 'God over all, blessed for ever' (Rom. i. 3, 4; ix. 5).

The above are the only *probable* etymologies of the word. Others, however, have been suggested, and supported with considerable learning and ingenuity. The Valentinians, according to Irenæus (lib. ii. c. 41), were in the habit of writing the name ישו , and explained it as meaning 'Him who possesses heaven and earth,' making each letter, according to the cabalistic art called notarikon, expressive of a word or clause; thus, י for יהוה , ש for שמים , and ו for וארץ , 'Jehovah of heaven and earth.'

The learned but fanciful Osiander insists that Jesus is not the Greek form of Joshua, but the ineffable name, the Shem-hamphorash, rendered utterable by the insertion of the letter ψ . The reader who wishes to see the arguments by which he supports this wild hypothesis may consult his *Harmonia Evangelica*, lib. i. c. 6, Basil 1561. And a satisfactory reply may be found in Chemnitz' dissertation, *De nomine Jesu*, in *Theol. Philol.*, tom. ii. p. 62, Amst. 1702; and in Caninii *Disquis. in loc. aliq. N. T.*, c. i.; apud *Crit. Sac.*, tom. ix.

Castalio maintains an equally whimsical notion as to the etymology of the word, deriving it from יהוה and שם , as if it were equivalent to Jehova-homo, God-man.

The 'name of Jesus' (Phil. ii. 10) is not the name Jesus, but 'the name above every name,' $\text{ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὀνομάτων}$, ver. 9; *i. e.*, the supreme dignity and authority with which the Father has invested Jesus Christ, as the reward of his disinterested exertions in the cause of the divine glory and human happiness; and the bowing $\text{ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ}$ is obviously not an external mark of homage

when the name Jesus is pronounced, but the inward sense of awe and submission to him who is raised to a station so exalted.

CHRIST; Gr. Χριστός ; Heb. משיח . This is not, strictly speaking, a proper name, but an official title. Jesus Christ, or rather, as it generally ought to be rendered, Jesus the Christ, is a mode of expression of the same kind as John the Baptist, or Baptist. In consequence of not adverting to this, the force and even the meaning of many passages of Scripture are misapprehended. When it is stated that Paul asserted, 'This Jesus whom I preach unto you is Christ' (Acts xviii. 3), $\text{ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς}$, etc., that he 'testified to the Jews that Jesus was Christ' (Acts xviii. 5), the meaning is, that he proclaimed and proved that Jesus was the Christ, $\text{τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν}$, or Messiah—the rightful owner of a title descriptive of a high official station which had been the subject of ancient prediction. When Jesus himself says that 'it is life eternal to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he has sent' (John xvii. 3), he represents the knowledge of himself as the Christ, the Messiah, as at once necessary and sufficient to make men truly and permanently happy. When he says, 'What think ye of Christ?' περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ : 'whose son is he?' (Matt. xxiii. 42), he does not mean, What think ye of ME, or of my descent? but, What think ye of the Christ—the Messiah—and especially of his paternity? There can be no doubt that the word, though originally an appellative, and intended to bring before the mind a particular official character possessed by him to whom it is applied, came at last, like many other terms of the same kind, to be often used very much as a proper name, to distinguish our Lord from other persons bearing the name Jesus. This is a sense, however, of comparatively rare occurrence in the N. T.

Proceeding, then, on the principle that Christ is an appellative, let us inquire into its origin and signification as applied to our Lord. CHRIST is the English form of a Greek word, Χριστός , corresponding in meaning to the Hebrew word Messiah, and the English word Anointed. The Christ is just equivalent to the Anointed One. The important question, however, remains behind, What is meant when the Saviour is represented as the Anointed One? To reply to this question satisfactorily, it will be necessary to go somewhat into detail.

Unction, from a very early age, seems to have been the emblem of consecration, or setting apart to a particular, and especially to a religious, purpose. Thus Jacob is said to have *anointed* the pillar of stone which he erected and set apart as a monument of his supernatural dream at Beth-el (Gen. xxviii. 18; xxxi. 13; xxxv. 14). Under the O. T. economy high-priests and kings were regularly set apart to their offices, both of which were, strictly speaking, sacred ones, by the ceremony of anointing, and the prophets were occasionally designated by the same rite. This rite seems to have been intended as a public intimation of a divine appointment to office. Thus Saul is termed 'the Lord's anointed' (1 Sam. xxiv. 6); David, 'the anointed of the God of Israel' (2 Sam. xxiii. 1); and Zedekiah, 'the anointed of the Lord' (Lam. iv. 20). The high-priest is called 'the anointed priest' (Lev. iv. 3).

From the origin and design of the rite, it is not

wonderful that the term should have, in a secondary and analogical sense, been applied to persons set apart by God for important purposes, though not actually anointed. Thus Cyrus, the King of Persia, is termed 'the Lord's anointed' (Is. xlv. 1); the Hebrew patriarchs, when sojourning in Canaan, are termed 'God's anointed ones' (Ps. cv. 15); and the Israelitish people receive the same appellation from the prophet Habakkuk (Hab. iii. 13). It is probably with reference to this use of the expression that Moses is said by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews to have 'counted the reproach of Christ' (Heb. xi. 26, τοῦ Χριστοῦ (λαοῦ), the same class who in the parallel clause are termed the 'people of God') 'greater riches than the treasures of Egypt.'

In the prophetic Scriptures we find this appellation given to an illustrious personage, who, under various designations, is so often spoken of as destined to appear in a distant age as a great deliverer. The royal prophet David seems to have been the first who spoke of the great deliverer under this appellation. He represents the heathen (the Gentile nations) raging, and the people (the Jewish people) imagining a vain thing, 'against Jehovah, and against his anointed' (Ps. ii. 2). He says, 'Now know I that the Lord saveth his anointed' (Ps. xx. 6). 'Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity' says he, addressing himself to 'Him who was to come,' 'therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows' (Ps. xlv. 7). In all the passages in which the great deliverer is spoken of as 'the anointed one' by David, he is plainly viewed as sustaining the character of a king.

The prophet Isaiah also uses the appellation, 'the anointed one,' with reference to the promised deliverer, but, when he does so, he speaks of him as a prophet or great teacher. He introduces him as saying, 'The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord God hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them who are bound, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God, to comfort all that mourn,' etc. (Is. lxi. 1, etc.).

Daniel is the only other of the prophets who uses the appellation 'the anointed one' in reference to the great deliverer, and he plainly represents him as not only a prince, but also a high-priest, an expiator of guilt. 'Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and the prophecy, and to anoint the most holy. Know therefore and understand that from the going forth of the commandment to restore Jerusalem unto Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks; the city shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times; and after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself' (Dan. ix. 24-26).

During the period which elapsed from the close of the prophetic canon till the birth of Jesus, no appellation of the expected deliverer seems to have been so common as the Messiah or Anointed One, and this is still the name which the unbelieving

Jews ordinarily employ when speaking of him whom they still look for to avenge their wrongs and restore them to more than their former honours.

Messiah, Christ, Anointed, is, then, a term equivalent to consecrated, sacred, set apart; and as the record of divine revelation is called, by way of eminence, *The Bible*, or book, so is the Great Deliverer called *The Messiah*, or Anointed One, much in the same way as he is termed *The Man*, *The Son of Man*.

The import of this designation as given to Jesus of Nazareth may now readily be apprehended.—(1.) When he is termed the Christ it is plainly indicated that HE is the great deliverer promised under that appellation, and many others in the O. T. Scriptures, and that all that is said of this deliverer under this or any other appellation is true of HIM. No attentive reader of the O. T. can help noticing that in every part of the prophecies there is ever and anon presented to our view an illustrious personage destined to appear at some future distant period, and, however varied may be the figurative representations given of him, no reasonable doubt can be entertained as to the identity of the individual. It is quite obvious that the Messiah is the same person as 'the seed of the woman' who was to 'bruise the head of the serpent' (Gen. iii. 15); 'the seed of Abraham, in whom all the nations of the earth were to be blessed' (Gen. xxii. 18); the great 'prophet to be raised up like unto Moses,' whom all were to be required to hear and obey (Deut. xviii. 15); the 'priest after the order of Melchizedek,' 'the rod out of the stem of Jesse, which should stand for an ensign of the people to which the Gentiles should seek' (Is. xi. 1, 10); the virgin's son whose name was to be Immanuel (Is. vii. 14); 'the branch of Jehovah' (Is. iv. 2); 'the Angel of the Covenant' (Mal. iii. 1); 'the Lord of the Temple,' etc. etc. (*ib.*). When we say, then, that Jesus is the Christ, we in effect say, 'This is HE of whom Moses, in the law, and the prophets did write' (John i. 45); and all that they say of HIM is true of Jesus.

Now, what is the sum of the prophetic testimony respecting him? It is this—that he should belong to the very highest order of being, the incommunicable name Jehovah being represented as rightfully belonging to him; that 'his goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting' (Mic. v. 2); that his appropriate appellations should be 'Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God' (Is. ix. 6); that he should assume human nature, and become 'a child born' of the Israelitish nation of the tribe of Judah (Gen. xlix. 10), of the family of David (Is. xi. 1); that the object of his appearance should be the salvation of mankind, both Jews and Gentiles (Is. xlix. 6); that he should be 'despised and rejected' of his countrymen; that he should be 'cut off, but not for himself;' that he should be 'wounded for men's transgressions, bruised for their iniquities, and undergo the chastisement of their peace;' that 'by his stripes men should be healed;' that 'the Lord should lay on him the iniquity' of men; that 'exaction should be made and he should answer it;' that he should 'make his soul an offering for sin;' that after these sufferings he should be 'exalted and extolled and made very high;' that he should 'see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied, and by his

knowledge justify many' (Is. liii. *passim*); that Jehovah should say to him, 'Sit at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool' (Ps. cx. 1); that he should be brought near to the Ancient of Days, and that to him should be given 'dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, and nations, and languages should serve him—an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away—a kingdom that shall not be destroyed' (Dan. vii. 13, 14). All this is implied in saying Jesus is the Christ. In the plainer language of the N. T., 'Jesus is the Christ' is equivalent to Jesus is 'God manifest in flesh' (1 Tim. iii. 16)—the Son of God, who, in human nature, by his obedience, and sufferings, and death in the room of the guilty, has obtained salvation for them, and all power in heaven and earth for himself, that he may give eternal life to all coming to the Father through him.

(2.) While the statement 'Jesus is the Christ' is thus materially equivalent to the statement 'all that is said of the Great Deliverer in the O. T. Scriptures is true of Him,' it brings more directly before our mind those truths respecting him which the appellation 'the Anointed One' naturally suggests. He is a prophet, a priest, and a king. He is the great revealer of divine truth; the only expiator of human guilt, and reconciler of man to God; the supreme and sole legitimate ruler over the understandings, consciences, and affections of men. In his person, and work, and word, by his spirit and providence, he unfolds the truth with respect to the divine character and will, and so conveys it into the mind as to make it the effectual means of conforming man's will to God's will, man's character to God's character. He has by his spotless, all-perfect obedience, amid the severest sufferings, 'obedience unto death even the death of the cross,' so illustrated the excellence of the divine law and the wickedness and danger of violating it, as to make it a righteous thing in 'the just God' to 'justify the ungodly,' thus propitiating the offended majesty of heaven; while the manifestation of the divine love in appointing and accepting this atonement, when apprehended by the mind under the influence of the Holy Spirit, becomes the effectual means of reconciling man to God and to his law, 'transforming him by the renewing of his mind.' And now, possessed of 'all power in heaven and earth,' 'all power over all flesh,' 'He is Lord of All.' All external events and all spiritual influences are equally under his control, and as a king he exerts his authority in carrying into full effect the great purposes which his revelations as a prophet, and his great atoning sacrifice as a high-priest, were intended to accomplish.

(3.) But the full import of the appellation the CHRIST is not yet brought out. It indicates that He to whom it belongs is the *anointed* prophet, priest, and king—not that he was anointed by material oil, but that he was divinely *appointed, qualified, commissioned, and accredited* to be the Saviour of men. These are the ideas which the term *anointed* seems specially intended to convey. Jesus was divinely *appointed* to the offices he filled, he did not ultroneously assume them, 'he was called of God as was Aaron' (Heb. v. 4), 'Behold mine ELECT, in whom my soul delighteth.' He was divinely *qualified*: 'God gave to him the Spirit not by measure.' 'The Spirit of the Lord

was upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord, and they made him of quick understanding in the fear of the Lord, so that he does not judge after the sight of his eyes, nor reprove after the hearing of his ears, but he smites the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips he slays the wicked; and righteousness is the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins' (Is. xi. 2-4). He was divinely *commissioned*: 'The Father sent him.' Jehovah said to him, 'Thou art my servant, in thee will I be glorified. It is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant, to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel; I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation to the ends of the earth' (Is. xlix. 6). 'Behold,' says Jehovah, 'I have given him for a witness to the people—a leader and commander to the people.' He is divinely *accredited*: 'Jesus of Nazareth,' says the Apostle Peter, was 'a man approved of God among you by miracles, and wonders, and signs which God did by him in the midst of you' (Acts ii. 22). 'The Father who hath sent me,' says Jesus himself, 'hath borne witness of me' (John v. 37). This he did again and again by a voice from heaven, as well as by the miracles which he performed by that divine power which was equally his and his Father's. Such is the import of the appellation *Christ*.

If these observations are clearly apprehended, there will be little difficulty in giving a satisfactory answer to the question which has sometimes been proposed—when did Jesus become Christ? when was he *anointed* of God? We have seen that the expression is a figurative or analogical one, and therefore we need not wonder that its references are various. The *appointment* of the Saviour, like all the other divine purposes, was, of course, from eternity. 'He was set up from everlasting' (Prov. viii. 23); he 'was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world' (1 Pet. i. 20). His qualifications, such of them as were conferred, were bestowed in, or during his incarnation, when God anointed him 'with the Holy Ghost and with power' (Acts x. 38). His commission may be considered as given him when called to enter on the functions of his office. He himself, after quoting, in the synagogue of Nazareth, in the commencement of his ministry, the passage from the prophecies of Isaiah in which his unction to the prophetic office is predicted, declared, '*This day* is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears.' And in his resurrection and ascension, God, as the reward of his loving righteousness and hating iniquity, 'anointed him with the oil of gladness above his fellows' (Ps. xlv. 7), *i. e.*, conferred on him a regal power, fruitful in blessings to himself and others, far superior to that which any king had ever possessed, making him, as the Apostle Peter expresses it, 'both Lord and Christ' (Acts ii. 36). As to his being *accredited*, every miraculous event performed in reference to him or by him may be viewed as included in this species of anointing—especially the visible descent of the Spirit on him in his baptism.

These statements, with regard to the import of the appellation 'the Christ,' shew us how we are to understand the statement of the Apostle John, 'Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is

born of God' (1 John v. 1), *i. e.*, is 'a child of God,' 'born again,' 'a new creature;' and the similar declaration of the Apostle Paul, 'No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, *i. e.*, the Christ, the Messiah, 'but by the Holy Ghost' (1 Cor. xii. 3). It is plain that the proposition, 'Jesus is the Christ, when understood in the latitude of meaning which we have shewn belongs to it, contains a complete summary of the truth respecting the divine method of salvation. To believe that principle rightly understood is to believe the Gospel—the saving truth, by the faith of which a man is, and by the faith of which only a man can be, brought into the relation or formed to the character of a child of God, and though a man may, without divine influence, be brought to acknowledge that 'Jesus is the Lord,' 'Messiah the Prince,' and even firmly to believe that these words embody a truth, yet no man can be brought really to believe and cordially to acknowledge the truth contained in these words, as we have attempted to unfold it, without a peculiar divine influence. That Jesus is *ὁ θεῶν, ὁ Χριστός*, is the testimony of God, the faith of which constitutes a Christian, *τὸ ἐν*, the one thing to which the Spirit, the water, and the blood, unite in bearing witness (1 John v. 6, 8, 9).—J. B.

II. LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST ON EARTH.—The earthly life of our Lord, with great facility, divides itself into well-marked epochs. Each of these epochs we propose to handle in separate chapters.

CHAPTER I. OUR LORD'S LIFE PREVIOUS TO THE MINISTRY.—*The Birth of Jesus Christ and its Circumstances, both Previous and Concomitant.*—Instead of a formal register of the date of Christ's birth after the manner of biography, the N. T. uses a general phrase only ('In the days of Herod the king,' Matt. ii. 1. Comp. Luke i. 5, ii. 1-7), which has much engaged the attention of the learned, and given occasion to many chronological conjectures. It does not fall within our plan to consider these; we only place in a note below* a

few results derived from the chief authorities. One remarkable designation of the epoch of our Lord's birth occurs in Gal. iv. 4, where St. Paul calls it '*the fulness of time*' (*τὸ πλῆρωμα τοῦ χρόνου*). Few topics have received ampler illustration than this. Dean Alford has briefly summed up the various phases in his note on the passage:—'Not only are God's absolute will and the workings of his providence included in the apostle's phrase, but likewise the preparations which were made on earth for the Redeemer, in the various courses of action which he had brought about by men as his instruments.' The elements contributing to the *full ripeness* of this *πλῆρωμα*, on the human side, have been much illustrated, especially by modern writers on the evidences, who have seen in the political state of the world, in the prevalence of the Roman power, in the wide spread of the Greek language, and in the failure of the several schools of philosophy* to fulfil the expectations which they had raised, a complex preparation both for the advent of Christ and for the propagation of Christianity. Others have dwelt on the developed sins of mankind, which called for a remedy ('*Ὅτε πᾶν εἶδος κακίας διεξελθοῦσα ἡ φύσις ἡ ἀνθρώπινη ἐδεῖτο θανάτου*,' *Theophyl.* quoted by Meyer; 'Non deicit ante peccatum Deum incarnari, cum non detur medicina nisi infirmis, nec statim post peccatum, ut homo per peccatum humilior recognosceret se liberatore indigere, sed in plenitudine temporis,' etc.—Aquinas, *Summa* iii. 1-5). Others, again, especially the Fathers,

Christ cannot in any case be fixed later than the autumn of A. U. C. 749; while it may have occurred one or two years earlier.' According to Lardner (*Works*, vol. i. pp. 370-372), 'Jesus was born between the middle of August and the middle of November A. U. C. 748 or 749.' Sanelementius (*De Vulg. Æra Emendatione*, lib. iv.), Munter (as quoted by Gieseler, *Eccles. Hist.* [Clark], vol. i. p. 53, note), Ideler (*Chronol.* ii. 394, etc.), and Winer (*R. W. B.*, ii. 614), agree in thinking our Lord's birth-year to have been A. U. C. 747. Clinton (*F. H.*, vol. ii, appendix, 238), who is followed by Dr. Wordsworth (*Gr. Test.* on Matt. ii. 20, note), places the Saviour's birth in the spring of A. U. C. 749 = B. C. 5. As to the birth-day itself, Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 230) relates how in his time (cent. iii.) some regarded it to be May 20, others April 20. But the great authority, Wieseler, comes to the conclusion that the day must be left undecided. Our ecclesiastical date, December 25, began to be observed in the Western church in the 4th century. Few points have been more elaborately sifted; few, notwithstanding, remain more undecided. Dr. Wordsworth well says on this uncertainty, 'Perhaps the Holy Ghost may have concealed these things from the wise and prudent, in order to teach them humility; to remind them at the very outset of the gospel that their knowledge is very limited; that their powers of discovering even historical truths are feeble, and to make them more meek and docile with regard to supernatural truth,' etc. (*Gr. Test.* i. 140).

* Comp. Eusebius, *Præparatio Evangelica*, Viger's edition, *passim*; and in Migne's series, *Demonstrations Évangéliques*, vol. i. p. 498, etc.; Conclusion of Ritter's *Hist. of Phil.* [trans. by Morrison]; Lange, *Leben Jesu*, i. 34.

* The following memoranda of the date of our Lord's birth are supplemental to the article CHRONOLOGY, and are here added to give completeness to this portion of our subject. Bishop Ellicott (*Lectures on the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ*, p. 63, note) 'leans to the opinion that, early in February, most probably A. U. C. 750 [B. C. 4], was the time of the nativity.' This is substantially the opinion of Wieseler (*Chronol. Synopse*), who says, p. 145, 'that Jesus could hardly have been born before the first of January A. U. C. 750—some-what later, in all probability;' in p. 146 he mentions 'the month of February of that year as the latest period of the birth of Jesus;' in his summing up in p. 150, he supposes 'the end of December and the months of January and February to be worthy of the utmost consideration as the probable time of our Lord's birth; of these he pronounces the December to be least likely, and the February to be extremely probable.' According to the conjecture of Greswell (*Dissertations on the Harmony*, i. 402), 'April 5 or April 6 must express the day of our Saviour's birth; the former, if he was born on the evening of the tenth of Nisan, the latter, if he was born on the morning' [the year previously determined was A. U. C. 750]. Tischendorf (*Synopsis Evangelica*, p. 16) endorses Wieseler's date. Dr. Robinson (*Harmony*, appendix, pp. 195, 196) supposes 'that the birth of

dwelt largely on *the divine side* of the preparation for the Redeemer's advent, in the several progressive dispensations which preceded it, wherein 'the Son of God himself,' as Tertullian strikingly puts it, 'was, in fact, the dispenser of things—ever from the beginning laying the foundation of the course of his own dispensations,* which he meant to follow out unto the end' (see Tertullian's whole statement and other passages quoted and finely annotated by Bishop Bull, *Defens. Fid. Nic.*, as translated by the writer of this art., vol. i pp. 15-20). It is in accordance with this preparation, that the coming of Christ was an object of general expectation about the time of his birth. The longing of the pious Jew was stimulated by the voice of prophecy; indications occur in the sacred songs of Elizabeth (Luke i. 42-45); of Mary (vers. 48-55); and of Zacharias (vers. 76-79); in the character of the holy Simeon (ii. 25, 26); in his thanksgiving (vers. 29-32); in the conversation of the aged Anna and her pious companions (ver. 38); to which may well be added what is said of Joseph of Arimathea (by St. Mark xv. 43, and St. Luke xxiii. 51). Nor was Israel alone expectant. As of old prophecy had shed its message upon the Gentile Balaam (Num. xxiv. 17); so now, on the eve of its accomplishment, Gentile hearts are moved, and one of the most touching events connected with the Saviour's birth is the visit of the Eastern magi, rendering their homage, as Gentiles, to Him whose illumination of their race they saw symbolised in their guiding star (Matt. ii. 1-12, comp. with Luke ii. 32—*ὡς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἔθνων*, and Acts xiii. 47—*εἰς ὡς ἔθνων*, which is, in fact, the prophet's phrase, *וְיָאֵלְכֶם*—Is. xlii. 6; xlix. 6, comp. with Is. lx. 3). It is satisfactory to find that these intimations of the sacred writers are confirmed, as to the latter point, by heathen testimony. The oft-quoted passages of Suetonius, *Vespasian.*, cap. 4-8 ('Percrebuerat oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis ut eo tempore Judeæ profecti rerum potirentur'), and of Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9-13 ('Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret oriens, profectique Judeæ rerum potirentur'), are express and to the point, and seem to afford all the greater corroboration from their very obscurity of language, so natural in pagan writers, who were ignorant of the *nature* of the fact, and the *character* of the persons of which they wrote. The actual advent of the illustrious Saviour was not unaccompanied indeed with suitable pageantry. 'The same Evangelist,' says Bp. Ellicott, 'that tells us that the mid-day sun was darkened during the last hours of the Redeemer's earthly life (Luke xxiii.

44), tells us also that in his first hours the night was turned into more than day, and that heavenly glories shone forth not unwitnessed (Luke ii. 9), while angels announce to shepherd-watchers on the grassy slopes of Bethlehem the tidings of great joy, 'the birth of the new-born Saviour. But how unworldly was this display! What humility in the midst of that glory! They were not imperial councillors or lordly courtiers, that were summoned to witness the birth of the Prince of Peace; but lowly men who tended sheep! Nor was it in palatial saloons that this Royal Babe first saw light (Luke ii. 12, 16). Does not the profound simplicity of that humble nativity add wonderfully to its glory? In the appreciation of *faith*, no doubt, it does. And herein we recognise a great moral purpose! The entire history of *the birth*, as well as of the life and death of Christ, is an appeal to the purest faculty of human faith. And greater trial still of the same holy faculty is presented to us in his *pre-natal* history. How often has belief been sorely tested since that announcement of the *immaculate conception*, which the Holy Virgin herself made to her husband, when even that 'just man' was staggered with a transient apprehension of Mary's unfaithfulness, and was 'minded to put her away' (Matt. i. 19)! Neander (*Life of Jesus Christ* (Bohn), p. 13) has well shewn the *a priori* necessity of the immaculate conception. 'It was impossible that the second Adam—the progenitor of a new and heavenly race—could derive his origin from the first Adam in the ordinary course of nature.' But the miraculous entrance of Christ into humanity was misunderstood and rudely calumniated (John viii. 41). To the pure in heart and unwavering in faith only does it occur as an article of the creed in sublime congruity with every other particular of the human life of their Saviour. That life teems with conditions, equally intelligible to faith, equally perplexing to unbelief! Let us mention one case which enters into our present section. The national expectation pointed to *Bethlehem-Ephratah* as the birth-place of Christ (John vii. 42). Prophecy had stimulated this expectation (Micah v. 2); and authoritative interpreters confirmed it (Matt. ii. 4, 5). Yet He, whose ways are unlike ours (Is. lv. 8), accomplished the prophecy indeed* (Matt. ii. 1; Luke ii. 4-7), but as it were *furtively*, so that men mistook the qualification of Jesus to be the Christ, in what was one of its clearest points (John i. 46; vii. 41, 42, 52). To our mind this difficult and *undemonstrative* character of Christ's earthly history adds to its value and beauty, as testing the loyalty of faith.† The cir-

* In these preliminary *dispensations*, ordered by the Son of God himself, we seem to have a better explanation of the *καιροί* of St. Paul, in his striking expression, 'the dispensation of the fulness of times' [*οικονομία τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν*], Eph. i. 10, than that suggested by Dean Alford, who would have the *καιροί* to be gospel-seasons (whatever they may mean) = *οικονομία*. The ancient interpretation regarded the *οικονομία* as pointing to Christ's *Incarnation*, which was itself the completion and fulness of all the preceding *καιροί*, or several dispensations leading to it. (For the Patristic sense, see Suicer, *s. v. οἰκονομία*; also Bishop Bull's *Judicium Eccl.* as cited above.)

* Bp. Ellicott accepts the statement of Justin Martyr, 'who was born,' as he says, 'but little more than a century afterwards, and not forty miles from the same spot,' to the effect, that 'in one of the caverns in that narrow ridge of long grey hill on which stands the city of David,' Bethlehem, 'was the Redeemer born into the world' (Justin Martyr, *Tryph.* c. 78 [ed. Otto], vol. ii. p. 264—*ἐν σπηλαίῳ τῷ συνέγγυς τῆς κώμης, κ. τ. λ.*); comp. Origen, *Works*, i. 567; Eusebius, *Vita Const.* iii. 41; St. Jerome, *Epist.* xxiv. ad Marcel.; and see Suicer, *s. v. φάτνη*. In Kitto's *Bible Illustr.* (xxix. week, 2 day) there is a good account of the Cave of the Nativity; see also Robinson, *Res. Palest.* ii. 285.

† Neander, who wrote his *Life of J. C.* in answer

cumstances of the Saviour's birth might have been ordered otherwise—and mere human wisdom would probably have accompanied them with so imposing a display of an imperial grandeur as to have coerced the minds of men into a ready acquiescence : with such a display unbelief indeed would have been simply impossible—but equally impossible must have been that ennobling discipline of faith, which now constitutes the value as well as the characteristic of the Gospel. We will now sum up the facts connected with our Lord's birth, noting the features of concealment and mystery, which hid their full appreciation from the mass of mankind, and confined their acceptance to the few, who believed. (1) He was born of 'a pure virgin' by an immaculate conception ; but this fact was disguised either by his passing for the real son of Joseph, his *legal* father only (Matt. xiii. 55 ; Mark vi. 3), or by the stigma of illegitimacy (John viii. 41). (2) He was actually born at *Bethlehem*, whither Joseph and Mary had temporarily removed, to be registered according to the census* of Augustus (Luke ii. 6, 7) ; but he was regarded by the Jews as a *Galilean* (Luke xxiii. 6, 7). His birth-place and home was supposed to be *Nazareth* (John i. 46 and *passim* in the Gospels, with which comp. Matt. xiii. 54, 57 ; Mark vi. 1, 4 ; Luke iv. 23, where Nazareth is no doubt the *πατρις* of Jesus). (3) His parentage was of the highest royalty,† whether we regard his mother's

to Strauss, with great ability applies these characteristics of the gospel history in refutation of that unbeliever's *mythic* theory. It is the invariable style of a *mythus* to ennoble its object even to ostentation ; to eliminate every feature of weakness and indignity from its conception. But in the evangelic narrative the opposite treatment most commonly occurs in the representation of Jesus Christ . . . glories are concealed, while humiliation and indignities are brought prominently out to our view.

* In addition to the arguments and authorities in vindication of St. Luke's statement of the census of Cyrenius, which are adduced under CYRENIUS, we would here by way of supplement quote from Mr. Merivale, *Roman Empire*, iv. 457, note, an important observation : 'A remarkable light has recently been thrown upon this point' [*i. e.*, the supposed error of the Evangelist, in making the birth of Christ contemporary with the rule of Cyrenius] 'by the demonstration, as it seems to me, of Augustus Zumpt, in his vol. ii. of *Commentationes Epigraphicæ*, that Quirinus (the Cyrenius of St. Luke) was governor of Syria for the first time, from the close of A. U. C. 750 [B. C. 4] to 753 [B. C. 1]. Accordingly, the enumeration begun or appointed under his predecessor, Varus, and before the death of Herod, was completed after that event under Quirinus.' Mr. Merivale finds in this a confirmation of the date of our Lord's birth [A. U. C. 750], which we have quoted in a former note from Wieseler and Bp. Ellicott. Cyrenius was 'governor' twice, and held two *διοργαγαί*. St. Luke seems to refer to both—to the first in Luke ii. 2 ; and to the second, and more important one, in Acts v. 37. The Evangelist is thus found to be minutely accurate, instead of being open to the censure which arose from a want of a full knowledge of the case.

† In our article on the GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST we have supposed the line in Luke iii. to contain the ancestry of the blessed Virgin ; if we

descent (Luke i. 31, comp. with 32) ; or that of his reputed and legal father (Matt. i. 20 ; Luke i. 27) : but he was looked upon as the son of a humble Galilean, far removed from all regal descent (Matt. xiii. 56 ; Mark vi. 3 ; John vii. 41, 42).

Our Lord's Infancy.—Eight days after his birth the child Jesus was circumcised (Luke ii. 21), and at the ceremony received the name which the angel had originally prescribed, and which has been dearer than all names to unnumbered souls from that time until now. In due season (on the thirty-third day after circumcision, Lev. xii. 3, 4), the blessed virgin and her husband, in pious conformity to the Mosaic ordinance, carried her infant to the Temple at Jerusalem to offer the appointed sacrifice for her purification, and to pay the usual ransom for her first-born (Num. iii. 47). St. Luke's beautiful narrative (ii. 21-39) presents to us the same union of *lowliness* and *honour*, which has already struck us, as characteristic of every circumstance connected with our Lord's entrance into the world. The humbler offering of the mother exposed to public view her 'low estate' (Lev. xii. 8), and the rite of her *purification* concealed and disguised that immaculate purity of her offspring which was indispensable to his efficiency as the Redeemer of mankind. But as in the paradoxes of his nativity, so here also, faith did not stumble at this humility. In that helpless Babe, surrounded as he was with every sign of obscurity and lowliness, the devout Simeon, under the impulse of inspiration, described the Blessed One, who was to be the glory of Israel, and the light of the Gentiles ! And while the astonished parents were yet in amazement at this heavenly attestation of their son, whom they had dedicated, in such humble guise, to the Lord (Luke ii. 33), the widowed prophetess Anna, 'coming in that instant, gave thanks like-

are correct in that view, our Lord was descended from David's son Nathan by his mother ; while Joseph her husband has his pedigree traced through Solomon, in Matt. i. To the patristic testimony in favour of our view, which we there adduced, we would add the following from Justin Martyr (*Dial. cum Tryphone*, sec. 100), who, in evident allusion to the genealogy of the third gospel, expressly says that 'the Virgin derived her descent from David, and Jacob, and Isaac, and Abraham ;' and he adds a rule, which literally applies to St. Luke's table, on the principle for which we have contended, that Heli was the grandfather of Jesus Christ (through his mother, whose place in the table is formally occupied by her husband Joseph) : 'Abraham was the father also of those who are numbered [or registered in the genealogy], from whom the Virgin derives her descent ; for we know that those who have daughters are accounted [in family descent] as the fathers of their daughters' children—*εἶναι αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀβραὰμ πατέρα καὶ τοῦτων τῶν κατηρίδ-μημένων, ἐξ ὧν κατὰ γένος ἡ Μαρία τὸ γένος καὶ γὰρ πατέρας τῶν γεννωμένων ταῖς θυγατρῶν αὐτῶν τέκνων, τοὺς τῶν θηλειῶν γεννήτορας ἐπιστάμεθα* (*Works* [Ed. Bened.], p. 206). Justin Martyr wrote this treatise within a century after the publication of St. Luke's gospel. His testimony, added to what we quoted in the former article, goes far to prove that in the earliest ages of the Church the Virgin Mary's genealogy was supposed to be contained in the third gospel.

wise unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem' (ver. 38). It would be difficult to imagine any more impressive scene than that of the Presentation in the Temple, or a really greater honour to the infant Saviour than the meek glory which was accorded to him in the devotion of these venerable personages and in the admiration of the pious group gathered around them at that service! That nothing might be wanting in the witness which God gave of his son even thus early, 'wise men' came, as we have already said, from the East to Jerusalem to render to the new-born Saviour their homage, as representatives of the Gentile world. Not finding him in the metropolis, they proceeded to Bethlehem. Hither Joseph and Mary had returned as to their temporary home from their visit to the Temple but a few days (Bp. Ellicott, *Lectures*, p. 70, and the authorities quoted by him), when the Magi appeared on their royal errand. Greater than ever must have been the wonder of the parents, especially of the meditative and observant heart of the Virgin (Luke ii. 19, 33, 51), when these strangers, undeterred by the poverty of her lodging, did not disdain, with princely munificence, to offer their gifts and adoration of her infant Son, in whom, by a wonderful faith, they saw under the depths of that lowly condition no less a being than 'him who was born king of the Jews' (Matt. ii. 2, 11)—'One who was the hope of the world, greater than Zoroaster had ever foretold, a truer Redeemer than the *Sosiosh* of their own ancient creed' (Bp. Ellicott, *Lectures*, p. 77, gives a brief description, from Anquetil du Perron's *Life of Zoroaster*, of some articles of the Magian creed contained in the *Zend-Avesta*). But the excitement which attended the birth of the holy child Jesus was not confined to the faithful and pious. The powers of evil were moved. Alien as he was on the throne of Israel, the first of the Herods did his worst to destroy the Infant whose reputed claim to the kingdom he occupied aroused his cruel jealousy. To secure the death of Mary's son, St. Matthew informs us that the tyrant issued a decree, which was but too faithfully obeyed, for the murder of the babes of Bethlehem, 'from two years old and under' (Matt. ii. 16). We have in these apprehensions of the savage king a rough and unwilling testimony (such alone as he could offer) to the real greatness of the new-born babe, notwithstanding the apparent lowliness which surrounded him at Bethlehem. From the massacre* of the infants, Jesus escaped through the prompt obedience of Joseph to the admonition of the angel, which directed him to flee to the south, into Egypt, and there remain until the tyranny was overpast (Matt. ii. 13-15). The docility of this excellent guardian (comp. on *ἀνθρ δι-καος*, Wordsworth, *Gr. Test.* i. 5, col. 2) of the infant Saviour was rewarded by supernatural guidance at every critical step in his precious trusteeship.

* Josephus says nothing of this massacre, and from his silence some ill-considered objections have been raised against the truth of the narrative. For a brief but sufficient vindication of it the reader is referred to Bp. Ellicott, *Lectures*, pp. 78, 79; and Neander (by Bohn), *Life of Jesus*, pp. 30, 31. For a fuller discussion, see Dr. Mill, *Observations on Pantheistic Principles*, pp. 319-359; also Jackson, *on the Creed* (Works), vol. vii. pp. 259-299.

On the death of the tyrant another angelic voice called him back from Egypt (Matt. ii. 19, 20), and when he felt a natural hesitation at returning to Judæa, which had passed into the hands of a prince whose character only too much resembled Herod's, a divine communication by dream induced him to withdraw again to the north,* and to take up his permanent dwelling in Nazareth (ii. 22, 23). The history, which has been hitherto copious, begins

* Neander replies (*Life*, p. 31) to an alleged contradiction between the evangelists of the infancy. But there is no discrepancy in the statements of St. Matthew and St. Luke. From the latter we learn that Joseph and Mary resided at Nazareth at the very beginning of these great events (Luke i. 26). Some little time after her conception Mary alone visited her cousin Elizabeth, who dwelt in 'a city of Judæa' (ver. 39); and, after a happy sojourn of three months, she returned to her northern home (ver. 56). Not long afterwards, in consequence of the imperial decree, her husband and she removed to Bethlehem for the purposes of the census (ii. 4, 5). Here her holy child was born, and here it is likely she and her husband meant henceforward to settle, amidst the inheritance of their ancestors, encouraged, as they naturally would feel, by the progress of the Divine accomplishment of the ancient prophecies in which they now saw their personal interest. But the ruthless cruelty of the Herods, and the direction which Joseph received in his dream, disturbed this intention, and Joseph returned to his original residence. Surely the very word *ἀνέχρησεν*, by which St. Matthew expresses Joseph's removal to the north, ought to save the evangelist from the slur, which Meyer and others suggest, of his being ignorant of what St. Luke mentions—the holy family's previous residence at Nazareth (see the *Greek* of Matt. ii. 22). The rendering of A. V. 'turned aside [instead of the more accurate 'returned'] into the parts of Galilee, conceals the force of St. Matthew's statement. It contributes to the same vindication of this evangelist, that he calls Nazareth the *πατρίς*, or 'country,' of Jesus (xiii. 54), as St. Luke does in iv. 23, 24; and as indeed the other evangelists do (comp. Mark vi. 1, 4, and John iv. 44). It is worth while here to refer to the statement of Eusebius (lately published by Cardinal Mai from the Syriac, *Patr. Bibl.* iv. 279, 280), that there is good reason to suppose that Joseph and Mary returned to Nazareth, soon after the presentation, and thence went back to Bethlehem, where the Magi visited them, not now in a stable, but in a house. The reader is referred to a fuller statement of the order of the events, in this point of view, in a note of Dr. Wordsworth, *Greek Test.* i. 8. Patricius, who is for this intercalation of the return to Galilee between the presentation and the visit of the Magi, treats on the subject (*De Evangel.*, pp. 330, 331, and 343), and supposes that the temporary return to the north was to wind up his affairs with the view of his ultimate settlement in the land of his progenitors. After an interesting quotation from Papebrochius (*Propyl. ad. Act. Sanct.*, p. 26), he says—'Itaque sentias licet Josephum post purificationem sponsæ Nazarethum cum suis remeasse, non ut ibi degeret, sed ut compositis rebus domesticis migrationem inde alio pararet, idque brevi exequutum Bethlehemum migrasse et ibi Magos ex cepisse,' etc.

now to be sparing in detail. Having certified to us by indubitable evidence the perfection of our Lord's human nature, both as to its purity and reality, it at this point only adds a few brief intimations of its growth to maturity both in mind and body—as a transition to his entering upon that career which was the final cause of his mission into the world.

Our Lord's Youth.—It is not to the beloved disciple St. John, the friend of the Virgin, that we owe the precious record of the Saviour's childhood and youth; but to the methodical evangelist St. Luke, who has been guided to narrate, in general but effective terms, our Lord's gradation from early to mature age. He tells us (ii. 41) that the parents of Jesus were accustomed to resort together to Jerusalem, at least once a year, at the feast of the Passover. Of Joseph's piety and reverence we have several indications; but here the object of the narrative seems to be to set forth, in its unobtrusive manner, the excellence of the Virgin, whose attendance at the festival was not compulsory* (Kuinöel, *in loc.*) In their blameless care of their son, they took him with them, probably for the first time since his first presentation, when he, at the age of twelve years, emerged from childhood to youth, and, when a Jewish boy, became a בן הברית, *son of the law*, and בן מצוה, *son of the precept*, in short, a Hebrew catechumen, emancipated in a great measure from the mere tutelage of guardians, and (like the *confirmed* members of the Church of England), undertaking the responsibilities of religious duty in his own person and by his own will. In the wonderful Temple scene with the doctors, how completely does the youthful Jesus demonstrate his appreciation of these responsibilities—and not of them only, but of that higher vocation of the Messiahship to which no other Jewish youth but he was ever called! If his display of 'astonishing' wisdom (ii. 47) was unexampled, we must not forget that the occasion was unique. It is a great presumption of the truth of the narrative that the conduct of the young Messiah was entirely worthy of the occasion. The details of the whole event, so graphically given by St. Luke (ii. 41-50), need not detain us. We must notice, however, the two general remarks with which the evangelist both introduces (in ver. 40) and follows up (in ver. 52) his narrative. There is a shade of variety in the midst of the substantial identity of these grand remarks. The former is relative to the twelve years' growth of his childhood; the latter is descriptive of the next eighteen years of his advance through youth to manhood.† Both describe, no

doubt, an increase, but rather of the *development* of the gifts than of their *bestowal*, for that was *perfect from the first* (τὸ δὲ παῖδιον ᾗ ὄντι, πληροῦμενον σοφίας; with which compare the πλήρης χάριτος of St. John i. 14, and contrast the account of the Baptist in St. Luke i. 80, where this clause is absent; see also 1 Sam. ii. 26). The first opportunity which legitimate circumstances presented to Jesus of *manifesting in public* his perfect gifts was in this visit to the Temple and his intercourse with the doctors. He had not studied in human schools of learning (Neander, *Life*, 36, etc.), but his original, God-inspired gifts, which he modestly exhibited, as became a boy, shewed such unusually high intelligence (σύνεσις, ver. 47) as to astonish not only his parents, but all his audience. We have not the voucher of *experience* to certify and illustrate the progress of an unfallen and sinless human being in the growth of the perfect faculties of our nature. But this contact of the simple wisdom of the heaven-taught child with the mature learning of possibly a Hillel and a Shammai, and the wise sons of Betirah, and the most august of the masters of Israel (Bishop Ellicott, *Lectures*, 92), attests at once the superiority of a pure and divine instruction to the sophisticated system of the schools, and the completeness of those endowments with which Jesus was even then invested, and which only wanted time and occasion for their ultimate and perfect display. The brevity with which the sacred narrative treats so many of the years of our Lord's life has often caused surprise. Such brevity is no doubt unusual in the style of fiction or even history, which seek to deck out their heroes in minute and exaggerated terms. The modesty and even silence of the Gospels become thus so far evidence of their truth and inspired origin.* But with all this brevity we yet have in these two general statements, when duly weighed, an adequate introduction to the history of Christ's public career which follows. Before we proceed to that, let us make a passing remark on the answer which Jesus gave to his mother: 'Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?' or 'in my Father's house?' as the words may possibly mean. Among the many features of the wisdom, of which he was full, we must include his appreciation of the Messianic mission with which he was invested. He begins now to assert his consciousness of that duty.

probably is meant to indicate the development of his great natural powers *in the eyes of men*—'he made way.' It was not the growth and increase of the *heavenly gift* which the evangelist describes; for that was *complete* in Him from the beginning; but the greater display of it, as opportunity offered in his growing years. (Aquinas, iii. 9. 7. a 12 ad 3, after distinguishing between 'the increase in the *donation* of grace, which was not true of Christ,' and 'the increase in its *manifested operation*,' says 'Sic Christus proficiebat sapientia et gratia sicut et ætate, quia secundum processum ætatis perfectiora opera faciebat, ut se verum hominem demonstraret et in his, quæ sunt ad Deum, et in his quæ sunt ad homines.')†

* Any one would feel this conviction doubly forced on him who took the pains to contrast the beautiful simplicity of the canonical Gospels with 'the silly fictions' (as Bishop Ellicott rightly calls them) 'of the Apocryphal infancies' [APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS].

* There is some diversity of opinion on this point. Our statement in the text, after Kuinöel, has its voucher in *Mechilta*, f. 17. 2. on *Exod.* xiii. 9. The school of Hillel, however, seems to have held that *women* were also bound to attend the Passover at Jerusalem. But this was not the prevalent opinion among the doctors of Israel; see *Chagiga*, c. i, sec. 1, as quoted by Patritius, *De Evang.*, p. 410. The attendance of *women* was indicative of that *piety*, which we have attributed to the blessed Virgin. See Schoettgen, *Hor. Hebr. et Talm.* *in loc.*; also Patritius, *ut antea*.

† In the ᾗ ὄντι of the former verse we have the growth of infancy; in the ᾗ ἐκτετακότεν of the other passage there is the subsequent advance, which

His mother had just before referred to Joseph as his *father*. He does not indeed reject the economic relationship: he even continued to respect it (ver. 51); but he pointedly refers to *another* Father, Whose 'business' he had in hand, and to Whom it was now time that he should exhibit a public obedience. The piety of the reputed father would no doubt suggest to him a cheerful compliance with the mysterious bent of his wonderful foster-child. Though he understood not the mission, he would in faith submit to the will of God, who was evidently calling the child to a great destiny; and thus worthily did he conclude the guardianship of Jesus, which he had so well discharged from his very birth. We do not again hear of Joseph, who, it would therefore seem, did not live, with Mary, to witness the public career and death of his illustrious ward.

Our Lord's Brethren.—As Jesus has not yet quitted the sphere of domestic life, we will, while he is still at home in Nazareth, adorning it with his meek submission to his parents, consider briefly the other members of his family circle, who are occasionally referred to in the Gospel narrative. They are most perspicuously mentioned in Matt. xiii. 55, 56: 'Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas? and his sisters, are they not all with us?' (Comp. xii. 46, 48; xxvii. 56; Mark iii. 31; vi. 3; xv. 40; xvi. 1; Luke viii. 19; xxiv. 10; John ii. 12; vii. 3-10; Acts i. 13, 14; 1 Cor. ix. 5; Gal. i. 19.) Speculation was very early rife on the nature of this relationship to Jesus, and the question is still unsolved and probably insoluble. Passing over the obviously heretical opinions of Cerinthus [Irenæus [Harvey], vol. i. p. 211] and the Ebionites, most of whom at least accompanied their opinions on the human birth of our Lord with the denial of his miraculous conception (Origen, *contra Cels.* v. 61, 65; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 27), we find, in cent. iv., that the question had assumed a shape from which it has never since quite extricated itself. Helvidius, Jovinian, and Bonosus of Macedonia started opinions which afterwards formed the party whom St. Augustine and Epiphanius call *Ἀντιδικουπαιριταί* (*Adversaries of Mary*). St. Jerome vehemently opposed the first and second (see his treatises, *Adv. Helvidium* and *Adv. Jovinianum*). His work against Helvidius enters largely into the discussion of our subject. He asserts 'the perpetual virginity of our Lord's mother' against his opponent, whom the learned father vigorously rates as a 'heretic.' This censure, however, is too harsh, for Helvidius believed the conception of Jesus to have been *sui generis* and immaculate. He only held that after the birth of Christ, his mother Mary, by her husband Joseph, became also the mother of the four who in the Gospels are called 'the Lord's brethren.' Much of the argument on either side up to the present time may be found in germ employed by Helvidius and Jerome.* In controverting his

opponent the Latin father maintained that the Lord's brethren were in fact his *cousins*. In accepting this view of St. Jerome as our own, we wish to keep clear of the *theological* prepossessions in which its advocacy has been much involved, and simply state its *biblical* grounds. [1.] We first remark, that the Hebrew usage undoubtedly justifies the extension of the word 'brethren' required by our view: See Gen. xiii. 8; xiv. 14; xxix. 12; Lev. xxv. 48, 49; Judg. xiv. 3; Job xlii. 11. [2.] The men of Nazareth, who predicated the fraternal relation to Jesus of James and the rest (Matt. xiii. 55), seem either to have spoken in a lax and popularly understood sense, or to have been ignorant of the real degree of the family relationship of the persons whom they were somewhat contumeliously speaking of. This is apparent from their very first question—'Is not this the carpenter's son?' [3.] Of the Marys who so nobly endured the agonising scenes of the crucifixion, one is called 'the mother of James,' etc. (Matt. xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40), and 'the other Mary' (Matt. xxvii. 61). These designations, indeed, leave it undetermined whether this mother of James was the Virgin Mary, as Helvidius asserted, and as Gal. i. 19 (considered hastily and alone) might suggest. We have, however, the additional testimony of another eye-witness of the awful events on Calvary, decisive we think of the question. St. John (xix. 25) tells us of a third Mary who saw the Saviour's agony, even his own Virgin Mother. So that 'the other Mary,' the mother of James and others, was the Virgin's *sister*, and bore [no unusual thing in Hebrew families] her name. The domiciliation of either sister, when a widow, in the other's house at Nazareth, on the decease of either husband, Joseph or Clopas, so that the children of both would thenceforth form but one household, and well be accounted 'brethren,' is therefore a most conceivable and probable event; still more if, as the ancient historian Hegesippus positively testifies, those husbands of the sisters were themselves brothers. (The marriage of two brothers to two sisters appears to have been no uncommon case among the Hebrews; see Surenhusii *Mishna*, iii. 9, 12, 44; Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, Eng. Trans., ii. 82-122.) Dean Alford, in an interesting note on Matt. xiii. 55, goes into the question, and, like Helvidius of old, determines these persons to have been strictly the brothers of our Lord, as the younger children of the Virgin Mary. He sets great store on 1 Cor. ix. 5, and Jude 17, as if these passages established an *antithesis* between the apostles and the Lord's brethren. On the strength of this he denies that SS. James and Jude were members of the sacred body of the twelve apostles. That James

would be incomplete were we to omit mention of the *third* opinion, which was prevalent in the Eastern Church, to the effect, that the persons whom the evangelists call 'the Lord's brethren' were in fact his *brothers-in-law*, being the sons of Joseph (who was much older than the Virgin Mary) by a former wife. (So Epiphanius, *Hæres.* xxvii. [Opera, i. 115], and St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Opera*, ii. 844; both of whom hold Mary, the mother of our Saviour, to have been the *step-mother* only, though in a lax sense called the *mother*, of James, Joses, Simon, and Jude. See more fully Dr. Mill, pp. 258, 282-288.)

* Although the diversity of opinions may be generally classed under the two prevalent heads of Helvidianism (the opinion that Mary had other children after Jesus—even the 'brethren' of Matt. xiii. 55), and the orthodox view opposed to it by St. Jerome, that the mother of Christ was *δεῦρα* *θεῶς* and the *aunt* only of our Lord's brethren, as stated in the text, our account of the controversy

is asserted to be an apostle in Gal. i. 19, does not disconcert him; for James he supposes was one of the later and extraordinary apostles—such as Paul himself. This, however, is inadmissible in the face of Gal. ii. 9. The James of this Epistle, if we would take an unsophisticated view of the entire case, was in fact a colleague of Peter and John, and identical with the James who, in the apostolic lists, is called the *son of Alphaeus** (Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13). Now, assuming that the four 'brethren' mentioned in Matt. xiii. 55 were brothers, we infer that (Alphaeus, and Clopas or Cleophas being one and the same person, both names being, it is said, derived† from the Hebrew אֱלִיָּהּ), as they were the

sons of the Mary, wife of Cleophas, whom St. John, as we have seen, expressly calls the sister of the blessed Virgin (xix. 25), they must needs stand to our Lord in the relation of *first cousins*. We do not fear that our assumption will be deemed harsh, in understanding the Nazarenes to state the strict *fraternity* of James, Josés, Simon, and Jude. In support of it, it is worth while to compare

* St. John, xix. 25, calls the mother of James 'the wife of *Cleophas*, or *Clopas*' [ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, a name not to be confounded with that of '*Cleopas*' (Κλεόπας) mentioned in Luke xxiv. 18]. This has given rise to two suppositions, either that Mary had two husbands, named Alphaeus and Clopas; or, that her husband, as was not unfrequent among the Hebrews, bore himself these two names. It certainly supports this latter view, that in an important fragment of the very early Christian writer, Papias, who was a scholar of St. John, the identity of Alphaeus and Clopas is asserted: 'The second Mary was the wife of Cleophas or Alphaeus, and mother of James bishop and apostle, and of Simon, and of Thaddæus, and of a certain Joseph, or Josés. John calls Alphaeus also Cleophas, either from his father, or his family, or some other cause.' Papias, we need not add, makes James, Josés, Simon, and Jude, *cousins*, and not literal brothers of our Lord (Routh, *Reliq. Sacr.* i. 16).

† The Hebrew name may be rendered either by *Chalpai* or *Chlopai*. The former is adopted by SS. Matthew and Mark, who, *more Græcorum*, reject the oriental aspirate at the beginning of the word, and affix the termination *os*, whence they have Ἀλφαῖος, like Ἀγγαῖος from ἄν (Hag. i. 1); whereas St. John adopts the latter rendering in the shape of Κλωπᾶς, the π becoming κ, as in 2 Chron. xxx. 1, where the LXX. put Φασέκ for פספס. That Alphaeus and Clopas should be Hellenic forms of one and the same Syriac name, ܐܠܦܝܐ or ܐܠܦܝܐ, is certainly not more strange

than that in the far less dissimilar languages of Southern and Northern Europe, *Aloysius* and *Ludovicus* should be the representatives of the same Teutonic or Frankish name *Louis* or *Ludwig*. This name underwent the following changes:—1. *Clo-doveus* or *Clovis*; 2. *Chlodovicus*; 3. *Hludovicus* or *Hlouis*; 4. The same with the aspirate dropped. In Spain and Italy the first-named depravation of the name was adopted—the two extremes, *Clovis* and *Aloysius*, bearing a certain inexact analogy to our *Clopas* and *Alphaeus* (Kuinoel and Mill).

Jude 1, Matt. xxvii. 56, and Mark xv. 40; for these passages seem to corroborate the statement of Matt. xiii. 55 with regard to three of the four 'brethren.' As to the fourth, Simon, we find no similar link elsewhere in the N. T. binding him with the rest. In Eusebius, however (*Ecc. Hist.* iv. 22), we have an extract from the very ancient and credible writer Hegesippus, which expressly speaks of a Simon, or '*Simeon, son of Clopas*,' who succeeded James the Just in the see of Jerusalem; and there further occurs in the same extract the extremely valuable and consistent statement, that '*this Simeon, son of Clopas, was a first cousin of the Lord*' (Συμῶν ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν προέδεντο πάντες ὅντα ἀνεψῖοι τοῦ Κυρίου δεύτερον, where the last word seems to relate to the before-mentioned James the Just, as if he had been the *first* of the Lord's cousins who had filled the office to which the *second* of them had now succeeded). We cannot linger to point out the importance of this passage in connection with the places which we have adduced out of the N. T. Its remarkable *fitness* and *consistency* with these places is also obvious. (Neander, *Planting of Christian Church*, Bohn, pp. 350-354, reviews this passage, but curiously endeavours to evade its force, as it seems to us, without success.)

If these premises be correct, it follows that *two* of the Lord's brethren stood to him also in the far higher relation of apostles. We do not shrink from this conclusion, though we reject the fancy of those writers (including St. Chrysostom himself) who are fond of discovering family relationship to Christ in more of his apostles, and who attach even St. Matthew as a brother to James the less and the others, from the mere circumstance that his father bore the name *Alphaeus* (Mark ii. 14). In like manner Simon, one of 'the brethren,' has been confounded (by St. Jerome and others) with the apostle Simon Zelotes; and, as if this were not enough, the sons of Zebedee have been brought within the same degree of *cousinly* affinity through their mother Salome, whom these writers assert to have been another sister of the blessed virgin. Thus no less than six of the original apostles have been, by various writers, connected with our Lord by consanguinity! The claims of the last mentioned four we think to be unsustained by scriptural evidence, but the case is different with respect to *James and Judas*. We have already endeavoured to show that there is good ground for supposing them to have been really cousins, and, therefore, within the laxer sense 'brethren' of Christ. An objection, however, against this view has been raised from the statement of St. John (vii. 5). None of the *apostles*, it has been contended, could have been among the brethren of Christ—for, at a late period of his ministry, it is expressly said, that 'his brethren did not believe in him,' an allegation which could not have been true of any of the apostles. The objection, however, thus stated is too rigorously put. [1.] As Grotius suggested, 'the brethren of Christ' may fairly be supposed to include many more persons than the four mentioned in Matt. xiii. 55, so that the assertion of the unbelief of his brethren may be quite true, without involving the two apostolic kinsmen, James and Jude, in the censure. [2.] Moreover, it does not seem to us, even if the two apostles be included in the statement of the evangelist, that it would imply too strong a censure,

for there is force in Schleyer's view (*über die Brüder Jesu*) that 'not even his brethren' (this is the right rendering of John vii. 5, see Malan *in loc.*), 'though numbering among them three apostles' (he identifies Simon with Zelotes), 'had attained that right spiritual faith in the Lord's divine character, which could enter into his reasons for declining a proclamation of his claims to the world.' The whole passage appears to exhibit the ignorance of Christ's kinsmen as to the nature of his mission. Neither John Baptist (see Matt. xi. 3; Luke vii. 19, 20) nor the apostles (for Peter's mistaken views, see Matt. xvi. 21, 23; that they were probably shared by John and James, see Mark x. 37, 38; and by the blessed virgin herself, see John ii. 4; Matt. xii. 46, 50, even later than the close of his ministry, but previous to the illumination of Pentecost, Acts i. 6) seemed to have possessed anything like a proper idea of our Lord's Messiahship, the want of which (it is very likely) constituted in St. John's sense the 'unbelief,' with which he charges the Lord's brethren in vii. 5 (comp. St. John's own view of *adequate belief* in xx. 31). [3.] Dr. Mill (in his *Christian Advocate's Publications* [on 'the Record of the Brotherhood of Jesus in the Gospels'], pp. 248-260) suggests that the apostles James and Jude possessed a higher faith than their non-apostolic brethren, at the time referred to in John vii. 5; that their brothers and other kinsfolk are there censured in general terms; but that even these (at least James and Simon) were converted fully to Christ between the feast of tabernacles, referred to in John vii. 5, and the passover of the following year, when Christ suffered. The fault of such a theory lies less in its incredibility than in its improbable elaborateness. If we have taken a reasonable view in [2], it will be strictly consistent with it to suppose here that nothing tended more to elevate the low and worldly expectations of his disciples, not excluding his blessed mother herself, than the death and resurrection of our Lord. We have a brief glance of these personages permitted us in Acts i. 12-14; and we find that, notwithstanding the terrible shock to their expectations, which two of them described so naturally and strikingly in Luke xxiv. 19-21, they were still hopeful of a future, of which they had as yet failed to see the nature; so with all their imperfection of belief, they well and wisely await the great issue 'with one accord, in prayer and supplication.' The result is complete. The very brethren whose conduct to Jesus wore so much the appearance of rudeness as well as unbelief (John vii. 5), were within fifty days in the upper chamber of Jerusalem, amidst virulent and triumphant enemies, calmly awaiting, in company not only with all the surviving apostles, but with her too who had witnessed, if not partaken of, their 'unbelief,' the descent of that Holy Spirit who should clear up all perplexities, and endue them with a full understanding of the kingdom of heaven. Such were 'the brethren' of our Lord, and such their bearing towards him.

Preparation for His Ministry.—How little help from any human source did Jesus receive in his Galilean home for the work to which he is now approaching! The one key-note of his ministry was, 'I came not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me' (John vi. 38). No training could better prepare him for such a mis-

sion than that to which he was content to submit himself, among his humble kindred at Nazareth. Far removed from the metropolis, where learned men were for the most part divided between the hollow pretensions of Pharisaism or the sceptical sophistries of the Sadducees; and shedding around him the graces of a spotless life, full of the charm of social virtues—not austere separate from his kindred, after the manner of an Essene recluse, but by his own active example recommending the excellent worth of an honourable, if humble calling (see Mark vi. 3); our blessed Lord passed through the stages of childhood and youth to the perfect manhood of thirty years, and at that ripe age enters on his great career, educated for it (as one of the noblest of his followers once said of himself) 'not of men, neither by man,' οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου (Gal. i. 1), but by the plenary endowments of that Spirit which God gave him without stint or measure (comp. the πληροῦς σοφίας, of Luke ii. 40, with the οὐ γὰρ ἐκ μέτρου, κ. τ. λ. of John iii. 34).

CHAPTER II. THE LORD'S MINISTRY UNTIL THE WEEK OF HIS SUFFERING.—How long was it?—The chronological emphasis of Luke iii. 1, 2, marks a great event in the history of the gospels. One, whom none of woman born, through the long ages of God's revelation under the O.T. ever equalled in spiritual gift (Matt. xi. 11), now comes, himself the fulfiller of many prophecies (Matt. xi. 13), to announce the speedy approach of Messiah. His ministry preceded the Lord's by about six months, so that 'the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar' probably was the date of the beginning of the Lord's public life as well as of that of his great forerunner. This, the general opinion, is disputed by Wesseler, who (for reasons which may be seen in Bishop Ellicott's *Hist. Lect.*, p. 104, note 1) conceives that the 15th of Tiberius coincides with the Baptist's imprisonment, and he makes it to be the year which fell between the Aug. of A.U.C. 781 and the same month of A.U.C. 782. It is certain that in ancient times (see Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 24) John's captivity was regarded as the *terminus a quo* of 'the deeds of our Lord,' as given by the three synoptical evangelists (comp. Matt. iv. 12; Mark i. 14; Luke iv. 14). No doubt this event suitably marks the beginning of Christ's *general ministry in the north*. Previously to it, however, he had emerged from his private life; and, as Eusebius further observes, we must look to the supplemental gospel of St. John for 'the account of the things done by Christ, among the first of his deeds, and at the commencement of the gospel' (*loc. cit.*). The same historian (i. 10) says that the whole time of the Lord's public ministry falls within an interval of four years (οὐδ' ὅλος ὁ μεταξὺ τετραέτης παρίσταται χρόνος). However incorrect be the grounds on which Eusebius bases this statement, we cannot but think that grave reasons render his conclusion substantially the right one.* Theodoret also refers to St. John's

* The following chronological notes, which we derive mainly from the fourth gospel, mark the distribution of the three years and a half. The baptism of Jesus, from which his ministry dates, took place about six months previous to his first passover. This passover is mentioned in John ii. 13. His second passover (for we accept the conclusion of Robinson, *Harmony* [Tract Soc. ed.],

Gospel as furnishing chronological data on the point, and expressly names *three years and a half* as the period of Christ's ministry up to the time of his death (*ὡς περὶ τὰ τρία ἔτη καὶ ἡμίση κηρύξας ὁ Κύριος καὶ τοὺς ἀγίους αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ καὶ τοῖς θαύμασι βεβαιώσας, τότε τὸ πᾶθος ἐπέμεινε*). For a summary of opinions on this much discussed question, we must refer to Bishop Ellicott's note 2, *Hist. Lect.*, p. 149. We simply add here our conviction, that the remarkable expression used by Daniel, ix. 27 ['the midst of the week, etc.'], and 'the three years' and *additional year* of the significant parable, Luke xiii. 7, 8, are indications, which cannot be overlooked, that the *duration* of the Lord's public life, no less than the events of it, was among the appointments of prophecy, and that these indications may, with much propriety, be taken to possess a decisive force in a question but for them insoluble.

Preliminary events of the Ministry.—Among the many services rendered by the great herald, not the least was his baptism of the Saviour in the Jordan. This was the solemn consecration of Christ to his work; it terminated in the divine attestation by the voice from the opened heaven, out of which descended the holy dove and alighted on the praying Saviour (Luke iii. 21, 22). No sooner was the Messiah thus inaugurated in his mission, than he had to confront in spiritual conflict the fearful adversary of his kingdom, and of that race which he came to save. The tempter was baffled at every point, and he left the spotless Jesus to the pursuit of his ministry—not again, as it would seem, to renew his assault until 'the convenient time' (this is unquestionably the force of St. Luke's *ἄχρη καίρου*, iv. 13) of the Lord's *passion*, when his last strength would be put forth against the Redeemer's person, and in vain (comp. Luke xxii. 53, and John xiv. 30). While Jesus was undergoing his severe preparation for the work which lay before him, his kinsman was so thoroughly stirring the heart of the nation, that the Sanhedrim sent to him a deputation of priests and Levites, requesting him to explain his mission. With admirable humility and self-denial, the Baptist pointed to the mightier One, even then amongst them, but as yet unknown, 'whose shoe-latchet he was himself,' notwithstanding men's high musings about him, 'unworthy to unloose' (John i. 19-28). On the morrow Jesus unexpectedly appeared, and was greeted by the Baptist with that sublime exclamation, 'Behold the Lamb of God!' to which we might apply Christ's own explanation of *another* confession of like grandeur (Matt. xvi. 17). Marked was the impression which this testimony produced, when, on the day following, John repeated it on the departure of Jesus. Andrew and another of his

followers ('not improbably the evangelist himself who gives the account,' Ellicott, p. 116) were so much struck, that they attached themselves to Christ, and thus became the very first of his disciples. In the evening of that quietly eventful day, which we might well distinguish as, in one sense, the birth-day of the Christian church, Simon Peter was induced to join himself to the little company, which on the morrow was further increased by the accession of Philip of Bethsaida and Nathaniel of Cana (John i. 29-51). These men were afterwards called to the apostleship [NATHANIEL = BARTHOLOMEW]; but at present they were preparing for that trust, by associating themselves with Jesus and beholding the wonderful displays of his gradually revealed power. Their first opportunity of strengthened convictions happened at Cana, where at the marriage-feast Jesus wrought the first of his miracles (John ii. 1-11). Nathaniel, who had just emerged out of the rude prejudice (John i. 46), which offended so many Jews against the Saviour (comp. John vii. 41, 42), must have been singularly confirmed in his belief of the Messiahship of Jesus by this 'manifestation of his glory' (John ii. 11) in his own native town. The Lord was soon, on a grander field, to spread a like conviction of his Messianic mission. After a brief sojourn at Capernaum (ii. 12), he went up to Jerusalem to celebrate the passover (ver. 13).

SECT. 1. *His First Passover.*—While at the metropolis he gave the highest proofs of his authority, by rescuing 'his Father's house' from the profanation of the buyers and sellers in the Temple (ii. 13-17). This act of dignity and power, added to the miracles which he wrought at the feast, not only moved the people to a favourable view of his claims, but produced in one distinguished member of the Sanhedrim a lasting belief of his divine mission (comp. St. John's notices of Nicodemus; iii. 2; vii. 50; xix. 39). This worthy man shared no doubt in the current views, which supposed that Messiah would establish a throne of earthly splendour; to correct his error, the Lord in his divine discourse set forth the *spiritual* nature of his kingdom, the entrance into which involved the utter change of man's nature *by the new birth* (iii. 3-8). In the same discourse we observe thus early the *shadow of the cross* thrown over the mission of the Son of Man—no doubt meant as another corrective of men's expectations about Messiah (vers. 13-15).

The Early Judean Ministry.—Whatever may have been the *suspensions* of the Jewish party, there seems to have been no demonstrated opposition to Jesus at his first Passover; for the evangelist, to whom we entirely owe our information on this part of our subject, describes our Lord as leaving Jerusalem indeed, but still tarrying with his disciples *in the land of Judea*, and baptising (John iii. 22). The success of his ministry, in which he put under contribution the willing help of his disciples, to whom he entrusted the sole administration of the baptismal rite (John iv. 2), was so complete, that, notwithstanding the numbers of John Baptist's followers (Matt. iii. 5; Mark i. 5), his own outnumbered them (John iv. 1). The Baptist himself, in the last of his testimonies to Jesus, frankly acknowledged the manifest superiority of him, to whom he never compared himself but in terms of humblest contrast. On the present occasion the proximity of the Saviour's labours to his own naturally

note, p. 199, and of Hengstenberg, *Christology*, vol. iii. [Clark], pp. 244, *sq.*, as against Wieseler's opinion, that the feast of Purim is referred to in John v. 1. Bishop Ellicott, who adopts Wieseler's view, admits that it is based on no more than 'dependent and negative' arguments; see his note, *Hist. Lect.*, p. 136) is alluded to in John v. 1. The *third* passover, which Jesus did not attend, is mentioned in John vi. 4. The *fourth* and last, completing three years of ministry, is mentioned in their history of the passion by the synoptical evangelists, in Matt. xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 12; Luke xxii. 7, 8; and by St. John in xiii. 1.

enough suggested to his followers a comparison of their master with the new teacher: 'All are coming to him!' they said, not without some signs of jealousy (iii. 26). True to his mission, with touching humility, in words which signified his conviction that his work was done, and prophetically indicated his own speedy removal from the scene, he said: 'This my joy is fulfilled; *he must increase, but I must decrease.*' So ending his thrilling message with a denunciation of God's abiding wrath on any man who should refuse to believe on his Son (iii. 36), the faithful forerunner is shortly afterwards consigned to the dungeon of Machaerus (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 2) by Herod Antipas, who had taken offence at the good man's bold rebukes of his sin (Matt. xiv. 3-5; Mark vi. 17-20; Luke iii. 19, 20). This event seems to have suggested to Jesus some thoughts of danger to himself and his disciples, for he quitted Judæa (Matt. iv. 12). St. John (iv. 1) connects our Lord's departure from the south, where he had been labouring for about eight months, with certain indications of the rising envy of the Pharisaic party. John's success, as we have seen, had attracted their notice, as an interference with their monopoly of making proselytes (Matt. xxiii. 15); when then they found a new rival, whose intrinsic dignity and popular influence were more formidable than the Baptist had even proved himself to be, Jesus, who never prematurely exposed himself and his cause to danger, thought fit to withdraw from their malice (see Tischendorf, *Synops. Evang.*, p. xxv.) On his way of Galilee he passed through the district of Samaria, and while resting from his fatigue at the well-known well of Jacob at Sychar (as Sychem, or the modern *Nab-lûr*, was then contemptuously called—see Ellicott, p. 131, note 3), a woman approached to draw water. He asked her for drink to quench his thirst, and seized the occasion (as was the way with him, who never lost an opportunity) to sow the seed of eternal life in her heart. She seems to have been a woman of great energy and intelligence. So, thrilled with the display of that intuition which enabled him to penetrate the secrets of her past life, she hurried home to invite her neighbours: 'Come,' she said, 'see a man which has told me all things that ever I did; is not this the Christ?' They came and listened to the more than usually explicit proofs which he gave them of his Messiahship, and with joy welcomed him to prolong his stay among them. For two days he gratified their request; and this simple race, despised by the Jews around them, though stimulated by no miracle rose to the noble conviction—'We have now heard him ourselves, and are sure that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world!' (John iv. 42). The Lord afterwards pursued his way to Galilee. He was joyously received by the people who had heard of, and in many cases seen, the wonderful works he had done at Jerusalem. Their faith, however, appears in unfavourable contrast with that of the Samaritans (comp. John iv. vers. 41 and 48). They required the stimulus of miracles, and the gracious Saviour would not withhold even this lower means of conviction from their dull hearts. On his return to Cana he wrought another miracle, especially noted by St. John (see iv. 46, 54), by healing the son, who was dangerously ill, of a nobleman of the court of Herod Antipas. This was indeed a notable sign of Jesus' power; he spake the fiat of health at Cana; it took effect at Capernaum where

the patient lay; no wonder that the nobleman himself believed and all his household (iv. 53).

The Ministry in E. Galilee.—It seems to have been not without misgiving that he approached his northern labours, especially at Nazareth, where he proposed to commence them. The supposed obscurity of his birth created a strong prejudice against him. His foreboding of this even in Judæa is mentioned by St. John iv. 44; nor did the first outburst of enthusiasm in his favour on the part of the Galileans remove his apprehensions (comp. Luke iv. 24). He formally inaugurated his northern ministry in the synagogue of Nazareth, where he had been brought up (Luke iv. 16). From the grand language of the prophet (Is. lxi. 1), he in the most impressive manner asserted his Messiahship. The solemnity with which he proclaimed himself to be the promised one, whose mission it was to give liberty to the captive, produced at first a general sensation of wonder in his audience (ver. 22). But they were dreaming of only a political emancipation. When he declined to gratify their morbid craving for miraculous display (ver. 23), and intimated that the gifts he had to distribute were not to be confined to *them*; but that, after the examples of their illustrious prophets, Elijah and Elisha, he must offer them even to *Gentile outcasts* (vers. 25-27), 'they were filled with wrath, and thrusting him out of their city,' were about to follow up their fierce rejection by his death. His escape by his own divine interposition reserved that consummation for the guilty metropolis.

Nazareth and Capernaum.—This was no passing frenzy of the hostile Nazarenes: Jesus almost a year afterwards gave them an opportunity of reversing their antipathy. St. Matthew (xiii. 54-58) and St. Mark (vi. 1-6) both describe another visit of the Saviour to Nazareth. But with not dissimilar results: 'they were offended at him, and he could there do no mighty work'—the very pertinacity of their unbelief even excited the Lord's astonishment, as the graphic St. Mark informs us (vi. 6). Nazareth, after its first rejection of Christ, ceased to be his earthly resting-place. The privileges which, if accepted by its people, might have led on to their salvation, were now transferred to a neighbouring town, which in the sacred history stands out conspicuous as blessed beyond all other places with gifts of spiritual opportunity. How much of heavenly admonition, and how many wonderful and gracious manifestations of his power did Jesus vouchsafe to Capernaum* and its neighbourhood during that '*acceptable year of the Lord*,' in which were wrought the grand events of his Galilean career—events which form so large a portion of the synoptical gospels, and were so often lauded by the oldest Fathers as the very *coronal of the evangelic story*! And yet how sad the issue! After all its advantages, this favoured city seems to have slighted them in a degree of enormity only inferior to that of Nazareth; and at last to have wrung from the grieved Saviour the melancholy reflection: 'Thou

* The ἡ ἰδία πόλις of St. Matthew ix. 1 is no doubt Capernaum. And the adverbial phrases, *ἐς οἶκον, domum*; *ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, domi sue*, at his house, rather than '*in the house*' (A. V.), employed by St. Mark in connection with Capernaum, seem to indicate that that city was now the Lord's home.

Capernaum, which art exalted to heaven, shall be thrust down to hell!' (Luke x. 15; Matt. xi. 23). Before he entered on his active ministry, in which Capernaum was so largely to share, Jesus attached to himself permanently four of the disciples, who had already been so long witnesses of his works. They were Simon Peter and his brother Andrew, and the two sons of Zebedee. In considerate regard to the prepossessions of their past life, the Lord, in his miracle of the draft of fishes (Matt. iv. 18-22; Mark. i. 16-20; Luke v. 1-11), wrought so strongly upon their convictions that they quitted their calling and home, and followed Christ amidst all the perils and obloquy of his future course. The astonishment which this miracle produced on the lake of Gennesaret, especially in the minds of those who witnessed it, and, as St. Luke's account indicates (v. 8, 9), of Peter more than the others, was intensely increased by a series of others, which in various ways manifested Christ's complete dominion over all things. He was rivetting the attention of the Capernaimites in their synagogue in a discourse of commanding authority (Mark i. 22), when he was interrupted by the shrieks of a demoniac. He rebuked the foul spirit, and restored the sufferer to soundness of mind and strength of body. Returning from the synagogue to Peter's house, Jesus added to the excitement of the scene by his instantaneous cure of a 'great' or virulent fever (Luke iv. 38), with which the apostle's wife's mother was afflicted. A few hours later on this eventful day 'the whole city' (Mark i. 33) submitted their sick and possessed to the merciful Saviour, who fulfilled one of the most gracious features which prophecy had assigned to him (Is. liii. 4; Matt. viii. 17), by healing every mental and bodily disease, and curbing the violence of the foul and expelled spirits. Natural was their wish to keep him amongst them.

First circuit of Galilee.—But his philanthropy could not thus be limited. Other cities, as he said, must hear the glad tidings which he was sent to proclaim. So, in company with his few devoted followers, he sets out on a tour of mercy, during which he 'went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and disease among the people' (Matt. iv. 23). The time occupied in this circuit, whether 'a few days' only, as Bishop Ellicott, p. 168, or three or four months, as Mr. Greswell, *Dissert.* ii. 293, with greater probability (as it seems to us) supposes, we have no data in the narrative to determine. It was probably before the termination of this journey that the Lord performed the miracle, which had about it some features of special interest and power, and perhaps enhanced his exceeding fame more than any previous one. He healed a leper 'in a certain city' (Luke v. 12) with a touch. Lord of all power and might, he here proved his dominion over the direst malady which afflicts the East (Thomson, *Land and the Book*, new ed., p. 651). Legislator higher than Moses, and priest greater than Aaron, he displayed in this touch of the leper authority over the ancient law (Lev. xiv.), and a command over a fouler disease than it ever fell to a Levitical priest to be 'the cleanser' of. (Ver. 11.—This ethical import of the miracle is well put by Mr. Jameson, *Norrisian Prize Essay* [Miracles and Doctrines of Scripture], p. 45, comp. Trench. *Miracles*, p. 216-219; and Greswell, *Dissert.* ii.

296, 297.) Our Lord's return to Capernaum was signalised by his restoration of one sick of the palsy to health and vigour. But his mighty deeds had brought together many strangers to the city, and amongst them some Pharisees and Scribes from Judæa and Jerusalem. The hostility of these southern Jews is first developed on this occasion. Whilst the simpler and more honest multitude blessed 'God, who had given such power to men' (Matt. ix. 8), the envious Scribes began to mutter about 'blasphemy,' until the actual accomplishment of the miracle in their presence made them silent with amazement and (as Luke adds, v. 26) even 'fear' before one whose power and dignity commanded their unwilling homage. The scarcely dissembled hatred of the Pharisaic party was further stimulated by Christ's admitting to close companionship with himself one of the offensive publicans, Levi or Matthew by name, whose call from his toll-booth took place probably on the very day of the paralytic's cure (Matt. ix. 9; Mark ii. 13, 14; Luke v. 27, 28). The great Galilean ministry, at this point, is interrupted by the approach of the feast of the Jews, anonymously mentioned by St. John, v. 1. This we, on the authority of the majority of commentators, have assumed to be the Passover.

SECT. 2. *Our Lord's Second Passover.*—It called our Lord to Jerusalem. During this visit happened the miracle at the pool of Bethesda, when Jesus restored the infirm man from his inveterate malady of thirty-eight years standing to lusty health (John v. 8, 9). In this miracle we have a sign of Christ's authority over the Mosaic law of the Sabbath. His reply to the cavillers, who complained that he had violated the sanctity of the holy day, convinced them that he was claiming an equality with God—a claim which for the first time exposed our Lord to the rancour of the Jews of the metropolis. Jerusalem henceforth vies even with the intolerant Nazareth in its hostility to the Son of Man, and rests not until, to its own ultimate ruin, it has accomplished the death of the Messiah, whom it ought to have loyally welcomed and received. The hostile spirit was spreading everywhere, so active were the efforts of the Pharisaic malignants. On his way back to Galilee (for the persecution of the Jews, which St. John refers to, v. 16-18, shortened our Lord's stay at Jerusalem), on the first of the Sabbaths which intervened between the second [or great] day of the Passover (Levit. xxiii. 11) and the ensuing Pentecost (we adopt this as, on the whole, the simplest of the alleged explanations of St. Luke's phrase *ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτέρῳ πρώτῳ*, vi. 1; see De Wette, *in loc.*; Greswell, *Dissert.*, ii. p. 310; Wahl, *Clavis*; and Robinson's *Lexicon of N. T.*, s. v., and the authorities they adduce), his disciples happened to pluck some ears of corn as they were passing through a ripened field. The act was observed by some Pharisees; and they urged a case of constructive Sabbath-breaking by combined reaping and threshing! The Lord, in answer to their complaint, vindicated his accused companions by the example of the great David, and proceeded to claim, by reason of his Messianic authority, a power over the Sabbath and its alleged restrictions. This was a very high claim, and the assertion of it increased the hostility of his enemies.

Resumption of his Galilean Ministry. His authority over the Sabbath.—The very next of his

miracles, wrought on his return to the N. (probably at Capernaum), was a still more open assumption of his right to modify the severity of the Mosaic Sabbath and its traditional exaggeration. In the face of the assembled Scribes and Pharisees, on the seventh day and in the synagogue, he healed the withered hand, to the exasperation of his foes (Luke vi. 11), who, to accomplish their deadly purposes against Jesus, now enlisted the services of the Herodians, whom they generally despised, but from whose interest with Herod Antipas they hoped to secure the destruction of Christ on the spot. The graphic St. Mark describes the Lord, when in the act of performing the miracle, as 'looking round about on them with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts' (iii. 5). This miracle is one of the *seven* which are recorded to have been wrought on *Sabbath days*. The whole illustrate with almost mystic completeness our Lord's legislative dominion* over this prominent institution of the law. Four of these instances we have already mentioned—the demoniac in the synagogue of Capernaum, the cure of Peter's wife's mother, the healing of the infirm man at the pool of Bethesda, and the present instance of the withered hand. The other three, though occurring later, may conveniently be mentioned here for the sake of unity of subject. Their proper date is during the latter six months of the third year's ministry. The first of these cases is the noted one of the gift of sight to the man born blind, in Jerusalem after the feast of tabernacles (John ix. 1-16). Upon the miserable Pharisees that signal miracle lost its convincing effect. While the physical vision led the happy object of the miracle to the spiritual view of the Son of God (vers. 37, 38), the malignants were blinded to the claims of Jesus, of whom they exclaimed, 'This man is not of God, because he keepeth not the Sabbath day.' The next miracle gave Jesus an opportunity of asserting *elsewhere* the truth which he had asserted in Jerusalem and in Galilee of his own lordship over the Sabbath. In one of the synagogues of *Peræa*, east of the Jordan, he healed the infirm woman, who for eighteen years had literally 'bent' beneath her inveterate malady. The grateful patient glorified God, and the people rejoiced at the Saviour's glorious deeds; but the unhappy ruler of the synagogue was indignant at what he chose to construe into a violation of the Sabbath (Luke xiii. 14). The Redeemer with burning words denounced his hypocrisy to his face, and by the cogency of his rebuke reduced 'all his adversaries to shame' (ver. 17). It was in the same district of *Peræa* that Jesus wrought the last of his Sabbatical miracles—the cure of 'a certain man which had the dropsy.' On these two occasions the great Healer vindicated his merciful acts by the argument *a minori ad maius*, addressed to his cavillers, 'Which of you shall have

an ox or an ass fallen into a pit and will not straightway pull him out on the Sabbath day?' This plain appeal silenced them effectually (Luke xiv. 6; comp. with xiii. 15, 16). Returning from this short digression, we find our blessed Saviour making two most important provisions for the society which was soon to be consecrated with his holy name and organised into perpetual vitality by the presence of his Holy Spirit. Men, under the strong emotion which Christ's wonderful works and words were everywhere exciting, were crowding around him. The harvest was fast ripening. Labourers were wanted for it. From amongst his most ardent followers, including the five whom we have already heard of as obeying his call, he selects *twelve*, a symbolical number it may be, not without some mystic reference to the tribes of the commonwealth of Israel (in which sense it is worth while to compare such passages as Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 30; Rev. vii. 4-8; xxi. 10-14), to be with him, whom he might educate for the noble work of founding and organising under him the church, for which, by his own incredible exertions and surpassing influence over men's minds, amidst the intensest malevolence, he was preparing, like another David, the precious materials.

The Twelve Apostles, and the Sermon on the Mount.—We detain not the reader over the names of the apostles, of whom no less than four lists are given (Matt. x. 2-4; Mark iii. 16-19; Luke vi. 14-17; Acts i. 13). They were probably all of Galilee, except, perhaps, the traitor, whose designation, *Iscaariot*, seems to point to a Judæan origin (*Iscaariotes* is, not unlikely, equal to קִרְיֹת).

Ish Keriath, of Keriath, mentioned Josh. xv. 25). For the instruction of both these and others, who through them should believe in Christ, he now delivers that heavenly summary of the life and practice of Christianity which age after age has regarded as the most sacred heritage that God has vouchsafed unto his church (Bp. Ellicott, p. 178). We accept the view of those writers who regard St. Luke's recital of the Lord's discourse (vi. 20-49) as a summary of the whole, given by St. Matthew in chapters v.-vii. If 'the Mount of the Beatitudes' be the square-shaped 'Hattin with its Horns' which tradition asserts, Dr. Stanley (*Palest.* p. 368 [ed. 3]) sees in the platform below the horns the *rebous* of St. Luke (ver. 17, not 'plain' [A. V.], but level place; for the plain is some 60 feet below), to which Christ would come down, as the evangelist represents him, from the higher horns of the Mount, for the purpose of addressing the people assembled on the before-mentioned plateau. Dr. Stanley is strong in the conviction that this was the hill, and that its peculiar form, in fact, easily reconciles the statements of the evangelists (Matt. v. 1* and Luke vi. 17, 20). Dr.

* 'In one respect only all these miracles were alike; they were miracles of the Sabbath. They were emphatically the beginnings of a new order [Cf. Ambros. *Comment. in Luc.* iv. 58. 'Sabbato medicinæ Dominicæ opera coepta significat, ut inde nova creatura coeperit, ubi vetus ante desivit; nec sub Lege esse Dei Filium, sed supra Legem in ipso principio designaret, nec solvi Legem sed impleri.'] The triumph of love over ritual.

* St. Matthew, although he enumerates 'the twelve,' in immediate connection with the sermon on the mount, makes Christ ascend the mount only as if to address the people; whereas St. Luke (and St. Mark with him) mentions the Saviour as *already* on the mountain with his disciples, and as afterwards descending to the level place to deliver the address. This is an omission of the first evangelist, but no discrepancy. When he comes to the sermon on the mount, he is found in accordance, really, with St. Luke, inasmuch as he repre-

Robinson also, who visited Hattin, allows the probability of the tradition, and (in his *Harmony* [ed. Tr. Soc.], p. 32, note) asserts that St. Luke's phrase ἐπὶ τόπου πεδίου, exactly indicates the elevated situation of the 'level spot' on which Jesus delivered his discourse. That the two evangelists narrate the same discourse is rendered still more likely by the context. They not only introduce the sermon on the mount with the Lord's nomination of the apostles, but they both follow it up by the narrative of Christ's return to Capernaum, and his there healing the centurion's servant. An unusual circumstance, worthy to be mentioned in refreshing contrast to the examples of Nazareth and Jerusalem, occurs in connection with this miracle. The Gentile centurion in military command of the district, who deserves comparison with the pious Cornelius, is too meek and humble to put himself in immediate correspondence with the Saviour. He therefore despatches such friends as he supposes meet to approach so wonderful a Person. It is a delightful exception to the usual character of the class to find that these friends were 'the elders of the Jews' (Luke vii. 3), who seem to have acted both with kindness to the centurion, their liberal benefactor as well as lenient governor, and with much respect and propriety towards Christ himself. We observe, moreover, in this miracle a natural transition to the still greater one which follows. The patient whom the Redeemer

sents Jesus as on some elevated ground while addressing the assembly, as the third evangelist does also in fact, as shewn in the text. It increases the probability that St. Luke's is only an abridged form of the sermon, which St. Matthew gives *in extenso*, that on a comparison of the two forms the shorter seems to have omitted all such portions as had specially a Jewish cast. In a gospel intended primarily for Israelite readers, such passages as Matt. v. 17-39, and vi. 1-34, are specially suitable from their references to the Mosaic Scriptures, and from their Jewish allusions and illustrations. These long passages are entirely omitted by St. Luke. Moreover, in some of the passages which are common to the two, St. Luke omits the Jewish structure and tone of St. Matthew; e.g., in the injunctions of *non-resistance to evil and of love to enemies* (Luke vi. 29, 30; 27, 28), St. Luke omits the introductory references to the law, which St. Matthew characteristically gives: and while the latter bases the golden rule of *doing to others as we would have done to us* on 'the law and the prophets' (Matt. vii. 12), his brother evangelist, not writing for Jews especially, says nothing of this sanction. These and similar points, such as the omission by St. Luke of the warning against 'false prophets,' so suitable in the pages of St. Matthew (vii. 15), seem to account for the diversities which occur in the two evangelists. We do not deny that Christ may have repeated his discourses substantially at times. But we believe that the two evangelists, with their different aims, would probably report any one discourse of the Lord's with the characteristic differences which we in fact possess in their narratives. The nomination of the apostles being the context, which introduces the sermon in both accounts, clearly identifies these accounts as being of one and the same discourse. The context which follows is noticed in the text as affording a like argument.

here restores to health '*was sick and ready to die*' (ver. 2). On the morrow he puts forth his power to effect a yet greater restoration.

The raising of the dead.—It was at Nain, a small town on the north slope of the valley of Esdraelon, that the Lord of Life first came into conflict with the powers of death. He was passing the gate as they were carrying to his grave the only son of a weeping widow. Full of kindness as well as of power, he spoke a word of comfort to the mother and of life to the dead son. The effect of both was complete. Amidst the awful fear and adoration of the crowds that thronged him he delivered the young man alive to his mother (Luke vii. 11-17). Three instances only occur in Christ's history of his assertion of this dominion over death. In the present case the corpse was *on its way to burial* when interrupted by the fiat of the Life-restorer. In the next instance, of the daughter of Jairus (which, as happening only a few days [or at most weeks] after this, may, for the unity of the subject, be here considered), the bands of death were loosened *almost at once after life had ceased*. The widow's son was raised in the sight of all Nain. The ruler's daughter in the presence only of three apostles (Peter, James, and John), who were afterwards associated with Christ on two other especial occasions, and of her parents. Crowds, however, had been gathered around Jesus on his way to the house of Jairus, and in the throng a suffering woman had pressed close to the Saviour. For twelve years she had tried in vain all the medical resources at her command. Her issue of blood was growing worse. She now thought that a touch even of the clothes of the great Healer would restore her. Whatever we may think of the intelligence of her faith, it possessed the virtue of a rare simplicity. The Lord at once acknowledged it, and in gracious words dismissed her 'in peace and whole of her plague' (Mark v. 34). The third instance of the gift of life, which we must now only glance at, was at the close of his ministry, when he raised Lazarus *four days after burial*. We mention this great case here as the ultimate degree of his power, so far at least as he was pleased to exert it on others. It was not only the restoration of life to the dead, but of the freshness of health to corruption (John xi. 39). If this gift of life to his friend hastened his own death in fact (John xi. 47, 57; xii. 10, 19), that event only expedited the consummation of his conquest and dominion over death by his own resurrection from the grave (John ii. 19, 21). We group together these wonderful facts. The three resurrections and the climax of the fourth must be noted, in however brief a history of Jesus. They develop the grandest of his Messianic functions which early prophecy foretold, and the whole gospel has only echoed and illustrated (comp. Hosea xii. 14; Is. xxv. 8; xxvi. 19; 1 Cor. xv. 25, 26, 54, 55; 2 Tim. i. 10; Heb. ii. 14, 15; Rev. i. 18; xx. 14; xxi. 4).

Death of John Baptist, and remainder of the E. Galilean Ministry.—This was, however, not the idea of Messiah which even good men had been wont to entertain. It was of imperial pomp rather than of spiritual dominion that they dreamt. Even the Baptist's faith seemed to fail under the personal trials which Herod's cruelty imposed on him, when after so much expectation he found Messiah's guise so lowly, and the signs of his kingdom so unearthly

(Matt. xi. 3; Luke vii. 19, 20. See Neander, *Life of Christ* [Bohn], pp. 60-62). He sent a desponding message to Jesus from his prison: 'Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?' The practical reply which the Lord returned to him, as he bade his messengers report to their master his works and words of grace and power, brings out into strong relief those lineaments of Messiah's character which present him to our spiritual intuition as the Benefactor and Saviour of mankind amidst privation and suffering rather than as an assertor of mere dominion and of material power. He pronounces a fresh beatitude on the man who should not take offence at the lowly blessings which Christ came to distribute amongst the meek and poor (comp. Is. lxi. 1 ['meek'] with Matt. xi. 5 and Luke vii. 22 ['poor']), and who should recognise in his remedies for the blind, the lame, the leprous, and the dead, the most appropriate demonstrations of Messiah's power, and the surest guarantees of his ultimate glory! Christ's testimony to his true-hearted though desponding forerunner (Matt. xi. 7-15; Luke vii. 24-30) is a fine illustration of his sympathy and appreciation of men under trial. John shortly after was removed to his rest by the tyrant's sword;* it is consolatory to see that the Lord's last reference to his mission and conduct of it was one of acceptance and gracious praise. He called him an Elijah, pronounced him equal to the greatest of prophets, and even compared him with the Son of Man himself as a faithful example of 'wisdom justified of her children' (see Matt. xi. 14; Luke vii. 28; and Matt. xi. 18, 19). In melancholy contrast are the reflections which Jesus about this time made as to the effect of his mighty works on the population which witnessed them. The towns around the west and north shores of the Sea of Galilee had enjoyed the clearest evidences of his heavenly mission; but beyond the transient wonder which his miracles could not but elicit, no signs of intelligent faith appeared, even in Capernaum, with all its wealth of opportunity. 'Woe unto thee Chorazin! Woe unto thee Bethsaida! And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell!' Such were the sad words in which he 'upbraided the cities wherein most of his mighty works were done, because they repented not' (Matt. xi. 21, 23).

Two more circuits of Galilee.—Before this year of ministerial activity came to its close, the Lord, who, while dining with a Pharisee, was anointed by a woman whose loving act, sinner though she was, was graciously accepted (Luke vii. 36-50), repeated his visitation around the northern districts of Palestine on two occasions. Last year he was accompanied by Simon Peter and the four others who were the first to follow Christ. This year he took with him in his former circuit his twelve apostles,

* Herod Antipas was a superstitious man. Hearing, after his execution of the Baptist (which he seems to have consented to with regret), of the Saviour's fame, his troubled conscience at once reverted to his victim. He exclaimed, 'This is John the Baptist; he is risen from the dead; and therefore mighty works do show forth themselves in him!' (Matt. xiv. 2). This is a rough though valid testimony from a man of the world of the profound impression which was created both by the Forerunner and the Saviour.

whom he was educating for their work of founding the church. This second of the circuits is also remarkable for the attendant ministry of certain earnest women, among whom was Mary Magdalene, now for the first time introduced to our notice (Luke viii. 1-3). Between this and the third circuit we trace some of the effects of Pharisaic malignity. Emissaries from Jerusalem are busy everywhere in their fiendish efforts to destroy his popularity, and to thwart the progress of his cause. 'His friends' (Mark iii. 21), including no doubt some of his kindred, who from the first were ignorant of his mission, and displayed that grudge against him of which the poet writes:

'How shall envious brethren own
A brother on the eternal throne?'
(*Christian Year*, Trinity Sunday.)

now sought to lay hands on him, for they said, 'he is beside himself.' The opposition of the Pharisees, who had been only feeling their way hitherto, begins to assume a definite shape. In the face of the popular favour they do not resort to violence yet; but they hope to effect their object of crushing the Great Teacher by working on the credulity of the people, whom they would persuade that Jesus was in league with the powers of evil. They could not deny his miracles, but they had their explanation: 'This fellow doth not cast out devils, but by Beelzebub the prince of the devils' (Matt. xii. 24). The Lord did not find it difficult to meet this blasphemous imputation by exposing the absurdity of it. But he was not content to do this simply; with words of most awful severity he, in express and immediate reference to this Pharisaic impiety, pronounced their *venomous* (Matt. xii. 34—*γεννώματα ἐχιδνῶν*) slander as a sin against the Holy Ghost for which the exhausted long-suffering of God had no forgiveness in store. In strict keeping with that sentence, he went on to remind men of the heavy responsibility they were treasuring up for the day of doom when they indulged in wanton imputations. They probably did not believe them. This excuse, however, would not serve them; the slander remained, and 'for every idle word that men should speak, they must give an account in the day of judgment' (ver. 36, comp. with ver. 32).

Exposures of Pharisaism.—Jesus sought every legitimate opportunity of cautioning men against that Pharisaism which was not more hostile to himself than fatal to their own highest interests. In his severe reflections on the Scribes and Pharisees, who sought a sign from him out of very wantonness in order to tempt him (Matt. xii. 38; Luke xi. 16, 24-36), as well as in his denunciations of woe at the Pharisee's table (ver. 37-54), we have instances. And how full of this righteous indignation he was, becomes yet more apparent, from his long addresses to his disciples and the multitude, in which he bids them 'beware of the leaven of the Pharisees' (Luke xii.). At Levi's feast, though in milder terms, he seized the opportunity of rebutting some less injurious though characteristic censures of the Pharisees, who took offence at his gracious association with the abject class of 'publicans and sinners.' His very mission was, as he said, to call such men to repentance.

Parables.—It was, however, not only by denouncing the hollowness of the Jewish party, but still more by instructing his disciples in the principles of his kingdom, 'the kingdom of heaven,'

that our Lord advanced the cause of divine truth. Much of this instruction we have in his inimitable parables. The earliest of these (beginning with that of 'the sower and the seed'), which have a wider range of application than some of his later ones, belong to this period of his history. Those which are given in St. Matthew xiii. and parallel passages, seem to have a mutual relation, revealing 'varied aspects of the kingdom of God on earth' (Bishop Ellicott, *Lectures*, p. 21, n. 2, briefly traces their connection. See also Wordsworth on Matt. xiii. 3), in its present mixed and imperfect condition. This feature of Christ's teaching was prophetically appointed, as the evangelist observes (Matt. xiii. 34). It was also best suited for the purposes of moral probation: means were provided whereby to the willing and well-affected these parables should become intelligible (Mark iv. 33, 34); to the hostile and self-conceited the truths which underlay the parables would remain an unexplained and useless mystery (comp. Butler's *Anal.* ii. 4). It was on the shore of the Sea of Galilee that the Lord delivered these parables, in presence of a 'multitude' of eager listeners (Mark iv. 36). In the evening of the same day his disciples, desirous of securing him some retirement and rest, took him across the sea. While he was asleep from weariness, on the passage a storm burst upon their vessel. This circumstance, which filled his companions with alarm, afforded to Jesus an opportunity of asserting a power whereat they were struck with a new amazement. He stilled the raging tempest, and they exclaimed, 'What manner of man is this that even winds and sea obey him!' When he landed on the opposite coast, near Gergasa, he was met by two fierce demoniacs (Matt. viii. 28). The ferocity and deprecating cry of both are mentioned in the first gospel. The cure of one only, who seems to have been the pest and terror of the country, is fully described by SS. Mark (v.) and Luke (viii.), but they omit the mention of the second, as being of no account by the side of his very notorious companion (Ellicott, p. 188, note; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 169). The two events, which took place shortly after our Lord's return to Capernaum (the raising of Jairus' daughter and the contemporary cure of the issue of blood), we have already adverted to; they were followed by the healing of two blind men and the ejection of the dumb spirit, amidst the grateful exclamation of the multitudes: 'It was never so seen in Israel!' and the renewal of the Pharisees' blasphemous cry: 'He casteth out devils through the prince of the devils!' (Matt. ix.) How prominent a feature in the sacred narrative is this contrast in the results of our Lord's ministration—the contemptuous rejection by the Pharisee and the enthusiastic favour of the impressive crowd (St. John's *ὄχλος*). Strong, however, as this popular feeling was, it was no match for that unflagging hostility which sought by every means, and at last too successfully, to convert the affection of the people into enmity. The tide of alienation surged first of all from Nazareth, the Saviour's chosen city. We have already noticed the deliberate and repeated rejection of Jesus by this infatuated and guilty population. The last of these miserable acts falls into the present section of our history. With what grief must the merciful Redeemer have turned his back, for the last time, upon a town whose claims upon his divine regard he would gladly have satis-

fied, but could not because of men's astounding unbelief (Mark vi. 5, 6). His loving labours, however, could not be checked. He immediately sets out on his third circuit of Galilee—whether with the former company of his apostles or not we are not informed. His observation on this tour of mercy excited more than ever his compassion for the multitude—scattered and fainting as they seemed to be, like sheep without a shepherd (Matt. ix. 36).

Mission of the Twelve.—The supply of their need he made an object of prayer, enjoining on his disciples the duty of invoking God's help (ver. 38); and, what was still more, he gave them an effectual lesson how best to secure an answer to prayer by *acting on it*. He without delay sent forth the twelve on their first missionary tour, and after their departure resumed his own labours among the neighbouring cities (Matt. xi. 1). This mission, which seems to have been made while the Lord was on his third circuit, and not from Capernaum, gave occasion for the delivery of a ministerial charge, in which the great 'Shepherd and Bishop of souls' sets forth to the apostolic pastors a regime of visitation adapted to their primitive field of labour. In this beautiful exhortation Christ makes an affecting allusion to the persecutions with which his own loving labours were met. In their mission they were receiving from him a heritage of like obloquy and trial, but a probation, withal, of noblest aims and a blessed recompense—'Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake, but he that endureth unto the end shall be saved' (Matt. x. 22). The entire charge occupies the chapter. This service was no doubt intended, among other purposes, for instruction to the apostles themselves, to the preparation of whom for their ultimate duties the Lord has evidently at this period of his ministry great regard. They were as yet novices in the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven; so they were to limit their *teaching* to the simple announcement that that kingdom was at hand; miraculous power in attestation of their solemn message was given them, and they exercised it by casting out devils and healing the sick (Mark vi. 12; Luke ix. 6). As their circuit was confined to Galilee, and they took various directions in six different companies (Mark vi. 7), they would not require long time for this their first essay in mission work (Bishop Ellicott conjectures an absence of only two days, p. 193). Their return to Capernaum may also have been hastened by the violent death of the Baptist. Christ, probably with a view to greater privacy, withdraws with the twelve to the Northern Bethsaida (called *Julias* by the tetrarch Philip, after the emperor's daughter), but he failed to find the quietness which he sought. His fame attracted crowds from the villages and towns of the north shore of the Sea of Galilee. He was not indifferent to their earnest though scarcely intelligent longing after him; and in compassion to their wants he wrought what in some respects was the most imposing of all his miracles. On the slender s'ore of five loaves and two fishes, he satisfied the craving appetite of 5000 men, besides women and children (Matt. xiv. 21), leaving a hoard of fragments enough to fill twelve baskets. This marvellous exhibition of creative power, which so greatly excelled the analogous miracle of the prophet Elisha, 2 Kings iv. 42-44, produced an extreme

sensation; and while some lauded him as the long expected prophet who was to introduce Messiah, others were loing so far as to set him up as the very theocratic King himself (John vi. 14, 15). To evade their importunity, Jesus retired to a solitary upland on the north-east of the lake, having requested his disciples to return to the western side. Another of the furious storms so usual on those waters impeded for hours the vessel in which they were crossing. With an astonishment which far exceeded the emotions with which they had viewed the recent miracle, the twelve saw the Lord walking on the troubled waves, as if to pass them (Mark vi. 48). He soothed their bewilderment with reassuring words, and permitted Peter to attempt to approach him on the water. He sustained the sinking apostle until they were received into the ship. The storm then ceased; their faith rose higher still, and they exclaimed, 'Of a truth, thou art the Son of God!' (Matt. xiv. 33). A hasty but not ineffectual visit again to the east shore of Gennesaret is related by SS. Matthew and Mark, during which he was pleased to disperse broadcast gifts of healing to the eager crowds of town and country (Matt. xiv. 35; Mark vi. 56); and the supplemental narrative of St. John then winds up the history of the second year's ministry.

Discourse in the Synagogue of Capernaum.
Apostacy of many.—The material benefits of food and health had by this time attracted numbers to Christ, who had formed no seemly views of his spiritual kingdom. This was only too likely to foster the worldly opinions which were so rife about the Messiah. The Lord therefore determines to correct the error, and to sift the sincerity of his followers. In a discourse full of the profoundest mysteries of man's spiritual relation* to

* Our Lord's bearing towards his *relatives* deserves mention in connection with this point in our history. It was on one occasion, during this year's ministry in Galilee, that a somewhat urgent request was made to Jesus to gratify the wish of his mother and his brethren, who were awaiting an interview. He was at the moment engaged in an earnest discourse on the blasphemy of the Scribes and Pharisees. So, instead of breaking off immediately to salute his kinsfolk, he seized the opportunity of assuring the bystanders, that by their regeneration his disciples enjoyed a nearer relation to him than even mother or brethren (Matt. xii. 46-50). Probably we may best explain on this same principle the apparent *distance of manner* which he shewed his mother at the marriage-festival of Cana at the beginning of his public course. Eighteen years before he had intimated to her that he had a work before him which she knew not of (Luke ii. 49, 50). He was now at Cana taking in hand his divine 'Father's business,' and was about to build up a *spiritual household*. This would bring out to view a changed relation between him and his human mother. She seems, however, to have stood more on her natural tie to him than was convenient, when she urged him to work his earliest miracle. So our Lord's words to her contained, it is certain, a tender rebuke (John ii. 4), and it was not until her subsequent act of faith (ver. 5), that the Lord actually complied with her request. After his resurrection we find this *postponement of all human connection and feeling to spiritual relationship*, in the Saviour's emphatic

the Saviour he gives them to understand that it was not by an earthly career of popularity, excitement, and dominion, that he meant to set up his throne amongst them—nor by physical food was he about to feed them. As before to the woman of Sychar he promised water better than Jacob's well ever produced, to slake her thirst, so now to the men of Capernaum he offers a bread better than the manna of their fathers, his own flesh—the bread of life, which should satisfy their appetite for ever, and impart to the eater an eternal life. The murmurs which the envious 'Jews' first raised (John vi. 41, 52) soon spread to his disciples. Numbers of them exclaimed against his doctrine as harsh and intolerable (ver. 60), and 'from that time went back and walked no more with him' (ver. 66). Painful as was this large secession, it was not altogether unexpected (ver. 64) by Jesus, to whom it was no doubt a real pleasure to discover, at this trying moment, that they who had been the especial objects of his instructing care were making great advances in spiritual knowledge. His touching appeal to the apostles drew from them, through their mouth-piece Peter, the grand confession, 'We believe and are sure that thou art that Christ, the son of the living God' (ver. 69).*

End of the second year.—And thus terminated that year of grace and love. Sad it is to reflect that after all its most lavish expenditure of miraculous energy, and faithful admonitions and sublime recommendations of the truth, only twelve *public* adherents of Christ were at last found in Galilee of all the multitudes that had been moved to follow him! The ultimate result of the Redeemer's mission to his own nation is told by the fourth evangelist in few but expressive words: 'He came unto his own, but his own received him not.' We have by this time seen how much of the crime of that rejection was accomplished in this the most active year of the Lord's ministerial career, and in the province he had most favoured with his presence.

SECT. 3. *The Third Passover.*—The last year of the ministry, as in many other respects, so at its very beginning, differs from the two preceding. We have seen how the Lord exercised a control over the Sabbath, we now find him using a discretion with regard to the great feast. Though it was his principle 'to fulfil all righteousness,' he yet absented himself from the present Passover to prevent any premature outbreak of the Pharisaic malignants, whose plans were laid for his destruction. 'Jesus would not walk in Jewry,' says St. John,

prohibition of the Magdalene's offered embrace. She must not touch him with the *bodily* touch; but wait for that gift of the Spirit, after the ascension, which should enable her to embrace and touch him with the hand of faith (John xx. 17). And at the cross, besides the transfer of *mere human love*, implied in the Saviour's beautiful act of commending his mother to the beloved disciple's care, there was surely the inseparable bond of a *spiritual relationship* more closely cemented amidst the solemnity of that awful hour (John xix. 26, 27).

* Or, according to Tischendorf and Griesbach, 'Thou art the Holy One of God.' This is also accepted by Alford [5th edit.]; but the readings greatly vary.

in reference to this time, 'because the Jews sought to kill him' (vii. 1). But he was not wholly to escape from their opposition. At Capernaum he has to justify his disciples (in noticeable similarity to the apology he made for them at the beginning of the former year) for eating with 'unwashed hands' (Matt. xv.; Mark vii.) He makes this an opportunity of again vindicating moral truth from the miserable traditions with which the Scribes and the Pharisees had overlaid it. Unclean hearts, not unwashed hands it is, which defile the man; and he quotes against them, with much severity, Isaiah's prophecy (xxix. 13), illustrating it by their own evasion of the fifth commandment under the hypocritical maxim of 'Corban.'

Ministry in N. Galilee.—One of the points of contrast between the present and the preceding years of the Great Teacher's career, is the predominance in it of *teaching and preaching* above miraculous display (see Bishop Ellicott, *Lectures*, pp. 204-207). Miracles, indeed, he still wrought, and with the usual effect of eliciting from the multitudes, not their admiration only, but their homage; but he did this in *new* scenes of labour, and in some instances beyond the bounds of 'the land of Israel.' In the neighbourhood of Tyre and Sidon, he, in answer to the admirable faith and humility of the Syrophenician woman, healed her daughter, who was 'grievously vexed with a devil' (Matt. xv. 22). The precise spot where this happened is not mentioned. The Lord, who had probably retired so far north out of the way of Herod's jurisdiction, seems, from the best attested reading of Mark vii. 31, to have been journeying at that time to *Sidon* (ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῶν ὁρίων Τύρου ἤλθεν εἰς Σιδῶνος is, after MBDLΔ and other manuscripts, adopted by Tischendorf and Tregelles, as well as Lachmann). From this great Gentile city, the utmost limit of our Lord's travels in that direction, he, in a journey of as much privacy as possible, crossed the Jordan above its uppermost lake, 'the waters of Merom,' and so approached the Sea of Genesareth on its east side, through the Northern Decapolis—still beyond the territories of Herod Antipas, whose hostility to the Redeemer had probably been procured by the Pharisees through the aid of their new allies the Herodians. This unnatural league Christ warned his disciples to beware of under the metaphor of *leaven*—'the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod' (Mark viii. 15)—intolerant bigotry united to mere worldliness in an effort to destroy the truth, which was as much opposed to the heartless formalism of the one, as it was to the unprincipled levity of the other. The solitary miracle of Phenicia was followed, on Christ's arrival in Decapolis, by another, which St. Mark alone describes (vii. 31-37). This healing of the deaf and dumb man, like that wrought shortly afterwards on the blind man of Bethsaida Julias (Mark viii. 22-26), is noticeable for a few peculiar features, the reason of which we are not informed of. In both cases the Lord withdrew the men from the gaze of the multitude, restored them to soundness by gradual and apparently laboured processes, and prohibited the publication of the miracles. In the former instance, indeed, this injunction was emphatically disobeyed. Instead of keeping silence, they raised a chorus of praise throughout Decapolis: 'He hath done all things well—He maketh both the deaf to hear and the

dumb to speak!' While on these eastern shores of the lake, and in the interval between these similar miracles, our Lord repeated his stupendous display of creative power by feeding the four thousand with the seven loaves and a few small fishes in the wilderness. The effort which certain writers, for instance De Wette (on Matt. xv. 29) and Neander (*Life of Christ* [Bohn] p. 287, note), make to identify this with the like feeding of the five thousand, is refuted by Christ's own distinct mention of both (see Matt. xvi. 9, 10, and Mark viii. 19, 20. For an examination of the minute points of difference in these great and similar miracles, Bishop Ellicott, *Lectures*, pp. 221, 222 and notes, is worth consulting). We have said that in this period of the Saviour's ministry, more of the *didactic* than of the *miraculous* element occurs. His first object now seems to be more than ever the instruction of his followers, of the twelve especially. They have many prejudices to unlearn, and still more of spiritual truth to learn. In this purpose of teaching the disciples we have probably the chief reason of the *privacy* which characterised our Lord's movements at this time. Various occasions are mentioned suggesting various methods of imparting his divine instructions.

Didactic character of the Ministry of this period.—Besides his long exposure of the Pharisaic traditions at Capernaum, while vindicating his disciples from the charge to which we have already referred, of eating with unwashed hands, there is his angry rebuke of the sign-seeking Pharisees and Sadducees near Magdala. While he indignantly refused to gratify their insolent and treacherous curiosity, he yet, with an emotion of grief at their harsh hostility, intimated to them, under 'the sign of the prophet Jonas' (Matt. xvi. 4), the consummation of his own sacrifice, from the benefit of which their wilfulness would be, alas! too sure a bar to them. This sign, however, if hidden to their unbelief, would serve with many other significant hints to help the faith of his apostles; and it needed help! What ebbing and flowing of intelligence did they not exhibit! For instance, when Christ, shortly afterwards in his desire to caution them against the machinations of the malignants, designated their principles as 'the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees,' the twelve were so dull as to construe his plain metaphor literally, as if he were only rebuking them for a failure of their loaf-store! Such stolidity was a great hindrance to the Saviour in his tuition of the twelve. But his patience under it all was inexhaustible, and his very rebukes won them to conviction by their graciousness. We have already referred to the healing of the blind man of Bethsaida Julias, which belongs to this place. This happened on our Lord's journey northward to Caesarea Philippi, or Panæas. Here in this remote seclusion occurred some of the most striking points of his ministerial occupation. Intent on educating his faithful followers for the great events which were now not far off, he drew them, during one of their walks among the villages of Caesarea (Mark viii. 27), into a conversation respecting *himself*, 'the Son of Man.' After hearing their report of others' opinions, he pointedly asked them: 'But whom say ye that I am?' and from the forward lips of Peter, the spokesman of the rest, he heard the gratifying confession, which proved that his labours had not been thrown away notwithstanding the

tardiness of their minds : 'Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God' (Matt. xvi. 16). But they must not divulge this mystery of Messianic truth. It would be premature. Men's spiritual faculties were all unprepared to receive so sublime a doctrine, which must therefore be guarded in respectful silence until the divine plan was maturely developed (Luke ix. 21). Grand, however, was the encomium which the apostle's noble conviction called forth from the admiring Saviour, and in his faith was laid the foundation of the church as on an impregnable rock, proof against the powers of darkness (Matt. xvi. 17-19). But there was a context in that Messianic truth which the apostle had not heeded. The *glorious* side of it he readily enough embraced ; but the aspect of affliction and death offended him. So when Jesus proceeded for the first time in explicit words to shew unto his disciples the awful catastrophe which was before long to happen at Jerusalem, the same Peter is as prompt in deprecation as before in faith : 'Be it far from thee, Lord, this shall not be unto thee.' The Master's altered tone is as emphatic as his disciple's. In words of severest rebuke he condemned the apostle's interruption as an interference with the purposes of God, which savoured as strongly of the world's inspiration (ver. 23) as his former faith had of heaven (ver. 17). The cross, however, must be borne (ver. 24) by those who would wear the crown. They must, therefore, resign themselves with heart and will to that dispensation of suffering, with him and for him, which (however little they had regarded it) was yet appointed as the precursor of even Messiah's glory, and the inevitable probation of the subjects of his kingdom.

The Transfiguration.—To assure them of the glories of that kingdom, and to encourage them for the endurance of the trials which were to prepare them for it, he, a week after this discourse, while in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea, and most probably 'on one of the lofty spurs of the snow-capt Hermon' (for the preference of *this* mountain over the more southern Tabor, see Bishop Ellicott, *Lectures*, p. 226), revealed to the three of the twelve (Peter, James, and John), whom he occasionally chose out for especial offices (comp. Mark v. 37 ; ix. 2 ; xiv. 33), a view of his glorified condition in the wonderful Transfiguration, which is described in the three synoptical gospels, and expressly alluded to by the two apostles, who lived to hand down their writings to the church (see John i. 14 ; 2 Peter i. 16-18). Over the details of this glorious scene—the Redeemer's pure effulgence vying with the 'glistering' brightness of the snows of the mountain on which he stood (comp. the equally glorious and still fuller description by St. John, Rev. i. 13-16) ; the presence of Moses and Elias, 'speaking of his decease which he was to accomplish at Jerusalem,' and thus giving the vouchers of the law and the prophets to that portion of Messiah's mission, which all men then failed to recognise, even his humiliation and death (Luke ix. 31) ; and the conduct of the apostles in the midst of all—we must not tarry. This scene, though the reverse of Gethsemane, presents to us the same three apostles as similarly affected under the extremes alike of glory and humiliation. On both occasions they were overcome with sleep (comp. Luke ix. 32 with xxii. 45) ; thus presenting to us an expressive contrast to him,

whose sensibility and care never flagged at any step he took in the accomplishment of his mission. Like the rest of his recent communications, this revelation of glory and suffering was to be kept secret until after his resurrection (Mark ix. 9)—a limitation of period which excited strange questioning among themselves (ver. 10) ; as did a similar prophecy, afterwards given them on their return to Galilee, wherein the Lord with increasing explicitness foretold to them the particulars of his approaching passion (Matt. xvii. 22, 23). With anxious timidity they kept these things to themselves, afraid to open even to Christ the subject for explanation. The weakness of their faith had received a more practical and obvious exposure shortly before their departure from Cæsarea Philippi. A lunatic youth had been submitted by his father for cure, in the Saviour's absence on the Mount, to the nine apostles. After they had tried in vain to cast out the evil spirit, Jesus at once wrought the miraculous restoration—upbraiding the faithlessness of the perverse generation, and convicting his own companions of a want of that spirit of self-denial and humility which so characterised everything he did and said himself (Mark ix. 14-29). Two circumstances which happened after their return to Capernaum from the north indicate how far they were yet from realising the *unworldly* nature of Christ's kingdom. Rather than appear to slight any legal demand made of him, he, by a miracle, provides the fee of the temple-tribute, so unwilling was he to encourage any thought of exemption from law, even in a case where exemption might well have been asserted (Matt. xvii. 26). In no sense would he have them believe that his kingdom was of this world. Far other thoughts were in the minds of his disciples. They were dreaming of the establishment of a material kingdom, and were beguiling themselves with a dispute about their own rank and superiority in the new dominion. This section of the Galilean ministry accordingly ends in a series of cognate exhortations, in which the Saviour rebukes the ambition of his scholars by the example of a little child. Humility and not ambition would entitle them to exaltation in his kingdom ! (Matt. xviii. 4). Guilelessness and self-sacrifice would also be a good security for the recompense of heaven (vers. 8, 9), and so would a forgiving temper be (vers. 15-35). These cardinal virtues of Christian lowliness, so little understood as yet by the disciples, Jesus inculcated for the sake of a deeper impression by some touching parables. We are now arrived at the termination of the former moiety of the third year's ministry. 'The Jews' feast of tabernacles was at hand,' and the Lord is about to quit his long residence in Galilee, never more to resume it.*

SECT. IV. *Christ after his departure from Galilee ; his anticipation of Death.*—There is something very grand in St. Luke's conception of the last six months' labours of Christ. As early as the 51st verse of his chap. ix., he withdraws him from

* The statement that the Lord never again resumed his residence in Galilee will not be deemed contradictory to the view which we take in a subsequent part of this article, where, in his ultimate circuit of the whole country, we make him once more *pass through* Galilee (Luke xvii. 11).

his great Galilean* career, and commences the narrative of what he designates *the Lord's journeying to Jerusalem*. In contrast with the locally fixed and limited character of his northern residence, this migratoriness is a just description of the latter history. In the verse just referred to we have the key-note: 'It came to pass when the time was come that he should be received up [the ἀναλήψις = his ascension or assumption back to his glory in heaven—Euthymius in Arnold, De Wette, and especially Meyer and Bleek, *in loc.*], he steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem.' In this journeying to his death—these 'funeral marches to the grave'—how finely does the sacred narrative set before us his firm and earnest look towards Jerusalem as the scene of his approaching sacrifice! [Τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐστήριξε τοῦ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ.] He will not indeed throw away his precious life, however due he knows it to be to a violent death; nay, he more than once withdraws from danger, to which he at last only succumbs when 'his hour is fully come!' Like a clue we can trace this migration of Christ through the remainder of St. Luke—comp. ix. 53, 56, 57; x. 38; xiii. 33; xvii.; and xix. 28, 36.

His Missionaries—the Seventy.—While yet in Galilee his brethren, who had no intelligent faith in his mission (John vii. 7), urged him to remove to the metropolis, and there exhibit the mighty power which had raised so great a sensation in the north. They blindly thought that he would perhaps achieve some national greatness—possibly the assumption of the Messiahship—which might even reflect, though they hardly knew how, some glory on themselves. (On the character of the brethren's unbelief, see a good note of Bishop Ellicott, *Lectures*, p. 246.) Their self-seeking expectations the Lord repudiates, and refuses to accompany them to Jerusalem. In this refusal too many, from Porphyry ['inconstantia ac mutationis accusat,' St. Jerome says of him, *adv. Pelag.* ii.; see also Ullmann, *Sundlos. Jes.*, by Brown, p. 191] to Meyer, have discovered an evidence of weakness and a faltering purpose! Unjustly! The Lord's words, fairly, deny only his intention to travel with his brethren, whose unsympathising ambition would unfit them to be his companions. He rather implies some intention of going up in the very terms of his refusal [*ex. gr.*, in the ὁπῶς ἀναβαίτω of John vii. 8]. Nor will his retinue be unworthy of the true Messiah. On the departure of his brethren, he despatches some apostolic messengers to prepare his way through Samaria, the less frequented road from

the north to the capital. Nor is this all. With a solemnity suitable to his last extensive effort to prepare men's hearts for the reception of his kingdom, he commissions no less than seventy of his most devoted followers to disperse themselves in five and thirty different companies, with instructions resembling those he had given to the twelve (only more urgent, as in view of the increasing hostility of the nation). They were to go 'before his face into every city and place, whither he himself was about to come' (Luke x. 1). So that, however widely spread were the Lord's last migrations—a sort of compendious visitation, embracing the entire country (Luke xvii. 11)—he seems to have gone no whither without a plan, and a previous announcement of his approach.

Samaria.—While taking his journey through the district west of the Jordan in comparative quietude (ὁ φανερώς, John vii. 10), as off the usual caravan-route to the festivals, he had to bear the slight of the Samaritans, who, perceiving him to be bent on passing by their Gerizim to visit the city and temple, which were so hateful to them, and forgetful of their former devotion to him, refused to receive him (Luke ix. 53). This indignity kindled the resentment of the sons of Zebedee, and they gave a strong proof (and that not a solitary one, Mark x. 38) of their ignorance of their master's character, and of the spirit which was due to their association with him (ver. 55), by appealing to one of the severest instances of vengeance on record, and requesting a repetition of it on the present occasion (ver. 54). He was, however, not utterly uncheered by some demonstration of favourable feeling in Samaria. One eagerly desired to attach himself to his company (ver. 57) whom the Lord saw fit to warn of the self-denial which such an adhesion would cost him (ver. 58).

Jerusalem; Feast of Tabernacles.—The eight days' festival was half-expired (John vii. 14) when Jesus appeared in the Temple. Great expectation seems to have been formed of his coming. Graphically does St. John describe the freedom with which his character was canvassed. The multitude, as usual, felt favourably towards him. The authorities were more than ever hostile, and laying plans for his apprehension. Their officers (not unlike those who were afterwards sent to arrest him in Gethsemane), awed by the majesty of his demeanour, shrank from their unwelcome office amidst the taunts of their heartless employers (vers. 45-47). 'Never man spake like this man!' was all the answer they could give to the chief priests and Pharisees, when they demanded their prisoner at their hands. But it was not the people only who favoured Christ. In the very Sanhedrim the once timid but now courageous Nicodemus dared to demand, that the council should at least proceed by legal process and not passion, in their vindictive efforts against him, whose secret disciple he had not ceased to be, ever since that memorable night when the Lord taught him the mystery of the second birth. The malignants wreaked their impotent rage on the faithful senator by taunts and gibes. They could do no more in the present temper of the populace, whom they feared while professing to despise them (ver. 49). Notwithstanding the great doubtfulness of its critical authority, the beautiful history of 'the woman taken in adultery' is generally held to be a true portion of inspired Scripture, and fits in without inconvenience at this place and time. In it we

* In our SECT. II. above, we have, following Robinson, placed a passage or two of Luke xi. and xii. in the Galilean ministry, because of the parallel places of the other evangelists. It will, however, be seen that the subjects of these passages (*Exposures of Pharisaism*) are very general, and might in fact be referred quite as well to other parts of the ministry. In some other dislocations of St. Luke by this excellent harmonist, *ex. gr.*, in x. 1-16, and xvii. 11-19 [see his *Harmony*, Eng. ed., pp. 89, 90], which are of a more marked character, we have felt ourselves unable to follow him. To our mind, after a careful examination, it is extremely doubtful whether St. Luke has in any case departed from that order of time and place which in the opening of his gospel he undertakes to follow.

have one of the many instances of the wisdom wherewith the Lord baffled the Pharisaic party in their attempts to entrap him into an incautious expression of opinion on a point of delicate and intricate relation to the Jewish law. While still at Jerusalem, on the Sabbath after the feast, Christ wrought the noted miracle, which we have already referred to, of giving sight to the man born blind (John ix.) The evangelist to whom we are indebted for the account of it, makes the miracle an historical occasion for a grand series of most profound discourses of the Lord Jesus, which vary in character from those which he had been speaking in Galilee, and from those which he afterwards delivered, in this respect, that whereas those were primarily designed as instruction to believers and disciples, these were addressed to the Jewish party in the midst of their hostility, and in mild though earnest rebuke of it. His hour is at hand. He must declare the counsel, as well as work the works, of his Father. He, therefore, amidst much virulent interruption (accompanied, however, in some instances with an effort to believe—John viii. 30), vindicates the truth of his mission, sets forth his divine relation to God, proclaims himself as the fight of the world, and enlarges on his own person and salvation. He also rebukes the degeneracy of the nation, and exposes the unavailing confidence of men who, while boasting of their descent from Abraham, had nothing of his *faith*; he shews them what was the true liberty from the thralldom of sin and the devil with which he was ready to emancipate them; and at the most favourable moment, at the climax of the festival, he with gesture and language of surpassing dignity, offers the gift of his Spirit (John vii. 39) under the beautiful figure which he had used at the well of Sychar, of a pure and flowing stream, whose waters should for ever quench the thirst of the weary soul. We do not pretend in this brief notice to sketch the connection of these discourses, which occupy the greater part of four chapters of St. John (vii.-x.); the reader would find much help to a profounder view of them in Dr. Rudolf Stier's *Words of the Lord Jesus*, as translated by Mr. Pope, vol. v., pp. 243-507. The former part of the 10th chap. contains the only parable given by St. John, that of the *Good Shepherd*. It is not a *παραβολή*, a parabolic story or narrative, like those of the synoptical gospels; but a *παροιμία* or amplified proverb, as Stier more fully points out, *l. c.*, p. 463. The last twenty verses of the same chapter carry us forward from the October of the Feast of Tabernacles to the December of the Feast of Dedication. During this interval Jesus probably remained in the immediate neighbourhood of the metropolis to make the last experiment of his love in efforts to reclaim his countrymen. St. John is silent on this period of his history. Some events, however, mentioned by St. Luke (chaps. x., xi.) probably best fit in here.

His stay in Judæa.—This interval was spent, it would appear, in comparative quietness, and resembles somewhat the latter Galilean ministry in its didactic character. The twelve were with him, and the seventy return to him at this time. To the former, who request instruction in the great duty of prayer, Jesus repeats the same model-form of prayer as he had taught in his sermon on the mount (Luke xi. 2). Only he now insists on the lesson of earnestness and importunity, as then he inculcated forgiveness of injuries, as the corollary

of prayer; and he grounds this importunity on the bountiful mercy of their heavenly Father, who will certainly never be behind any earthly parent in the plenteousness and excellence of his gifts (ver. 13). The seventy brought him a report of their simple ministration, which seemed to fill him with a joyous satisfaction. His intuition saw at a glance in the success of these plain and humble men a sample of the future progress of his kingdom, triumphing over the dominion of the evil one. 'I beheld Satan,' he exultingly exclaimed, 'as lightning fall from heaven!' Only not let them grow vain at their success; even *this* must be subordinate in their joy to the security of their own salvation (Luke xi. 20). But not merely to his own followers did Jesus confine his instruction. The touching parable of the *Good Samaritan*, which St. Luke places after the return of the seventy (x. 25-37), was directed in answer to the 'tempting' question of a certain lawyer, and to illustrate the principle of *love to one's neighbour*. The scene of this parable, the historical occasion of which we only set down here—omitting the deeper theological import which probably underlies it, as unsuitable to this sketch (see Alford, *Gr. Test.*, vol. i. [5th ed.], p. 542), seems to imply that it was spoken in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem and Bethany. The evangelist in the same chapter introduces us to the family of Bethany, our Lord's domestic intercourse with which forms a most interesting feature in his later ministry. In the holy quietude of his visits here what a refreshing contrast we have to the hostile turbulence of the city! In the purity of his love for the brother and sisters of that highly-favoured household we find the sublimest consecration of human friendship; while the tears which the Redeemer shed over that brother's grave (John xi. 35) are amongst the truest evidences which the sacred history affords us of his genuine sympathy with man's sorrows (Heb. iv. 15). St. Luke, in a few exquisite touches of that descriptive power which adorns the four gospels, reveals to us in Martha and Mary two types of character perpetually recurring in the Church. *They are both impressed with the love of Christ*, and are ever seeking to promote his cause. The Mary-type, meekly sitting at his feet, concentrates its energy on him, and wins his praise for its undivided love. The Martha-type, full of nature, yet not insincere in its love, permits the distraction of many collateral cares (*μεριμνᾷς καὶ θορυβᾷ* *ἔνι* *πολλὰ*) are the expressive words of St. Luke x. 41), which does not forfeit indeed the Saviour's kindly regard, but draws from him a rebuke, the very gentleness of which—'Martha, Martha'—is meant to reclaim the perturbed soul from the disquietude of many troubles to the needful solace of a simple fealty to its Lord.

The Feast of Dedication.—This anniversary, instituted by Judas Maccabæus in memory of the purification of the temple from the pollution of Antiochus Epiphanes, differed from the other Jewish festivals in not confining its celebration to the metropolis. Our Lord, however, being in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, attended the feast in that city. The crowds, which had gathered around him in Solomon's porch where he walked (probably to avoid the inclemency of the winter weather), with a grander doctrine to declare than ever fell from the old philosophers in their renowned *stoa*, plied him with hypocritical petulance

to solve their doubts about the Messiahship. 'If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly!' He refers them to his late discussions at the treasury and the public miracle connected with them. These plainly indicated that his mission was of God, and they ought to be evidence enough to them for the decision of their question. 'If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works.' And he went on to assert his own divinity. 'I and my Father are one'—'The Father is in me, and I in him' (John x. 30, 39). He had concluded his former addresses to them in a similarly lofty strain; 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was, I am' (viii. 58). Then they took up [*ἄρα*] such stones as were casually lying in their way, placed there no doubt for the building of the yet unfinished Temple (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 8), to cast at him; but he escaped by an assertion of his own mighty providence, as he had aforetime from a like critical danger at Nazareth (see above). On the present occasion they interrupted his sublime doctrine by a second recourse to stoning. Only this time they seem to have in their hatred come prepared with their weapons of death; *ἑβδοντα* is now the word used by St. John (x. 31), as if they had brought the stones with them. Having with calm resolution delivered to them his noble message, and having no further purpose to serve by tarrying amongst them, he will save them again from blood-guiltiness, and so escapes out of their hand (ver. 39).

The Perea or Transjordanic Ministry.—Every other province has been traversed; so the Lord, driven from Jerusalem, retires across the Jordan, where the field had been some time ago prepared for him by the illustrious Baptist. That holy man's labours were not in vain; we now see what Bengel calls (*Gnomon, in loc.*) their 'posthumous fruits' in the great success of the Saviour's ministry. St. John (x. 40-42) intimates that Christ's sojourn was a lengthy one; and he expressly informs us, that 'many resorted unto him . . . many believed on him there.' In this section we must place most of the interesting events which St. Luke [mainly] and his fellow-synoptics [occasionally] relate as having occurred during our Lord's last journey to Jerusalem. This portion of his life is generally deemed by the Harmonists to be attended with much difficulty. (For succinct views of the whole subject, see Dean Alford's *Gr. Test.* on Luke ix. 51 [ed. 5]; Bishop Ellicott's *Lectures*, pp. 242-45; Bleek's *Synopt. Erklär.*, ii. 139-145; Alp. Thomson's *Art. JESUS CHRIST* in Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, i. 1061; and Dr. Robinson's *Harmony* [Engl. ed.], pp. 91-94.) We cannot presume here to do more than broadly set the full details of the third evangelist (with the occasional parallels of SS. Matthew and Mark) over against the brief and general statements of St. John, and so construct a probable narrative of this farewell ministry of the Saviour. Much of its transitory course was, as we have said, passed beyond the Jordan. On quitting the metropolis Christ retired at first to Bethabara (John x. 40; where the *πάλω* refers to i. 28), or rather, as the best critical authority warrants us to call the place, *Bethany*, where he would meet with much to remind him of his earliest consecration to his public life. The truth of the Baptist's prophecy, of which we spoke early in this Art., haunts us here also (John iii. 30). As in Judæa early in his

career, so here in Perea at the end of it, there are not wanting signs of Christ's superiority over his great forerunner being confest to men's view (comp. John iii. 26; iv. 1; and x. 41). This will account probably for some of the subjects on which the Lord discoursed while beyond Jordan. These discourses, like the Baptist's, were in answer to practical questions proposed to him for solution; they are of a higher nature, however, and indicate that an involuntary respect for his greatness was entertained even by his opponents. They relate in some instances to what was uppermost in men's expectations, the kingdom of Messiah and its circumstances. 'Are there few that be saved?' (Luke xiii. 23); 'Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God' (xiv. 15); 'When shall the kingdom of God come?' (xvii. 20); 'Good master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?' (xviii. 18); and the enunciation of the law of divorce, in which he corrects the imperfection of the law of Moses (Mark x. 4, etc.); and their submission of young children for his blessing (Luke xviii. 15-17) . . . Such profound questions as these elicited from the Saviour some of his sublimest teaching. His audience were of the Pharisaic class generally, to whom he addressed his *later parables*: The grain of mustard seed (xiii. 18); the lost sheep; the prodigal son; the unjust steward; the rich man and Lazarus; the importunate widow; the Pharisee and Publican (xv., xvi., xviii. 1-14); the labourers in the vineyard (Matt. xx. 1-16). These illustrious lessons, delivered in the hearing of multitudes of eager listeners (Matt. xix. 1, 2; Mark x. 1), bore very much on the mysteries of his kingdom, its growth, and the principles of those who should be its subjects—so different from the prejudices fostered by the monopolists of heaven's favour among the selfish Pharisees; and the catholicity of its embrace—wherein repentant prodigals and contrite publicans would find a welcome, denied to their proud and arrogant oppressors. While thus condemning the exactions of Pharisaism, the Lord did not relax the rigour of his demand on the fidelity of his own followers. 'Whosoever doth not bear his cross and come after me cannot be my disciple' (Luke xiv. 27)—he said to the multitudes that crowded his path. 'Sell whatsoever thou hast and give to the poor, . . . and come take up the cross and follow me,' was the self-sacrifice that he lovingly (Mark x. 21) requested of the rich young ruler, who went away sorrowful from so vast a demand (Matt. xix. 22; Luke xviii. 23). On his disciples he inculcates forbearance, faith, humility; let them build up the fabric of a character perfect in self-denial; but 'when,' said he, 'ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, *'We are unprofitable servants'*' (Luke xvii. 10). St. Matthew refers to the exercise of his *healing* powers in Perea (xix. 2), and accordingly St. Luke gives us an example in the case already referred to above, in the section of the Sabbath-day cures, of the immediate restoration to her natural erectness of the woman who had for eighteen years a spirit of infirmity and was bowed together and could in no wise lift up herself (xiii. 10-17). He also healed a man afflicted with dropsy, and again on the Sabbath (see above, *l. c.*) at the house of a leader of the Pharisees (Luke xiv. 1-6). But the transjordanic ministry, as it would seem, was mainly *didactic* (comp. Mark x. 1 and Luke xiii. 22). He was now in the territories of Herod Antipas. On

a former occasion we saw how Jesus, with the caution that marked his earlier course, retired to the north out of the tyrant's way, when his attention was directed to him. But now when Christ is warned of the tetrarch's hostile designs, with an indignant protest against his hypocrisy and malice, he boldly persists in his glorious ministry, which he is eager to accomplish in face of all dangers (Luke xiii. 31, 32). He will soon perfect his work by death. Nazareth had prematurely essayed the guilt of that consummation; Capernaum and Galilee had rejected him; Samaria had spurned him; the tyrant of Peræa was now seeking to kill him; but for Jerusalem was reserved at once the accomplishment of his sacrifice and the completion of its own guilt and ruin. This the Redeemer knew, and expressed his lament for the fate of the obdurate city in a strain of compassionate pathos but yet dooming severity, which will never cease to move the heart of the reader: 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets . . . How often would I have gathered thy children together as a hen her brood beneath her wings, and ye would not!' (Luke xiii. 34, 35). What the threats of Herod failed to effect was brought about by the call of love.

Raising of Lazarus.—About the time of this message to the tyrant, he received from the sisters of Bethany the afflicting tidings that his loved friend, their brother, was dangerously ill. After two days spent in concluding his ministry beyond Jordan (see Bishop Ellicott, *Lectures*, pp. 264-268), he sets out to go to Bethany, amidst the expostulation of the twelve, who did not forget the danger from which he had escaped at the feast of dedication (John xi. 9). When Jesus divulged to them the death of Lazarus as the occasion of his visit to the vicinity of the capital, they withdrew all opposition, and acquiesced in the resolution of the devoted though desponding Thomas, to accompany him, and, if it must be, to die with him (ver. 16). The Redeemer, with prescient glance, saw at once what a noble opportunity was at hand for the manifestation of his Father's glory, the object of all his efforts, and for the confirmation of the faith of his disciples and friends, an equally dear object in his view (vv. 4, 15, 26, 40, 42, 45). On the road near the town Jesus is met by the ardent Martha, whose noble response of faith to the Saviour's challenge (ver. 27) justifies the view which makes *her*, no less than Mary, a true lover of her Lord. The contagion of the tears of Mary and her friends kindled the Saviour's sorrow. In the briefest, but one of the most precious, of the verses of the N. T., St. John informs us how 'Jesus wept' (xi. 35). But even into the midst of that sacred grief did the Jewish cynics intrude (ver. 37), and the Redeemer's sympathetic tears were mingled with an emotion of pain at their obduracy (ver. 38). As he approaches the grave he is again interrupted by an impatient exclamation of Martha, which he first rebukes, and then, after ordering the sepulchre to be opened, with a calm thanksgiving to his Father, he utters the loud fiat which called forth the dead, and exchanged his corruption for the freshness of health and strength! We have already commented on the grandeur of this great miracle (see above, in the section *The raising of the dead*). Its effect was immense, both on friend and on foe. It stimulated the adherence of many believers; and excited the keener animosity of the malevolent. While the Sanhedrim, under the direction of Caiaphas, were

organising a wide-spread plot for his capture, Jesus withdrew to the town of Ephraim (or Ophrah = the modern *Taiyibeh*, about twenty miles north of Jerusalem). From this place the Lord, after a stay of two or three weeks with his disciples, proceeded on the ultimate journey throughout the country to which we have already adverted.

Final circuit from Ephraim.—Pursuing a northern course, 'he passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee' (Luke xvii. 11); and, while on the way, probably on the Samaritan frontier, he healed the ten lepers (vv. 12-14). It strangely symbolised the scant gratitude of the nation, that of all the benefited sufferers one only expressed his thanks for his cure, nor is it less remarkable that the solitary one belonged to the despised Samaria (ver. 16, 18). Crossing the Jordan in Galilee, he traversed Peræa again, in quiet company, as it would seem, with the twelve, to whom for the third time, to prepare them for the shock of his approaching separation from them, he foretells his death and resurrection (Matt. xx. 17-19; Mark x. 32-34; Luke xviii. 31-34). We do not read that this startling announcement brought out from the impetuous Peter a repetition of his former resistance. All apparently were acquiescent, but without intelligence. St. Luke is emphatic in his description of their ignorance (xviii. 34). Of the *Messiahship* of their friend and master they doubted not; but of death and suffering, as connected with that dignity, they could not bring their minds to think. At this very moment, indeed, the sons of Zebedee were dreaming of regal grandeur, and presumed to request the posts of honour for themselves in the approaching kingdom (Mark x. 35, 37). This they probably did at the prompting of their mother, Salome (Matt. xx. 20, 21). With mild dignity did Jesus check their ambition, as incompatible with the appointments of God. The ten, however, were moved with an indignation against the brothers, which was only quelled by the calm wisdom of the Saviour. He, in counselling forbearance among them, pointed to his own example of self-abnegation, as 'the Son of Man,' who 'came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many' (ver. 28). But though they understood not, they were not without strange forebodings of the immediate future. Mixed feelings absorbed them on their way. For themselves they feared, as they followed Christ; but at his undaunted courage they were astonished as he put himself at their head (Mark x. 32), with that unflinching purpose, which, as St. Luke remarks, distinguished him ever since he began to have Jerusalem and his sacrifice there in view (ix. 51).

Jericho.—And thus they reach Jericho, one of the most important cities at that time in Palestine. As he was approaching it he was greeted as 'the Son of David' by a certain blind man who sat by the roadside begging. St. Luke, who alone of the evangelists narrates another event of interest connected with this visit to Jericho, by a *prolepsis* not unusual in the Gospels (see Luke iii. 19; xix. 45; John xi. 2 comp. with xii. 3; Matt. xxvii. 52, 53; xxi. 20 comp. with Mark xi. 20), to finish the history of the blind man's cure, connects it immediately with his salutation of Jesus. St. Mark, whose account is more detailed and literally exact, both mentions the sufferer's name, as Bartimeus, and describes the cure as happening on the morrow,

when the Lord was leaving the city on the western side. On this second occasion, however, the blind suppliant was not alone; a fellow-sufferer joins him in his importunity and acclamation. Affected by this double act of faith and praise, the Lord, undeterred by the crowd, who at first endeavoured to suppress the cry of the helpless pair, graciously commanded their approach, and, with a touch, instantly gave them sight. These twin miracles St. Matthew, it will be seen, characteristically (comp. his viii. 28 with Mark v. 2 and Luke viii. 27, and see our notice above) combines (xx. 29-34; comp. with Mark x. 46-52 and Luke xviii. 35-43). Three times does the first evangelist associate this Messianic eulogy of Christ as David's son with his miraculous healing of the blind. It is worth while to compare the present duplicate instance with chap. ix. 27 and xii. 23. In the latter of these two parallels the contagion of the praise spread among the bystanders. It was probably so at Jericho, where there seems, in simpler strain, to have begun that glorious thrill of popular acclamation in honour of Jesus as the Christ, which in heart-moving diapason was a few days afterwards heard from a myriad of tongues on the slope of Olivet. Alas! how inconstant the favour of the impressive multitude! That enormous apostasy of Passion-week, which so soon drifted from the gentle notes of 'Hosannah' to the shriek of 'Crucify him!' has here also its premonitory sign in the 'murmurs' of the fickle crowd (Luke xix. 7), whose prejudices were aroused, when the gracious Jesus offered himself as a guest to the unassuming (ver. 3, 4), earnestly devoted (ver. 4, 5), and sincerely repentant (ver. 8) Zachæus. With modest joy this man entertained his wonderful guest (ver. 6), and received from his lips the assurance of his blessed acceptance (ver. 9). As a divine comment on all that was happening, the Lord delivered the weighty parable of 'The Ten Pounds' (ver. 12-27). They were all in expectation that he was on the eve of establishing his visible kingdom as Messiah (ver. 11). They *might* have learnt from this parabolic lesson, that, as their own recent princes had only gained their thrones after journeys to distant Rome, so they must postpone their hopes of his asserted royalty till his return from 'the far country' (ver. 12), whither their own hatred and rejection of him (ver. 14) were in fact about to send him. After the delivery of this great parable he resumes the same remarkable position *at the head of his followers* (ver. 28) which had raised before such a mingled emotion of wonder and alarm (Mark x. 32), and thus reaches the temporary rest of Bethany, previous to the accomplishment of the eventful occurrences which will form the subject of our next chapter, six days before his last Passover (John xii. 1).

CHAP. III. OCCURRENCES OF PASSION WEEK.
Introductory events: Friday and Saturday.—With Wieseler (*Chronol. Synops.* 386-392), we assume Friday, 8th of Nisan (March 31 of A.D. 30, or A.U.C. 783) to have been the day referred to by St. John (xii. 1) as that of our Lord's arrival at Bethany. After quitting the hospitable roof of Zachæus, and traversing the rough road which lay between Jericho and Jerusalem, he would without difficulty complete his journey before the commencement of the Sabbath at six o'clock. This, the last Sabbath of his mortal life, he spent in the retirement of the village where his most devoted

friends, Lazarus and his sisters, lived. The grateful family, to do him honour, prepared him 'a supper' (John xii. 2), at the house of a certain Simon, connected probably with them by a close relationship, on whom, as on Lazarus himself, the Lord it would seem had bestowed his mighty power; for from the epithet attached to his name by St. Matthew (xxvi. 6), and St. Mark (xiv. 3), it has been conjectured that he had been recovered of the frightful disease of leprosy. This domestic entertainment is interesting, not only for the presence of Lazarus, whom the late astounding miracle had made a most observed person (John xii. 2, 10), but as eliciting the character of his sisters. Martha 'served,' deeply impressed, no doubt, with the honour of service to one whose greatness she had, on a former occasion, acknowledged to be more than human (John xi. 27); while the thoughtful Mary proved, by a remarkable act, that she had not in vain sat at Jesus' feet. During the meal she approached the *triclinium* whereon the Lord reclined, and having first anointed his head and then his bare feet with most costly and fragrant unguents which she had prepared (comp. Matt. xxvi. 7 and Mark xiv. 3, with John xii. 3), she proceeded, in token of a still intenser devotion, to wipe his feet with her hair. As on a former not dissimilar occasion (Luke vii. 37-49), so here also, the Lord commended the act in terms of emphatic praise; but in this case he recognised a specially profound faith in Mary. She seemed to be the only one whose intuition of belief embraced with prophetic power the great consummation, which all were so slow to allow, of his approaching sacrifice. While Judas and (sad to say) his fellow-disciples (Matt. xxvi. 8 comp. with John xii. 4) were disingenuously grudging this precious office of love and faith, the Lord bestowed on it one of the most expressive commendations to be met with in the Gospel: 'She hath done what she could,' he said, 'she is come beforehand to anoint my body to the burying' (Mark xiv. 8): and he graciously added the promise of immortality as the guerdon of her love; the pages of the Gospel should be for ever as redolent with the record of that pious deed (ver. 9) as was all the house at that moment with the odour of the ointment (John xii. 3). After the Sabbath, but before the day was past, many from the neighbouring city seem to have been attracted to Bethany by the information that Jesus and Lazarus were both to be seen there (ver. 9). But, true to their old malignity, while the many were displaying a popular attachment, if not an actual faith and adhesion to Christ (ver. 11), the Pharisaic authorities began to renew their efforts to apprehend him, including, in their malevolent purpose, on this occasion, his friend, whose fame the great miracle had indissolubly linked with his own (ver. 10).

Sunday of Passion week; 10th of Nisan (April 2). Owing to his absence from the last year's Passover, and his cautious attendance only at the festivals of Tabernacles and Dedication, much speculation was rife as to the possibility of his further absence from the present feast (John xi. 56). It was, however, known on the morrow after the Sabbath that Jesus would certainly visit Jerusalem. This evoked the grand enthusiasm, of which some symptoms had appeared at Jericho, and which terminated in the Messianic triumph of a public entry into the metropolis amidst the applause of the nation. Not

only the country population who had come to the Passover (ὄχλος πολλὸς ὁ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν, John xii. 12), but the urban also, whom the resurrection of Lazarus had lately roused (καὶ ὑπήντησεν ὁ ὄχλος, κ. τ. λ., ver. 18), united their loud and cordial Hosannahs to his praise as the Son of David come to his royal heritage. The four evangelists unite in describing the illustrious welcome which Christ received in his progress from Bethany to the capital (Matt. xxi. 1-9; Mark xi. 1-10; Luke xix. 29-35; John xii. 12-15). Moving beyond description was the scene, when, amidst the palm-bearing multitudes, who shouted their pæans of victory, and strawed the way with their garments, in honour of him whom they were conducting as their sincerely accepted Messiah to the city of his royal ancestors, the meek and lowly Saviour, accepting the homage of the moment, but prescient withal of the approaching apostasy and the miseries it would bring, came to the spot, on a ledge of Olivet, where, as travellers say, 'the whole city in an instant bursts into view' (Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.* [ed. 3], p. 193). The sudden view which met the Redeemer's eye drew tears of profoundest sorrow from him; and as the glory of his transfiguration was shadowed by his cross and death (Luke ix. 31), so this, the twin glory of his triumph, was dimmed with that 'shower of tears wherewith' [as Jeremy Taylor says] 'he wet the palms with a dew sweeter than the moistures upon Mount Hermon or the manna-drops, as he wept over undone Jerusalem in the day of his triumph' (*Life of Christ*, part iii. sec. 15). And another bitterness mingled itself with this brief joy. We have seen how often the holiest, happiest moments of the Saviour's life were intruded on by the carping Pharisees. Their spite did not spare him now. They urge him to check the rejoicing crowds (Luke xix. 39). But in vain! He, who in Galilee so often repressed the ambition of his followers and their offers to proclaim him king, now accepts all their homage and encourages all their loyal acclamations: 'I tell you, if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out!' (ver. 40). He had actually himself initiated this great demonstration; for, on arriving at Bethphage, the suburb or *pomerium* which stretches away to the eastern basement of the temple (Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, p. 374, n. 4), he despatched two of his attendants to fetch the fresh and unsullied colt on which he meant to enter the city (Mark xi. 1-7). Every act almost was a deliberate verification of ancient prophecy (comp. Zech. ix. 9 with Matt. xxi. 4), and every hour was bringing him nearer to that death which was the very purpose of his life and mission. So he will check nothing, conceal nothing. The unrepressed excitement which greeted him outside Jerusalem, contagiously spread to the population within the gates. 'All the city was moved, saying, Who is this?' (Matt. xxi. 10). His approach to the temple was welcomed by the Hosannah-chants of little children (comp. Ps. viii. 2), amidst the murmurs of the chief priests and scribes (Matt. xxi. 15, 16), and signalled by his merciful cures upon the blind and the lame, who gathered around him within the sacred precincts (ver. 14). So complete was the sensation which his arrival excited among the varied inhabitants of the capital whom the Passover had collected, that St. John notices it as a memorable fact, that sundry Gentile proselytes humbly and reverentially sought an interview with Jesus by the

assistance of the apostles Philip and Andrew (John xii. 20-36). He freely announced his own impending death, and proclaims its universal efficacy for Gentile no less than Jew. In direct allusion also to the mode of his dying, he said: 'And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me' (ver. 33). The short address which Christ delivered on this remarkable occasion (which Dr. Stier strikingly couples with the visit of the Magi, as an indication of the interest of the Gentiles in him, at the end of his career, such as that event had betokened at its commencement), was interrupted by a voice of heavenly approbation like that which had greeted him at his baptism and his transfiguration (vers. 28-30). Far otherwise was its reception among the carping bystanders. It spoke of 'light,' as befitted the announcement of blessing to the benighted heathen (comp. Luke ii. 32 and Matt. ii. 2), and of *himself as that light*. Happy would he be if they would only bask in such a sunshine! But, alas! their minds were blinded by prejudice against so glorious an extension of spiritual blessing. They were for quenching the light. The melancholy record follows: 'These things spake Jesus, and departed and did hide himself from them' (John xii. 36). This statement probably synchronises with Matt. xxi. 17 and Mark xi. 11; if so, our Lord's retreat from the hatred and opposition of the city was to the love and faith of the happy Bethany. Before this remarkable day, the 10th of Nisan, ends, we cannot refrain from noticing the typical provision of the Mosaic law (Exod. xii. 3), which prescribed to the whole 'congregation of Israel' the separation on it of the paschal lamb in readiness for its offering on the 14th. Do we not read, in the events of the day just past, the solemn, though most unconscious consecration, on the part of the universal nation, of him who was so soon to be sacrificed as the true paschal lamb? From an important statement of St. Luke (xxi. 37, 38), it would appear that during the few remaining days of his earthly ministry, the Lord devoted the mornings to public teaching in the temple, eager to embrace every opportunity which the favourable temper of the people allowed him, of impressing their minds with his instruction. The rest of the day seems to have been given to the disciples, with whom he would at eventide retire to Bethany.

Monday, 11th of Nisan (April 3).—When the Lord visited the temple yesterday, he was not so absorbed by the exciting scenes as to be indifferent to the honour of his Father's house. With Messianic dignity he cast a scrutinising look 'round about upon all things' (Mark xi. 11), and took his measures for the morrow. But on his way to the city in the morning, he was attracted by the foliage of one of the fig-trees of Bethphage; and, being hungry no doubt from the long vigil of the night, he approached it in search of fruit. But in vain! The tree, although so precocious in leaves, was fruitless. Fit but sad emblem of the city and nation! He had in an earlier part of his ministry strikingly pictured the unfruitfulness of the people in the parable of the barren fig-tree (Luke xiii. 6-9). The three years' forbearance and the prolonged probation then vouchsafed were now exhausted. The time for judgment was come. The sentence, suspended in the parable some months before, now falls upon the useless tree before him; and in the spirit and power of Messiah—such as he had as-

serted yesterday when demanding the use of the colt (Matt. xxi. 3), and would again display this very day in the Temple, and yet again on Thursday on requesting the accommodation of the Passover-chamber (Matt. xxvi. 18)—he pronounces the fatal doom, which before to-morrow's sun we shall see accomplished. On his arrival at the Temple, his indignant zeal at the desecration of its holy precincts was kindled, just as it had been at the outset of his ministry three years before (comp. Matt. xxi. 12, etc. with John ii. 14, etc.: on the two cleansings of the Temple, as the opinion of most of the commentators, ancient and modern; see Alford, and especially Meyer, *in locis*, and Ellicott, *Lectures*, p. 122, n. 3). The holy Baptist, among Messiah's attributes, symbolised his judicial and reformatory power by making him wield 'a fan in his hand' (Matt. iii. 12). How signal was his display of this authority, when he purged the courts and purlieus of the Temple of these purveyors and their traffic, who in the godless pursuit of their gain had reduced God's house of prayer to the condition of a den of thieves! This is not the first time we have traced in the meek and lowly Saviour the grandeur of a righteous indignation, and the exercise of a sinless though withering vengeance against the hypocrite and the wordling (comp. his many denunciations [*passim*] against Pharisaism, and his message to Herod Antipas, with his cleansings of the Temple). This moral power, in action, is no less Messianic than his vast prerogative of miraculous agency. But how utterly alien were the minds of even the most educated classes of the Jews from the true view of Messiah is strikingly shewn by the invariable hostility wherewith those classes pursued Christ after every manifestation of his theocratic power. The present instance is no exception. 'The chief priests and the scribes, and the chief of the people, sought to destroy him,' after his expulsion of the traders and his angry rebuke of their sin. It is true they were as yet powerless. The popularity of Jesus still shielded him from the machinations of the few. But St. Luke, to whom we owe this information, mentions in this passage (xix. 47), for the first time, some new allies of the priestly party (*οἱ πρῶτοι τοῦ λαοῦ*). His words are remarkable and emphatic. We must bear them in mind, for they will afford us some clue to the astonishing ebb of that tide of public favour, which up to this moment and later still sustains the Lord in his great career. The treble combination mentioned by the evangelist avails nothing as yet to arrest Messiah's progress through this wonderful week, 'for all the people hung upon his lips' (*ὁ λαὸς γὰρ ἅπας ἐξέκρεματο αὐτοῦ ἀκούων*), being exceedingly struck with the mode and matter of his teaching, as St. Mark informs us (*ἐξεπλήσθητο ἐν τῇ διδασκίᾳ αὐτοῦ*, xi. 18).

Tuesday, 12th of Nisan (April 4).—This unequalled dignity and authority in the subjects and manner of his teaching was another mark of his Messiahship. It had been indeed observed by his hearers from the beginning of his career (Mark i. 22); but is reserved for perhaps its grandest development on the day upon which we are now entering; a day inferior to none of the Saviour's life on earth in interest, not for miraculous display—for not a miracle was wrought—but for the amount, the variety, and the grave solemnity of the instruction which Jesus now vouchsafed, for the last time, to address to the general public. Full of expecta-

tion, the people resorted early to the Temple to hear him (Luke xxi. 38). On his way from Bethany, accompanied by his disciples, the astonished Peter calls his attention to the hapless fig-tree, 'dried up from the roots' (Mark xi. 20), under the withering curse of the preceding day. The Lord points to it as an indication of the mighty power of God; let them learn to put their trust in It. This implicit faith, so necessary to them in the future to which they were called, would enable them to remove mountains. *Theirs would not be a walk by sight*, as the prevalent hopes of an imperial Messiah might erroneously suggest. They would have to commend their cause to God in earnest prayer; only let their prayers, would they have them prevail, be tempered, as he had already taught them on the Mount (Matt. vi. 14, 15), with a forgiving spirit. Prayer from a vindictive heart was a terrible impropriety which God would surely punish. On his arrival at the Temple, he was met by a phalanx of his bitterest foes, who had united their incongruous forces in the vain hope of confounding him with hard and insidious questions. Could they break the spell of his influence with the masses by this public discomfiture, their purpose would be effected and his ruin sure. Their first challenge [By what authority he was effecting those mighty works, the reality of which they could not deny?] he promptly parried, by proposing to them a dilemma about the Baptist and his mission. It was a fair retort. They instantly saw his advantage; and by declining to answer him, they only justified his own refusal to satisfy their irreverent and hostile curiosity. This first assault seems to have had somewhat of an official tone. The Sanhedrim, when in the beginning they sent a deputation to the Baptist to demand an account of his mission (John i. 19), thereby meant to assert their prerogative as triers and conservators of doctrine and spiritual gifts. The same function they now discharge by challenging the Lord's authority. On the former occasion of cleansing the Temple, they demanded of him a sign, or miracle, in attestation of his mission (John ii. 18). The insincerity of that demand they prove by now ignoring the wonders he had in the meantime wrought, and requesting a fresh voucher. As in the other instance, so in this, Jesus meets their demand with an authoritative rejoinder in the shape of three weighty parables, that of *The Two Sons* (Matt. xxi. 28-32); of *The Wicked Husbandmen* (Matt. xxi.; Mark xii.; Luke xx.); and of *The Marriage of the King's Son* (Matt. xxii. 1-14). In these we have a cætena of solemn protest and warning, in which the Lord exposes the failure of the Pharisaic party to profit from the labours, first of John the Baptist and then of himself. With all their sanctimonious pretensions of fealty to God, they were in fact forfeiting (like the second son) the blessings of his kingdom to 'the publicans and the harlots,' those objects of their proud contempt (symbolised by the first of the sons) whose simple faith was leading them to the heritage which the Lord of the vineyard would take from them. Like the husbandmen of the second parable, they were consummating the reprobation of their ancestors, who had slain God's servants the prophets, by now compassing the death of his Son and heir. The vineyard of their church and nation would soon be judicially taken from them and transferred to other races, whom they indeed had superciliously cursed, but whom

God would surely choose. The same stern truth is taught in the third of these parables, in which the *graciousness* of the provision which the King of Heaven had made for his subjects is conspicuously illustrated; while their rebelliousness is visited with the burning up of their guilty city, and the offer of their blessings to wayfarers and strangers, who would gladly accept and cherish the gifts which they had slighted and abused. Overpowering was the effect of these parabolic discourses, the second of which, delivered with an unmistakeable point, which converted parable into plain rebuke, so incensed the chief priests and the scribes, that nothing but their paramount dread of a rescue by the yet unestranged multitude deterred them from the immediate apprehension (*ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ*, Luke xx. 19) of Jesus. Foiled in their united effort, they separate their forces and renew their attempts to embarrass the Lord by dangerous and captious questions. One of the most remarkable proofs of the intense hatred of all parties towards the holy Saviour occurs in the violent incongruity of the alliances which men formed to effect their deadly object. On the present occasion the Pharisees were content to make common cause with opponents, whose hostility on ordinary questions of political and theological interest was implacable. In their first attack they joined the Herodians in proposing the famous dilemma about *tribute to Cæsar* (Matt. xxii.; Mark xii.; Luke xx.) This was followed by the less perilous but equally insidious inquiry about the sevenfold widow and the resurrection. The Lord's answers were as unvasive and full to the point as they were wise and suggestive of principles of eternal interest; the first settles with delicate precision the compatibility of political and religious duty, and the second reconciles, on intelligible and simple grounds, the necessary discrepancy of social existence in the earthly and the heavenly states.* The Pharisees, undeterred by their first repulse, return to the charge. This time they selected one of their most able scribes to confront the Saviour (comp. Matt. xxii. 34 with Mark xii. 28). To his question about *the great commandment of the law*, the Lord returned an exhaustive answer, which extorted even from his dialectic assailant an exclamation of approving surprise. The effect of Christ's replies was to silence his foes, one after the other, amidst the astonishment and delight of the listening crowds. The humiliation of his assailants was still further increased by their utter inability to meet him, when he retorted on them the profound but (considering their pretensions of knowledge) not unreasonable question respecting the Son and Lord of David. The Lord's victory was complete over every opponent and at every stage of these discussions. Nothing is more emphatic in the gospels, than the statement, again and again repeated in the history of this great day, of the silence to which Christ reduced his adversaries (comp. Matt. xxi. 27; xxii. 22, 46; Mark xi. 33;

xii. 12, 34; Luke xx. 7, 26, 40). Having thus stilled them, the Lord proceeds, in a final attempt to convince and win them to conversion, to deliver that most solemn of his addresses which St. Matthew has preserved in his 23d chapter. Free from *passion* (vers. 2, 3), but full of love, he begins by warning his disciples (Luke xx. 45) and the well-affected multitude (Matt. xxiii. 1) against the hypocritical teachers, who had misled them by perverting the doctrines of Moses. Then in words of righteous but withering indignation he goes on to condemn the fatal casuistry of these scribes, who were closing the kingdom of heaven against others and themselves. They were worse than their fathers, whose guilt they were fast consummating, so that upon that reprobate generation must burst the storm of vengeance which had long been gathering. And all this was in spite of his dear love which had so often yearned over the children of Jerusalem in vain! (see the tender expostulation over the city, which he had uttered first in Peræa and repeated here and now, in Matt. xxiii. 37-39). SS. Mark (xii.) and Luke (xvi.) mention one affecting incident, which gives point to the Lord's burning censures. Foremost amongst *these* he had placed the extortion of the false teachers, who (not unlike the Sophists of Athens) doubled their sin by first poisoning knowledge and then vending the noxious doses at high prices. They enriched themselves by devouring widows' houses and robbing the poor and simple. One of these victims of their rapacity was observed by Jesus humbly offering at the Temple-treasury the scanty remains of her living at the call of unaffected piety. The Lord bestowed his commendation on the widow's mite as the sign of a higher sacrifice, given in her penury, than the copious offerings of the affluent, who felt not the want of their costlier gifts. And now this great day of teaching drew near its end, but not its sacred instructions. For as Jesus was taking his leave of the Temple his disciples remarked on the beauty of its structure and materials. He answered their admiration by prophesying the complete overthrow of the splendid fabric. After pensively traversing their way, Peter and his brother and the two sons of Zebedee, availing themselves of a halt on the Mount of Olives, where the Lord turned another look towards the Temple, anxiously desired an explanation of the mournful prophecy. Their inquiry afforded Jesus a ready opportunity of discoursing on two events fraught with profoundest interest to them, as Jews and as men—the end of the Jewish polity and the end of the world. After what Lord Bacon calls the *germinant* way of prophecy, which often ignores chronological sequence and springs from a crisis to its analogue, Christ on this momentous occasion, in the long foreview of his prophetic intuition, couples together the two analogous events, the fate of Jerusalem and the final judgment, from which he wishes his immediate audience, and after them his church, throughout all generations, to learn the lessons of vigilance and endurance and preparation, under many trials on earth, waiting for the coming of the Son of Man. He enforces his injunctions of watchfulness and patient discharge of duty by the solemn parables of *the Ten Virgins* and *the Talents*; and winds up the instructions of this most memorable day by a revelation, such as he alone could make, of the

* The Lord was pleased to add an argument out of the Pentateuch, authoritative with the Sadducees, in which the doctrine of the future life and the resurrection was proved by a process of implication, which suggests how deep a substratum of spiritual truth underlies the scriptural letter. See Matt. xxii. 31-33; Mark xii. 26, 27; and Luke xx. 37-40.

scenes and processes of the last judgment (Matt. xxv. 31-46).

Wednesday, 13th of Nisan (April 5).—This, the perfect contrast of yesterday, was a day of no excitement and but little incident. In its quietness, however, was planned the treachery which brought about the death of Jesus. The Lord seems to have spent the whole of this, his last day of freedom, in the retirement of Bethany or on the slopes of Olivet. By some the supper of Simon the leper, which we have assigned to the preceding Saturday, is supposed to have taken place to-day. Its sequence in the narrative of SS. Matthew and Mark is the only ground (and it is a most inconclusive one) for the conjecture. More consistent with probability is the view of those who think that Holy Scripture now removes the Saviour from the gaze of men, and throws a veil over him as he approaches death. In the profound causes of that death, in the endurance of it, and in its momentous issues, what room for meditation and prayer, and what need of communion with his heavenly Father! Whether his disciples, whom 'he loved to the end,' were the sharers of his thoughts—or whether he spent these precious hours in absolute solitude—we are not informed. One at least avoided his presence during a part of the day. The Sanhedrim, as we have seen, had long been seeking some means of apprehending Jesus. Though thwarted hitherto by the favour of the people, they were still bent on their malignant purpose, and were met to-day for consultation at the house of Caiaphas, the high-priest. To this body did the traitor Judas, one of the twelve, now go—probably in the afternoon—and offer his miserable services. This unexpected aid put them in higher hope than they had yet dared to entertain of the speedy accomplishment of their wishes. Two of the evangelists expressly mention their joy (Mark xiv. 11; Luke xxii. 12). They gratify the cupidity of their new accomplice with the paltry sum, which Moses appointed for the life of a servant or slave (Matt. xxvi. 15, comp. with Exod. xxi. 32). We have sometimes called attention to the accomplishment of prophecy in this history of our Lord. Not the least remarkable of these prophetic coincidences is connected with this fee of treachery (see Zech. xi. 12, 13, and Matt. xxvii. 9, 10). The bargain thus made in privacy was to be carried out as quietly as possible. The fear of the populace still haunted the rulers, who were laying their plans for the *secret* death of Christ. This, however, would not accord with the appointment of prophecy, nor with the intimations which the Lord had himself occasionally dropped about the great event. So recently as this very morning he had distinctly said to his appalled disciples, 'Ye know that after two days is the passover, and the Son of Man is betrayed to be crucified' (Matt. xxvi. 1). The death of the cross, therefore, and that of course by public sentence and execution, awaits the Saviour; although such a design (and still more the attainment of it) is, even so late as the present time, far from the thoughts of his bitterest foes. The active counsels of the Pharisaic party, however, as we have said, had received a great impulse to-day from the unexpected adhesion of one of the apostles. They accordingly laid their plans for tampering with the populace, and they found effective helpers in those 'chiefs of the people,' whom we have already observed closely

leagued with the malignants. With what success their efforts were crowned we shall soon discover. Jesus, who is now a free man, will be by to-morrow night a prisoner in the house of the high-priest, awaiting death.

Thursday, 14th of Nisan (April 6).—The greater portion of this, like the whole of the previous day, was spent in private, either at Bethany or some other part of the Mount of Olives. The proceedings of the Sanhedrim, no less than the actions of our Lord, are again veiled in obscurity. Never did history fail in her record at a more momentous period than at this great crisis, when the powers of darkness were successfully engaged in their fatal activity to accomplish the Saviour's death. How profoundly sacred were the meditations of Jesus, and how intensely malignant were the labours of his enemies, which this veil of history shrouds from view, we may in some degree gather from the nature of the case and from the events which are revealed to us, on either side, on the resumption of the narrative. Among the many astonishing occurrences which make this week the most wonderful in all history, not the least remarkable is the conduct of 'the people' towards our Lord. And now while the faction which rules at Jerusalem is so engrossed in detaching the multitude from their lingering devotion to Christ, let us bestow a moment's reflection, in passing, on the probable cause of that revolution in the public sentiment which enabled the Sanhedrim to effect their deadly object. From the capricious qualities of a crowd, which shrewd observers of mankind have so often noticed (comp. Eurip. *Orest.* 1157; Cicero, *pro Planc.* iv.; Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 39 ['incertum vulgus']; Horat. *Od.* ii. 16. 40 ['malignum vulgus']; *Od.* i. 35. 25 ['infidum']; Shakespere, *Coriolanus*, i. 1), the Jewish populace was certainly not exempt. Nowhere could one find a more vivid portraiture of popular inconsistency than in the accounts which the evangelists give us of the change in the shouts of the multitude in the streets of Jerusalem, from the '*Hosannas*' of Palm Sunday to the '*Away with him, crucify him*' of the following Friday. Other examples are given us by St. Luke (Acts xiv. 11-19; xix. 32, 39g.; xxviii. 4-6), but they are faint illustrations indeed of the vast and fatal inconsistency of which we are writing. Startling, however, as it was, we have not far to go for the reason of the change.

Intense was the popular craving to exchange the Roman yoke for a native monarch who should restore the line of their glorious David; and in spite of the Lord's studied efforts to check all political demonstrations in his favour, the great works of mercy, which he designed to instigate only spiritual adhesion to him, suggested to the wonder-stricken crowds which saw them the conclusion, that the Wonder-worker himself could be none else than the very Messiah, the restorer of their ancient kingdom. In vain did Jesus seek every opportunity of discouraging and reproving this mere worldly expectation. His very apostles were full of it to the last. How bitter then was the disappointment of all men, when, instead of displaying the insignia of a revolutionary enterprise to which their Hosannas were intended, on the first day of the week, to invite him, he gradually withdrew himself from all intercourse and apparent sympathy with the people. Disappointment, as is natural, begat a reaction of dislike and a desire

of revenge. The higher classes, whom the Lord's severe strictures had within the last day or two exasperated more keenly than ever, saw the change, and instantly embraced it by the help of the popular leaders whom they had already on their side. In this somewhat speedy collapse of their Messianic hopes may we then trace the cause of the defection of the populace from the side of Christ, stimulated as it was by the artful misrepresentations of their subtle guides, who were too well practised in hypocrisy to be at a loss for means of converting a popular disappointment into a strong antipathy. What particular shape their persuasion took we shall have another opportunity of seeing. We need only here remark, that in the face of these considerations we shall feel no astonishment, when to-morrow we find Jesus, whom any attempt to injure would four days ago have brought thousands to his rescue, led out to execution amid the execrations of a hostile multitude. To-day he is still at rest, probably in the company of his beloved disciples. In answer to their natural inquiry—where they should prepare for him the passover?—he, towards the end of the present day, dispatches Peter and John to a certain house within the city, where, as he had foretold, a ready welcome awaited the entire party for the purpose of their commemoration. Before, however, they had begun their sacred festival, the comparatively uneventful Thursday, in its civil sense, was ended, and that day had begun its legal course, which is in its issues immeasurably the greatest of all days.

Friday 15th of Nisan (April 7), first portion, or Thursday evening and night.—It will more accord with the usual treatment of this part of the sacred history, if we divide the 15th of Nisan into its natural sections of (1) Thursday evening and night, and (2) Friday. It is some indication of the importance of this day's events, that hardly one of them is unencumbered with much discussion and contrariety of opinion. Were our space much longer than it is, it would be too brief to admit of any controversial matter. This we therefore forego, and content ourselves with registering such results as seem to us to approach most nearly to verisimilitude. Following the express statements of SS. Matthew (xxvi. 17), Mark (xiv. 12), and Luke (xxii. 7), with which the apparently discrepant narrative of St. John does not in fact disagree (see the arguments succinctly given by Dr. Robinson in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of Aug. 1845, pp. 405-436; and with still greater brevity, in the Tract Society's edition of his *Harmony*, pp. 145-151; while a convenient statement of the opposite view may be seen in Bishop Ellicott's *Lectures*, pp. 322, 323, notes; and Neander's *Life of Jesus Christ* [Bohn], pp. 425-427, note), we find, as might *a priori* be expected of him, who in his holy mission was careful 'to fulfil all righteousness,' that Jesus, according to the prescription of the law (Exod. xii. 1), proceeded this evening to eat with his disciples the paschal meal which had been duly prepared in the afternoon of Thursday by Peter and John (Luke xxii. 8). Fit conclusion was this to his loving intercourse with them; and the celebration gave him an especial joy, as gratifying the most earnest desire which he had of ending his ministry with the holiest of the festivals of the ancient church, into which he was now to infuse a sacred transforming power, whence a new feast was to arise, the memorial of his death, which should become

the blessed means of union and strength to his future people (Luke xxii. 15). But not unsullied was his joy. In that extreme infatuation which blinded the eyes of the disciples against the fast approaching humiliation of their Master, and which on the very threshold of his deepest sorrow made them dream of earthly greatness and glory, they were no sooner seated at the supper than they began an unseemly strife 'which of them should be accounted the greatest' (ver. 24). Jesus gently deprecates that ambition, so unfit in the followers of him who came not to be ministered unto, but had ever been amongst them 'as one that serveth.' And, the more emphatically to recommend the meekness of such a character, he, with deliberate earnestness, proceeded to wash the feet of each of them in succession. It was the office of a menial; but, as Christ performed it, it rather enhanced than compromised the inherent dignity of his exalted character, and drew from all the company, and even from the impetuous Peter, who at first protested against the act as a needless humiliation, acquiescence and profound respect. The paschal supper was still going on (the *δελτου γενομένου* of John xiii. 2 should rather be, *when supper had begun*, than *had ended*, as A. V. has it; the reading of B, and other MSS., including C, *prima manu*, and the newly discovered *Δ* [*δελτου γενομένου*], still more clearly shews our version to be improbable), when Jesus with troubled spirit indicates in a few solemn and emphatic words his certain knowledge of the foul treachery which was lurking in the heart of one of his companions and was soon to be displayed in the betrayal of himself to his enemies. This perfidious requital of his love, which was not unmarked in prophecy (Ps. xli. 9; lv. 12-14), was one of the bitterest ingredients of his cup of sorrow, and the announcement of it now filled the disciples with sad and anxious fears. Each felt the anguish of a momentary distrust of even his own fidelity, and with deep emotion asked, 'Lord, is it I?' Nor did the conscious one himself relieve their doubt by any apparent embarrassment. It is impossible to tell what was passing in his heart at this moment of severe trial. Was he by this time utterly estranged from his good and loving Master, or was he even yet reclaimable by the merciful and gentle warnings, which the Lord obviously addressed to him to the very last? On the answer to this question depends the traitor's meaning in repeating the inquiry of the rest, 'Master, is it I?' It might have been the effect of an irrepressible awe, which made him involuntarily re-echo the anxiety of his fellows. It might have been a mere blind to hide himself withal from observation. It might have been the insolence of bravado. Be, however, the fact what it may, the fatal moment of his apostasy is at hand. The Lord, with no ungracious intent (for to give a *ψωμιον* at an Eastern repast was a mark of affectionate friendship; see Wordsworth and Alford, on John xiii. 26), handed to him a fragment of the paschal viands. The kindness was lost upon his faithless heart, which vacillates no longer. 'After the sop, Satan entered into him' (John xiii. 27). He quits the sacred presence with a few words from the Saviour. His departure seems to have relieved the soul of Jesus of an oppressive weight; 'Now is the Son of Man glorified,' he exclaims, 'and God is glorified in him' (ver. 31). The paschal supper terminates; and at its third cup (*the cup of blessing*; comp. 1 Cor. x

16) the Lord proceeds to engraft upon it the eucharistic feast of the gospel, the oldest and the highest of Christian institutions, which will only cease to be a blessing to faithful souls when the Lord shall come himself to supersede it to them by his own eternal presence. St. John is silent on this act of Christ in ordaining his holy supper. But the great apostle of the Gentiles (see 1 Cor. xi. 23-25) supplies his place, and unites with the other three evangelists in a beautiful history of an event, in which the Gentile no less than the Jewish believer has an indefeasible interest. A few melancholy words are first uttered by Christ on the desertion and dispersion of those around him, when the near-approaching hour of danger should come; and then, when the self-confident Peter, as usual, interrupts him with his vain protest, the Lord announces to him that *his* desertion will be especially deliberate and repeated; but he graciously added, 'Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat—but I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not.' The tenderness of this expostulation, which St. Luke alone records (xxii. 31), must afterwards have gone home to the heart of the fallen apostle, and with that loving 'look' of sorrowful rebuke, which again St. Luke is the only one to mention (xxii. 61), must have gone far to work that repentance in him which ultimately restored him to the Saviour's side and cause. (We may thus regard the third evangelist as the historian of Peter's contrition, in its causes no less than its fact.) Of all *painful* communications Christ has now unburdened his mind, and he is free to take his farewell of them in words which breathe only of love and heavenly comfort. Who, in limits far more spacious even than ours in this sketch, can hope to express the sublime instruction, prayer, and consolation, which now flowed from the mouth of the holy Saviour? In the long section which intervenes between the latter part of his chap. xiii. and the close of chap. xvii. the beloved disciple has been permitted to record for the church's eternal consolation the profound secrets of his dear Lord's wise and loving heart. Olshausen (*Commentary* [Clark's ed.], vol. iv. p. 47) well calls this portion of the evangelical history 'its *holy of holies*, the view into which our Evangelist, like a consecrated priest, alone opens to us.' Jesus sounds at the very first the key-note of his address. 'Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God, *believe also in me*.' And he goes on to shew them how intimate, how inseparable, was his relation to the Father; in this close union lay all their security as believers in *him*. If he had spoken of leaving them, let them be assured that his necessary absence would be more than compensated for by the abiding presence and indwelling of *another* Comforter, who would faithfully represent Him to them; teach them more than they could then know of him; replenish their memories with all his past instructions; strengthen them for trials, and give them the victory over them all. This Comforter would guide them into all truth and impart to them his spirit and disposition. Possessing that, let them love one another; and he adduces the eternal and indissoluble oneness of the Almighty Father and himself as the groundwork and the model of that union which his people should have among themselves and with him. These sublime instructions, which for their better recollection of them he repeats in various forms, by simile (as that of the

Vine and the Branches [chap. xv.]) no less than precept—he ends with a solemn intercessory prayer for himself and his much loved ones, whom he was leaving—'I am no more in the world, but these are. I am coming to thee. Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are.' And that this prayer might never fail in interest to the church, it embraces in its sacred scope the latest converts to a discipleship with Christ; '*Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word, that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee.*' How profound was the impression made by this address and supplication of the Lord on the minds of those who were privileged to hear them we may gather from him who survived all the rest. He was spared to a ripe old age; but he never failed to address his audience to the very last in the very echoes of Christ's own sweet words, 'Little children' (comp. the Lord's *teknia*, John xiii. 13, with the venerable apostle's own use, no less than seven times in his epistles, of the same endearing appellation), and 'Love one another.' At the conclusion of the Lord's intercessory supplication, the little company, who had some time before risen to depart (John xiv. 31), having chanted the conclusion of their sacred *Hallel*, quitted their chamber, and Jesus led the way through the city-gate (probably that now called St. Stephen's) over the brook Cedron, where his great progenitor David, 1000 years before, in bitterness of spirit, had passed flying from persecution and treachery (Burgon on John xviii. 1). Knowing that his hour at last is come, he will not flee from his enemies. He accordingly betakes himself to the garden of Gethsemane, a favourite haunt, as it would seem (ver. 2), the shades of which he had no doubt often consecrated by prayer and holy converse with his disciples. In company with them he enters it (John xviii. 1) under the light of the full moon, which fails, however, to illuminate the deeper recesses into which the Lord penetrates with Peter, James, and John (Matt. xxvi. 37; Mark xiv. 33). These, it will be remembered, were his companions at the Transfiguration; but *as then* they were oppressed with sleep, amid the effulgent glories of the heavenly scene (Luke ix. 32); so now, when their Master and Friend is bearing the agonies of an amazing sorrow 'even unto death'—(What words are equal to describe the magnitude of the sufferings of Gethsemane? We will not attempt to find any! But we will point to the expressive words of St. Mark, who is always graphic on great occasions: *ἤρξατο ἐκδαμνείσθαι καὶ ἀδμονεῖν*, xiv. 33; and of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, *θεήσεις τε καὶ ἰκετηρίας . . . μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ δακρύων προσετέρας*, v. 7, as some indication of the anguish of this night of sorrow, unequalled by any other incident of his passion, but the consummation itself of Calvary)—a like heaviness, though caused by sorrow, as St. Luke is careful to inform us (xxii. 45), removed them from the sight of that mystery of suffering. Deeper and deeper still were the abysses of his grief: 'His sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground' (ver. 44); the prince of darkness, whom we saw retreat before his steadfastness at the beginning of his ministry (*ἀρχαὶ καὶ ποῦ*, Luke iv. 13), returns now to his last and most dreadful assault, no longer with blandish

ments, but with all the force of a rough unsparing hatred. Was the first gush of woe in Gethsemane stronger than the last? or was it that he, who 'learned obedience by the things which he suffered and became perfect' (Heb. v. 8, 9), grew, angel-helped, as St. Luke tells us he was (xxii. 43), *more patient even by endurance?* For it is a feature in the grandeur of the Redeemer's conflict, that whereas he at first entreated the Father to *take away the cup from him if possible*, his second prayer modifies that request,* acknowledging its impossibility; while in terms of a most absolute resignation he submits to its bitterest draught: 'O my Father, since this cup cannot pass away from me without my drinking it, thy will be done' (*εἰ οὐ δύναται τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον παρελθεῖν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐάν μὴ αὐτὸ πῶ, κ. τ. λ.*, Matt. xxvi. 42, comp. with ver. 39). The more intense his suffering, the more earnest grew his prayer of meek submission! Human as he was, he affectingly asks of his companions their help and sympathy. But however willing in their loving hearts (Matt. xxvi. 41; Mark xiv. 38), they were unable to render him even this scanty consolation. The most forward of them failed in the hour of need: '*Simon, sleepest thou?*' More than once did he gently rebuke them—so gently, that his very gentleness, no less than their own consciousness of neglect, deprived them of all excuse, except that which he was pleased so graciously to find for them; 'they wist not what to answer him' (Mark xiv. 40). In their weakness, which stands as a *fool* in the sacred narrative, we have a touching contrast to the strong will and calm spirit with which he rose superior to the terrible conflict. The victory of his soul was gained; his will lost its last natural inclination to shrink from suffering; but the scene closes upon the still sleeping disciples. Without resentment at even a third disappointment, he says to them at last in words, which Neander has perhaps best interpreted (*Life of Jesus* [Iohn], p. 453): 'Sleep on; I will rouse you no more to watch and pray with me; but your rest shall be rudely disturbed; for, behold, the hour of my suffering is at hand. Already my captors are near.' The happy effect of his self-conquest in the fearful struggle of Gethsemane appears in all the sequel of his passion. At every step from the garden to the cross what trials await him! But from none does he for an instant shrink. With the full volition of his soul, he *offers* himself to meet them all—the pain, the shame, the scorn, the loss' (*Christian Year*, 10th Sunday after Trinity). The traitor, who had gone from the Paschal chamber straight to the chief priests and Pharisees, conducts a troop of the Temple police, who were aided by a picket of military from the garrison of Antonia, and furnished with every appliance of defence and search—'lanterns and torches,' in case of concealment among the darker

* St. Luke refers to the second prayer as offered *ἀκτενέστερον* [more earnestly]; not, however, as more urgently supplicating for the removal of the cup; but more vehemently struggling for the victory of submission in his agony. Christ knew that the Father 'always heard him' (John xi. 42). He therefore understands the *not* passing away of his anguish as the granting in fact of his last petition ['as *Thou wilt*']; as the indication of the divine will that he should drink the cup. Stier, *Words of the L. J.* [Clark], vii. 256.

recesses of the garden, 'and weapons,' in case of an attempt at rescue (John xviii. 3). The extent of these precautions gives evidence of the fears of the Sanhedrim lest after all they should miss their victim. But they little knew what had passed in the sufferer's heart, while they had been making all their preparation of arrest! The discipline of the agony had rendered that preparation completely useless! Jesus, instead of resisting, went forth to meet the troop on their approach to the garden. Useless too was the miserable formality of the traitor, who must needs give the kiss, the concerted signal of his treachery! But all was in vain! Though Jesus offered himself to their grasp, such was his majesty and moral dignity, even in weakness, that the entire party who had advanced to seize him involuntarily reeled back and fell to the ground. He presents himself again to them, after they had come to themselves, and gave an additional proof of his voluntary surrender by stipulating for the dismissal and safety of his friends who had sworn to defend him to the last: 'If ye seek me, let these go their way' (John xviii. 8). But the traitor's kiss incensed his old companions. They asked permission to avenge it with the sword (Luke xxii. 49), and Peter actually dealt what was within a little of a deadly blow at the forehead of the arresting party. This mistimed zeal drew forth another proof of the Lord's willingness to surrender himself to the appointment of God. His recent agony and self-conquest are uppermost in his mind: 'The cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?' (John xviii. 11). He puts forth for the last time a sign of his miraculous power, by healing the ear of the maimed Malchus; meekly submits to the armed troop with an expression of surprise at the magnitude of their preparation; and when the arrest is completed, he has an augmentation of his sorrow in the cowardice of his disciples, 'who all forsook him and fled' (Matt. xxvi. 56; Mark xiv. 50). And now he enters once more 'the holy city,' which is so soon to cover itself with the guilt of his rejection, no longer with the Hosannas of an admiring people, but a prisoner strictly guarded, as if a robber,* unhelped by the sympathy of the multitudes whom his capture had brought together, even at that early hour (Matt. xxvi. 55). We shall not attempt to narrate the series of examinations through which he was dragged by Jew and Gentile—from Annas to Caiaphas; from Caiaphas to Pilate; from Pilate to Herod; from Herod back again to Pilate. The misery, however, and humiliation of these processes of injustice, probably brought less pain to the heart of the sufferer than the base conduct of his foremost friend and follower. After his fit or unseasonable courage in Gethsemane, Simon Peter joined his brother apostles in their ignominious flight. In company, however, with one of them, and under the cover of the night, he found his way to the house of the high-priest, and in the hurry gained admission into the outer court. He was soon recognised; among others by a kinsman of the man whom he had wounded in the garden. Three times was he charged with a complicity with the

* *ὡς ἐπὶ ληστὴν* is the Lord's own expression: *Robber*, rather than [A.V.] '*thief*,' more truly expresses the idea of *force and violence*, which is involved in Christ's words (Matt. xxvi. 55; Mark xiv. 48; Luke xxii. 52).

prisoner. Three times did he deny his gracious master, accompanying his third denial with curses and oaths. So loud were his protestations as to catch the ear of Jesus, whom they were perhaps leading across the quadrangle at the moment: 'The Lord turned and looked upon Peter' (Luke xxii. 61). The pity and loving correction of that reproving glance, added to the crowing at that instant of a cock, which Christ had only the evening before associated with his grievous fall, roused the unhappy man to a consciousness of his shameful ingratitude. He quitted the scene and wept bitterly. We are not told whether he ventured in openly again during the awful events which followed, but that his penitential tears washed the sin from the Saviour's memory may well be gathered from the merciful signs of reconciliation which he took the earliest opportunity of evincing after his resurrection (among these signs the angel's message is remarkable, Mark xvi. 7).

Friday, 15th of Nisan (April 7). Second portion, or Friday proper.—The evening which had begun with the Paschal celebration, and the night with the agony of Gethsemane—were both terminated. The daybreak of Friday opens (probably at about two o'clock A.M.) on another event, which had grown out of the occurrences of this night of malevolent activity. No sooner was Jesus captured than the Sanhedrim were convened. After some delay (perhaps of an hour), during which Annas the ex-high-priest, a man of influence in the council, had the charge of the captive, the members met at the house of this man's son-in-law, Caiaphas, who was the high-priest this year, and took a leading part in the Saviour's condemnation. It was before this court of Caiaphas that the most deliberate proceedings against Jesus were taken. Much has been written both by Jewish and by Christian writers in vindication of the Sanhedrim. The former (like Mon. Salvador, in his *Histoire des Institutions de Moïse*, iv. 3, writing on 'the trial and condemnation of Jesus') claim for the council the merit of an honourable and conscientious examination of the entire case, and by a regular routine of law. The latter (like Mr. Wilson in his valuable *Illustration of the Method of explaining the N. T.*), while repudiating the action of the Jewish tribunal, which is so satisfactory to writers of that nation, admit 'the regularity of the proceedings before Caiaphas, the earnest manner of the high-priest, and the promptitude and unanimity of the whole court, as bearing as strong marks of sincerity as can accompany any public act whatever' (Wilson, p. 79). *Sincere* they may no doubt have been, and *consistent* in their hostility to the Saviour: nor do we deny that the seven occasions (John v. 18; vi. 42; viii. 59; x. 31 and 39; Matt. ix. 3; Mark xiv. 64) adduced by Mr. Wilson do furnish an unhappy clue of fatal consistency in the conduct of the Pharisaic party towards the Redeemer. But no admission of this kind can in anywise amount to a justification of the Sanhedrim. Their sincerity was that of malignants; their consistency that of men to whom the death of their victim was a foregone conclusion (Matt. xxvi. 4; Mark xiv. 2), an end to be accomplished by any means—by regular process if possible; but if not, by violence or assassination rather than not at all. Nothing is more evident to the reader of the Gospels than the prejudice of the priests and scribes, whose influence among the people was endangered

by the works and words of Jesus. This danger gave them *an interest* in removing the great teacher out of the way. It also rendered them *incapable* of judging equitably of his character and claims. The grounds of this incapacity the Lord himself had often pointed out to them; he perceived their inability to be a *moral* one, founded on their interested malevolence; and as such it was an immorality, a guilt worthy of the condemnation he passed upon it. Such being the disposition of the Lord's judges, who were also his determined foes, it is no wonder if their proceedings against him, when they had him at last in their power, were characterised by a violent and unseemly haste (as if they felt that no time was to be lost, lest their victim should somehow escape, if they lingered), and a disregard of law and justice, when injustice presented to them a shorter way to the accomplishment of their fatal purpose. Mon. Salvador's first assumption (which, however, he only reproduces from Maimonides and other doctors of his nation) of the infallible competency of the Sanhedrim to pronounce on the claims of Jesus, is a paradox which the reader may find refuted in Dr. M'Caul's *Lectures on the Prophecies*, Lect. i.; while his argument in defence of the decency and regularity of the Council at the trial is shewn to be plainly untenable by Mon. Dupin in his tract entitled *Jésus devant Caïphe et Pilate* (in Migne's *Démonstrations Evang.*, xvi. 727-754), translated in Greenleaf's *Test. of the Evangelists*, pp. 531-568. It is enough for us to remark, on the whole transaction of this trial before the high-priest, that, if we carefully regard the primary features of it; such as the unseasonable period of the trial (at night, and during a sacred feast); the lax and undecided way in which they drew up their indictment (first on the *lower* ground of constructive blasphemy against the Temple, etc., and, when that collapsed through the palpable perjury of their witnesses, shifting their charge to the *higher* offence against the Divine Being); and their resorting, when all other means failed, to their old method of 'entangling the Lord in his talk,' by compelling him, under an irresistible adjuration (Matt. xxvi. 63), to give that answer to a dangerous question,* which they unanimously made the occasion of an immediate condemnation—we cannot but denounce the entire proceedings as most hostile to justice, and alien from the spirit of even the Jewish law. Nor is this verdict at all modified in our minds, when we contemplate some of the secondary facts; for instance, the barbarous treatment which the Sanhedrim permitted their prisoner to receive, apparently in open court—certainly while under their protection—the blow on the face by one of the officers, before the sentence (John xviii. 22); and, after the condemna-

* This question was dangerous to the accused, inasmuch as it demanded an answer from Jesus which would *itself* be construed into the capital offence charged against him—but it was more than dangerous to the accused. It was disingenuous, nay dishonest, in Caiaphas to put a question which predicated *Divinity* of the Messiah: 'Art thou the Christ, the son of the Blessed?' [Mark xiv. 61; 'the son of God?' Matt. xxvi. 63]; when, in the view of himself and of the nation in general, this *divine* character of the Christ was not believed (Wilson, *Illustr. of N. T.*, pp. 68-76).

tion, the blindfolding, the spitting in his face, the buffeting and the blows with the palms of the hand (Luke xxii. 64; Matt. xxvi. 67). The formality of Caiaphas too, in rending his garments, in which some writers have seen an evidence of the man's unfeigned surprise and horror at the Lord's answer (see Wilson, *on the N. T.*, p. 79, and Bp. Ellicott, *Lectures*, p. 337), is quite as reasonably by others regarded as an indication of indecent violence meant to produce an abhorrence of the accused in the bystanders, especially in the public whose favour the Jewish authorities were using every method of detaching from the Saviour. It is worth while to observe, in reference to the point of law and order in the proceedings of the Council, that Caiaphas' extravagant act of rending his garments seems to have been plainly illegal. (See Lev. xxi. 10 compared with the remarkable prohibition to Aaron and Eleazar in Lev. x. 6; also Baronius, *Annales Eccles.* [on year 34], vol. i. p. 196; and I. Q. Hedeni, *Scissio Vestium Hebr.* [Ugolini, *Thes.* xxix. 1046]). After the sentence, and the gratification of their shameless brutality, the Sanhedrim hand over their victim, bound, to the Roman governor, Pontius Pilate, whose official residence was either in the fortress of Antonia (Ewald, *Christus*, p. 12), or, more probably in Herod's palace (Ellicott, p. 339). This transfer seems to have been the result of a second deliberation of the Council, which met for the purpose, probably at about five or six o'clock in the morning (Matt. xxvii. 1; John xviii. 28—but these notes of time are not very distinct. With Robinson [*Harm.*, p. 168], we have assumed St. Luke [xxii. 66] to refer to the commencement of the first meeting which terminated in the Lord's condemnation). At this second meeting they agreed on a report to the governor, on the strength of which they flattered themselves that he would at once order the execution of their sentence. But with the instinct of a Roman, to whom the administration of law was at once a congenial procedure and a mark of sovereignty, Pilate undertook to examine the accused himself. He was the more inclined to take this course, because he doubted the sincerity of the prosecutors, and felt assured that 'envy' was at the bottom of their proceedings (Matt. xxvii. 18; Mark xv. 10). The Sanhedrim well deserved this suspicion of the governor, who had, no doubt, heard of the result of the trial before Caiaphas, and was aware of the real accusation which they had prepared against Jesus. It was not therefore without surprise, and probably disgust, that he now finds them shifting their ground, and accusing the prisoner of sedition and treason—'We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar' (Luke xxiii. 2). Pilate had no difficulty in detecting the hollowness of this charge, which was expressly contrary to a remarkable statement which Christ had very publicly made so recently as on the Tuesday of this week, when, in the great Temple discussions, he counselled the Pharisees to 'render to Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's' (Luke xx. 25). He therefore acquits Jesus of this foul charge, and, to escape from the importunity of the chief priests, avails himself of the circumstance—which came out in the proceedings—that Jesus 'belonged to Herod's jurisdiction' (xxiii. 7), to ask the assistance of the tetrarch of Galilee, who happened to be in the city, in the decision of the case. Herod

had long felt an irreverent curiosity to see the Man whose miracles had produced so great a sensation in the north, and accepts the office. He was not without hope that his prisoner would not refuse to win his release by the performance of some mighty wonder. Vain man! All his idle inquiries and solicitations the Lord met with the dignified rebuke of an absolute silence. Thwarted and irritated, 'Herod with his men of war set Jesus at nought, and mocked him, and having arrayed him in a gorgeous robe, sent him again to Pilate' (Luke xxiii. 11). The prisoner's return was nothing short of a calamity to the arrogant but irresolute Roman. It plunged him into a fearful contest with the Jewish populace, and into a still more awful one with his own conscience, the result of which has associated his name in an eternal infamy with the murderers of the Just and Holy Jesus. The verdict passed on his share of this crime by the infant church, in their beautiful prayer (Acts iv. 27), has been corroborated by the universal voice of Christendom and the ineradicable convictions of every reader of the sacred history. Whether it was because he intensely despised and hated the Jews, or because he saw in the wonderful Man before him an object whose patent innocence and meek dignity under provocation and suffering endured his mind with an unprecedented and irresistible interest and sympathy, Pilate, from first to last, and especially after the examination of Herod, who took his 'friend's' (Luke xxiii. 12) view of the blamelessness of the accused, strove by every means to release Jesus. But his will refused to do the bidding of his conscience. With a fatal weakness he parleyed with the Jews. 'I find this man innocent, and so indeed does Herod; but as your resentment is keen against him, I will gratify you by chastising him before I let him go!' (vers. 15, 16). And he followed up this concession by another—a proposal to release Jesus, not so much as an innocent man, but in compliance with a custom of the feast. This stultification of his own acquittal of the accused they at once meet with a fiendish retort, by demanding the release of a notorious robber and murderer, who was awaiting execution in prison. The embarrassment which he felt at this unexpected and insolent demand was increased a hundredfold by a strange message from his wife—'Have thou nothing to do with that just man, for I have suffered many things to-day in a dream because of him' (Matt. xxvii. 19). The yells of the multitude also alarmed him. Mortified with that disappointment of their worldly hopes, which we have already referred to (see above [*Thursday*]), the designing priests and elders now stimulate the resentment of the rabble with the report of the blasphemy of their late idol, who had not hesitated to arrogate divine honours to himself, and to talk about the destruction of their glorious national Temple! When the faltering governor therefore formally submits to them the option: 'Whether of the twain will ye that I release unto you?' they overpower him with loud and savage clamours: 'Not this man, but Barabbas.' Pitiful spectacle of an awful crisis! The issue is—shall the Holy Redeemer die or live? For his death there is a rough and wilful crowd, lashed almost into a riotous fury (Matt. xxvii. 24) as it thirsts for the blood of the Innocent; while the sole, frail advocate for his life, by a compromise as weak as it is unjust (Luke xxiii. 22), only

pours oil on the fire of their cruel wrath. The issue cannot long be doubtful. The multitude chafes; Pilate expostulates—'Why crucify him? What evil hath he done?' Their temper will not brook even this slight restraint. 'They cried out the more exceedingly,' says St. Mark (*περισσότερος ἐκραζον*); 'They were instant with loud voices,' says St. Luke (*ἐπέκειντο φωναῖς μεγάλαις*); 'And,' as the latter significantly adds, 'the voices of them and of the chief priests prevailed' (xxiii. 23). The unhappy magistrate's abused conscience requires a satisfaction. He ostentatiously gives it by taking water and washing his hands before the crowd, vainly protesting his innocence of the blood of the Just Person before him. The ruthless spectators accept the responsibility with frightful promptitude: 'His blood be on us and on our children!' Having lulled his convictions, Pilate plunges more deeply still into those cowardly and infamous concessions which have given him the ineffaceable character of the *unjust judge*. 'Willing to content the people, he released Barabbas unto them' (Mark), 'and delivered Jesus to their will' (Luke). Then followed those merciless indignities—the stripping by the brutal executioners; the crown of thorns; the crimson or purple robe; the knotty sceptre first thrust into his manacled hands in derision, and then cruelly used to smite his lacerated head; the spitting and the mockery of pretended homage—which were the Gentile counterpart of the appalling scenes of fiendish derision in which the officials of Caiaphas had indulged but an hour or two before. The Prætorium now resounded with the Roman thongs (flogging being the preliminary to capital punishments in the cruel process of Roman executions), and blood followed the stripes, and his tender flesh quivered with the pain. 'The plowers plowed upon his back, they made long their furrows' (Ps. cxxix. 3); but the patience which he brought from Gethsemane could not be exhausted. Not a word of reproach, remonstrance, or entreaty, escaped those parched lips, so ignominiously soiled and smitten. How is it that we can be calm as we contemplate so foul a tragedy?

'Is it not strange, the darkest hour
That ever dawn'd on sinful earth
Should touch the heart with softer power
For comfort, than an angel's mirth?'
(*Christian Year*, Good Friday.)

The great ancient critic, with no impropriety, contemplated in the awful facts of a true and measured tragedy a subliming and purifying influence on the human spirit (see Aristotle, *Poetics*, chap. vi., *sub init.*); but the secret of the touching power of our Saviour's most awful passion lies deeper than the depths of our mental nature. 'He was wounded for our transgressions; he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed' (Is. liii. 5)—in this assurance of prophecy, which modern scepticism has ungraciously tried to make void (e.g., in Dr. R. Williams' contribution to *Essays and Reviews*), lies the profound and holy and purifying interest which good men have ever felt in the awful scenes through which our narrative is carrying us. In his supplementary history, St. John adds an affecting narrative, full of characteristic incident (xix. 4-16). Pilate, convinced of the Saviour's utter innocence, brings him

outside the palace, and, in hopes that the piteous state of the sufferer might possibly turn their hearts, he submits him to the gaze of the populace, with a brief appeal to their compassion—'Behold the man' (*Ecce Homo*; *ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ*). Some hearts might be relenting; but the obdurate chief priests and officers roughly interpose with their hackneyed, wretched shouts for crucifixion. Petulantly does the governor try to fling the execution of such a crime on them—'Take ye him, and crucify him;' adding, as at the first, his acquittal, 'I find no fault in him.' Emboldened by their evident advantage over his irresolution, they now bring up the accusation which they had concealed at the beginning, 'We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God.' Strange words to a Roman heathen immersed in worldliness, but with an untroubled spirit, and a conscience not seared yet, though often wounded. The haughty monarch of Babylon was 'astonied' with a thrilling disquietude, when brought face to face with the apparition of the Son of God (Dan. iii. 25). No wonder if a weaker man than he cowered when in the actual presence of the incarnate deity, whom so many portents, both of conscience and external fact, were recommending to his bewildered mind, as infinitely more than the human abject which he seemed to be! Impelled by his increasing fears (ver. 9), he withdrew his prisoner; and within the palace asked him, in few but ardent words, of *his origin*. Whether it was that Pilate was *unable*, or, from his want of integrity, *unfit*, to receive information on so weighty an inquiry, 'Jesus gave him no answer.' But when the governor, ignorant of the quality of his captive, began to rebuke him angrily as forgetful of his official power, the Lord, with calm dignity and in brief but solemn words, informed him of a profound truth, which he had little dreamt of, that the power which he was too ostentatiously claiming, of crucifying him (*κατ' ἐμὸν*, in reference to Pilate's *ἐξουσίαν σταυροῦσαι*), was not inherent in his magistracy as derived from Cæsar, but was a special and mysterious commission from on high. Christ then, in evident sympathy with the mental struggle which the pitiable man was passing through, gently implies, that in the execution of this awful commission Pilate was no doubt incurring sin, inasmuch as he was step by step rebelling against the dictates of his own conscience; but there was another agent in the deed, whose sin was greater still (*hic erat Caiaphas*. Pilatus qualicumque mentione Filii Dei audita timuit; Caiaphas, quum Jesus ex ipso audisset Dei Filium, eum blasphemum dixit et mortis reum judicavit.—Bengelii *Gnomon*). The high-priest, God's own functionary, with the oracles of heaven in his hand, and his attention thereto quickened by a prophetic impulse (John xi. 51, 52), being led by an intense and selfish hatred (ver. 48), dared to condemn the Son of God as a blasphemer, although Jesus himself had solemnly assured him of his own right and title to that divine relationship; while the heathen governor, with no knowledge of revelation to guide him, could not refrain from *fear* at the bare mention of the unearthly name (John xix. 8, and 12, in which latter verse *ἐκ τοῦτου* is probably not a mark of *time*, but a reference to the Lord's answer in the preceding sentence). Thus did Jesus, humiliated and prostrated though he was beneath the strange

conflicting verdicts of his Jewish and Gentile judges, himself anticipate his own sublime function of *judgment*, by pronouncing his decision on the comparative conduct of the two chief promoters of his sufferings and death. No wonder that the union of unapproachable superiority, rebuke, and kindly interest, which Pilate's conscience detected in the words of Jesus, revived for the fourth time, and in still greater force, his determination to release the captive (ver. 12). The prey was all but delivered, when the enemy made a last desperate thrust at the tremulous heart of Pilate. 'The Jews cried out, If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend.' The insolent threat here implied was decisive. The governor instinctively shrank from the risk of a recall to Rome, to answer, it might be, for his life before his gloomy and suspicious master. The protests of his conscience no longer restrain him, and his repeated declarations of the innocence of his prisoner are all forgotten under the panic with which the unfriendly shouts of the multitude now filled him. He delivered Jesus unto the chief priests to be crucified—no longer with an *Eccce Homo*, to melt their hearts to pity, but with an angry and sarcastic *Eccce Rex*, which provoked their last and most deliberate clamour for their victim's death—so deliberate, indeed, that in one and the same sentence they rejected their Messiah, cut themselves off from the glory and protection of God's theocratic rule, and bound themselves to the hated dominion of a Gentile and heathen power. . . . 'Away, away with HIM. . . . We have no king but Cæsar' (ver. 15)! Pilate's former interest in the fate of Christ did not induce him to relax the rigours of execution. Cruel mockery of the sufferer is for the third time resorted to, and two companions in death are awarded him in the persons of two ruffians, accomplices, probably, of the murderer who had been rescued from the cross to make way for him. It was, it would seem, between eight and nine o'clock when the governor's final decision set the officials of the execution about their awful but not unwelcome work. As they were leading the holy Saviour to the spot appointed for his final suffering (outside the city, but yet near it, ἐγγύς ἦν ὁ τόπος τῆς πόλεως, John xix. 20), he seems to have sunk from the exhaustion of his recent sufferings beneath the cross, which as usual they made him carry. They immediately find a substitute in a man whose name is given as Simon of Cyrene, whom they compel to bear the sad burden. This is one of the only two instances of relief which we read that Jesus accepted in mitigation of his weight of woe; probably nothing but the physical prostration, which this incident so remarkably attests, was the reason of this noticeable exception. It is some consolation to discover one kindly symptom in this tale of sorrow, for we find that the sight of the drooping sufferer excited the wail and lamentation of some women who were among the attendant multitude. The Lord was not unobservant of their kindness; in words of mild and self-denying solemnity he bade these 'daughters of Jerusalem' to weep not for him—but for the sufferings which that day's crime would too certainly bring upon their children and them (Luke xxiii. 28). Nine o'clock, the hour of the morning sacrifice, had arrived, when the executioners consummated their terrible task. As they were nailing to the cross those hands and

feet which had been through life so active in offices of love and mercy, Jesus, amidst the excruciating pain, which he had refused to deaden by drinking of the assuaging cup (Mark xv. 23), said, 'Father forgive them, for they know not what they do' (Luke xxiii. 34). This was the first of the seven utterances which the holy evangelists were led to record of the dying Saviour on the cross.* manifold, indeed, are the aspects which have been taken of the solemn scenes of Calvary. But to us, none is more interesting than that which is suggested by these sacred words of the dying Redeemer. They profoundly indicate the current of his precious thoughts throughout that most awful period, and coherently illustrate that wonderful combination of the tenderest humanity with conscious deity, and of the most serene composure amidst agonising torture, which is the glory, and the wonder, and, we must add, the crowning value and interest to man of this transaction of human redemption. The first of these ejaculations, which soon produced fruit in the last moments of the first martyr (Acts vii. 60), and the spirit of which has so often since soothed the bitterness of violent death, was, as we have said, occasioned by the hideous work of the four Roman executioners, who were probably the literal objects of the Saviour's prayer. Having completed their task, they unconsciously fulfilled a prophecy in their mode of appropriating their perquisites—the garments of the crucified (John xix. 23, 24). We pass rapidly by the sad sequel of taunts, and gibes, and railing, which the assembled spectators indulged in. All classes combined in this fiendish malignity. With execrable consistency, the chief priests, with the Scribes and elders, were there encouraging the rabble by their own grossly inhuman reproaches—'He saved others; himself he cannot save: if he be the King of Israel, let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him' (Matt. xxvii. 42). Alas! the offence of the cross has not ceased! Mon. Salvador commends '*the good faith*' (!) of these sacerdotal mockers; and in words which are not more indecent than demonstrative of a profound ignorance of the occasion and its character, asks—'Would not a miracle at this time have been decisive?' Mon. Salvador thinks, alas, that Jesus lost an opportunity of converting these miserable despisers, and attesting his (we will not say supernatural, but, rather, *unnatural*) power over the cross! But will Israel never learn the deep purport of its own prophetic Scriptures? We appeal from its past and present temper of unbelief to the relentings of the future, when 'they shall look on him whom they have pierced, and shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son' (Zech. xii. 10). Instead of a failure of the Messianic character, we regard this very inhumanity of the high-priestly blasphemers, as one evidence that Jesus, in this aspect of his dreadful sufferings, was in fact fulfilling one condition of the true Messiahship, as guaranteed by prophecy—'All they that see me laugh me to scorn; they shoot out the lip; they shake the head, saying, He trusted on the Lord that he would deliver him,' etc. (Ps. xxii. 7, 8).

* In a fine old Latin hymn, which will be found in Dr. H. A. Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, vol. ii. pp. 348, 349, there is a striking collection of all these sayings.

But the mockers on Calvary had not a *monopoly* of their vindictive joy. Pilate, who from the first despised the promoters of the suit against Jesus, now felt an aggravation of his antipathy from their insolent violence to himself. In his celebrated inscription on the Saviour's cross, in which, to gratify his contempt of the Jews (if we may not add, to register the strange conviction of his own mind), he most ostentatiously set forth the style of the crucified as 'THE KING OF THE JEWS,' he seems to have had his revenge. The chief priests at once requested a modification of the irritating title; but it was now the governor's turn to be obstinate, and he angrily declined to withdraw or alter a syllable of the trilingual superscription (John xix. 20-22). The gross derision of the bystanders must have greatly increased the suffering of the pure and gentle Jesus; one consolation, however, he received in the conversion of the crucified penitent. At first, *both* his fellow-sufferers seem to have joined in the reproaches of the crowd (Matt., Mark), and the unbelief of the priests—'If he were the Christ, why did he not save himself and them?' But before the end came, the constancy and the lamblike endurance of the central sufferer wrought conviction in one of the malefactors. He proved his *repentance* by acknowledging the justice of his own punishment, and rebuking the taunts which his companion in misery was still pouring forth; and his *faith*, by proclaiming the innocence of Jesus, and, by a wonderful insight, which penetrated the glories of the future through the ignominy of the present, invoking his sovereign grace and mercy. To his prayer of unsurpassed faith—'Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom,' Jesus answered, in the second of his seven great utterances—in terms through which his divinity surely gleams—'Verily I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with me in paradise' (Luke xxiii. 42-43). Thus the protracted agony of the cross fails to exhaust the mercy of the Redeemer; it failed, moreover, to blunt the kindly affections of his human heart. Near the cross he observed his virgin mother now soul-pierced with the terrible sword of which the aged Simeon had spoken (Luke ii. 35) more than thirty years ago. She was accompanied by her sister and Mary Magdalene, and by the disciple of her son's special love, who seems to have been the only one that braved the dangers of approaching the fatal scene from which the constant-hearted women, who had followed him from the north, were repelled* possibly by the military guard (Mark xv. 40). The sight of his afflicted mother drew from Jesus, who forgot nothing and neglected nothing amidst all his distracting pains, the third utterance from the cross, in which he commended Mary to the guardianship of the beloved John, who 'from that hour' [probably from that moment] withdrew his precious charge from the painful scene, and 'took her unto his own home' (John

xix. 27). Nor did she withdraw too soon. Deeper depths of woe her son has yet to fathom, and she was probably spared the anguish of hearing the cries which too plainly expressed his unequalled sorrow. The sixth hour has arrived, and a moiety of the hours of dying are now passed. But nature at length begins to sympathise with her Lord—the powers of moral darkness are fast culminating for their triumph, and physical darkness for three hours is shed over the land as an emblem of their victory. When the Saviour was born *night* became radiant with the glory of a heavenly host (Luke ii. 8-14); now when he is dying *noon* is blackened, as if with the gloom of hell (comp. Luke xxii. 53). Eclipsed is the Sun of Righteousness in the awful mystery of that removal of his divine Father's face, which wrung from him the disconsolate cry—the fourth utterance—'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' We may not attempt to penetrate this scene with a curious eye, nor rudely lift the veil which hides it from our view. The Saviour's suffering is not to be gauged by ordinary human experience, for the cause which produced it can never recur to any man. When St. Peter, in a beautiful passage where he reviews the Saviour's passion, refers expressly to him 'as bearing his own self [alone] our sins in his own body on the tree' (1 Pet. ii. 24), *he discloses to us the secret of so transcendent a weight of woe*. Of all besides of woman born not one could bear that burden—'none of them could by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him' (Ps. xlix. 7). And where even in the Redeemer's own cup can we find another drop so bitter as this despair? In Gethsemane the foretaste of it was sweetened with the grace of an angel's help; but on Calvary when he drank the full draught the heavens were black, and no helper came thence to 'strengthen' him. No wonder that under the scorching fever of this affliction the tortured Jesus, uttering his fifth sentence on the cross, said, 'I thirst' (John xix. 28). The evangelist sees in this plaint of the Saviour the accomplishment of a prophecy which centuries before the event drew an affecting portrait of the suffering Messiah (Ps. lxi. 8-21). In the awful solitude of his unassuaged grief he felt at last the fatal force of all his passion; '*Reproach hath broken my heart*, and I am full of heaviness: I looked for some to take pity, but there was no man—and for comforters, but I found none' (ver. 20). The last moment is at hand, and with it the last of those derisive taunts ('*Ἠὼς φωνεῖ οὖτος*, Matt. xxvii. 47), which vexed his righteous soul, fell upon his ear. But just at that instant, amid the abounding cruelties of the protracted execution, one refreshing act of compassion is observed. One man dares to obey the instinct of a better feeling than his fellows (comp. Matt. xxvii. 49 with 48), 'runs and takes a sponge, fills it with vinegar [the soldiers' acid drink], raises it to the sufferer's parched lips by the help of a reed or stalk of the hyssop plant, and gives him to drink.' If a cup of cold water given to a disciple shall not lose its reward, we may be sure that this drop of rough mercy presented to the master himself in his last extremity will not be forgotten. Now that the end is come, and the cup is drained, Jesus does not refuse (and it is the second instance) the proffered relief. 'He received the vinegar'—Did it symbolise the last of the dregs of his sharp and bitter cup?—uttered the sixth and seventh of the cries of

* A comparison of John xix. 25-27 with Matt. xxvii. 55, 56, and with Mark xv. 40, 41, seems to indicate that Mary Magdalene and Mary the wife of Cleophas, who were at first near the cross, removed afterwards and joined the distant group of Galilean women including Salome. They no doubt withdrew with St. John and the Virgin mother, who must have sorely needed all the sympathy and help they could render her.

Calvary, simultaneously as it would seem (comp. John xix. 30, and Luke xxiii. 46), but 'with a loud voice of consciously completed victory for man, and of most loving resignation unto God' (Bishop Elliott, after Dräseke and Stier), 'It is finished,' 'Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit,' then meekly bowed his head and gave up the ghost. Three o'clock, the hour of the evening sacrifice, was the moment of the Lord's death (St. Mark mentions the *stages* in the duration of the passion, see chap. xv. vers. 25, 33, 34); and again does external nature attest the great event by unusual convulsions. 'The veil of the Temple was rent (the moral force of which portent is explained in Heb. x. 19-22), the earth did quake, the rocks were rent, the graves opened, and many bodies of the saints which slept arose and came out of the graves after his resurrection and appeared unto many' (Matt. xxvii. 51-53). The effect of these portentous sights, as a commentary upon that agony and death, was intensely great on all that saw and heard them. Who can tell how many hearts were now prepared for the subsequent convictions of Pentecost and its sequel? 'All the people that came together to that sight [of the dying Redeemer], beholding the things which were done, smote their breasts and returned' (Luke xxiii. 48); the echoes of their own frightful imprecations of innocent blood on their children and themselves had scarcely yet died upon the ear, and their hearts were uneasy. But not *Jesus* alone were stirred. Three of the evangelists mention as one of the most striking incidents of the moment the conviction produced on the mind of the centurion in command of the military which were on the spot. The Gentile Magi did homage at the Saviour's birth, and now when the Temple veil is rent, and the way to the holiest place is opened to all, the chief of the Gentile functionaries honours his death with not only a declaration of the late sufferer's innocence (Luke), but, anticipating the devout Cornelius, with the very first expression of Gentile belief in the truth of a divine Messiah of which we read (Matt., Mark). In the centurion's belief, moreover, the whole troop seems to have concurred, for St. Matthew tells us that '*they who were with him* watching Jesus . . . feared greatly, saying, Truly this was the Son of God.' This centurion and Pilate shortly afterwards had an interview (Mark xv. 44). One may well wonder what passed between them, for the alarms of the governor before the execution, and the impressions of the soldier after it, respecting the wonderful Man whose fate had moved Jerusalem so intensely, were of very similar character. The blood of the innocent, so precious to the penitent in all ages, brought vengeance on two at least of those who imbrued their hands in shedding it. The fallen apostle, when he saw the fatal effect of his treachery, hastened to the Sanhedrim, returned the fee of his sin, was goaded to desperation by the harsh taunts with which they heard his remorse, and by a suicidal hand met death even before the execution of the friend whom he had betrayed (Matt. xxvii. 3-10; Acts i. 18, 19. See also JUDAS ISCARIOT). Upon the heathen Pilate the recoil of vengeance was much tardier. The emotions of his conscience were allayed, and he went on awhile in the routine of his government. Two deputations waited on him after the crucifixion, of very different character, though both emanating from members of the

Sanhedrim. One of these was undertaken in friendly concern for the honour of the dead, that the body, which had providentially escaped the mutilation and crushing inflicted on the others (John xix. 32-37), might be rescued from the felon's grave into which it would otherwise have been hurriedly cast after the execution.* Two members of the council, who had vainly protested against the violence of the majority, undeterred by all the odium to which their singular but noble conduct exposed them, and no doubt quickened in their adherence to the cause of the outcast by the portents which were prognosticating his innocence and mysterious greatness, hastened to the governor, secured the sacred body, and fulfilled a remarkable prophecy (Is. liii. 9, 12) by consigning it to a princely grave (Matt. xxvii. 60; John xix. 41. See also JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA and NICODEMUS). After the piety of these admirable persons had provided a sepulchre worthy of the dead, the faithful group of holy women, who had witnessed the horrors of the cross at a distance, now draw near and mournfully inspect the tomb wherein their heart's treasure of love was deposited. After a lingering look they returned home, not utterly prostrated by their sorrow ('cast down but not destroyed,' as St. Paul would describe them, 2 Cor. iv. 9), but able in the midst of it to project fresh offices of ministry for him from whom they could not believe that death had severed them for ever. 'They prepared spices and ointments,' St. Luke informs us (xxiii. 56). The voice now stilled in death had, only a few days ago, bestowed the warmest praise on Mary of Bethany, when, as he said, 'she anointed his body for its burial.' We have no doubt that *this* ministry of love, so well designed but never wanted, was no less worthy of his emphatic commendation. This most eventful day, unrivalled in its issues by any other day through which the sun ever ran its course, now ends with an affecting incident, which Holy Scripture has rescued from oblivion (see Matt. xxvii. 61). When their companions returned to their homes Mary Magdalene and the Virgin's sister and namesake remained at their sacred watch and ward, 'sitting over against the sepulchre.' Among the sympathies of the human heart room has always been found for acts of pensive piety such as this, even when bestowed on far less interesting occasions. No one reads without some emotion the loving vigils over her dead of Rizpah the daughter of Aiah (2 Sam. xxi. 10). With still more elevated fellow-feeling do we honour the silent grief of these watchers in the garden of the sepulchre—a touching contrast to the sleepers of Gethsemane! We do not suppose, indeed, that, like the daughter of Aiah, our Marys spent days and nights at the tomb, although Friday closes and Sunday breaks upon their holy watch. Saturday brought to them obligations which their piety would not resist, and

* Mishna, *Sanhedrim*, vi. 5. By the Roman law, however, the body would have been left exposed to birds of prey (Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, who quotes Horace, *Ep.* i. 16, 48; Juvenal, xiv. 77; Lucan, vi. 544; Pliny, xxxvi. 24; Plutarch, *Clothes*, 39; Petronius, *Sat.*, cxi., cxii.) The Jewish usage would be allowed to prevail, on so urgent an occasion as the present approach of the Pass-over [high] sabbath.

so we suppose that at its earliest dawn they rejoined their Galilean friends.

Saturday, 16th of Nisan (April 8).—What a contrast does the silence of this Sabbath-day afford to the long, minute, and heart-stirring events of yesterday. All, however, was not peaceful, however quiet. Two evangelists refer to what occurred. St. Matthew, in five verses (xxvii. 62-66), tells us of the anxiety and restlessness of the chief priests and Pharisees, while St. Luke, in few but graphic words (xxiii. 56), informs us of the resignation and obedience of the faithful followers of Christ. This Passover-Sabbath was specially sacred (John xix. 31); but the sanctions neither of the Law nor of their own traditions deterred the Sanhedrim from violating its holy character by a rancorous activity against the body of Jesus. Though they had slain him, they could not repress a vague fear about the future. So they went in deputation to the governor and expressed their apprehensions; they did not hesitate to allude, in their extravagant manner, to the Lord's own predictions of his resurrection. They ill disguise their fears under an opprobrious epithet (Matt. xxvii. 63), 'that deceiver,' *ἐκείνος ὁ πλάσας*, in violation of the manly decency which has found expression in the maxim '*De mortuis nil nisi bonum.*' Of him who had struck a death-blow to their traditional system they could think only evil. So the gospel-narrative up to its last notice of these enemies of Christ consistently records the rancour and impotence of their latest efforts against the object of their hatred. Impotent indeed they were! Pilate, though receiving their deputation with characteristic civility, does not forget their recent violence to himself. They had taken the entire business into their own hands. They had insisted on the death of Jesus of Nazareth; their demand had been complied with; with themselves must rest the consequences. If they thought a military watch necessary as a sedative to their fears he would not object to their having one. Let them use it as diligently as they pleased. 'So they went,' says the evangelist, 'and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone and setting a watch' (ver. 66). With what result we shall soon see! Refreshing it is to turn from these restless and anxious malignants to the peaceful sorrow of Jesus' mourners. Of his own blessedness in Paradise (Luke xxiii. 43); of the bliss, moreover, which his spirit caused, it would seem, among the spirits he found in safe keeping there (1 Pet. iii. 18, 19); and of the 'rest in hope' which was now enjoyed by his recently tortured but now liberated and immortal body (Acts ii. 26, 31), it is less suitable to speak in an historical sketch than in a theological dissertation. We cannot, however, refrain, in closing this history of the wonderful passion week, from one word of humble and adoring contemplation of a thrilling and awful fact, that, while apostate Israel was desecrating the holiest and most memorable of all Jewish Sabbaths, and forfeiting its claim to the continuance of that once holy and happy institution, the faithful few, who 'rested the Sabbath-day according to the commandment,' were by their unobtrusive piety not only in nearest communion with the soul of the Son of Man resting from all its sorrows, but in best training for the higher privilege of the Christian rest and festival, the new Sabbath of the Resurrection, which was to become itself the type of that eternal rest (*σαββατισμός*) which remaineth in heaven, after

life's toils are over, for the people of God (Heb. iv. 9).

CHAP. IV. FROM THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST TO HIS ASCENSION. — *Sunday, 17th of Nisan (April 9).*—'Sometimes be curious to see the preparation which the sun makes, when he is coming forth from his chambers of the east.' Never was early rising, as thus recommended in the quaint eloquence of Jeremy Taylor (*Holy Living*, i. 1. 1), so grandly rewarded as in the case of the faithful women who, on the first Easter morning, anticipated the sun-rise in their visit to the tomb of the Crucified. Like him of old (Ps. cxix. 147) they 'prevented the dawn,' and at the earliest gleam of twilight—'the hind of the morning,' as the Rabbins call it*—they made the happy discovery that Jesus had risen, 'the Sun of Righteousness,' 'the bright and morning star,' whose Easter glory the poet Prudentius described (*Καθημερινά, Hymn. ad incens. Cer. Paschal.*)—

'Non sicut tenebras de face fulgida

Surgens oceano lucifer imbuit,' etc., etc. . . .

'Not as the day-star from his ocean-bed
Striking the night with torch of glowing red,
But upon earth sad with its dying Lord
More than the solar day hath Christ restored,' etc.

Visit of the Women to the Sepulchre.—We have seen how the female disciples of Christ suspended their offices of sorrowing love, which they had begun on Friday evening, in order to keep the Sabbath (Luke xxiii. 56). Having 'rested' at the call of duty, and gained, no doubt, strength for their pious resolution, they resume their preparations, on the expiration of the holy day at six o'clock (Mark xvi. 1), for the supplementary embalming of the sacred body (compare John xix. 39, 40, with the two passages just referred to). Besides the women who had followed the Lord from Galilee, there were, as we may well suppose, not a few earnest hearts of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood who would unite with them in doing honour to the beloved dead. St. Luke seems to imply as much by mentioning 'other women that were with them' (xxiv. 10, the *αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν αὐταῖς* is synonymous with the *καὶ τινες σὺν αὐταῖς* of ver. 1,† and need not be

* This *אֵילָנָה בְּרֵיחַ* was the first of the four stages of twilight of the Jews (Lightfoot, *Works* [Pitman], xi. 455), and probably answers to the notes of time used by all the evangelists. Their phrases are perhaps identical in meaning, and would present no difficulty, were it not that St. Mark seems to define his *πρωτὶ* by *ἀνατελῶντος τοῦ ἡλίου* (xvi. 2). As, however, the Evangelist could only have meant to employ the terms as synonymous, we get rid of all difficulty by making *ἀνατελῶντος τοῦ ἡλίου* embrace the whole period from the earliest dawn caused by the sun's approach to the horizon to his actual rising. Dr. Robinson (*Biblioth. Sacra*, ii. 168) adduces several expressions from the Septuagint, in which the two phrases of St. Mark are united, the union designating nothing more than the *dawn*—any portion of the 'morning watch,' which the *πρωτὶ* of Mark xiii. 35 stands for—extending from three to six o'clock A.M. Isaiah's poetical description of Lucifer, as *בֶּן־בֹּרַךְ*, 'son of the morning' (xiv. 12), is in the LXX. *Πρωτὶ ἀνατέλλων*.

† Recent critics, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and

limited to *the other Galilean women* in addition to those whose names are given, but may be regarded as including *all the women*, whoever they may have been, who had combined their testimony of the resurrection to the apostles). If we can hardly imagine that the virgin mother would join the holy company, we feel no such restraint respecting Mary of Bethany and her active sister. The much-serving Martha would scarcely be absent on the occasion of this last office of love. Owing to their numbers, and in order to escape public notice, they probably appointed to resort to the sepulchre by different ways, in separate groups, and very early in the morning. Mary Magdalene, in the intensity of her devotion to him, to whom she owed so much (Luke viii. 2; Mark xvi. 9), was on her road, 'while it was yet dark' (John. xx. 1). In company with 'the other Mary' (Matt. xxviii. 1), who had been her companion also at the burial (xxvii. 61) and the cross (56), as well as with Salome (Mark xvi. 1), fresh, in all probability, from the side of the afflicted virgin, they proceeded to the garden of the sepulchre.* Of the military watch, which had been set there some time since their last visit, they seem to have had no knowledge; for the only difficulty they talk of by the way is the removal of the large stone which they had themselves seen placed at the entrance of the tomb, when the Lord was consigned to it on Friday (Mark xvi. 3). Little did they dream of the heavenly interposition, which even then was preparing not only to remove their embarrassment, but to endue them with an unexpected joy. Never did any precaution of human power more signally miscarry than at this moment!

'Christ's tomb of late the threefold guard
Of watch and stone and seal had barred!'

The Resurrection.—But impotent are all hindrances to His resurrection! Neither Jewish seals nor Roman arms avail! The first Evangelist, in few but divinely graphic words, narrates how heaven met all this defiance of the powers of darkness: 'Behold there was a great earthquake; for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven and came and rolled back the stone from the door and sat upon it. His countenance was like lightning and his raiment white as snow: and for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men' (xxviii. 2-4). Whether the resurrection took place at this point, or (as the ancient opinion of the church concurrently ran) previous to the miraculous opening of the tomb, we are not told; whether he who had 'power to lay down his life and power to take it again' (John x. 18) arose in solitude from the yet unopened grave; or whether, as Peter was afterwards led by an angel-hand from his prison, he availed himself of the heavenly agency which operated in the earthquake that opened his tomb, we cannot tell. Nor is it at all material to know at what moment the Lord arose. The fact is itself indisputable, and the opened sepulchre and its

sequel of wonders were meant to attest the grand event. When the Magdalene and her two companions arrived at the precincts of the grave, the soldiers of the watch were probably quitting the spot after recovery from their terrible fright. The women 'lifted up their eyes' (for ἀναβλέψασαι is St. Mark's word, xvi. 4), probably on entering the garden, and they saw that the huge stone was rolled away. Mary Magdalene, in the keen susceptibility of her grief, instantly conjectured the worst. The decamping watch, whom she possibly descried, added to her suspicion that the sepulchre had been violently robbed of its sacred contents by ruthless hands. 'Then she runneth and cometh to Simon Peter and to the other disciple, whom Jesus loved, and saith unto them, They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre and we know not where they have laid him' (John xx. 2). After the Magdalene had thus returned to the city, the other Mary and Salome entered the sepulchre. The angel of the earthquake whom the terrified guards had seen sitting in awful splendour on the removed stone outside, was now observed by the amazed and trembling women within, and in much serenest aspect.

The Angel and the Women.—He had scared the soldiers with withering fear; he now soothed the affrighted women with words of surpassing consolation: 'Fear ye not [the *δυνεῖς* in opposition to the terror-stricken guard]: I know that ye seek Jesus which was crucified. He is not here. HE IS RISEN' (Matt., Mark). To give clearness to their conviction, he graciously invites them to survey the place where the Lord had lain, and then dismisses them with a message to his disciples, that they should see him in Galilee, as he had indeed appointed before his death (Matt. xxvi. 32; Mark. xiv. 28). This reference to his own distinct appointment with them is remarkable and important—*important*, as helping them to a belief in his resurrection, when they should recall his words and compare them with the angel's message; and *remarkable*, as indicating the unswerving advance of his purposed mission to the end. How appalling the events which had happened since Thursday evening, when he said: 'After I am risen, I will go before you into Galilee!' Could anything better tend to rally the prostrate and 'scattered sheep' of his fold than this quiet resumption of a purpose, which Gethsemane and Calvary and the grave had failed to drive from his memory? This clause of the message, on reflection, must have proved to the disciples, notwithstanding their tardiness of mind, a fruitful germ of ultimate conviction.

Message to Peter.—St. Mark, probably from St. Peter's own information, adds a very beautiful and affecting incident of the angel's message, when he inserts in it the fallen but contrite apostle's own name; 'Go your way, tell his disciples, and Peter, that he goeth before you into Galilee!' The Lord had spared a yearning look of pitiful compassion for the son of Jonas in the midst of his own sufferings. Death quenched not that love. The first act of his restored life, while quitting his tomb, was to give his angel a charge concerning his disciple, whom he would not have isolated a moment from his brethren in the thrilling interest which the glad Easter tidings was to bring to them all! Surely this kindly care for Peter must have presented to the minds of all another sign of the iden-

Alford, not finding the *καὶ τὴν οὐν αὐταῖς* of ver. 1 in codd. MB, omit the clause. This cannot safely be done against AC²DEFHKMSUVXPAL and all the Syriac versions.

* Respecting Joanna and her company, especially mentioned by St. Luke, the reader, for brevity, is referred to the section below—*Other Women at the Sepulchre.*

tity of Him, who had risen, with their dear Lord and master! Commissioned with this first message from the tomb, the messengers 'departed quickly from the sepulchre with fear and great joy, and did run to bring his disciples word' (Matthew); so intent were they on their errand, and so absorbed (as was natural) with their wonderful subject, that, as St. Mark takes care to inform us, they stopped not by the way to impart to any whom they met the grand secret of their breast (xvi. 8).

Report of the watch.—Others, however, found their way to the city from the sepulchre, who were more communicative of their wonderful information. St. Matthew tells us (xxviii. 11) that some of the terrified watch went and shewed the chief priests all the things that had happened.* These malignant enemies of Christ, true to their miserable determination to resist the truth to the last, instantly convene a meeting of the Sanhedrim either in full body or in committee, and after deliberation resolve upon a measure which brands with the mark of an ineffaceable ignominy the desperate effort of expiring Judaism to check the progress of a sacred cause, of the success of which their own minds could not but entertain painful presentiments. This they gave proof of by the palpably insincere measures which the priests and elders adopted to neutralise the effect in the popular mind, which they had so foully tampered with, of the report of the resurrection. Having seduced the traitor Judas with a bribe, they repeat the expedient and pollute their treasury by appropriating out of it a large sum (Matt. xxviii. 13) to induce the soldiers to propagate their lying report that 'Christ's disciples had come in the night and stolen him away while they slept.' 'If this come to the governor's ears,' said the miserable schemers to their dupes, 'we will persuade him and secure you.' The evangelist concludes his account of this humiliating and futile effort of the Sanhedrim with a sentence of the keenest and most damaging irony, 'So they took the money and did as they were taught; and this saying is commonly reported among the Jews until this day' (ver. 15). Of this last statement a curious and offensive illustration occurs in the Talmudic tractate, *Toledoth Jeschu*, which is full of the spirit of Jesus-hating Judaism. (This piece of blasphemous ribaldry is reprinted and confuted in J. C. Wagenseil's *Tela ignea Satane* [sub. fin.]). It is some relief to discover that 'some' of the watch only put themselves in the hands of the malignant

hierarchs. The other guards appear to have been so overcome by the phenomena of the sepulchre as to have recognised the true state of the case, and to have declined being a party to a project which was as stupid and self-refuting as it was insincere and malicious—which required them to have been asleep and yet to have seen thieves and tomb-riflers, and to have known them to be disciples!

Mary Magdalene and the two Apostles.—We turn from this unhappy attempt to nip the bud of the great Christian mystery to the wonderful succession of proofs which soon put it beyond all reasonable doubt. Mary Magdalene sought out, apparently without any difficulty, the two apostles to whom she betook herself in her bewilderment. They might be lodging nearer at hand than the others, or Mary might have counted on a special sympathy from them. The promptitude with which they obeyed her summons is noticeable. The eager alacrity of Peter, who, although outrun by his more youthful companion in their hurried course to the garden, was the first to enter the sepulchre, profoundly agrees with the Saviour's advance towards him. John afterwards followed his friend's example, and the result of their combined examination of the burial-place corroborated indeed the substance of the Magdalene's statement that the body was removed, but it seemed at the same time to correct the chief impression which afflicted her, that the removal was the work of enemies. The neat and orderly condition of all the grave clothes, which the Evangelist is careful to mention, as if in refutation of all doubt that the tomb had been robbed by either friend or foe, struck the two apostles with a surprise which led to a conviction of all the truth. St. John, at least, who speaks for himself, expressly attributes his own first belief of the resurrection to the wonderfully *convincing appearance* of the interior of the tomb (xx. 8). We do not hesitate to accept this higher sense of St. John's *ἐπίσταντες* with Lampe, Neander, Alford, De Wette, Meyer, Robinson, and Wordsworth, although opposed to Bengel, Stier, Ebrard, Grotius, and even Augustine, who merely suppose the 'belief' to have been that *the body was gone, as Mary had told them*. Striking that the first ray of the Sun of Righteousness should have flashed upon him in the darkness of the tomb! From the spark of that light of the sepulchre with what 'bright beams of light' has not the church of the risen Christ been 'enlightened by the doctrine of the blessed Apostle and Evangelist St. John!' (See *Collect for St. John's Day*). What the immediate effect of the sight upon Peter was we are not told by his brother apostle. If the latter could have associated his friend in the joy of his own faith, he, no doubt, gladly would. We may conclude then, from his silence, that Peter's faith was yet to be born. St. Luke (xxiv. 12), referring either to this or a later visit of this Apostle to the tomb, says that he 'departed, wondering in himself at what was come to pass' (see below).

Mary Magdalene at the Sepulchre alone.—Mary Magdalene, who had fetched the Apostles, remained at the sepulchre after their return home. Overcome with the idea that the sacred body had been rudely molested, she wept as she stood without. Then, varying the signs of her grief, she stooped down and gazed at the spot where her Lord had lain. It was guarded by two angels, who addressed the weeping mourner in tones of

* The reader will not fail to observe how strong a testimony to the truth of the *resurrection*, from a free and independent source, we have in this report of the guard. God's providence, in a similarly independent manner, brought about the most satisfactory attestation of the *death* of Christ, in the kind of official announcement of it which the centurion made to the civil authority of Jerusalem. The three following passages deserve the best consideration among the many evidences preserved to us of the actual death and resurrection of our Lord—Mark xv. 44, 45; John xix. 32-35; Matt. xxviii. 11-15. Moreover, in Matt. xxvii. 63 we have an acknowledgment from the chief priests and their party of the death of Jesus ['whilst he was yet alive'], while in vers. 63, 64, there occurs an unmistakable proof of the *apprehension* entertained by these same persons of his resurrection.

kindly concern: 'Woman, why weepst thou?' Her answer proves in what an ecstasy of grief her loving soul was wrapped. She seemed hardly conscious of the dignity of the holy beings before her, as she poured out her complaint in impassioned words: 'Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.' But although her sorrow bedims her sight, it does not bedevil her faith. *This* seems rather to increase in clearness. To the Apostles she called her beloved lost one, 'the Lord.' She now appropriates him as her own, 'My Lord.' As the penitent of Calvary was not checked by the sight of His dying agony from acknowledging the 'Lordship' of Jesus, so our Mary's faith amidst the lowliness of the grave dwells loyally on the self-same attribute of greatness, which she will not believe to have been lost in death! Such allegiance cannot fail of its reward, nor be long kept waiting. 'To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise'—was not a prompter requital to the repentant malefactor, than what is at this moment in store for the loving penitent of Magdala. She had no sooner opened her grief to the angels than she was destined to hear the echo of their consolation from the lips of her Lord himself! She turned herself back [from the tomb] and saw Jesus standing . . . and he saith unto her: 'Woman, why weepst thou; whom seekest thou?' The Lord, whom she did not at once recognise, recalled her from the stupor of her grief, by the simple salutation 'Mary!' The word was, no doubt, accompanied with a voice and manner which reminded her of his former love and grace. *Thus every evidence which is furnished us of the resurrection connects him, who is the subject of it, with old associations.* It was the indelible memory of her Lord, impressed on her mind by many a characteristic feature of speech and action, which roused Mary to the instantaneous conviction that none but her beloved could have pronounced her name in that inimitable tone. Her prompt recognition of Jesus was accompanied with an attempt, an excited one no doubt, to embrace him. But embraces henceforth must be spiritual! So Christ puts a double honour upon his disciple, whose simple and ardent love he knows to be equal to the occasion: 'Touch me not,' he says in effect, 'your faith needs not, like that of a weaker conviction, to be helped by a corporeal embrace.' To us the Lord's bearing to his devoted follower of Magdala is an encomium rather than a repulse. He can count upon her faith without the contact which was needful for the satisfaction of Thomas; so he at once entrusts to her the message which should announce to his followers not his return to life merely, but his approaching ascension to his Father. Such an announcement was necessary; without it his disciples might conclude from the tenor of his long discourse to them before his death, that his present return to life was his final appointment, and that this world accordingly was the 'place' of their ultimate glory and rest with himself (John xiv. 3; xvi. 16; xvii. 24). Though, therefore, they were about to see him after 'the little while' of his absence from them through death, yet that sight would be itself but a brief one, for he was not yet ascended to his Father, but was on the way to Him (comp. John xvi. 16 with xx. 17). We therefore discover in Mary Magdalene's case, not only the distinction which St. Mark assigns to her of being the first to behold

the risen Jesus (xvi. 9), but the yet higher privilege of receiving from him the sublimest of his messages to his disciples. In it he announces his approaching ascension to heaven, and indicates the spiritual relation which he would have them realise as his 'brethren'—children of 'his Father and their Father, his God and their God' (John xx. 17). In this remarkable message the apostles would, on due reflection, find the best possible voucher of their Lord's resurrection. It contained two plain references to his former teaching. He had in Galilee in a pointed manner declared the principle of their regenerate relation to him (Matt. xii. 46-50; Mark iii. 31-35); and, as late as Thursday evening, he had profoundly discoursed to them of his departure from the world to the Father, and his discourse had at the time deeply impressed them (John xvi. 29, 30). How could Mary Magdalene have had any idea of so profound a truth, unless from the mouth of the Lord himself? When, however, she reported to his late companions the startling fact that she had actually seen the Lord alive, they were incredulous. Prostrated with grief (Mark xvi. 10), they reflected not on the probability of the story which their earnest friend avouched; but if 'they believed not,' as St. Mark informs us, the silence of St. John may justify the supposition that Mary's statement would at least produce some impression on their minds which might contribute somewhat to ultimate belief (comp. John xx. 18). But other influences strangely tending to the same result are at hand. The other Mary and Salome were on their way to the disciples to relate what they had seen and heard at the sepulchre, since their companion of Magdala had left them, when they were met by the risen Saviour (Matt. xxviii. 9).

Second Appearance of Christ.—According to St. Matthew (xxviii. 8) and St. Mark (xvi. 8), these holy women had quitted the tomb with fear and amazement, though not unmixed with joy, at the apparition and words of the angel. They were, no doubt, still under the influence of these emotions when Jesus approached them (observe the *ἑστηκότες αὐταῖς*, and contrast it with the mode of Christ's approach to Mary Magdalene, evidently from behind; *ἐσπράγγεῖς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, καὶ θύψει τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπ' ὤματα*, John xx. 14); for, after a gracious salutation (*χαίρετε*), in which he seemed to sympathise with their joy, as before he had soothed the tears of the Magdalene (*γύναι, τί κλαίεις*), he bids them dismiss their fears (*μὴ φοβεῖσθε*, without the emphatic *ὑμεῖς* of the angel; for the Lord draws no contrast and makes no allusion to the terrified guard). And now the Lord strikingly demonstrates his intuition of human character, and so proves himself to be the same Jesus whom the beloved disciple (ii. 24, 25) described as 'knowing all men, and needing not that any should testify of man; for he knew what was in man.' This Mary and Salome were of far different mould from their friend of Magdala. Equal, no doubt, in love and duty, they were yet inferior to her in firmness of character and grasp of faith. So the Lord having calmed their timid hearts and addressed himself to their joy, at once permits their reverential embrace (*ἐκράτησαν . . . καὶ προσέκυνον αὐτῷ*), whereby they might increase their faltering faith to a strong conviction. This 'touch' he had, as we have seen, forbidden to the intrepid and unshrinking Magdalene, as unneeded and superfluous; while on a later occasion we shall find him actually command-

ing a contact of his sacred body, to satisfy the unreasonable doubts of the tardiest of his followers. Having graciously accepted the homage and strengthened the faith of these timorous but faithful women, Jesus gives them an embassy to his apostles, whom he again salutes with the endearing name of *brethren*: 'Go, tell my brethren that they go before me into Galilee; there shall they see me.' The wisdom of these words is apparent. Christ will not oppress them, with the expectation of a sudden appearance among them, then and there. To retire to Galilee, from the scene of their present sorrow, would allow time for reflection and recovery; it would also, like the angel's message, put the minds of the apostles into a train of recollecting how that Jesus had himself promised, while he was with them, that after his death and resurrection he would see them again *in Galilee* (Matt. xxvi. 32); nor would the kindness of his salutation be without its influence—it was so much like their loving master's benevolent heart to forgive their cowardly desertion of him in his hour of need! We are not told, however, what reception was given to this message; possibly a more respectful one than to Mary Magdalene's. Four of the eleven apostles were sons of these pious messengers. One of them had, by a personal inspection of the sepulchre, raised himself out of the desponding incredulity of his associates into a frame of mind which would induce him at least to give a serious attention to the statement of his mother and her friend. Added to which the testimony of these women was a weightier one than that of the Magdalene, for they could tell of what their 'hands had handled,' as well as of what their eyes had seen and their ears had heard.

Other Women at the Sepulchre.—It cannot, however, be denied, that the incredulity of the apostolic company was in general extremely obstinate. Unpersuaded by the mouth of the three witnesses, who have thus far laboured to convince them of the glorious truth, which they had discovered that Easter morning, they reject the testimony of a still more numerous body of informants, who now bring similar tidings to them, but with varied vouchers. The Galilean women mentioned by St. Luke (xxiv. 1-9) have been, as it appears to us, conclusively shewn by some careful writers* to be a different set of women from those whose movements we have been describing. The central member of this larger group is Joanna, the wife of Chuzas, Herod's steward. Though probably they acted in concert with their pious neighbours, they seem to have moved independently of them. They on Friday, after the burial, probably made that *inspection of the tomb*, as the preliminary step in their pious offices to the dead (Luke xxiii. 55), which Mary Magdalene and the other Mary seem to have postponed until Sunday morning (Matt. xxviii. 1). They were apparently beforehand with them also in their provision of materials for embalming the sacred body; for St. Luke informs us that they had prepared their spices and unguents *before* the Sabbath-day (xxiii. 56),

while it is clear from St. Mark, that the two Marys and Salome only procured their sweet spices, and that by purchase, when the Sabbath was *past* (xvi. 1). This diversity of circumstances continues throughout the narrative. On the arrival of Joanna and her party at the tomb, after the departure of the other women, they enter the opened sepulchre, not invited by an angel, as their predecessors had been, to behold the evidence of Jesus being alive (*δεῖτε, ἴδετε τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἔκειτο*, Matt. xxviii. 6), but intent only on their sad mission of embalming him dead. They found not the Lord's body, and (full proof that they had not seen their friends of Salome's group) were thrown into extreme perplexity. While they were indulging, as was natural, in painful surmises, behold, two angels in human shape stood by them in shining garments. The apparition filled them with fear, and they fell prostrate to the ground. The three first visitors to the sacred vault had been met with comfortable words; these were accosted by the celestial guards in tones of apparent censure: 'Why seek ye the living among the dead?' as if in gentle reproof of their coming to seek for Christ in the tomb, at a time when he had already shewed, or was now shewing himself to some of their companions conqueror of the grave. Not to depress them, however, with over much sorrow, the angels added the glorious tidings: 'He is not here, but is risen.' This grand announcement is not received by these faithful women with the strong passion of grief, which the Magdalene had displayed; nor with the conflicting feelings of fear and joy which had excited the timorous hearts of her companions; but with a sedate and solemn attention which encouraged their heavenly monitors to appeal to their recollection of the past: 'Remember how he spake unto you, when he was yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of Man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again.' Of all the angelic announcements this most clearly connects the Christ of the resurrection with the Christ of the preceding period. The pious listeners were collected enough to remember the Lord's prediction, and now to comprehend its meaning. We are apt to think that greater distinction was put on the other women by Christ in vouchsafing to them his gracious appearances. But may we not discover some compensation for the *want* of that honour in the case of Joanna and her friends, in the benediction which Christ pronounced afterwards to Thomas: 'Blessed are they that have *not seen*, and yet have believed?' Though not expressly sent on the errand like their predecessors, these excellent persons, having found their Saviour, in the promptitude of their faith returned from the sepulchre, and made apparently (as was easy for them in their larger number) a much wider circulation of the wonderful intelligence than the others had the opportunity of doing (Luke xxiv. 9).

Incredulity of the disciples.—Such are the successive evidences of the resurrection which the various groups of the ministering women brought to the apostles. They were vouchsafed at two appearances of Christ himself, and three apparitions of angels. We have seen how varied were the processes of conviction in the case of the women. Uniform, however, was the effect produced by their different reports upon the men; even invariable incredulity. St. Luke, the historian of this incredulity, expressly mentions the successive

* We would especially name Mr. Gilbert West (*Observations on the Hist., etc., of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ* [sec. i.-xi.]); Dr. Townson (*Discourses on the four Gospels* [pp. 292-404]); and Mr. Greswell (*Dissertations on the Harmony, etc.* [ed. 2], vol. iii., pp. 264-320).

messengers, who came freighted with the marvellous tidings—(1) 'Mary Magdalene, and (2) Joanna, and (3) Mary the mother of James,' and whatever other women respectively accompanied them (see xxiv. 10; and, for this *distributive* sense of the names,* the convincing remarks of Dr. Townson, *Discourses*, pp. 296, 394-400); but their reports were uniformly rejected—'their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not.' Some allowance must in charity be made for the apostles. They never had understood the Lord's plainest predictions of 'the decease he was to accomplish at Jerusalem;' why should Messiah die (John xii. 34)? Before they had learnt to solve the startling question, his painful and ignominious death dashed their fondest hopes to the ground, and they were scattered like sheep, when the shepherd is smitten. This result was not unforeseen by Jesus (Matt. xxvi. 31; Mark xiv. 27); nay, it was indicated in prophecy (Zech. xiii. 7). The time is now come when they are to be gathered from their dispersion; and we venture to think that the gentle means employed by 'the Good Shepherd' to recall them from the consternation and grief into which his death had plunged them, affords an irresistible evidence of the truth of the resurrection, by the illustration it yields, at every step, that it was the same Jesus, who in methods of characteristic grace and kindness to his disciples was carrying out, in his post-mortal course, the purpose and counsel which he so often announced to them previous to his death. One reflection we obviously derive from this incredulity of the apostles. How unreasonable is the objection which makes the history of the resurrection an invention of the apostles and their friends! Some (like Mon. Rénan, *Vie de Jésus*, p. 434) imagine this history to be the offspring of the heated imagination of Mary Magdalene. Others (and they are the majority of the neo-critical school) find in the Evangelists a legendary summary of primitive belief, which took its shape from the fond conceits of the first preachers of Christianity. The best refutation of all such opinions is the simple narrative of the Gospels. This narrative, which is on all hands accepted as the basis of all these speculations, proves most clearly that the apostles and their friends, who were the primitive witnesses of the resurrection, were anything but enthusiasts and framers of legends. They were

* This *distributive sense* of the names, here mentioned, seems to us to be very strongly indicated in the evangelist's careful phraseology. In verse 9 he says of the women who had seen the two angels at the sepulchre, that they returned and reported (ἀπήγγειλαν) all that they had seen and heard to the eleven and to all the rest. The aorist, which here expresses their *single* report, is in direct contrast with the *ἔλεγον* of the next verse, an imperfect tense which well indicates the *repeated* announcements of the several women as they came back one after the other. That the tenth verse is briefly recapitulatory of the various reports of the different groups of women, is plain from its structure—*ἦσαν δὲ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ . . . αἱ ἔλεγον . . . ταῦτα*. In like manner he, in verse 11, describes the apostles' persistent incredulity of one report after the other by the tense of repetition, *ἠπίσταντο αὐταῖς*, *g. d.*, 'As many women as came, from time to time, they would disbelieve.'

tardy-minded men; far from entertaining a prejudice or expectation of the Lord's restoration from death; and resisting the manifold evidences of that fact, until disbelief became unreasonable. And as to Mary Magdalene, in whose 'hallucination' the newest criticism discovers the unsubstantial foundation of all subsequent faith in the resurrection (*Vie de Jésus*, l. c.), it happens, that that noble-hearted woman (whose loving devotion to the Saviour is sadly caricatured in Mon. Rénan's rhapsody), though blessed with almost the earliest conviction of the illustrious truth of the risen Christ (St. John's being the very earliest), could induce no one to accept her testimony; for however true it may be that the reports brought by her and the other women may have startled the eleven out of the first inactivity of their despair, they did not impart any conviction to the apostles; nor is it upon the testimony of the *women*, much less any one of them, that subsequent Christians received their faith. The strong-minded St. Paul was so emphatic in his belief of the resurrection of Christ as to base the whole value of Christianity upon it alone (1 Cor. xv. 14-18). But while he does this in the strongest possible terms, he in the most studied manner excludes Mary Magdalene and all the other women as witnesses of the historical fact (comp. verses 5-7).

Third Appearance of Christ—to Peter.—When Joanna and her companions circulated their temperate and credible report, it, no doubt, soon reached the ears of that apostle, who of all others, we may well suppose, both from his temperament and the sad memory of his great ingratitude, was the most restless and impatient. We have seen him once at the sepulchre with St. John and Mary Magdalene. This is the visit described in the fourth gospel (xx. 3-10). But St. Luke mentions a hasty visit to the sepulchre as paid by St. Peter alone, the circumstances of which are so different from the former (comp. Luke xxiv. 12), as to justify the supposition that the disquieted apostle, influenced it may be by the strong view of his friend St. John in favour of the women's reports, went again (perhaps unknown to any) in quest of that conviction which he would gladly cherish, if he could only find evidence to satisfy him. This time he did not enter the sepulchre, but like St. John on the former occasion, he stooped down, if haply he could behold at least the vision of angels, of which so much was now being said (comp. Luke xxiii. 23). The result of his anxious but reverent gaze was not satisfactory; and St. Luke—the historian of the incredulity—mildly includes the amazed apostle among the instances of those whose minds, though disturbed, were as yet unconvinced by all they heard. Once more 'he departed' (unblessed by that angelic service, which, though not permitted to *announce* to him the gospel, as it had to the women, was still destined to *protect* him from danger when he should have to preach it to others—Acts v. 19; xii. 7), 'wondering in himself at that which was come to pass.' We can hardly suppose that he reached his home, as on the last occasion (John xx. 10), without the blessedness of that full conviction which was in store for his perturbed heart, for we have the assurance of St. Paul that the Lord appeared to him (1 Cor. xv. 5), and that appearance, which St. Paul puts as the earliest of the six he mentions, must have taken place in the course of this morning, some time be-

fore mid-day, as may be gathered from St. Luke's reference to it (xxiv. 34). We are not informed of the details of this interview, nor must we detain ourselves with imagining what passed between the deeply penitent disciple and his most gracious master. The result was not only a happy one to him, who of all the male disciples of the Lord was the first to see the mighty conqueror of death, but full of importance to the entire body of Christ's scattered followers, as tending more than any recorded incident to impress on them that faith which was to reunite them.

Fourth Appearance—on the road to Emmaus.—

One of the most beautiful passages of the post-resurrection life of Jesus is narrated by St. Luke (xxiv. 13-35) with so vivid a portraiture of details as to deter us from the attempt to reproduce the story, lest our own words should injure the effect of it. In perfect contrast to his third appearance to St. Peter, over which a veil of mystery hangs, we have here a full revelation of Christ's next manifestation of himself to two of his non-apostolic followers (of the seventy perhaps), as they were on their way to Emmaus, a village which the sacred historian describes as between seven and eight miles from Jerusalem. Intensely *human* is the whole tone of this exquisite narrative. Cleopas and his companion were deep in conversation on the events which had happened during the Pass-over, which they were leaving with saddened hearts. Jesus, joining company with them, hears their simple but earnest commentary on his own life and death. These were an enigma which they despaired of solving. His life, in deeds and words, how *like*—his death, in pain and ignominy, how *unlike*—Messiah! And then the third day was come, a day of strange foreboding to foe and friend! Foreboding, which was now indeed filling their soul with sickening anxiety; for certain women had, just as they were quitting the city, actually declared that they had at the tomb seen a vision of angels, which said that he was alive; a report which they could not credit, because certain of themselves, having visited the burial-place to test the women's story, had utterly failed to discover a sight of *Him*, although they found his grave emptied of its precious charge! The Lord, who is as a stranger to them, reproves them for their unbelief; sets forth Messiah's sufferings as the predestined prelude of his glory, which all their Scriptures, Moses and the prophets alike, might have taught them; kindles in their tardy, but not unloving hearts, a strange glow of warmest interest, as he adapts his wonderful exposition to restore their drooping hopes; and, having by this time arrived at their house and accepted their hospitality, he reveals himself to them in the midst of their consecrated meal. With that divine and awful promptitude, which marks all his movements now, Jesus had no sooner convinced them of his identity, than he mysteriously disappears from their view (*ἄφαντος ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτῶν*, ver. 31). They instantly returned to the city and discovered their fellow-disciples aroused from their despondency; for they, too, had been startled by the increasingly persuasive signs of the Lord's resurrection, which his appearance to Simon Peter had produced amongst them. Who can describe the thrilling scene at that moment, when the meeting of the disciples is aroused with the successive testimony of the apostle first, and then of the two from Emmaus? But the

soul of the reader is still more profoundly moved as he passes on through St. Luke's most ravishing history. The Evangelist has occupied us alone up to this point. St. John now joins in the narrative*—for a still greater event impends.

Fifth Appearance—to ten of the apostles and some others.—

The two sacred writers together omit nothing to be desired in a perfect description. It is Sunday evening. The sacred company are assembled in the hostile city with closed doors. The fear of the Jews without, and the perturbations of their own hearts within, as they oscillated between the despondency of the last three days and the indefinite hopes of the last few hours, presented a case of painful suspense worthy of the merciful interposition of the Heart-Comforter, and which none but he could soothe! How timely then is the precious record of the two evangelists: 'Jesus himself came and stood in the midst of them and saith unto them, *Peace be unto you!*' The last convulsion of unbelief arose from their fright rather than from wilfulness. Full of doubt whether more than the *spirit* of him, whose body had been so wounded and pierced upon the cross, could be possibly now alive, they supposed that it was his ghost before them! But he who had before death, at death, and since death, borne so long with them mildly meets this new development of their flagging faith. 'Why are ye troubled,' he kindly asks, 'and why do these thoughts arise in your hearts? . . . handle me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have.' The last remnants of their incredulity still flickered in their hearts. Another gracious attempt is made to quench it. He asked for meat; they gave him a piece of their simple food; he took it, and by eating, gave them the best proof of his corporeity (Luke). 'Then,' adds the fourth Evangelist with exquisite and forcible simplicity, 'Then were the disciples glad when they saw the Lord' (xx. 20). Having thus, by the gradual steps of his admirable wisdom and gracious longsuffering, plucked out of their tardy nature the last fibres of unbelief which clasped their hearts, he begins to edify and instruct them for their glorious work. He renews his peaceful blessing; opens to them the divine credentials of their mission (John xx. 21), and by the breath of his mouth, shedding on them the gift of the Holy Ghost, he consecrates them to the sublimest functions of ministry in his now approaching kingdom (vers. 22, 23). With this august ceremony ends the first and most wonderful of all Easter days, during which the Lord vindicated his dominion over death and the grave, and, by the most interesting process of psychological and moral suasion anywhere on record, beat down the strongholds of the most obstinate incredulity which had settled in the hearts of his dejected followers. Having traced, with unavoidable prolixity, the steps by which they mounted to the

* St. Mark (xvi. 14) only refers to the Lord's rebuke (at this same appearance) of his disciples' unbelief, in so strenuously resisting the repeated reports of the women, *who were in fact his own ministers for leading them to conviction*. This verse alone of St. Mark, as it seems to us, is synchronistic with the longer narratives of SS. John and Luke. These Evangelists omit the rebuke, and dwell only on the happy fact of the disciples' conviction of Christ's return to life.

inflexible conviction of their master's resurrection, we may hasten to the end of our grand subject with greater brevity.

Events of the ensuing week, ending with the Sixth Appearance—to the eleven, and, probably, some others.

—We are not informed of any other intercourse of Christ with his followers during the remainder of the week. He might well leave them to ponder over the revelations of the Sunday. We cannot, however, suppose that those who had had the happiness of being convinced of his resurrection would be indifferent about it. There was, no doubt, much effort on the part of the convinced to persuade others to accept the truth. St. Mark seems to intimate as much with respect at least to the two disciples of Emmaus (xvi. 13). Their labours were not always successful; many withheld their assent from their testimony. Even among the eleven there was still one unreclaimed from unbelief. 'The same man,' says Stier (*Words of the Lord Jesus* [Ciark], viii. 177), 'who once would die with Jesus (John xi. 16) continues resolutely *in the same mind*, and, as much as in him lies, will not rise again with Jesus.' Thomas was absent when Christ on Sunday evening appeared to his brother-apostles, and, notwithstanding their express assurance to him that they had seen the Lord, he was so oppressed with the image of His suffering and death that he peremptorily refused to believe them, unless he had not only the ocular testimony, which after all might have misled them to mistake a phantom for a man, but the demonstration of touch and feeling; if he could see and touch the print of the nails which he had so surely seen fastening the sacred hands to the cross, and probe with his hand the spear-wound of the sacred side, he would be convinced. This was indeed a harsh incredulity! And for a week did the unhappy man nurture his morbid and exaggerated feelings amidst the Easter joy of his brethren; they would soon, he doubtless thought, be disenchanted of their spell, and would then relapse to his level, in the reminiscence of Calvary and the gloom of the grave. How painful must this isolation of their obstinate brother have been to them! Their grief, however, received a solace on the next Sunday, when they found Thomas actually among them, on an occasion from the like of which they had themselves obtained their conviction and joy. Who could tell whether their merciful Master would not repeat his consolatory visit! They were possibly intent on these thoughts, when Jesus came, the doors being shut as before, and stood in the midst and said, *Peace be unto you*. Happy omen for the unbeliever, whose presence there argued his wish to believe! 'But long time is not allowed him; his profound shame and confusion are cut short in grace, and the Lord presently (*étra*) proceeded to his milder and reconciling humiliation—he gives him back his own words, for he knows everything!' (Stier). Did Thomas, thus challenged by his Lord, make the offered scrutiny? Probably not. He felt a gush of conviction; the graciousness of Jesus was enough to subdue him. In the ardour of a new devotion, he exclaims, 'My Lord and my God!' The spectacle of his dear Master's restored humanity proved him conqueror over that death in whose grasp he blindly feared he was inextricably bound; and so vast a triumph as *that* brought with it the conviction that he was nothing short of divine! Jesus accepted his dis-

ciple's magnificent confession, as aforetime he had received those of Nathanael (John i. 49) and Peter (Matt. xvi. 16); but the blessing which he accorded him was a modified one. How should it not be! How many the degrees between the ready and modest faith of the beloved disciple, the first believer in the glorious resurrection, and the tardy and hardly achieved conviction of Thomas Didymus! But the loss of the primitive doubter is *our gain*, for his incredulity not only elicited fresh evidence of Christ's resurrection, and another illustration of Christ's graciousness—but it drew from the Saviour his sanction of a happy truth, a great law of belief to his church for ever—'*Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed.*' As we walk in imagination through these scenes of surpassing beauty and interest, we may be apt to sigh that we are not privileged to see and hear what the first disciples saw and heard. But let us check that regret in the blessed compensation which the Saviour has himself provided; well assured that, in the administration of his kingdom, he will not forget his own considerate principle, and accord the especial blessing on the prompt and loyal believer, who, with the well-attested word of God in his hand, foregoes the demonstration of sight and touch (1 Pet. i. 8)!

Christ in Galilee.—We have seen the stress which Jesus repeatedly placed on his wish to meet his disciples in Galilee after his resurrection (see Matt. xxvi. 32; xxviii. 7, 10; Mark xiv. 28; xvi. 7). In this old scene of his labours, where many followers had latterly gathered around him, would he now demonstrate the truth of all his teaching by convincing them of his return from the grave. In this northern province, too, was the home of his disciples who were about to leave Jerusalem at the termination of the passover; and there he would be able to meet them often in the privacy which his mysterious and unworldly communications required, undistracted by the turbulent hostility of the guilty city. In obedience, therefore, to his command by the women, 'the eleven disciples went away into Galilee' (Matt. xxviii. 16). The Lord's first interview with them was in a place full of old associations; 'on that sea where everything would remind them of Jesus—the smiling bank of which, and even its dark waves, had borne his holy footsteps' (Jakobi in Stier, viii. 211).

Christ's Seventh Appearance—the Third to the Apostles (John xxi. 13).—In the account of this manifestation we have another exquisite picture, which we must not mar by a paraphrase. St. John is this time the graphic narrator (xxi. 1-23), and we must refer the reader to his beautiful history. Many points will interest him. The manner in which the names are connected is remarkable (Stier). The highly-favoured Thomas, and the much-forgiven Peter, occur side by side, so that the two men who severally had had such especial experience of the love of their dear Master are united lovingly together in this scene—no longer one of probation, but of fruition. To them is added Nathanael, guileless from the very first, whose home in Cana would suggest the first miracle of the ministry. John's mention of himself and his brother, in this place alone, as '*sons of Zebedee*,' carries us back to a scene of like circumstance, when these faithful men, obedient to Christ's call, left their father (no doubt not unwill-

ing to be so left), and their all, to become 'fishers of men.' We before remarked on the sensation produced by the earlier miracle. What a tide of reminiscence must have now flowed in upon the memories of the seven by this recurrence of their Master's characteristic power and kindness! As a mighty work designed to announce the return of the Lost One to life and to Galilee, could any means have answered the purpose better, on the shores of the Sea of Tiberias? There is a mysterious grandeur in the manner of Christ's 'manifestation of himself' (St. John's phrase is very expressive, *ἐφάνησεν ἑαυτόν*, xxi. 1; *ἐφανερώθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, ver. 14 ['*Id grandius sonat, quam ἐφάνη, apparuit*,' says Bengel]); not to mention the *mystic* import of his loving supply to his toiling and disappointed disciples of an abundant capture; happy omen for them, when they, amidst so many cares and trials, should require his help in their endeavours to catch men. 'The apostle whom Jesus loved is the first to recognise the Lord, and yet (as we might indeed have expected) another is the first [in his characteristic ardour] to greet him. He, who on that very lake, and under circumstances strikingly similar, had besought his holy Master to depart from one so sin-stained (Luke v. 8), now casts himself into the water, and is the first to kneel at the divine feet'—Bishop Ellicott, *Lectures*, p. 406. After the miraculous draft of fishes, the Lord dedicates the first-fruits of it to giving them another incontestible proof of the truth of his corporeal nature, by 'dining' with them upon the shore. After the meal, Christ, in one of the most interesting and significant scenes of this portion of his life, restores (or rather ratifies his former restoration of) St. Peter to the eminent position from which he had fallen. 'We should remember that Peter's offence, which was given to *all*, and which corresponded to the public warning given *before all*, could be properly and fully forgiven only by a *public* word of reconciliation' (Stier). Hence the significance of this reinvestiture of the apostle to the pastoral office, which he had forfeited. *Thrice* did the Lord request, and *thrice* did his earnest and heart-smitten disciple reiterate, the confession of his love to the Master whom he had *thrice* denied. How affecting was the afflicted apostle's outburst at the last, when, finding his mouth fail for words, he appealed to his Master's own knowledge of 'all' his past and 'all' his present (*Κύριε, σὺ πάντα οἶδας!* John xxi. 17); from the beginning thou hast known me and searched me—known me as the son of Jonas; called me Peter; drawn me to thee in patience; kindled love in my soul; warned my blindness; foreseen and forgiven my fall; looked both before and since thy death into my heart with eyes of grace; Lord, how shouldst thou not know all? Having accepted Peter's genuine confession of his love, Christ prophetically assures him how great a demand he would make upon that love, for his life of apostolic service would be terminated with a martyr's death! The scene ends with the Lord's removal from it, with the significant request to his disciple to '*follow him*' (*ἀκολούθει μοι*, ver. 19). The world of meaning conveyed herein we will not attempt to unfold. Peter instantly obeyed, followed by the unbidden but always welcome St. John. Wishing to secure him as his dear companion, if it might only be in life and in death, the eager Peter, with a touch of

his old forwardness, too curiously inquires about his future also. The Lord mildly reproves the curiosity by only half gratifying it. He recalls Peter to his own case, and again bids him with increased emphasis to follow him (this time it is, *Σὺ μοι ἀκολούθει*, ver. 22). St. John ends his narrative with an exquisitely artless correction of a popular mistake which had gone abroad respecting his own supposed immunity from death, and with the voucher of his own personal knowledge of the facts which he has just described. We stay not to defend the genuineness of this beautiful record, which is contained in all the principal MSS. of the fourth gospel, and of which the internal evidence shews it to be from St. John's pen as strongly as the external—but hasten to notice the next great event in this period of our Lord's career.

Christ's Eighth Appearance.—Great indeed it was, the very culmination of his sacred displays of himself. St. Matthew, to whom we owe the account of it (xxviii. 16-20), seems to confine the interview to the eleven. But it is his manner to mention salient points, and to *imply* the rest. He does so here, for by informing us that '*some doubted*' among the persons now assembled, he suggests the idea that others were present besides the apostles, who, after all the scenes through which we have been following them, had certainly *ceased to doubt*. We conclude then, with most commentators, that the present meeting was attended by more than the eleven, and was in truth identical with that to which St. Paul refers (1 Cor. xv. 6), who mentions one occasion on which the Lord was seen by 'more than five hundred brethren at once.' That occasion was the present. It was a solemn and an 'appointed' congregation of all the Lord's followers, to whom he would vouchsafe the glorious privilege of seeing him once more on earth. Galilee would contribute most of them; but we hardly believe that the faithful of the southern districts would be absent. The excellent women, who had so long had the privilege of ministering to him before death, having themselves been elevated to the happy belief of his resurrection, would, we may well imagine, be especially zealous in the holy office of pioneering for this assembly, to which they were in some degree appointed by the Lord himself and his angel (see Matt. xxviii. 7; xxviii. 10; Mark xvi. 7). The locality was a mountain of Galilee, probably the mount of the beatitudes, where, as we have seen, a large number of persons might meet on a plateau of one of its slopes. Mountains are the sites of the grandest events in the Lord's career on earth. On a mountain was he tempted; on a mountain did he expound the principles of his kingdom, as well as choose his apostles; on a mountain was he transfigured when he gave his select witnesses an insight of his glory; on a mountain did he foretell the doom of Jerusalem and the end of the world; from a mountain will he soon ascend to heaven; and on a mountain does he now meet the full conclave of his followers, to prove to them the reality of his dominion over death by the only *public* attestation he ever gave of the truth of his resurrection. How sublime the scene! Himself the centre of all, with the holy eleven around him in profoundest adoration (Matt. xxviii. 17), and the rest either prostrate with them in the conviction of a settled faith, or conquering 'doubt' by the wondering and joyous scrutiny of

strained eyes (see Stier, viii. 278). How thrilling the effect when Jesus announced to them, as God's final and full ratification of all his work and passion for them, the mighty words: 'All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth!' On *another* mountain the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them were once offered to him by the great usurper, as the guerdon of fealty to *him*. Glorious constancy, which disdained the glittering bait, and earned the present prize of omnipotence in heaven as well as earth! But not glorious for himself alone: he even at this moment lays his gracious plans for making his followers 'partakers of his glory,' by issuing from this Galilean mount of reunion his great evangelical commission for gathering from all nations a people for himself, who, disciplined by his own appointed means, and blessed by his own abiding presence, shall thus be organised for the eternal fruition of his everlasting reign (Rev. i. 6 and xi. 15; comp. with Dan. vii. 14). When we were contemplating Christ's ministry in Galilee we found abundant reason for congratulating that rough and despised province on the wondrous grace of which it was the favoured recipient. Too often was that grace despised; but yet Christ had verified the promise of an ancient prophet (Is. ix. 1, 2). But have we not in the Lord's *posthumous* grace to Galilee, by the remarkable event we have just contemplated, a still more glorious accomplishment of the great seer's words?

Ninth Appearance—to James.—We are indebted to St. Paul for the knowledge of the very interesting fact that the Lord vouchsafed an interview with one of the two apostles who bore the name of James. There are some who have thought that he was one of the Emmaus disciples, and that Cleophas was his father, and that therefore his sight of the Saviour was on the day of the resurrection. It is, we need hardly say, fatal to this view that the two disciples are by St. Luke expressly distinguished from the eleven (xxiv. 33). St. Paul probably enumerates his six appearances of Christ *in order*; if so, we must place Christ's visit to this solitary apostle *after* the full meeting of his disciples in Galilee (*ἔπειτα*, *i.e.*, subsequently to the appearance on the mountain, *ὑπὸ τῷ Ἰακώβῳ*, 1 Cor. xv. 7). The question, *which* James enjoyed this signal blessing, is not so easily disposed of. Indeed, it is impossible to solve it. The greatly preponderant opinion supposes him to have been the son of Alphæus, and the Lord's cousin. The story of the apocryphal gospel, that Christ appeared to release him from the bond of a rash vow, is unworthy of the least attention. In the Acts, and in one of St. Paul's Epistles, this James is prominently mentioned in connection with the church of Jerusalem (Acts. xii. 17; xv. 13; xxi. 18; Gal. ii. 9), of which ecclesiastical tradition makes him the first bishop, designated as such by the Lord himself (so Theophylact and Photius; see Hammond on 1 Cor. xv. 7). Whether the tradition truly illustrates St. Paul's statement, or was suggested by it, we cannot tell. It is not too much to suppose, that among the gracious intentions of Christ's love to *Jerusalem*, he might have singled out for this special interview his relative, the son of his mother's sister, and imparted to him some of that wisdom which enabled him to take so prominent a part in planting the gospel in 'the Holy City,' and to allay the dangerous schism that threatened the infant church (Acts xv.) To

us, *however*, while we would not venture to reject this prevalent opinion, there seems to be a thrilling interest in the idea, that the gracious Jesus, who had himself tasted the pains of the martyr's death, and had expressly awarded to the son of Zebedee the honourable destiny of drinking the same cup and receiving the same baptism of suffering with himself (Matt. xx. 23; Mark x. 39), did now in truth pay this mysterious visit to James the Great, to strengthen the brother of 'the disciple whom he loved' for the painful but blessed prerogative which awaited him, of being the very first to win the martyr's crown among his twelve apostles!

Tenth Appearance, at the time of the Ascension.—Having accomplished his long-ordained purpose of meeting his people in Galilee, he probably intimated to them that Jerusalem must be the scene of his last sight of them on earth, for in his next interview with them we find him request his disciples *not to depart* from that city (Acts i. 4). At any rate, whether expressly bidden, or led by some strange mysterious presentiment, such as preceded the translation of Elijah in the minds of his companions and pupils (2 Kings ii. 1-7), the apostles betook themselves to Jerusalem with hearts full of exalted expectations. Taught by the Holy Spirit, which he had breathed upon them in initial grace, they had doubtless corrected their hopes of an earthly dominion. A kingdom, however, they still looked for, spiritual in character and strength, having Israel for the focus of its glory. Of 'the things of that kingdom' they had been hearing for forty days (Acts i. 3) in the recorded and unrecorded (see John xx. 30) communications of their Lord. They seized their last opportunity earnestly to inquire (*ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν* is St. Luke's word, Acts i. 6) whether *now* was the time when he meant to set up his promised kingdom (*ἀποκαθιδρύσει τὴν βασιλείαν*; *i.e.*) In his gracious answer Christ does not reprove their question as *materially* erroneous, but corrects their views as *to the time*. The period of the *revelation* of his kingdom, and its epochs (*χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς*), the Almighty Father, to whose will he once more (as always) refers everything, reserves in his own power, as his own incommunicable secret. But meanwhile the preparations for that kingdom must be made, and here was a life-long work for them all. To empower them for that work he would endue them with the gifts of that Spirit of which they had often heard since they had first received their earliest yearnings for a new life from his faithful forerunner, whose name and baptism he loves once more to acknowledge (Acts i. 5). John from the beginning had announced the grandest of Christ's gifts to man: 'He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost' (Matt. iii. 18; Mark i. 8; Luke iii. 16; John i. 33). For that gift they were now to tarry awhile; it would soon be bestowed. In the endowments of that gift they should go forth from Jerusalem, Judæa, and Samaria, to the earth's utmost bounds; unfurl the banner of their Lord's kingdom, and win subjects into it. As Christ was opening out to them this wonderful future, he was walking towards the beloved Bethany. While yet on the eastern slope of Olivet, near that village, he was in the act of once more blessing his disciples, with hands upraised towards the sky, when, lo! he was parted from them. With intense and adoring gaze they beheld him as he was rising higher and higher still (*ἀνέφερετο* marks the gradual ascent,

Luke xxiv. 51), until a cloud received him out of their sight. Two angelic monitors restrained their curiosity and regret by the consolatory promise that 'the same Jesus should return in the same manner as they had just seen him ascend.' *Onward!* has ever been the gospel word. From the incarnation men's look was directed to the cross; from the cross to the resurrection; from the resurrection to the ascension; and now from the ascension to the ultimate return. The cloud hides him not from faith; the sacred volume ends with the echo of the promise: 'Even so, come, Lord Jesus' (Rev. xxii. 20). Nay, it hides him not from sight! From his mediatorial throne he has been seen by his holy servants in their need and peril. The protomartyr saw him 'standing at the right hand of God to succour all that suffer for him' (*Collect for St. Stephen's day*), and the beloved disciple saw him; he was clad with glory indeed too bright for mortal eye to scan without alarm—but he was the same gracious Jesus still; he laid his right hand upon the affrighted apostle, and calmed his fears with the assurance of his unchangeable identity: 'saying, Fear not; I am the first and the last; I am he that liveth and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death' (Rev. i. 13-18).

Authorities.—In writing this sketch of the Lord's life on earth, close use has been made of the Sacred Biographies by the four Evangelists, especially in the 'harmonised' editions of Tischendorf (*Synopsis Evangelica*, 1854) and Robinson (*Harmony of the Four Gospels*, Tract Society). Greswell's works have been also consulted, especially his *Harmony, Dissertations* [2d ed.,] and papers in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* [1845]. Besides these, more or less use has been made of Bp. Ellicott's *Hulsean Lectures on the Life of Christ* [2d ed., 1861]; the Commentaries of Alford, Wordsworth, Burgon, Is. Williams, Rosenmüller, Bengel (*Gnomon*), Olshausen [Clark], De Wette, Meyer, Kuinoel, Lange [Clark], and Tholuck [Clark]; Stier's *Words of the Lord Jesus*, and *Words of the Angels* [Clark]; Hengstenberg's *Christology* [Clark]; Anger's *Synopsis Evangeliorum* [1852]; Clerici, *Harmonia Evangelica*; Patritius, *De Evangelis* [1853]; *Das Leben Jesu*, by Lange, by Sepp, by Hofmann (*nach den Apokryphen*), by Hase (who treats most fully of the literature on the subject), and by Neander [Bohn]; Ewald's *Christus*; Baumgarten's *Geschichte Jesu*; Bp. Jeremy Taylor's *Life of Christ*; 'The Messiah' (an anonymous volume published by Mr. Murray); Andrews' *Life of our Lord upon the Earth* [1863]; Dr. Macbride's *Lectures on the Diatessaron*; Townson's *Discourses on the Four Gospels*; Wilson on the *New Testament*; West and Michaelis on the *Resurrection*; Sherlock's *Trial of the Witnesses*; De Costa's *Four Witnesses*; Griesbach's *Fontes Evangeliorum* [In his *Opuscula*]; the Chronological Works of Wieseler and Ideler; Browne's *Ordo Saeculorum*; Abp. Thomson's *Jesus Christ* [in Smith's *Bibl. Dict.*]; Lichtenstein's *Jesus Christus, Abriss seines Lebens* [in Herzog's *R. E.*, vol. vi.]; Pearson on the *Creed*; Bp. Andrew's *Sermons* [folio]; Bp. Hackett's *Sermons* [folio]; the Rabbinical Works of Schoettgen, Meuschen, Lightfoot [Pitman], Ugolini [in *The-sauri*], Wagenseil, and Dr. Gill [Commentary, quarto ed., 1809]. Rénan's *Vie de Jésus* has been consulted latterly. It contains, no doubt, much

illustrative matter, written in a very interesting style. The author, however, throughout his work, treats our Lord's life before the grave (from which, alas! he is supposed never to have arisen) in an entirely rationalistic point of view. A heathen might have written the work, so utterly are the phenomena of Christianity in its miraculous aspect effaced and rejected by Mon. Rénan, who, professing to receive the four gospels as his authority, retains or eliminates, at will, whatever pleases or embarrasses his critical instinct!

The nature of the subject has prohibited a controversial cast in this article; it may, however, be not improper to state, that this newest phase of scepticism is little more than old unbelief in a modern guise. Old works not only of our own authors on the evidences, but of M. Rénan's own countrymen (especially Duguet, *Principes de la Foi Chrétienne*, pp. ii. iii.), supply abundant materials for refuting the assumptions of his 'criticism.' These are being well applied by Rénan's opponents in France, such as Freppel (*Examen critique de la Vie de Jésus de M. Rénan*); Poujoulat (*Examen de la V. de J.*); Bp. Plantier of Nîmes (*Instruction Pastorale contre un ouvrage intitulé V. de J. par Ernest Rénan*). In M. Nicholas' *Etudes Philosophiques sur le Christianisme* (vol. iv. chaps. i. ii.), there is, by anticipation, much help for answering M. Rénan's infidelity.—P. H.

JESUS (Ἰησοῦς; יְהוֹשֻׁעַ), son of Sirach, called among the Jews בֶּן סִירָא Ben-Sira, the celebrated author of the *Book of Sirach*, or *Ecclesiasticus*, flourished in Jerusalem about B. C. 310-270. This date is obtained from the following facts: 1. Ben Sira celebrates in xlv. 1-1. 21, the praises of Israel's worthies in an almost chronological order. Beginning with Enoch, he continues to recount the deeds or mentions the names of Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Phinehas, Joshua, Caleb, Samuel, Nathan, David, Solomon, Elijah, Elisha, Josiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, the twelve Minor Prophets, Zerubbabel, Nehemiah, and concludes the list with Simon, son of Onias, whom he mentions next to Nehemiah. Now, it is morally certain, that if Ben Sira had lived in the days of Simon II., B. C. 217, and had terminated his catalogue of national benefactors with this insignificant high-priest, he would most assuredly not have omitted the great men between Nehemiah and Simon II., and above all would not have passed over with silence Simon I., whom the Jewish nation regarded as the personification of goodness, nobility, and grandeur, and whom they crowned with the title, *the Just, the Pious*. From the regularity of the catalogue, therefore, and especially from the extraordinary terms of the description, it is evident that it is Simon I. (flour. B. C. 370-300) who is celebrated next to Nehemiah, and that Ben Sira, who was a contemporary of Simon [ECCLESIASTICUS], must have lived about 310 B. C. 2. The Talmud most distinctly describes the work of Ben Sira as the oldest of the Apocryphal books (comp. *Tosifoth Idaim*, c. ii.). 3. It had a general currency and was quoted at least as early as 150 B. C. (comp. *Aboth*. i. 5; *Jerusalem Nazier*, v. 13), which shows that it must have existed a long period to have obtained such circulation and respect; and 4. In the description of these great men, and throughout the whole of the book, there is not the slightest

trace of those Hagadic legends about the national worthies which were so rife and numerous two centuries before Christ.

As to the life and personal character of Ben Sira, this must be gathered from his book, as it is the only source of information which we possess upon the subject. Like all his co-religionists, he was trained from his early life to fear and love the God of his fathers. He travelled much both by land and sea when he grew up, and was in frequent perils (Ecclus. xxxiv. 11, 12). Being a diligent student, and having acquired much practical knowledge from his extensive travels, he was entrusted with some office at court, and his enemies, who were jealous of him, maligned him before the king, which nearly cost him his life (li. 6, 7). To us, however, his religious life and sentiments are of the utmost importance, inasmuch as they describe the opinions of the Jews during the period elapsing between the O. and N. T. Though deeply penetrated with the fear of God, which he declared was the only glory of man, rich, noble, or poor (x. 22-24), still the whole of Ben Sira's tenets may be described as limited, and are as follows: Resignation to the dealings of Providence (xi. 21-25); to seek truth at the cost of life (iv. 28); not to use much babbling in prayer (vii. 14); absolute obedience to parents, which in the sight of God atones for sins (iii. 1-16; vii. 27, 28); humility (iii. 17-19; x. 7-18, 28); kindness to domestics (iv. 30; vii. 20, 21; xxxiii. 30, 31); to relieve the poor (iv. 1-9); to act as a father to the fatherless, and a husband to the widow (iv. 10); to visit the sick (vii. 35); to weep with them that weep (vii. 34); not to rejoice over the death of even the greatest enemy (vii. 7), and to forgive sins as we would be forgiven (xxviii. 2, 3). He has nothing in the whole of his book about the immortality of the soul, a future judgment, the existence of spirits, or the expectation of a Messiah. These are remarkable facts.—C. D. G.

JETHER (יֶתֶר). 1. Exod. iv. 18 (LXX. 'Ιεθάρ;

Vulg. *Jethro*; Arab. يثرون; Pesh. ܝܬܪܐ; Targ.

Jon. and Samar. יֶתֶר), the father-in-law of Moses, generally called Jethro. This abbreviated form is enumerated by the Midrash as the first of the seven (or, according to another version, eight) names by which this Midianite priest was known [viz., Jether or Jethro, because he heaped up (הוֹתִיר) good deeds, or because 'he added a Parasha to the Torah'; Cheber (חֶבֶר), because he was a friend of the Lord; Chobeb (חֹבֵב), because he was beloved by the Lord, or because 'he loved the Torah'; Reuel, because he was a companion (רֵעַ) to the Lord; Petuel, because he freed himself (פָּטַר) from Idolatry]. Indeed, Jether is considered his original name, to which, when he became a believer and a convert to the faith, an additional letter (י) was affixed; exactly as, in token of the Divine favour and grace, a ה was added to Abram's name, which thereby became Abraham; or as Sarai was called Sarah, in consideration of her merits; and Hoshea bin Nun was called Jehoshuah. On the other hand, we find a letter taken from a name, if its owner proved less worthy. Ephrôn, is, after his transaction with Abraham, spelt without the ה, Ephrôn; Jehonadab became after his evil deed Jonadab (Beresh. Rab. ; Jalkut, etc., *ad loc.*)

2. Judg. viii. 20 (LXX. 'Ιεθάρ; Vulg. *Jether*; Arab. يثار Jâthâr). The eldest of Gideon's seventy-one sons. All we learn of him is, that when asked by his father Gideon to avenge the death of his uncles at Tabor on the two Midianite kings Zebach and Zalmunah, who had fallen into his hands after a hot pursuit, Jether 'did not draw the sword, for he was afraid, being still a lad.' According to Judg. ix. 8 he was slain, together with sixty-nine of his brothers—Jonathan alone escaping—'upon one stone' at Ofrah, by the hands of Abimelech, the son of Gideon's concubine, of Sichem.

3. 1 Kings ii. 5, 32 (LXX. 'Ιεθάρ; Vulg. *Jether*, etc.); the father of Amasa and husband of Abigail, David's sister. In 2 Sam. xvii. 25, however, Amasa is described as the son of a man whose name was Jithra, יִתְרָא, the Israelite, who had come to Abigail, daughter of Nahash, the sister of Zerujah, mother of Joab. In the parallel passage, 1 Chron. ii. 17, on the other hand, he is called 'Jether the Ishmaelite.' Many have been the attempts of reconciling these discrepancies. That Jether and Jithra were in reality one and the same name was easily recognised, since Jether and Jithro, Tarshish and Tarshisha, Geba and Gibea, and many similar instances, shewed the frequent occurrence of double forms of Hebrew proper names. Less easily disposed of, however, was the difficulty of the contradictory epithets of 'Israelite' in the passage of Sam., and of 'Ishmaelite' in that of Chron. The Talmud records already two divergent opinions on the subject (Jer. Jebam. 9, c, cf. Babli Jeb. 77, a). According to R. Samuel bar Nachmani, Jether was an Ishmaelite by birth, but became a proselyte: hence the two appellations. Another opinion is, that, a staunch upholder of David's reign, he, when the king's descent through Ruth, a Moabite woman, was made a pretext by some of his antagonists to deprive him of his crown, 'girded his loins like an Ishmaelite' and threatened to uphold by the sword, if need be, the authority of the Halacha, which had decided that 'a Moabite man but not a Moabite woman, an Ammonite man but not an Ammonite woman, should be prohibited from entering into the congregation. Similarly we find in the Targ. to 1 Chron. ii. 17 (Wilkins' Edition)—this verse belongs to those wanting in Beck) that the father of Amasa was Jether the Israelite, but that he was called Jether the Ishmaelite because he aided David בְּנִרְכָּאָה (= בֵּית דִּין) before the tribunal [Wilkins, 'cum Arabibus!!']. Later commentators (Rashi, Abrahanel, David Kimchi) assume that he was an Israelite by birth but dwelt in the land of Ishmael, and was for this reason also called the Ishmaelite; as Obed Edom is also called the Gittite (2 Sam. vi.), or Hiram's father the Zuri or Tyrian (1 Kings vi.). David Kimchi also adduces a suggestion of his father, to the effect 'that in the land of Ishmael Jether was called the Israelite from his nationality, and in that of Israel they called him the Ishmaelite on account of his living in the land of Ishmael.' It is the opinion, however, of almost all modern critics (Thenius, Bertheau, etc.), that one reading only is correct, viz., that of Chronicles, that these attempts at explaining the discrepancy are as futile as those of the Vulg. and LXX. at solving the difficulty by substituting in Sam. 'Jezreeli' for 'Israelite,' and that it is also more

natural to assume that some ultra-patriotic scribe has altered the 'Ishmaelite' of Chron. into the 'Israelite' of Sam., than that the latter should have been corrupted into the former. It seems remarkable enough—and may for this very reason have been recorded—that the sister of the king should have married one who was born a Gentile. Attention has, indeed, been drawn of old to the peculiar mode in which Jether's name is introduced in Samuel as that of 'a man,'—*emphat.*: a remarkable man, a good man' (Kimchi). The Talmud interprets the **יֶתֶר** as denoting that the rightful marriage between Jether and Abigail only took place at a later period, that is, *after* he had abjured Idolatry. [ABIGAIL; AMASA.]

4. 1 Chron. ii. 32; LXX. 'Ιεθέρ; Vulg. *Jether*; a son of Jada, nephew of Shamai, and brother of Jonathan, of the tribe of Judah. He died without issue.

5. 1 Chron. iv. 17; LXX. 'Ιεθέρ; Vulg. *Jether* (identified by some—most gratuitously—with Amram); a son of Ezra and brother of Mered, Ephraim, and Jalon. The verse in which it occurs is evidently corrupted, and the commentators have tried hard to restore the former to its primitive shape. Miriam, in the second part of the verse—explained by the Targum to be identical with Efrath—is taken by many to be a male name, but this expedient no more renders the reading clearer than the transposition of the end of ver. 18 and ver. 17, which was first suggested by Wette. [MIRIAM.]

6. 1 Chron. vii. 38; LXX. 'Ιεθέρ; Al. 'Ιεθέρ; Vulg. *Jether*; one of the heads of the families—26,000 in number—of the tribe of Asher, who were 'choice and mighty men of valour, chiefs of the princes.' He was the father of Jephuneh, Pispah, and Ara. Whether he be identical with the Jithra—spelt in Alex. and one Kenn. MS. 'Jether'—who is mentioned in the preceding verse as one of the sons of Zophai, is very doubtful.

7. Whether the *Ithrites*, Ira and Gareb (יִתְרִי, 'Ιεθρί, 'Ιεθρί, 'Ιεθρί, Jethrites, Jethraeus, etc.), mentioned in 2 Sam. xxiii. 38, etc., were natives of an otherwise unknown place called Jether, or of Jathir (יִתִּיר, one of David's places of refuge (1 Sam. xxx. 27), or descendants of one Jether—the least probable suggestion—cannot now be determined.—E. D.

JETHETH (יֶתֶת, 'Ιεθ; *Jetheth* [a tent stake or nail, from the unused root יָתַר, 'to drive in,' the name being a contraction of יִתְרֶת]). One of the eleven sheikhs or heads of clans (E. V., 'Dukes') descended from Esau, named subsequently to the list of 'the kings that reigned in the land of Edom,' Gen. xxxvi. 40, 1 Chron. i. 51, 'according to their families, after their places, by their names, and according to their habitations in the land of their possessions.' No trace of the name can be pointed out with any certainty at the present day.—E. V.

JETHRO (יֶתְרוֹ, Exod. iii. 1; יֶתֶר, Exod. iv. 18; LXX. 'Ιοθέρ). The priest and Emir (כֹּהֵן) of Midian, possibly a descendant of Abraham and Keturah, and therefore not of necessity an idolatrous priest. According to the Midrash (fol. 53. 54) he had been one of Pharaoh's musicians, and had got possession of Adam's staff, which had belonged to Joseph; but he was driven from Egypt

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because he opposed the decree for drowning the Israelitish infants. All that is *certain* about him, *before* entering into the vexed question of his identity with or relation to Raguel and Hobab, is (1) that he was the father-in-law (חָתָן) of Moses, to whom he gave a secure and honourable home during his flight from Egypt (Exod. iii. 1), and whom he suffered to return to Egypt with his wife and family (Exod. iv. 18) when the hour for the deliverance of Israel arrived; and (2) that, in the second month* after the exodus he came to visit Moses, bringing with him Zipporah, Gershom, and Eliezer, who had apparently been sent back (Exod. xviii. 2) during the interval. He was led to pay this visit by a report of God's mighty deliverance of the Israelites, and when Moses had received him with the greatest affection and respect (ver. 7), and narrated to him 'all that the Lord had done,' Jethro acknowledged the supremacy of Jehovah (ver. 11), which perhaps he had known but dimly before, and took part with Aaron and the elders of Israel in a great eucharistic sacrifice, which may have been intended to commemorate his fuller admission into the Jewish religion. The next morning (ver. 13), observing the overwhelming judicial labours of Moses, he recommended a most wise subdivision of labour, which, with God's approval (ver. 23), was immediately adopted. After this he departs to his own country, and we hear no more of him. The events which further belong to his life, if he be identified with Hobab, will be found under that name, but we may in any case dismiss without further notice the idle suggestion of Göthe that his dealings with the Israelites were partly influenced by a selfish regard for the security of his own tribe.

A certain measure of obscurity has long hung over the names Raguel or Reuel (Heb. רְעוּל), Jethro, and Hobab; nor is it possible, with the Biblical data, to arrive at any *final* conclusion. Four suppositions are possible respecting these names—1, that they are three different names of the same person; 2, that they are the names of three different persons; 3, that they refer to *two* persons only, Jethro being identical with Reuel; or 4, Jethro and Hobab being two names of the son of Reuel.

In favour of 1, are these facts—(a) All three names are similar in meaning, and might, either of them, have been mere honorary designations. Raguel means 'friend of God,' a natural name for one who was a priest or prince; Jethro means 'excellence,' and Hobab 'beloved.' (b) They are identified in the Talmudic tradition, which asserts that the father-in-law of Moses had *seven* names, three of which were Reuel, Hobab, and Jethro. But, on the other hand, why should *three* names be used for the *same* person? It is true that the Jews frequently bore two names, as Jacob and Israel, Esau and Edom, Benjamin and Benoni, Gideon and Jerubbaal, Solomon and Jedidiah; and, to take a still closer parallel, we find Nehemiah sometimes called only by his title, 'the Tirshatha' (Neh. viii. 8). But in all these cases we are *informed* of the double name, and pains are taken to remove all ambiguity. Nor will Eichhorn's sug-

* The arguments of Aben Ezra, Rashbam, and others, that this visit belongs to the second *year* after the exodus are untenable. See Kalisch on Exod. xviii. 1.

gestion of different documents help us; because even if such were proved to have been the source of this varied nomenclature, it is incredible either that the compiler should have been guilty of so much carelessness, or that he should have added no explanatory note. Besides this, Hobab is in Num. x. 29 distinctly called 'the son of Raguel.'

If (2) we suppose them to be three different persons we are met by the impossibility of explaining the suppression of Jethro's name as the father of Zipporah in Exod. ii., whereas he appears prominently in Exod. iii. 1. We shall also be obliged to make אב mean 'grandfather' in Exod. ii. 18, which

the whole tenor of the context here renders inadmissible. For, whatever be the meaning of the disputed term חתן (Exod. iii. 1), it cannot be doubted

that *Jethro* always appears in the capacity of *father*, and not *brother* to Zipporah. If indeed we could accept the ingenious conjecture of Ewald (*Gesch. d. Volkes*, sec. ii. 33) that, by an ancient clerical error the words יתרו בן, 'Jethro son of,' had dropped out before the name of Reuel, it would then be easy with the Targum Jonathan, Aben Ezra, Rosenmüller, etc., to assume that Jethro was Reuel's son. Since, however, there is no trace of such an error, we conclude (3) that *Jethro* and *Reuel* are identical, a view supported by the authority of Josephus (*Antiq.* ii. 12. 1, Ἰεθροῦ υἱὸν ἐπικλήματι τῷ Ραγουήλ), and adopted by Von Lengerke (*Kanaan*, i. 393), Bertheau (*Gesch. Isr.*, sec. 242), Kalisch (*Exod.*, p. 35), and others. The difficulty arising from the unexplained use of two names in close proximity still remains; but it is less than that involved by any other view.

The fourth supposition—that Jethro is identical with Hobab, is the most common; nevertheless it seems to us exceedingly improbable. It rests mainly on the fact that in Judg. iv. 11* Hobab is called the חתן (A. V., *father-in-law*) of Moses. It is true that חתן generally means father-in-law, and

this is alone sufficient to account for the identification of Jethro with Hobab (Schoeib) in the Mohammedan traditions (D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* s. v. Schoeib; Weil, *Bibl. Leg.*, s. 168, etc.) But it is certain† from Gen. xix. 14, if not from 2 Kings viii. 27 and other passages, that חתן may mean merely 'marriage-connection,' and therefore *brother-in-law* (Jerome, *Cognatus*). Nothing therefore prevents us from regarding Hobab as the son of Jethro (or Reuel, Judg. iv. 11), and *brother-in-law* of Moses, a view which is rendered absolutely necessary by the statements that Jethro could not be persuaded to stay with the Israelites (Exod. xviii. 27), whereas Hobab not only acted as their hybeer, or caravan-guide, in the desert, but actually accompanied them into Palestine, and settled among them (Judg. iv. 11, i. 16. See KENI; KENITES; RECHABITES).

We therefore infer that Jethro and Raguel are identical, the latter being his local title as a 'priest' of Midian, and the former the name by which he

* Num. x. 29 adds nothing to this; for there חתן may, and therefore probably does, apply to Raguel.

† Dr. Kalisch strangely denies this (*Exod.*, p. 35).

was best known to the Jews; and that Hobab was his son, whom he left to act as a guide to the Israelites on his own return to his native land. This supposition seems required by the conditions of the case, and leaves no contradiction in the Mosaic narrative (see HOBAB; JETHER; KENI, etc.)—F. W. F.

JETUR (יִטְרָה), perhaps = מִירָה, 'an encampment of Nomads'; יִטְרוֹר, and in 1 Chron. v. 19 Ἰτροῦραι; *Jetur*, *Iturai*, a son of Ishmael who, with his family, occupied and colonised the province of ITUREA, which see (Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Chron. i. 31).—J. L. P.

JEUSH (יְעוּשׁ). 1. (Sept. Ἰεούς.) A son of Esau by Aholibamah (Gen. xxxvi. 18; 1 Chron. i. 35, Sept. Ἰεούλ), one of the אלוֹפִים, or heads of a tribe among the Edomites. In vers. 5 and 14 the Chetib is יְעוּשׁ, but there is a K'ri in both cases, giving יְעוּשׁ. 2. (Sept. Ἰαούς.) Son of Bilhan, son of Jediel of the tribe of Benjamin, head of a house and a man of valour in the time of David (1 Chron. vii. 10, 11). 3. (Sept. Ἰωάς.) A Gershomite Levite, son of Shemei, reckoned along with his brother Beriah as one house in the census taken by David (1 Chron. xxiii. 10, 11). 4. (Sept. Ἰεούς.) Son of Rehoboam by Abihail, daughter of Eliab, the son of Jesse (2 Chron. xi. 19).—W. L. A.

JEW, JEWS THE (יְהוּדִים, יְהוּדִי, or יְהוּדִיָּם; Chald. יְהוּדָאִי; Sept. and N. T. Ἰουδαῖος, or Ἰουδαῖοι). The term 'Jew' seems to have come into use first as the designation of a subject of the kingdom of Judah (2 Kings xvi. 6; xxv. 25; Jer. xxxii. 12; xxxviii. 19; xl. 11; xliii. 9), though in some of these passages it is probably used in a wider sense as applicable to all who were of the seed of Abraham, and such is undoubtedly its meaning in Jer. xxxiv. 9. After the return from the Captivity it became the designation of the whole Israelitish people (Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 5. 7), a consequence probably of the predominance of the members of the kingdom of Judah among those who returned. In the later books of the O. T. we find the term thus frequently used and even extended to those who still remained dispersed among the Gentiles (Ezra iv. 12, 23; v. 5; vi. 8, etc.; Neh. i. 2; ii. 16; v. 1, etc.; Dan. iii. 8, 12; Zech. viii. 1; Esth. iii. 4, 6, etc.)

In the N. T. Ἰουδαῖος is used as a noun.—1. To describe a descendant of Jacob, a member of the Jewish community as distinguished from one of Gentile birth (Mark vii. 3; Luke xxiii. 51; John iv. 9; Acts xix. 33, 34, etc.). 2. To indicate one who adhered to the Jewish religion and modes of worship, especially as distinguished from the followers of Jesus Christ (Rom. ii. 17; iii. 1; 1 Cor. ix. 20; Gal. ii. 15, etc.). 3. To denote one who truly came up to the spiritual idea of the Jewish institute, who was a true son of the covenant in its higher, its spiritual aspect (Rom. ii. 28, 29; Rev. ii. 9). The phrase of Ἰουδαῖοι sometimes occurs with an implied allusion to the antagonism between those who adhered to the Mosaic institute and those who embraced Christianity, to describe those who came forth as the active enemies of Christ and his cause. In this sense it is used especially by St. John in his Gospel: and in this sense also it appears to be en-

ployed in Matt. xxviii. 13, and in Acts xii. 3; xx. 3. By the classical writers the term 'Jews' is used as the proper designation of the Hebrew people. The references they make shew, for the most part, utter ignorance both of the history and character of the people. As to the origin of the name, Justin says (xxvi. 2): *Omnes ex nomine Judæ qui post divisionem decesserat, Judæos appellavit (Israhel)*; Plutarch makes Judæus, the ancestor of the Jews, a son of Typhon, and brother of Hierosolymus (*De Isid. et Osir.*, c. 31); Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 2) connects the name Judæus with Ida, a mountain in Crete; while Dio Cassius (xxxvii. 17) honestly acknowledges that he knows not whence it came into use. The most important statements respecting the Jews found in the classical writers are those made by Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 4. 1; v. 2); but in these we find traces of ignorance and strong prejudice. The national pride and exclusiveness of the Jews, and the contempt with which they regarded all whom they stigmatised as 'the uncircumcision,' could not but produce a reactive effect on the minds of men of other nations; and this appears in such expressions as 'terrima gens,' applied to them by Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 8. 2); in his ascribing to them 'adversus omnes alios hostile odium;' and in such statements as those of Juvenal (*Sat.* xiv. 103), Diod. Sic. (*Eclog.* xxxiv. 1), Quintilian (*Inst.* iii. 7. 21), Dio Cassius (xlix. 22), and Suetonius (*Nero.* xvi.) Strabo (xvi. p. 760) charges on them superstition and tyranny, though his account of them is on the whole more favourable than those of the preceding. The most friendly notice of them by any of the classical writers is that of Justin (xxvi. 1-3), which though full of inaccuracies is on the whole just to the reputation of the people. It is not to be expected that the true character and worth of the Jewish people should be understood by the heathen.

The external history of the Jews, after their return from the Captivity, and their full settlement in their own land, may be arranged under five epochs. The *first* is that of the Persian supremacy, reaching from B.C. 536 to 330, when the Persian kingdom fell with Darius Codomannus. The *second* is that of the Greco-Macedonian rule, from 330 to 167. During this period the Jews were successively subject to the Greek kings of Egypt (323-221), then alternately to those of Egypt and Syria, and ultimately wholly to those of Syria from the time of Seleucus Philopator to that of Antiochus Epiphanes. The *third* is that of the struggle for freedom and national independence, the age of the Maccabees, from 167 to 141. The *fourth* is that of national independence under princes of their own nation, from 141 to 63. The *fifth* is that of the Roman rule, during which the Jews were at first governed immediately by princes of their own blood, afterwards by princes of the Idumæan race, and ultimately partly by Roman officers, partly by tetrarchs and kings of the family of Herod, from B.C. 63 to A.D. 70, when Jerusalem was taken (Jost, *Gesch. der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Maccabæer*, 9 vols., Berl. 1820-28). See articles CYRUS; DARIUS; ALEXANDER; ANTIOCHUS; MACCABEES; HERODIAN FAMILY; DISPERSION OF THE JEWS; HELLENISTS; JERUSALEM.

'Through the whole of the post-exilian period,' says Winer (*Realw.*, s. v. Juden), 'the religio-political character of the Jews remained the same as that which the Israelites had gradually assumed during the exile; it unmistakably stamped itself

on their public and private life, and its development was sustained even by the trials through which the people passed. That great calamity had confirmed what all the better prophets had so often foretold, that unfaithfulness to Jehovah, and defection from the law of their fathers, would bring the people to their fall. Shame and repentance, consequently, seized the Israelites, now fully roused to reflection; and zeal for the law and religion became the general watchword. As happens, however, usually with the mass, this zeal attached itself chiefly to the outward and visible, degenerated into a painful regard to the letter; coxcombry was allied to rude particularism. The understanding, cultivated by the synagogue worship, which was directed for the most part to instruction, obtained the preponderance over feeling and living intuition; tradition almost wholly suppressed the written law; and work-holiness began to be held for virtue. With all this there nevertheless crept in a foreign element, not only in manners and general culture, but even in belief. The greater their zeal, the more eagerly did they seize upon Chaldaic dogmas, which could be fastened on to Mosaism, or only seemed to be explanatory of it; and though over against the Greek philosophy a Jewish learning was formed, which united the foreign with the native by means of allegorical interpretation, and set forth the Scriptures as the source of all the wisdom of the world, there yet imperceptibly crept into the mind strange beliefs, and foreign speculation cast the simple religion of their fathers into the shade. Agriculture ceased to be the main source of wealth for the nation, partly because this no longer was adapted to the increased population, partly because the Israelites had during the Captivity acquired a taste for traffic, and found in the situation of their recovered fatherland, and in the extension of general intercourse among the nations, a stimulus to mercantile pursuits. There thus arose among the mass of the post-exilian Israelites the same tendency essentially which may be seen in the dispersed Jews of the present day, only now in a more marked form. and exacerbated by the loss of country (comp. Neander, *K. G.*, I. 1. 47 [E. T., I. 47. ff.]; J. W. N. Roringer, *de mutati Hebr. ingenii post redit. e Captiv. Babylon. ratione et causis*, Leid. 1820; De Wette, *Bibl. Theol.*, sec. 64, ff.; *Sittenlehre*, II. 69, ff.)'

In Jost's *Geschichte d. Judenthums*, 3 vols. 8vo, Leipz. 1857-59, is to be found the fullest and best account of Judaism as a system of national and speculative development (comp. Zunz, *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden*, Berl. 1832; also Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature from the 8th to the 18th century*, Lond. 1857; and the articles ALEXANDRIA; EDUCATION; HAPHTHARA; KABBALA; SYNAGOGUE; TALMUD; and the articles on Jewish writers in this work).

From יהודי are formed יהודי, a *Jewess*, to which corresponds the N. T. Ἰουδαία which is used not only of Eunice, the mother of Timothy, who was undoubtedly of Hebrew descent (Acts xvi. 1, comp. 2 Tim. iii. 13), but also of Drusilla the daughter of Herod Antipas (Acts xxiv. 24); יהודית, *Jewish* (used adverbially of the Hebrew language, Is. xxxvi. 13, where the Sept. has Ἰουδαϊστῆ), to which corresponds the N. T. Ἰουδαϊκός (applied to the myths and legends of the Rabbis, Tit. i. 14)

and 'Ιουδαϊκῶς (used by the apostle of the manner of life peculiar to the Jews, Gal. ii. 14); and ἡθιπαι the Hithpael of הִתְיַחַד, to Judaize or live as a Jew (Esth. viii. 17; Sept. 'Ιουδαῖον; cf. Plut., *V. Cic.* c. 7), answering to the N. T. 'Ιουδαῖον (Gal. ii. 14), the counterpart of Ἑλληνιστεῖν. The apostle also uses 'Ιουδαῖσμός to describe the religious system and usages of the Jews (Gal. i. 13, 14). This word occurs also in 2 Maccab. ii. 21; viii. 1; xiv. 38; where it is in tacit antithesis to ἀλλοφυλισμός, or ἑλληνισμός (2 Maccab. iv. 13; comp. vi. 24).—W. L. A.

JEWEL. [STONES, PRECIOUS.]

JEWELL, JOHN, D.D., was born at Buden in Devonshire 1522; was sent to Oxford at 13, became B.A. and tutor of Merton five years afterwards, and subsequently professor of rhetoric at Corpus Christi College. During the early part of his university career, while Henry VIII. was still living, he was careful not to take an open or decided part in the theological controversies, though he was secretly attached to the principles of the reformation, and, as far as opportunity offered, did what he could to advance them. Upon the accession of Edward VI. he adopted a bolder line, and on the visit of Peter the Martyr to Oxford attached himself warmly to him. With the death of Edward, however, fortune again turned, and Jewell's position became one of peril. When recantation was proposed to him, he hesitated for a moment, but at length sought safety in exile. He went to Frankfurt, where he found others similarly situated with himself; thence to Strasburg, where he again met with Peter Martyr, and assisted him in some of his works. On the accession of Elizabeth he returned to England, and the following year, 1559, was raised to the See of Salisbury. Jewell was a prelate of great piety and erudition, a strenuous and determined adversary of the Romish Church, and an indefatigable worker, rising, it is said, at four and not retiring to rest till midnight. In his *Exposition of the Two Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians*, Lond. 1594, he finds ample scope for his anti-Romanist zeal; the exposition is chiefly polemical and practical. His best known work is *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, translated by Lady Bacon, the mother of Lord Bacon. Jewell used to say that a bishop should die preaching, and it was literally fulfilled in his own case, for he was seized with his mortal illness when on a preaching tour in a retired portion of his diocese, and died Sept. 21, 1571. The best edition of Jewell's works is that by Dr. Jelf, 8 vols. 8vo, Oxford 1848.—S. L.

JEWRY, the rendering of יהודה, the Chaldee form of יהודה, found in Dan. v. 25. It is equivalent to the phrase 'Land of Judah' (ארמת יהודה) in Is. xix. 17. Jewry occurs in several passages in the A. V. of the Apocrypha, being retained from the older translations; and the Greek 'Ιουδαία is so translated in two passages of the N. T. (Luke xxiii. 5; John vii. 1), though elsewhere rendered *Judea* (see JUDÆA).—J. L. P.

JEZANIAH, occurring in its shorter form יְזַנְיָהוּ (Jer. xlii. 1), and the longer one יְזַנְיָהוּ (xl. 8), is the name given by the prophet to the man who, in the history (2 Kings xxv. 23), is described under

the longer name of JAAZANIAH (יְאֶזַנְיָהוּ) as one of Zedekiah's captains of forces (צִרְיָהוּ הַחַיִּים), who, when Nebuchadnezzar's army took Jerusalem, fled with their troops to the fields (Jer. xl. 7); that is, dispersed for fear of the Chaldeans throughout the country fastnesses at home, in contradistinction to those who had, at an earlier period, fled to the neighbouring states of Edom, Moab, and Ammon for refuge (Jer. xl. 11). When the conqueror wisely appointed the prudent and estimable Gedaliah to govern Judah as his viceroy, Jezaniah, with many others, gave in their adhesion to the new government. But Gedaliah fell by a treachery which has an illustrative parallel in the massacre of Glencoe, and Jezaniah was one of those who resented the foul deed and did their utmost to punish the author of it (Jer. xlii. 11-14). Fearful, however, that the death of Gedaliah would involve them in fresh troubles from the incensed king of Babylon, the military leaders, including our Jezaniah, with 'all the people from the least even to the greatest,' consulted the prophet Jeremiah as to what course they should pursue. He gave them advice which was not only in accordance with the will of God, but eminently patriotic, to the effect that they should remain in their native country. We have elsewhere related the insolent rejection of the prophet's counsel, and the migration to Egypt which followed it [JEREMIAH; JOHANAN]. Jezaniah's name has often been most prominently connected with these discreditable events, as if under the name of Azariah (Jer. xlii. 2) he were the very ringleader of the 'proud men' who dared to defy the counsel of heaven as declared by Jeremiah. To us this opinion seems hardly tenable. It is based on the fact that in Jer. xlii. 2 Azariah is described as the son of Hoshai, the same description being in xlii. 1 given of Jezaniah. 'Jezaniah,' it has been suggested, might have been easily corrupted into 'Azariah' (Hitzig in Jerem., p. 335, and Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, i. 1078). Corruption should not be imputed to the text, except in palpable instances. This is not such a case. The name עֲזַרְיָה (Azariah) is sufficiently distinct from יְזַנְיָהוּ (Jezaniah) to have preserved its independence, and there is no sign of a various reading of Jer. xlii. 2 to be found in Kennicott, De Rossi, or Houbigant. Nor does the retention of this name, as that of a separate person from Jezaniah, create any difficulty in exegesis. There is no more difficulty in supposing that there were two sons of Hoshai connected with these events than that there were two sons of Kareah, as the history expressly affirms (Jer. xl. 8, where indeed another set of brothers besides is mentioned, 'the sons of Ephai the Netophathite'). We would therefore suppose (with Rosenmüller, *Scholia* on Jerem., p. 247) that the impious leader of the seditious opponents of the prophets at 'the caravanserai of Chimham' (Jer. xli. 17) was a brother of our Jezaniah. The latter was possibly not a participator in the fatal scheme of migrating to Egypt, which seems to have originated with Azariah, who took the lead even of Johanan in replying to the prophet. But is it certain that Jezaniah was 'son of Hoshai,' and brother of Azariah? If corruption of the text is to be thought of at all, may not the name Jezaniah have replaced that of Azariah in Jer. xlii. 1? The Septuagint, throughout the narrative of this interview with the prophet, omits the name of Jezaniah, reading 'Aza-

riah, son of Maasiah' ('Αἱάπας υἱὸς Μαασαιου, or 'Αραῖου in one MS.), both in the xlii. and xliii. chapters (LXX., chaps. xlix. and l.) It is some confirmation of this, that, in the history (2 Kings xxv. 23) and the parallel passage of the prophet (Jer. xl. 8), Jezeaniah, or Jaazaniah, is called 'the son of a Maachathite' (בֶּן־מַאחַתִּית), and that the

Septuagint in both places agrees with the Masoretic text ('Εἰσάριος υἱὸς τοῦ Μαχαθί in Jerem., and 'Ιεσάριος υἱὸς τοῦ Μαχαθί in Kings). The word rendered by the *gentile* phrase 'a Maachathite' is treated as a proper name by Gesenius (*Theo. in loc.*) and De Wette (*Translat. of the Bible*). Keil unites בֶּן with the longer word as together = 'a Maachathite'; as if Jezeaniah was himself a native of Maachah. To this Thienius (on Kings, *in loc.*) reasonably objects, and translates after our A.V. 'son of a Maachathite,' making the *father* of Jezeaniah, rather than the man himself, to be of foreign birth. This Maachah was on the north frontier of Palestine on the west slope of Hermon. It is mentioned in Josh. xii. 4 as a province of the old kingdom of Bashan. One of David's mighty men of war was 'the son of a Maachathite' (2 Sam. xxiii. 34); so that there is no difficulty in the fact that the son of a foreigner holds a high commission in the army of Zedekiah.—P. H.

JEZEBEL (זִיזְבֵּל [*non-cohabited*, i. q. ἀλοχος *Plat.*, p. 249 B., *intacta, chaste*: comp. *Agnes*, *Gesen.*; contr. from אֲבִירָבֵּל = *father of the heavenly habitation*, an epithet of Baal corresponding to בַּעַל זְבוּל, Fürst]; Sept. 'Ιεζάβελ [the name is the same as the modern *Isobel* or *Isabella*]), daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre and Sidon [ETHBAAL], and consort of Ahab, king of Israel (B.C. 918). This unsuitable alliance proved most disastrous to the kingdom of Israel; for Jezebel [whom Josephus describes as γυναικὸν δραστήριον τε καὶ τολμηρόν (*Antiq.* viii. 13. 2)] induced her weak husband not only to connive at her introducing the worship of her native idols, but eventually to become himself a worshipper of them, and to use all the means in his power to establish them in the room of the God of Israel. This was a great enormity. The worship of the golden calves which previously existed was, however mistakenly, intended in honour of Jehovah; but this was an open alienation from him, and a turning aside to foreign and strange gods, which, indeed, were no gods. Most of the particulars of this bad but apparently highly-gifted woman's conduct have been related in the notices of AHAH and ELIJAH. From the course of her proceedings it would appear that she grew to hate the Jewish system of law and religion, on account of what must have seemed to her its intolerance and its anti-social tendencies. She hence sought to put it down by all the means she could command; and the imbecility of her husband seems to have made all the powers of the state subservient to her designs. The manner in which she acquired and used her power over Ahab is strikingly shewn in the matter of Naboth, which, perhaps, more than all the other affairs in which she was engaged, brings out her true character, and displays the nature of her influence. When she found him fretting like a spoiled child, on account of the refusal of Naboth to gratify him by selling him his

patrimonial vineyard for a 'garden of herbs,' she taught him to look to her, to rely upon her for the accomplishment of his wishes; and for the sake of this impression, more perhaps than from savageness of temper, she scrupled not at murder under the abused forms of law and religion. She had the reward of her unscrupulous decisiveness of character in the triumph of her policy in Israel, where, at last, there were but 7000 people who had not bowed the knee to Baal, nor kissed their hand to his image. Nor was her success confined to Israel, for through Athaliah—a daughter after her own heart—who was married to the son and successor of Jehoshaphat, the same policy prevailed for a time in Judah, after Jezebel herself had perished and the house of Ahab had met its doom. It seems that after the death of her husband, Jezebel maintained considerable ascendancy over her son Joram; and her measures and misconduct formed the principal charge which Jehu cast in the teeth of that unhappy monarch, before he sent forth the arrow which slew him. The last effort of Jezebel was to intimidate Jehu as he passed the palace, by warning him of the eventual rewards of even successful treason. It is eminently characteristic of the woman, that even in this terrible moment, when she knew that her son was slain, and must have felt that her power had departed, she displayed herself not with rent veil and dishevelled hair, 'but tired her head and painted her eyes' before she looked out at the window. The eunuchs, at a word from Jehu, having cast her down, she met her death beneath the wall [JEHU]; and when afterwards the new monarch bethought him that, as 'a king's daughter,' her corpse should not be treated with disrespect, nothing was found of her but the skull, the feet, and the palms of her hands. The dogs had eaten all the rest. B.C. 884 (1 Kings xvi. 31; xviii. 4, 13, 19; xxi. 5-25; 2 Kings ix. 7, 22, 30-37).—J. K.

JEZREEL (יִזְרְעֵל, 'what God planteth,' 'Ιεζραήλ, 'Ιεζραήλ, and 'Ιαζήλ; *Jezrael*), an ancient city of Canaan, situated on the northern declivity of Mount Gilboa, overlooking the great plain to which it gave the name *Esdraelon*. On the northern side of the city, between the parallel ridges of Gilboa and Moreh (now called *Jebel ed-Dukhy*; see MOREH), lies a rich valley, an offshoot of Esdraelon, running down eastward to the Jordan. This was called the 'Valley of Jezreel,' and Bethshan, with the other towns in and around the valley, was originally inhabited by a fierce and warlike race who had 'chariots of iron' (Josh. xvii. 16). The region fell to the lot of Issachar, but neither this tribe nor its more powerful neighbour Ephraim, was able to drive out the ancient people (xix. 18).

The 'valley of Jezreel' became the scene of one of the most signal victories ever achieved by the Israelites, and of one of the most melancholy defeats ever they sustained. In the time of the Judges, the Midianites, Amalekites, and 'children of the East,' crossed the Jordan, and 'pitched in the valley of Jezreel,' almost covering its green pastures with their tents, flocks, and herds (Judg. vi. 33, *seq.*) Gideon hastily summoned the warriors of Israel round his standard, and took up a position on the lower slopes of Gilboa, close to the 'well of Harod' (vii. 1; also called 'the fountain of Jezreel,' HAROD), about a mile east of the city. The story of Gideon's lamps and pitchers, his night

attack, and the utter rout and terrible slaughter of the enemy, is well known.

Two centuries later the Philistines took up the identical position formerly occupied by the Midianites, and the Israelites under Saul pitched on Gideon's old camping-ground by the 'fountain of Jezreel' (1 Sam. xxix. 1-11). The Israelites were defeated, and Saul and Jonathan, with the flower of their troops, fell on the heights of Gilboa (xxxix. 1-6). [GILBOA.]

The valley and the fountain of Jezreel were thus the scenes of stirring events in early Jewish history, but it is not till long afterwards we find any direct reference made to the city, though it appears to have been head of a large province (2 Sam. ii. 9; iv. 4; 1 Kings iv. 12). It was during the reign of Ahab, Jezreel became a place of note. He built a palace there, and made it one of the royal residences. After Elijah's sacrifice and the slaughter of Baal's prophets on Carmel, Ahab drove in his chariot across the plain to Jezreel, and Elijah, 'girding up his loins,' ran before him, like the groom of a modern eastern prince, a distance of some fifteen miles (1 Kings xviii. 45, 46). In Jezreel, Naboth was murdered by the infamous Jezebel, that she might get possession of his ancestral vineyard, which adjoined the royal palace (1 Kings xxi. 1-16). Here, too, in fulfilment of prophecy (vers. 17-23), divine vengeance fell on the guilty house of Ahab. Joram his son was slain and his body cast into the vineyard of poor Naboth (2 Kings ix. 23-26; Joseph. *Antiq.* ix. 6. 4). Here Jezebel was thrown out of a window and devoured by dogs in the streets (2 Kings ix. 30-37). Here, too, the whole family of Ahab were murdered by Jehu (x. 1-11); and these acts of horrid cruelty did not go unpunished, they were avenged by the utter extinction of the family of Jehu, and the final overthrow of the sinful kingdom of Israel.

The above facts and predictions help to illustrate the highly figurative references to Jezreel by the prophet Hosea. 'And the Lord said unto him, call his name *Jezreel*; for yet a little while and I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu, and will cause the kingdom of the house of Israel to cease, and it shall come to pass in that day, that I will break the bow of Israel in the valley of Jezreel' (i. 4, 5). The word *Jezreel* signifies 'God will scatter,' from *זרע*, 'to scatter,' and *אלהים*, 'God'; and this was the divinely appointed name of the prophet's son, to symbolize the ruin that was soon to fall on the house of Jehu and the whole kingdom of Israel. The Lord had promised that Jehu's descendants should occupy the throne till the fourth generation (2 Kings x. 30). Two of these had passed when Hosea wrote, and consequently the time of their ruin was at hand. The 'valley of Jezreel' was the battle-field of Israel. In it the Israelites attempted to withstand the first attack of the Assyrians, and being overthrown, the whole kingdom fell, and the prophet's words were fulfilled, 'I will break the bow of Israel in the valley of Jezreel.'

In Hos. i. 11 there is another characteristic play upon the word Jezreel. The root *זרע* signifies 'to plant,' or 'sow,' as well as 'to scatter'; hence, referring to the return of the Israelites from captivity, and their re-establishment in Palestine, he says, 'Great shall be the day of *Jezreel*,' that is, 'the day of *what God shall plant*,' namely, the

Israelites in their own country. In the same sense the word is used in chap. ii. 22, 'And the earth shall respond to the corn, and the new wine, and the oil; and they shall respond to *Jezreel*,' that is, to '*what God shall plant*' (Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, s. v.; Henderson, *ad loc.*; cf. Jer. xxxi. 27).

With the fall of Ahab's line Jezreel's glory fell. We hear no more of it in the Bible. In the book of Judith it is mentioned under the form *Esdraelon* ('Εσδράλων, iv. 5), and is said 'to face the great plain,' and to lie near the northern approaches to Jerusalem. Josephus gives various forms of the name ('Ιερήλα, 'Ιζάρα, etc., *Antiq.* viii. 13. 6 and 8; 15. 6; see Reland, pp. 602, 863). The city is not again referred to till the 4th century of our era, when Eusebius and Jerome speak of it as a noble village (ἐπισκοποῦσά τῃ κώμῃ), situated in the great plain between Scythopolis and Legio (*Onomast.* s. v. *Jezreel*); the Jerusalem Itinerary locates it ten miles from Scythopolis (*Vet. Rom. Itineraria*, p. 586). In the time of the crusades the Franks called it *Gerin*, and the Arabs *Zerin* (Will. Tyr. in *Gesta Dei*, xxii. 26; Bohadin, *Vita Salad.*, p. 53). The name and the situation of the modern village of *Zerin* leave no doubt as to its identity with Jezreel.

Zerin occupies a noble site on the western point of mount Gilboa, about 100 feet above the plain. It overlooks the whole expanse of Esdraelon to Carmel and the hills of Galilee; and from it we can look down the broad and fertile vale of Jezreel to the tell of Bethshan, and away beyond it and beyond the Jordan to the hills of Gilead. It was up this valley Jehu came when the kings of Israel and Judah were in Jezreel. The watchman of Joram saw Jehu's escort in the distance, and a messenger was sent to demand who came. When Jehu drew nigh Joram himself went out to meet him in his chariot. The line of the old road can be traced; it descends the steep slope, and enters the valley near a fountain. There, probably, the vineyard of Naboth was situated, and there Joram was killed. The king of Judah turned to flee, taking the road toward Engannim, but he, too, was mortally wounded (ENGANNIM; see in Joseph. *Antiq.* ix. 6. 4).

Zerin is now a wretched village. It contained, when the writer visited it, about a dozen miserable houses and a shattered tower. With the exception of a stone sarcophagus, and some large caves, perhaps intended for granaries, hewn in the rocky slopes, there are no traces of antiquity. Jezreel is utterly ruined. As the writer rode away from it he saw a number of ravenous-looking dogs prowling among the tombs in the little cemetery, which painfully revived the story of Jezebel and Ahab.

THE PLAIN OF ESDRAELON took its name from the city, the Hebrew *Jezreel* being gradually corrupted into the Greek 'Εσδράλων. It is one of the richest and most beautiful plains in Palestine. It is triangular in form; the base on the east extending 15 miles, from Jenin to Tabor; one side, formed by the hills of Galilee, is 12 miles long, and the other, formed by the mountains of Samaria, 18 miles. The apex is a narrow pass opening into the plain of Acre. In early spring this vast expanse is green as a meadow—the few spots cultivated green with young corn, and the rest with grass and weeds. This is that 'plain of Megiddo' where Barak triumphed (Judg. v.), and where Josiah received his death wound (2 Chron. xxxv.); perhaps, too, it may have been before the mind of the

Apostle John, when, in symbolic vision, he described the final conflict between the hosts of good and evil, who were gathered in a place 'called in the Hebrew tongue *Ar-Mageddon*,' that is, 'the city' (עִיר, *i. q.* עִיר) 'of Megiddo' (Rev. xvi. 16)

[ARMAGEDDON]. The river *Kishon*—'that ancient river,' so fatal to Sisera—drains it, flowing off to the Mediterranean through the plain of Acre [KISHON].

From the base of this triangle three branches stretch out eastward, separated by the parallel ridges of Gilboa and Moreh. The central branch is the 'valley of Jezreel,' already mentioned, which descends in green slopes to the Jordan, having Jezreel and Shunem on either side at the western end, and Bethshan in the centre, near the eastern.

The soil of Esdraelon is of surpassing richness, as is now shown by the luxuriant grass and gigantic thistles. It was the frontier of Zebulun; and well might Moses say, 'Rejoice, O Zebulun, in thy goings out' (Deut. xxxiii. 18); but it became the special portion of Issachar, which the dying patriarch foreseeing, said, 'And he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant,' etc. (Gen. xlix. 15). Esdraelon with all its fertility is now desolate. If we except the eastern branches, it does not contain a single inhabited village or house, and not one-tenth of it is cultivated. It is the home of the wandering Arab to-day, as it was the home of the fierce 'children of the East' in the days of Gideon. From time immemorial foreign invaders have swept over Esdraelon; the ancient Canaanites in their iron chariots (Judg. iv. 3-7), the Midianites and Amalekites with their vast herds (Judg. vi. 3, 4), the Philistines (1 Sam. xxix. 1; xxxi. 10), the Syrians (1 Kings xx. 26, etc.), the Greeks, the Romans, the Crusaders, and the French (*Hand-book for S. and P.*, p. 352; Stanley, *S. and P.*, 340, seq.). Who can tell of what momentous events it is yet destined to be the theatre? Its modern name is *Merj ibn Amer*, 'The meadow of the son of Amer.'

In addition to the authorities already cited, the student may see descriptions of Esdraelon in the works of Robinson, Van de Velde, Thomson, and Miss Martineau.

2. (Ἰαριήλ; Alex. Ἰερδραελ; *Jezrael*), a town in the south of Judah, grouped with Maon, Carmel, etc. (Josh. xv. 56), and consequently situated among the bleak hills some eight or ten miles south of Hebron. It is only mentioned in one other place, as the residence of Ahinoam, one of David's wives (1 Sam. xxv. 43; xxvii. 3). The site has not been identified.—J. L. P.

JIPHTAH (יִפְתָּח), '*he opens*,' omitted in the Vatican text of the LXX.; Alex. Ἰεφθα; *Jephtha*), one of the towns allotted to Judah in the Shephelah or plain of Philistia. It must have been situated near to Eleutheropolis, as the name occurs in a group of towns which encircled that city (Josh. xv. 43). The site is unknown.—J. L. P.

JIPHTHAH-EL (יִפְתָּחֵל), '*God opens*;' Γαιφαήλ and Φθαήλ; Alex. Ἰεφθαήλ; *Jephthahel* and *Jephthael*). The Vatican text of the LXX., in Josh. xix. 14, joins the word 'valley,' with the proper name, thus making Γαιφαήλ; and in ver. 27 the translators appear to have read 'and in the valley' (וּבְנֵי) instead of 'and' (וְ) ('and in the valley'), and made it a proper

name, Ἐκρυαῖ. The valley of Jiphthah-el formed part of the boundary between Asher and Zebulun. It has been identified as follows.

Jotopata was a celebrated fortress of Galilee [ἸΟΤΑΠΑΤΑ]. It stood upon the hill now called Tell *Jefât*, about two miles north-west of Cana of Galilee. The name was written by the rabbins, יוֹדֶפֶת, נֹוֹפֶתָא, נֹוֹפֶתָא, etc. (Reland, *Pal.*, pp. 816, 868). Now we know that the Hebrew letters *Yod* and *Gimel* are sometimes interchanged (Genenius, *Thesaurus*, pp. 252, 557); and by the Galileans the gutturals (א and ה) were often confounded (Lightfoot, *Opera*, ii. p. 232); hence we can see how simply יוֹדֶפֶת might be corrupted into נֹוֹפֶתָא, etc., from which came the Greek Ἰωρδάνα, and the Arabic *Jefât*.

It is evident also, from the topographical details, that the valley of Jiphthah-el could not have been far distant from Jefât; since the border of Asher passed from the promontory of Carmel to Zebulun, then to the valley of Jiphthah-el, and so to Cabul, which is about four miles north-west of Jefât (Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 107; see Van de Velde's Map). We are thus warranted in concluding that there was both a local and etymological connection between *Jiphthah-el* and *Jotopata*. Near Jefât the great valley of *Abilin* takes its rise, and runs south-westward into the plain of Acre; and there is every reason to believe that it is the Jiphthah-el of Scripture, and that it thus forms a most important landmark by which to define the boundaries of Asher and Zebulun (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 326; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, iii. 768).

Dr. Thomson mentions a 'very ancient ruin called *Jiftah*, or *Giftah*,' lying at the junction of the vale of Kefr Kenna with the plain of Turan, about five miles north-east of Nazareth. Guided by this, he identifies the plain of Turan with Jiphthah-el (*The Land and the Book*, p. 426). This theory is inadmissible, for two reasons.—1. Turan is a plain, to which the Hebrew word נָא would not be applicable; it would be called עֵמֶק or בְּקָעָה. 2. The territory of Asher could never have extended so far eastward.—J. L. P.

JOAB (יֹאָב), *God-fathered*; Sept. Ἰωάβ), one of the three sons of Zeruiah, the sister of David, and 'captain of the host' (generalissimo) of the army during nearly the whole of David's reign.

He first appears associated with his two brothers, Abishai and Asahel, in the command of David's troops against Abner, who had set up the claims of a son of Saul in opposition to those of David, who then reigned in Hebron. The armies having met at the pool of Gibeon, a general action was brought on, in which Abner was worsted. In his flight he had the misfortune to kill Joab's brother, the swift-footed Asahel, by whom he was pursued (2 Sam. ii. 13-32). The consequences of this deed have been explained elsewhere [ABNER; ASAHEL]. Joab smothered for a time his resentment against the shedder of his brother's blood; but being whetted by the natural rivalry of position between him and Abner, he afterwards made it the instrument of his policy by treacherously, in the act of friendly communication, slaying Abner, at the very time when the services of the latter to David, to whom he had then turned, had rendered him a most dangerous rival to him in power and influence (2 Sam. iii. 22-27). That Abner had at first suspected that Joab would take

the position of blood-avenger [BLOOD-REVENGE] is clear, from the apprehension which he expressed (2 Sam. ii. 22); but that he thought that Joab had, under all the circumstances, abandoned this position, is shewn by the unsuspecting readiness with which he went aside with him (2 Sam. iii. 26-27); and that Joab placed his murderous act on the footing of vengeance for his brother's blood, is plainly stated in 2 Sam. iii. 30; by which it also appears that the other brother, Abishai, shared in some way in the deed and its responsibilities. At the same time, as Abner was perfectly justified in slaying Asahel to save his own life, it is very doubtful if Joab would ever have asserted his right of blood-revenge, if Abner had not appeared likely to endanger his influence with David. The king, much as he reprobated the act, knew that it had a sort of excuse in the old customs of blood-revenge, and he stood habitually too much in awe of his impetuous and able nephew to bring him to punishment, or even to displace him from his command. 'I am this day weak,' he said, 'though anointed king, and these men, the sons of Zeruiah, be too hard for me' (2 Sam. iii. 39; 2 Kings ii. 5, 33).

Desirous probably of making some atonement before David and the public for this atrocity, in a way which at the same time was most likely to prove effectual—namely, by some daring exploit, he was the first to mount to the assault at the storming of the fortress on Mount Zion, which had remained so long in the hands of the Jebusites. By this service he acquired the chief command of the army of all Israel, of which David was by this time king (2 Sam. v. 6-10; 1 Chron. xi. 4-9).

It is not necessary to trace the subsequent acts of Joab, seeing that they are in fact the public acts of the king he served. And he served him faithfully; for although he knew his power over David, and often treated him with little ceremony, there can be no doubt that he was most truly devoted to his interests, and sometimes rendered him good service even against his own will, as in the affair at Mahanaim (2 Sam. xix. 5-8). But Joab had no principles apart from what he deemed his duty to the king and the people, and was quite as ready to serve his master's vices as his virtues, so long as they did not interfere with his own interests, or tended to promote them by enabling him to make himself useful to the king. His ready apprehension of the king's meaning in the matter of Uriah, and the facility with which he made himself the instrument of the murder, and of the hypocrisy by which it was covered, are proofs of this, and form as deep a stain upon his character as his own murders (2 Sam. xi. 14-25). As Joab was on good terms with Absalom, and had taken pains to bring about a reconciliation between him and his father, we may set the higher value upon his firm adhesion to David when Absalom revolted, and upon his stern sense of duty to the king—from whom he expected no thanks—displayed in putting an end to the war by the slaughter of his favourite son, when all others shrunk from the responsibility of doing the king a service against his own will (2 Sam. xviii. 1-14). In like manner, when David unhappily resolved to number the people Joab discerned the evil and remonstrated against it; and although he did not venture to disobey, he performed the duty tardily and reluctantly to afford the king an opportunity of reconsidering the matter,

and took no pains to conceal how odious the measure was to him (2 Sam. xxiv. 1-4). David was certainly ungrateful for the services of Joab, when, in order to conciliate the powerful party which had supported Absalom, he offered the command of the host to Amasa, who had commanded the army of Absalom (2 Sam. xix. 13). But the inefficiency of the new commander, in the emergency which the revolt of Bichri's son produced, arising perhaps from the reluctance of the troops to follow their new leader, gave Joab an opportunity of displaying his superior resources; and also of removing his rival by a murder very similar to, and in some respects less excusable and more foul than that of Abner [AMASA]. Besides, Amasa was his own cousin, being the son of his mother's sister (2 Sam. xx. 1-13).

When David lay on his deathbed, and a demonstration was made in favour of the succession of the eldest surviving son, Adonijah, whose interests had been compromised by the preference of the young Solomon, Joab joined the party of the natural heir. It would be unjust to regard this as a defection from David. It was nothing more or less than a demonstration in favour of the natural heir, which, if not then made, could not be made at all. But an act which would have been justifiable, had the preference of Solomon been a mere caprice of the old king, became criminal as an act of contumacy to the Divine King, the real head of the government, who had called the house of David to the throne, and had the sole right of determining which of its members should reign. When the prompt measures taken under the direction of the king rendered this demonstration abortive (1 Kings i. 7), Joab withdrew into private life till some time after the death of David, when the fate of Adonijah, and of Abiathar—whose life was only spared in consequence of his sacerdotal character—warned Joab that he had little mercy to expect from the new king. He fled for refuge to the altar; but when Solomon heard this, he sent Benaiah to put him to death; and, as he refused to come forth, gave orders that he should be slain even at the altar. Thus died one of the most accomplished warriors and unscrupulous men that Israel ever produced. His corpse was removed to his domain in the wilderness of Judah, and buried there, B.C. 1015 (1 Kings ii. 5, 28-34).—J. K.

Two others of the name of Joab are mentioned in the O. T.—viz., the son of Seraiah (1 Chron. iv. 14), who was chief of the valley of Charashim (*artificers or craftsmen*), so called, according to a tradition preserved by Jerome (*Quaest. in Paral.*), from its being the place whence the builders of the temple were brought; and the Joab who is named along with Joshua as the ancestor of a family represented by the children of Pahath-Moab (Ezra ii. 6; Neh. vii. 11). It is doubtful whether this Joab is the same who is mentioned Ezra viii. 9 and 1 Esd. viii. 35. If not, another Joab must be added to the list.—W. L. A.

JOACHIM (LXX. *Ἰωακὴμ*; Vulg. *Joachim*). According to a Jewish tradition preserved by Clement of Alexandria, this was the name given to Moses by his parents at his circumcision (*Strom. lib. i. cap. xxiii.*) In the A. V. it occurs in this form twice only. 1. = Jehoiakim (Bar. i. 3). 2. Son of Chelcias, and high-priest in the reign of Zedekiah (Bar. i. 7).—S. N.

JOACIM (LXX. Ἰωακίμ). 1. (Vulg. *Joachim*) = Jehoiakim (1 Esd. i. 37, 38, 39). 2. (Vulg. *Joachim*) = Jehoiachin (1 Esd. i. 43). 3. (Vulg. *Joachim*), son of Zerubabel (1 Esd. v. 5). This passage, however, is apparently corrupt. The leaders of the first caravan of the Jews who returned from Babylon were, as is well known, Zerubabel and the high-priest Jeshua, but here Jeshua and Joacim only are mentioned. Moreover, no name at all resembling this occurs amongst the sons of Zerubabel (1 Chron. iii. 19). Hence some have suggested that the words 'Joacim the son of,' are an interpolation. Others identify this Joacim with Joiakim the son of Jeshua (Neh. xii. 10, 12), and propose to correct the text into 'Joacim his son, and.' 4. (Vulg. *Eliakim, Joacim*.) The high-priest who is introduced into the story of Judith (Jud. iv. 6, 8, 14; xv. 8), but whether he is to be regarded as a historical character, or as an invention of the writer of the tale, we have no means of determining. 5. (Vulg. *Joakim*.) A wealthy Jew of Babylon, the husband of Susannah (Sus. i. 4, 6, 28, 29, 63).—S. N.

JOAH (יוֹאָה, *Jehovah* is a brother, i.e., a confederate of Jehovah), a name of frequent occurrence in the later times of the monarchy among the Levites.

1. 2 Kings xviii. 18, 26, 37, Ἰωᾶς; Alex. Ἰωραφάρ; ver. 37, Ἰωᾶς; Is. xxxvi. 3, 11, 22, Ἰωᾶς; Joseph. Ἰωᾶχος; *Joah*. 'Joah, the son of Asaph the recorder,' is mentioned as one of the three officers of state sent out by Hezekiah to receive the message of Sennacherib by his general Rabshakeh. He was historiographer, or keeper of the records (הַמְּכַתֵּב), LXX., in Kings, δ ἀρχιγραμματεὺς, in Isaiah, δ ἱστοριογράφος; Vulg. *a commentarius*, cf. 2 Sam. viii. 16; 1 Kings iv. 3), to Hezekiah, whose business it was to keep the *יְמִינִים* (1 Chron. xxvii. 24), or 'chronicles,' in which were recorded the chief events of each year of the reign (cf. Esth. vi. 1).

2. Ἰωᾶβ; Alex. Ἰωᾶς; *Joah*; appears in the genealogy of the Gershonite branch of the house of Levi (1 Chron. vi. 21). If we compare the same genealogy as given vers. 42, 43, Ethan appears to be substituted for him (see Vatablus, *in loc.*), but it is probable that neither catalogue is complete, and that each contains some names that do not appear in the other.

3. Ἰωᾶθ; *Joaha*; the third of the eight sons given to Obadedom (1 Chron. xxvi. 4), in whose house the ark had temporarily halted after the death of Uzzah, as an evidence of the Divine favour, 'for God blessed him,' ver. 5 (cf. 2 Sam. vi. 11), 'all mighty men of valour,' 'able men for strength in the service,' vers. 6, 8. They belonged to the Korhite band of the Levites, and to them and the rest of this family, sixty-two in all, was assigned the keeping of the south gate of the Temple, four a day, and 'the house of Asuphim,' ver. 15, which, though the Vulgate translate it '*domus seniorum concilium*,' was probably a storehouse in the outer precincts of the Temple.

4. Ἰωᾶδδ; Alex. Ἰωᾶς; *Joah*. One of the Gershonite branch of the Levites, the son of Zimma, and father of Eden (2 Chron. xxix. 12). The LXX., however, read Ἰωᾶδδ δ τοῦ Ζεμμὰδ καὶ Ἰωᾶδμ, οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰωᾶδ, the latter clause in the Alex. standing thus, καὶ Ἰωᾶδ δ τοῦ Ἰωᾶδ. Joah

and Zimma, it may be remarked, occur as father and son in the same family (1 Chron. vi. 20, 21), No. 2. Bertheau, *Chronik*, p. 388, is of opinion that 'Joah ben Zimma' stands for the particular Levite family, indicating its head for the time being. He is mentioned as taking a leading part in the religious reform set on foot by Hezekiah, by purifying the Temple from the pollutions of Ahaz.

5. Ἰωᾶς; Alex. Ἰωᾶς; Joseph. Ἰωᾶνης; *Joah*. 'Joah the son of Joahaz, the recorder,' i.e., keeper of the records to King Josiah (see 1), joined with Shaphan the scribe (the recurrence of the name probably indicating the continuance of the office in the same family) and Maaseiah the governor of Jerusalem (2 Chron. xxxiv. 8). The three were appointed by Josiah as commissioners to superintend the repairs of the Temple.—E. V.

JOANNA occurs in the A. V. both as the name of a man and as the name of a woman. 1. (Ἰωάννης T. R. Ἰωαννᾶς.) The son of Rhesa, and one of the ancestors of our Lord. Lord A. C. Hervey would identify him with Hananiah, the son of Zerubabel (1 Chron. iii. 19). As the two names חַנְיָה and יְהוֹנָן have the same meaning, and are compounded of substantially the same elements, it is possible that these may have been transposed in reference to the same person. But what is gained by this? There is still the difficulty in Luke's genealogy from Rhesa's appearing as the father of Joanna, and Judah's appearing as his son, neither of whom is named in the list of Zerubabel's descendants in Chronicles. The former of these difficulties his Lordship gets over by supposing that Rhesa is not a proper name at all, but the Chaldee רִשְׁמָא, a title of the princes of the captivity in the 2d or 3d century after Christ, which some Christian Jew, deeming it appropriate to Zerubabel, inserted in the form פְּרָשָׁא over against his name in Luke's list, whence it crept into the text. This is undoubtedly ingenious, but a reading sustained by all the authorities cannot be invalidated on conjectural grounds such as this. The other difficulty is disposed of more violently. The Judah of Luke is identified with the Hodaiah of 1 Chron. iii. 24; Hodaiah is made the son of Shemaiah (ver. 22); and Shemaiah is identified with Shimei of ver. 19. For such extensive amputation of the text no authority is pleaded; it is simply proposed as getting rid of a difficulty. But after all, this difficulty is not thus got rid of; it is only shifted; for this scheme fails to connect Judah with Zerubabel, who was the mother, and not the father, of Shimei (ver. 19). Is it not better to acknowledge at once that we cannot reconcile the genealogy of Luke with that in Chronicles than attempt to do it by such violent expedients? [GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST.]

2. (Ἰωάννα.) The wife of Chuza, Herod's steward (Luke viii. 3). She was one of the pious women who contributed to the support of Christ during his personal ministry; and of those who went to the sepulchre to embalm his body, but found him risen from the dead (Luke xxiv. 10). That it was in consequence of her relation to Chuza that Herod 'said to his servants, This is John the Baptist' (Matt. xiv. 2), as Mr. Blunt, in his *Coincidences* (p. 270, ed. 1847), remarks, is a supposition on which nothing can be built.—W. L. A.

JOASH (יוֹאָשׁ, *God-given*; Sept. Ἰωᾶς), a contraction of JEHOASH (יְהוֹאָשׁ). 1. Son of Aha-

ziah and eighth king of Judah, who began to reign in B.C. 878, at the age of seven, and reigned forty years.

Joash, when an infant, was secretly saved by his aunt Jehoshebah, who was married to the high-priest Jehoiada, from the general massacre of the family by Athaliah, who had usurped the throne [ATHALIAH; JEHOIADA]. By the high-priest and his wife the child was privily brought up in the chambers connected with the Temple till he had attained his eighth year, when Jehoiada deemed that the state of affairs required him to produce the youthful heir of the throne to the people, and claim for him the crown which his grandmother had so unrighteously usurped. Finding the influential persons whom he consulted favourable to the design, everything was secretly but admirably arranged for producing Joash, and investing him with the regalia, in such a manner that Athaliah could have no suspicion of the event till it actually occurred. On the day appointed, the sole surviving scion of David's illustrious house appeared in the place of the kings, by a particular pillar in the temple-court, and was crowned and anointed with the usual ceremonies. The high-wrought enthusiasm of the spectators then found vent in clapping of hands and exulting shouts of 'Long live the king!' The joyful uproar was heard even in the palace, and brought Athaliah to the Temple, from which, at a word from Jehoiada, she was led to her death.

Joash behaved well during his non-age, and so long after as he remained under the influence of the high-priest. But when he died the king seems to have felt himself relieved from a yoke; and to manifest his freedom, began to take the contrary course to that which he had followed while under pupillage. Gradually the persons who had possessed influence formerly, when the house of David was contaminated by its alliance with the house of Ahab, insinuated themselves into his councils, and ere long the worship of Jehovah and the observances of the law were neglected, and the land was defiled with idolatries and idolatrous usages. The prophets then uttered their warnings, but were not heard; and the infatuated king had the atrocious ingratitude to put to death Zechariah, the son and successor of his benefactor Jehoiada. For these deeds Joash was made an example of the divine judgments. He saw his realm devastated by the Syrians under Hazael; his armies were cut in pieces by an enemy of inferior numbers, and he was even besieged in Jerusalem, and only preserved his capital and his crown by giving up the treasures of the Temple. Besides this, a painful malady embittered all his latter days, and at length he became so odious that his own servants conspired against him, and slew him on his bed. They are said to have done this to avenge the blood of Zechariah, who at his death had cried, 'The Lord look upon it and require it;' and it is hence probable that public opinion ascribed all the calamities of his life and reign to that infamous deed. Joash was buried in the city of David; but a place in the sepulchre of the kings was denied to his remains (2 Kings xi. xii.; 2 Chron. xxiv.).

2. Son and successor of Jehoahaz on the throne of Israel, of which he was the twelfth king. He began to reign in B.C. 840, and reigned sixteen incomplete years. He followed the example of his predecessors in the policy of keeping up the

worship of the golden calves; but, apart from this, he bears a fair character, and had intervals, at least, of sincere piety and true devotion to the God of his fathers. Indeed, custom and long habit had so established the views of political expediency on which the schismatical establishments at Dan and Bethel were founded, that at length the reprehension which regularly recurs in the record of each king's reign, seems rather to apply to it as a mark of the continuance of a public crime than as indicative of the character or disposition of the reigning prince, which is to be sought in the more detailed accounts of his own conduct. These accounts are favourable with respect to Joash. He held the prophet Elisha in high honour, looking up to him as a father. When he heard of his last illness he repaired to the bed-side of the dying prophet, and was favoured with promises of victories over the Syrians, by whom his dominions were then harassed. These promises were accomplished after the prophet's death. In three signal and successive victories Joash overcame the Syrians, and retook from them the towns which Hazael had rent from Israel.

These advantages rendered the kingdom of Israel more potent than that of Judah. He, however, sought no quarrel with that kingdom; but when he received a defiance from Amaziah, king of Judah, he answered with becoming spirit in a parable, which by its images calls to mind that of Jotham [PARABLES]: the cool disdain of the answer must have been, and in fact was, exceedingly galling to Amaziah. 'The thistle that was in Lebanon sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter to my son to wife; and there came by a wild beast that was in Lebanon, and trod down the thistle.' This was admirable; nor was the application less so: 'Thou hast, indeed, smitten Edom, and thine heart hath lifted thee up: glory of this, and tarry at home; for why shouldst thou meddle to thy hurt, that thou shouldst fall, even thou and Judah with thee?' In the war, or rather action, which followed, Joash was victorious. Having defeated Amaziah at Bethshemesh, in Judah, he advanced to Jerusalem, broke down the wall to the extent of 400 cubits, and carried away the treasures both of the Temple and the palace, together with hostages for the future good behaviour of the crest-fallen Amaziah. Joash himself did not long survive this victory; he died in peace, and was buried in Samaria (2 Kings xiii. 9-25; xiv. 1-17).—J. K.

Five others of the name of Joash are mentioned in the O. T., viz.—1. The father of Gideon, a man of wealth among the Abiezrites, who, though so far led astray by the prevailing tendency as to have an altar dedicated to Baal on his grounds, was the first to applaud the act of his son in destroying that altar (Judg. vi. 11, 29-31); 2. A person described as 'the king's son,' to whom the superintendence of the royal prison was entrusted (2 Chron. xviii. 25); it is not necessary to suppose that he was a brother of Ahab, as any prince of the blood-royal might be called 'the king's son'; 3. A descendant of Judah, and apparently the son of Shelah (1 Chron. iv. 22); 4. A Benjamite who resorted to David at Ziklag, and helped him against the rovers to whose attacks he was exposed (1 Chron. xii. 3, 21); 5. An officer of David, who had charge of the cellars of oil (1 Chron. xxvii. 28). The A. V. presents another Joash, the son of Becher (1 Chron.

vii. 8); but in the Heb. this name is different from the preceding, being *שׁוּחִי*, not *שׁוֹחִי*. The LXX. also makes both the same, 'Ιωδς.—W. L. A.

JOB, THE BOOK OF. We shall consider, first, the contents of this book; secondly, its object; thirdly, its composition; and, lastly, the country, descent, and age of its author.

I. CONTENTS.—In the land of Uz, belonging to the northern part of Arabia Deserta, lived an upright, pious man, called Job. For his sincere and perfect devotedness, God had amply blessed him with worldly property and children; but on Satan obtaining leave to *tempt him*, he suddenly lost the fortune of his life. Ultimately he is smitten with a severe and painful disease; but though his wife *moves* him to forsake God, he still continues true and stanch to the Lord. Three friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, hear of his calamities, and come to console him. His distressed state excites their heartfelt compassion; but the view which they take of its origin prevents them from at once assisting him, and they remain silent, though they are sensible that by so doing they further wound his feelings. Seven days thus pass, until Job, suspecting the cause of their conduct, becomes discomposed and breaks silence. His first observations are based on the assertion—not, indeed, broadly expressed—that God acts harshly and arbitrarily in inflicting calamity on men. This causes a discussion between him and his friends, which is divided into three main parts, each with subdivisions, and embraces the speeches of the three friends of Job, and his answers: the last part, however, consists of only two subdivisions, the third friend, Zophar, having nothing to rejoin. By this silence the author of the book generally designates the defeat of Job's friends, who are defending a common cause. Taking a general view of the argument which they urge against him, they may be considered as asserting the following positions:—

1. No man being free from sin, we need not wonder that we are liable to calamities, for which we must account by a reference, not to God, but to ourselves. From the misery of the distressed, others are enabled to infer their guilt; and they must take this view in order to vindicate divine justice.

2. The distress of a man proves not only that *he has sinned*, but shews also the degree and measure of his sin; and thus, from the extent of calamity sustained, may be inferred the extent of sins committed; and from this the measure of impending misfortune.

3. A distressed man may recover his former happiness, and even attain to greater fortune than he ever enjoyed before, if he takes a warning from his afflictions, repents of his sins, reforms his life, and raises himself to a higher degree of moral rectitude. Impatience and irreverent expostulation with God serve but to prolong and increase punishment; for, by accusing God of injustice, a fresh sin is added to former transgressions.

4. Though the wicked man is capable of prosperity, still it is never lasting. The most awful retribution soon overtakes him; and his transient felicity must itself be considered as punishment, since it renders him heedless, and makes him feel misfortune more keenly.

In opposition to *them* Job maintains:—

1. The most upright man may be highly unfor-

tunate—more so than the inevitable faults and shortcomings of human nature would seem to imply. There is a savage cruelty, deserving the severities of the divine resentment, in inferring the guilt of a man from his distresses. In distributing good and evil, God regards neither merit nor guilt, but acts according to his sovereign pleasure. His omnipotence is apparent in every part of the creation; but his justice cannot be seen in the government of the world; the afflictions of the righteous, as well as the prosperity of the wicked, are evidence against it. There are innumerable cases, and Job considers his own to be one of them, in which a sufferer has a right to justify himself before God, and to repine at his decrees. Of this supposed right Job freely avails himself, and maintains it against his friends.

2. In a state of composure and calmer reflection, Job retracts, chiefly in his concluding speech, all his former rather extravagant assertions, and says that, although God generally afflicts the wicked and blesses the righteous, still there are exceptions to this rule, single cases in which the pious undergo severe trials; the inference, therefore, of a man's guilt from his misfortunes is by no means warranted. For the exceptions established by experience prove that God does not always distribute prosperity and adversity after this rule; but that he sometimes acts on a different principle, or as an absolute lord, according to his mere will and pleasure.

3. Humbly to adore God is our duty, even when we are subject to calamities not at all deserved; but we should abstain from harshly judging of those who, when distressed, send forth complaints against God.

Both parties not only explain their principles generally, but apply them to the case which had caused the discussion. At first the friends of Job only hint, but in the course of the discussion they broadly assert, that his very great afflictions must have been caused by equally great sins; and they tax him with crimes of which they suspect him to have been guilty. They also admonish him to confess and repent of the guilt of which, by the divine punishments inflicted on him, he stood already convicted. If he should follow this counsel, they promise him a return of prosperity; but if he proved refractory, they threaten him with divine punishments even more severe. Job, on the contrary, represents himself, venial frailties excepted, as altogether upright and innocent, thinks himself unjustly dealt with by God, and reproaches his friends with heaping on him unfounded criminations, with a view of ingratiating themselves with the Almighty, who, however, would visit with condign punishment such busy, meddling, officious vindicators of the divine government.

The interest of the narrative is kept up with considerable skill, by progressively rising and highly passionate language. At first, Job's friends charge him, and he defends himself, in mild terms; but gradually they are all betrayed into warmth of temper, which goes on increasing until the friends have nothing more to object, and Job remains in possession of the field. The discussion then seems to be at an end, when a fresh disputant, Elihu, appears. Trusting in his just cause, Job had proudly opposed God, with whom he expostulated, and whom he charged with injustice, when the sense of his calamities should have led him to acknowledge the sinfulness of human nature, and humbly to sub-

mit to the divine dispensations. Making every allowance for his painful situation, and putting the mildest construction on his expressions, he is still substantially wrong, and could not therefore be suffered to remain the vanquisher in this high argument. He had silenced his friends, but the general issue remained to be settled. Elihu had waited till Job and his friends had spoken, because they were older than he; but when he saw that the three visitors ceased to answer, he offers himself to reason with Job, and shews that God is just in his ways. He does this:

I. *From the nature of inflictions.*—He begins by urging that Job was very wrong in boasting of his integrity, and making it appear that rewards were due to him from God. How righteous soever he was, he still had no claim to reward; on the contrary, all men are sinners in God's eyes; and nobody can complain that he suffers unjustly, for the very greatest sufferings equal not his immense guilt. Then Elihu explains a leading point on which he differs from the friends of Job: he asserts that from greater sufferings inflicted on a person it was not to be inferred that he had sinned more than others afflicted with a less amount of calamity. Calamities were, indeed, under all circumstances, punishments for sins committed, but at the same time they were correctives also; and therefore they might be inflicted on the comparatively most righteous in preference to others. For he who was most loved by God, was also most in danger of forgetting the sinfulness inherent in all men, and, consequently, also in himself: the rather because sin would in him less strongly manifest itself. If the object of afflictions was attained, and the distressed acknowledged his sinfulness, he would humble himself before God, who would bless him with greater happiness than he ever before enjoyed. But he who took not this view, and did not amend his ways, would be ruined, and the blame would rest wholly with himself. Consequently, if Job made the best of his misfortune, God would render him most happy; but if he continued refractory, punishment would follow his offences. According to this view, the truly righteous cannot be always miserable; and their calamities, which God, not only from his justice, as the friends of Job stated, but also from his *love*, inflicts *temporarily* on them, are only the means employed to raise them to higher moral rectitude and worldly happiness. The *end* shews the distinction between the perverse sinner, and the righteous man subject to sinfulness.

2. *From a clear conception of the nature of God.*—‘How darest thou,’ says Elihu, ‘instead of humbling thyself before God, defy him, and offer to reason with him?’ The whole creation shews forth his majesty, and evinces his justice. For a man to stand up against Him and to assert that he suffers innocently, is the greatest anthropomorphism, because it *goes* to deny the divine majesty, evident in all the facts of the created world, and including God's justice. His nature being one and indivisible, it cannot on one side exhibit infinite perfection, and on the other imperfection: each example, then, of God's grandeur in the creation of the world is evidence against the rash accusers of God's justice. Thus it appears that, from the outset, there must have been a mistake in thy calculation, and thou must the rather acknowledge the correctness of my solution of the question. God *must* be just—this is certain from the outset; and *how* his

justice is not impaired by calamities inflicted on the righteous and on thyself, I have already explained.’

Job had, in a stirring manner, several times, challenged God to decide the contest. Elihu suspects the approach of the Lord, when, towards the end of his speech, a violent thunder-storm arises, and God answers Job out of the whirlwind, shewing how foolishly the latter had acted in offering to reason with Him, when his works proved his infinite majesty, and, consequently, his absolute justice. Job now submits to God, and humbly repents of his offence. Hereupon God addresses Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, declaring unto them his displeasure at their unmerciful dealing with their friend, the consequences of which could only be avoided by Job offering a propitiatory sacrifice. This is done, and the Lord grants unto Job ample compensation for his sufferings.

II. *DESIGN OF THE BOOK.*—We here assume the integrity of the book of Job, or that it has been preserved in its genuine, unadulterated state; and we may do so the rather, because those who would eliminate single portions, must still allow the difficulty of showing in the remainder a fixed plan and leading idea, which again argues against them. Moreover, by determining the design of the book the best foundation is laid for proving its integrity. All agree that the object of the book is the solution of the question, how the afflictions of the righteous and the prosperity of the wicked can be consistent with God's justice. But it should be observed that the direct problem exclusively refers to the first point, the second being only incidentally discussed on occasion of the leading theme. If this is overlooked, the author would appear to have solved only one-half of his problem: the case from which the whole discussion proceeds has reference merely to the leading problem. There is another fundamental error which has led nearly all modern interpreters to a mistaken idea of the design of this book. Pareau (*De Immortalitatis not. in libro Jobi*, Deventer 1807, p. 207) is the only one who saw the error adverted to, and partially combated it with success. They assume that the problem could be satisfactorily solved only when the doctrines of immortality and retribution had been first established, which had not been done by the author of the book of Job: a perfect solution of the question was therefore not to be expected from him. Some assert that his solution is erroneous, since retribution, to be expected in a future world, is transferred by him to this life; others say that he cut the knot which he could not unloose, and has been satisfied to ask for implicit submission and devotedness, showing at the same time that every attempt at a solution must lead to dangerous positions: blind resignation, therefore, was the short meaning of the lengthened discussion.

On nearer examination, however, it appears that the doctrine of retribution after death is not of itself alone calculated to lead to a solution of the problem. In contemplating the lives of the righteous, who were perfectly embued with this doctrine, it will appear that they also struggled with doubts; that a satisfactory solution of the question is to be derived only from the fundamental doctrine on which the faith in retribution rests; and that this faith is shaken where it has not the necessary basis. The belief in a final judgment is firm and rational only when it rests on the belief in God's

continued providential government of the world, and in his acting as sovereign Lord in all the events of human life. If God is holy and just, he must also have the will to manifest these qualities in our present life by his bearing towards those who represent his image on earth, as well as towards those who renounce it. If he is omnipotent, nothing can in this life prevent him from exhibiting his justice; but if this is not manifested, and if no reason can be given for which he at times defers his judgments, the belief in retribution after death would be flimsy and shallow. Woe to him who expects in a future world to be supplied with everything he missed here, and with redress for all injuries sustained! He deceives himself. His God was, during his life on earth, inactive, shutting himself up in heaven: is he sure that his God will hereafter be better disposed or more able to protect him? As his essence remains the same, and the nature of sin and virtue is unchanged, how should he then in a future life punish the former and reward the latter, if he does not do so in this life! Temporary injustice is still injustice, and destroys the idea of a holy and just God. A God who has something to redress is no God at all. Lucian, the satirist, composed a dialogue entitled *Zeûs 'Ελεγχόμενος*, with the view of subverting the belief in Divine Providence; in which he justly finds fault with that God who allows the wicked to lead a happy and pleasant life in order that, at a distant time, they may be tortured according to their deserts, and who, on the contrary, exposes the righteous to infinite misery, that in remote futurity they may receive the reward of their virtue. Some men of sense among the heathens displayed deep penetration on this subject. Claudian, in the commencement of his poem against the wicked Rufinus, hints that doubts had been often entertained of Divine Providence, but that they had been now removed by the downfall of Rufinus:—

'Abstulit hunc tandem Rufini pœna tumultum
Absolvitque deos. Jam non ad culmina rerum
Injustos crevisse queror. Tolluntur in altum
Ut lapsu graviore ruant.'

This worldly retribution leads him to a firm belief in that after death. He represents Rufinus descended to the nether world, doing penance and enduring the keenest pains. See the rich collection by Barth (in his *Notes to Claudian*, 1078, s.s.) of those passages in the works of heathen writers in which doubts of future retribution are raised on the ground of disbelief in present requitals. Scripture knows nothing of a God whose power admits of increase, or who is active only in the life to come: its God is always full of strength and vigour, constantly engaged in action. God's just retribution in this world is extolled throughout the O. T. The notion of return accommodated to actions, is its substance and centre. It is particularly urged in the Pentateuch, and it is only when it had been deeply rooted in the public mind, and the belief in future requital had acquired a firm and solid basis, that the latter doctrine, which in the books of Moses is but dimly hinted at, is clearly and explicitly promulgated. The N. T. holds out to the righteous promises of a future life, as well as of the present; and our Saviour himself, in setting forth the rewards of those who, for his sake, forsook everything, begins with this life (Matt. xix. 29). A nearer examination of the benedictions contained

in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v.) shows that none of them exclusively refer to future blessings; the judgment of the wicked is in his view proceeding without interruption, and therefore his examples of the distribution of Divine justice in this world are mingled with those of requital in a future order of things. The Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their own sacrifices (Luke xiii. 1), were in Christ's opinion not accidentally killed; and he threatens those who would not repent, that they should in like manner perish. That sickness is to be considered as a punishment for sin, we are clearly taught (John v. 14; Luke v. 20, 24): in the former passage it is threatened as punishment for sins committed; in the latter it is healed in consequence of punishment remitted. Nay, every patient restored by Christ, who acted not as a superior kind of Hippocrates, but as the Saviour of men, is by that very act declared to be a sinner. The passage in John ix. 2, 3, which is often appealed to, in proof that our Lord did not consider sickness as a punishment for sin, does not prove this, but only opposes the Jewish position—founded on the mistaken doctrine of retribution—that all severe sicknesses and infirmities were consequences of crimes. But what is, from this point of view, the solution of the problem regarding the sufferings of the righteous? It rests on two positions.

1. Calamity is the only way that leads to the kingdom of God. Even the comparatively righteous are not without sin, which can be eradicated only by afflictions. *Via crucis est via salutis*. He who repents will attain to a clearer insight into the otherwise obscure ways of God. The afflictions of the pious issue at once from God's justice and love. To him who entertains a proper sense of the sinfulness of man, no calamity appears so great as not to be deserved as a punishment, or useful as a corrective.

2. Calamity, as the veiled grace of God, is with the pious never alone, but manifest proofs of Divine favour accompany or follow it. Though sunk in misery, they still are happier than the wicked, and when it has attained its object, it is terminated by the Lord. The nature of acts of grace differs according to the quality of those on whom they are conferred. The consolations offered in the O. T. are, agreeably to the weaker judgment of its professors, derived chiefly from external circumstances; while in the N. T. they are mainly spiritual, without, however, excluding the leading external helps. This difference is not essential, nor is any other, the *restitutio in integrum* being in the O. T. principally confined to this life, while in the N. T. the eye is directed beyond the limits of this world.

It is this, the alone correct solution of the problem, which occurs in the book of Job. All interpreters allow that it is set forth in Elihu's speeches, and, from the following observations, it will appear that they contain the opinion of the author:—1. The solution cannot be looked for in Job's speeches; for God proves himself gracious towards him only after he has repented and humbled himself. The author of the book says (i. 22; ii. 10; comp. iii. 1) that Job had charged God foolishly, and sinned with his lips; and the *πῶτον ψεύδος*, the *materia peccans*, in his speeches, is clearly pointed out to be, that 'he was righteous in his own eyes, and justified himself rather than God' (xxxii. 1, 2). To gather from Job's speeches a consistent view of the subject, and a satisfactory

solution of the question mooted, is impossible also on account of the many contradictions in them; as, for instance, when he says at one time, that God's justice *never* appears in the government of the world, and at another, that it generally does appear, but that there are evident exceptions to the general rule, not liable to objections. Sound principles are mixed up by him with wrong ones; his views want sifting, and the correct ideas must be completed, which, even in his concluding address, is not done by himself, nor is it performed by his three friends. Job continues to be embarrassed for the solution, and he is only certain of this, that the solution of his friends cannot be satisfactory. Job erred chiefly in not acknowledging the sin inherent in him; notwithstanding his integrity and sincere piety, which prevented him from apprehending the object of the calamity inflicted on him, led him to consider God's punishments as arbitrary, and made him despair of the return of better days. The greatness of his sufferings was in some measure the cause of his misconception, by exciting his feelings, and preventing him from calmly considering his case. He was in the state of a man tempted, and deserving God's indulgence. He had received considerable provocation from his friends, and often endeavoured to soften his harsh assertions; which, particularly in ch. xxvii., leads him into such contradictions, as must have occurred in the life of the tempted; he is loud in acknowledging the wisdom of God (ch. xxviii.), and raises himself at times to cheering hopes (comp. ch. xix.) But this can only excuse, not justify him, and therefore it is in the highest degree honourable to him, that he remains silent, when in Elihu's speeches the correct solution of the question is given, and that he ultimately acknowledges his fundamental error of doing justice to himself only.

2. The solution of the question mooted cannot be contained in *the speeches of Job's friends*. Their demeanour is reproved by God, and represented as a great sin, so much so, indeed, that to obtain pardon for them Job was directed to offer a propitiatory sacrifice. Their error proceeded from a crude notion of sin in its external appearance; and, inferring its existence from calamity, they were thus led to condemn the afflicted Job as guilty of heinous crimes (ch. xxxii.) The moral use of sufferings was unknown to them; which evidently proved that they themselves were not yet purged and cleared from guilt. If they had been sensible of the nature of man, if they had understood *themselves*, they would, on seeing the misery of Job, have exclaimed, 'God be merciful to us sinners!' There is, indeed, an important correct principle in their speeches, whose centre it forms; so much so, that they mostly err only in the application of the general truth. It consists in the perception of the invariable connection between sin and misery, which is indelibly engrafted on the heart of man, and to which many ancient authors allude. The saying, *male paria male dilabuntur*, is to be found in every language. The problem of the book is then solved by properly uniting the correct positions of the speeches both of Job and his friends, by maintaining his *comparative* innocence, and by tracing the errors of both parties to a common source, the want of a sound insight into the nature of sin. Job considers himself righteous, and not deserving of such afflictions,

because he had not committed any heinous crime; and his friends fancy they must assume that he was highly criminal, in order to justify his misery.

3. The solution of the question at issue is not exclusively given in *the addresses of God*, which contain only the basis of the solution, not the solution itself. In setting forth his majesty, and in showing that imputing to him injustice is repugnant to a correct conception of his nature, these addresses establish that there must be a solution which does not impair divine justice. This is not, indeed, the solution itself, but everything is thus prepared for the solution. We apprehend that God *must* be just, but it remains further to be shown *how* he can be just, and still the righteous be miserable.

Unless, then, we are disposed to question the general result, we are, by the arrangements of the book, led to the speeches of Elihu as containing the solution of the problem, which the author, moreover, has indicated with sufficient clearness by making the commencement and end of the narrative agree perfectly with those speeches. The leading principle in Elihu's statement is, that calamity in the shape of trial was inflicted even on the comparatively best men, but that God allowed a favourable turn to take place as soon as it had attained its object. Now this is the key to the events of Job's life. Though a pious and righteous man, he is tried by severe afflictions. He knows not for what purpose he is smitten, and his calamity continues; but when he learns it from the addresses of Elihu and God, and humbles himself, he is relieved from the burden which oppresses him, and ample prosperity atones for the afflictions he has sustained. Add to this, that the remaining portion of Elihu's speeches, in which he points to God's infinite majesty as including his justice, is continued in the addresses of God; that Elihu foretells God's appearance; that he is not punished by God as are the friends of Job; in fine, that Job by his very silence acknowledges the problem to have been solved by Elihu; and his silence is the more significant because Elihu had urged him to defend himself (xxxiii. 32), and because Job had repeatedly declared he would 'hold his peace,' if it was shown to him wherein he had erred (vi. 24, 25; xix. 4). This view of the book of Job has among modern authors been supported chiefly by Staudlin (*Beiträge zur Religions und Sittenlehre*, vol. ii. p. 133) and Stickel (*Das Buch Hiob*, Leipzig 1842), though in both it is mixed up with much erroneous matter; and it is further confirmed by the whole O. T. giving the same answer to the question mooted which the speeches of Elihu offer: in its concentrated form it is presented in Ps. xxxvii., xlix., lxxiii.

From these considerations, it appears that those interpreters who, with Bernstein, De Wette, and Umbreit, assume that the book of Job was of a sceptical nature, and intended to dispute the doctrine of retribution as laid down in the other books of the O. T., have entirely misunderstood it. The doctrine of divine retribution is here not disputed, but strengthened, as the case under consideration required that it should be. The object of the book would also be too much narrowed, if it was restricted to proving that the doctrine of retribution, as expounded by the friends of Elihu, was erroneous. The speeches of Elihu evidently op-

pose the discourses of Job in stronger terms than those of his friends. The object of the book is rather to explain generally the nature and tendency of afflictions, and thereby to contribute towards the attainment of their design, to console the mind, and to cheer the drooping spirits. It is difficult for men to understand that their sufferings, however great, are still under that degree which they deserve. To consider afflictions as proofs of divine favour, we must first learn to bring them into unison with divine justice. Upon the doctrine of retribution after death our author does not enter; but that he knew it, may be inferred from several passages with great probability; as, for instance, chap. xiv. 14, 'if a man die shall he live again? All the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come.' The *if* here shows that the writer had been before engaged in considering the subject of life after death; and when such is the case, a pious mind will necessarily indulge the hope, or will, at least, have an obscure presentiment of immortality. The truth, also, of God's unbounded grace, on which the doctrine of immortality is based, will be found clearly laid down in chap. xix. Still the author does not recur to this hope for the purpose of solving his problem; he would not ground it on something in itself wanting support and a foundation, namely, that which is presented in this book. The doctrine of future retribution, if not sustained by the belief in retribution during this life, is truly a castle in the air. The author did not intend in his discussion to exceed the limits of what God had *clearly revealed*, and this was in his time confined to the vague notion of life continued after death, but not connected with rewards and punishments. Explicitly expressed, then, we have here only the doctrine of a Sheol (see the collection of passages, p. 123 *sqq.* of Pareau's work above quoted), which, indeed, is not erroneous in itself, but which still keeps the background veiled.

Having thus established the design of the book of Job, it remains to consider the view taken by Ewald. He justly rejects the common, superficial view of its design, which has recently been revived and defended by Hirzel (see his *Commentar*, Leipzig 1839), and which represents the author as intending to shew that man cannot apprehend the plans of God, and does best to submit in ignorance without repining at afflictions. The author would thus be rendered liable to the charge of having cut the knot which he could not loose. When this view was first set up, the solution of one of the most important religious problems was very unsettled, and the public mind generally remained in suspense; in accordance with which state of feeling this opinion is framed relating to the design of the book of Job. The alleged theme occurs in no passage, not even incidentally. The writers in question chiefly base it on the discourses of God; and so, latterly, does Stickel, who, although acknowledging that the solution of the problem was afforded by Elihu, still thinks that in the sentiments uttered by God the sufferer was ultimately referred to human short-sightedness and directed to be silent, the author of the book distrusting the correctness of his solution, and intending at all events to vindicate God's justice. Thus they entirely misunderstand the main point in the discourses of God, which set forth his infinite majesty with a view, not of censuring Job's inquisitiveness

and of taxing him with indiscretion, but of shewing that it was foolish to divest God of justice, which is inseparable from his essence. His searching is not itself blamed, but only the manner of it. Nowhere in the whole book is simple resignation crudely enjoined, and nowhere does Job say that he submits to such an injunction. The prologue represents his sufferings as trials, and the epilogue declares that the end had proved this; consequently the author was competent to give a theodicee with reference to the calamity of Job, and if such is the case he cannot have intended simply to recommend resignation. The Biblical writers, when engaged on this problem, know how to justify God with reference to the afflictions of the righteous, and have no intention of evading the difficulty when they recommend resignation (see the Psalms quoted above, and, in the N. T., the Epistle to the Hebrews, ch. xii.) The view of the book of Job alluded to would isolate it, and take it out of its natural connection. Thus far, then, we agree with Ewald, but we cannot approve of his own view of the design of the book of Job. According to his system, 'calamity is never a punishment for sins committed, but always a mere phantom, an imaginary show, above which we must raise ourselves by the consciousness of the eternal nature of the human mind, to which, by external prosperity, nothing can be added, and from which, by external misfortune, nothing can be taken away. It was (says Ewald) the merit of the book of Job to have prepared these sounder views of worldly evil and of the immortality of mind, transmitting them as fruitful buds to posterity.' Now from the outset we may be sure that this view is not to be found in our book. Credit has always been given to Scripture for knowing how to console the distressed—which Ewald's system must fail to do. Let it be offered to those who are afflicted with severe and painful illness, and it will prove abortive. Fictitious sufferings may be soothed in this manner, real pains certainly not. Consciousness of the eternal nature of our mind is wanted to do all; but how is it possible when the mind itself is depressed? Turn to the Psalms: do we find in them shadowed out this cold consolation—the doctrine of the Stoics, which has been always considered to be opposed to that of Scripture? Read especially Psalms xxxvii., xli., and lxxiii., which profess to treat our problem: take, in the N. T., the passage in Heb. xii. 6, and you will find afflictions considered at once as punishments inflicted by divine justice, and as means which God's love employs to lead us to higher happiness. 'Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.' If suffering and happiness are as nothing, and have no reality, why promises our Saviour rewards to his followers, and why threatens he the wicked with punishment (Matt. xix. 16-30)? Why blesses he the meek, 'for they shall inherit the earth' (Matt. v. 5)? Why says he, 'seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you' (Matt. vi. 33)? If righteousness already possesses everything and lacks nothing, why says St. Paul, to righteousness are held out the promise both of this life and of the life to come? Being thus impressed against Ewald's view, from the Scriptures themselves, we also find, on closer inspection, that it does not apply to the book of Job. To make it

appear that it does, he excludes the speeches of Elihu—which seems rather suspicious; but what he objects against them is of little importance, and has been proved by Stickel to be erroneous. Taking, however, what remains of the book, it is evident that the epilogue is decidedly contrary to Ewald's view. Why is it that Job receives the double of all that he had lost, when, judged by Ewald's principles, he had lost nothing? If in any place, it is in the epilogue that the leading idea of the author must appear; and here we have not speeches, whose drift might admit of doubt, but acts, divine acts, the solution of the question by facts. Equally irreconcilable is Ewald's view with the prologue. The opening scene is in heaven; Satan appears before God, and obtains leave to tempt Job. This enables the reader from the outset to see clearer into the case under consideration than did Job and his friends, who judged only according to what passed on earth. He suspects from the outset what will be the end of the narrative. If it is by way of temptation only that Job is subjected to misery, this cannot be lasting; but if it cannot and must not be lasting, it must be also more than an imaginary phantom—it must be reality. We might easily shew further that the view referred to is also incompatible with the speeches of Job, who never renounces happiness; he is always either disconsolate and complains, or expresses cheering hopes of a return of better days; he either despairs of God's justice, or expects him to prove it at least partially by his rehabilitation. We might likewise, with little trouble, prove that the view of Ewald is not in accordance with the speeches of God, who does not address Job in exhortations to the effect, 'Be in-ensensible of thy calamity;' but, 'Humble thyself before me; acknowledge in thy severe sufferings my justice and my love, and thy own sinfulness, and procure release by repentance.' But what we have stated on this head may be deemed sufficient.

III. CHARACTER OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE BOOK.—On this subject there are three different opinions:—1. Some contend that the book contains an entirely true history. 2. Others assert that it is founded on a true history, which has been recast, modified, and enlarged by the author. 3. The third opinion is, that the book contains a narrative entirely imaginary, and constructed by the author to teach a great moral truth.

The first view, taken by numerous ancient interpreters, is now abandoned by nearly all interpreters. It seems, however, to have been adopted by Josephus, for he places Job in the list of the historical books; and it was prevalent with all the fathers of the church. In its support four reasons are adduced, of which the third and fourth are quite untenable; the first and second are outweighed by other considerations, which render it impossible to consider the book of Job as an entirely true history, but which may be used in defence of the second view alluded to. It is said, 1. That Job is (Ezek. xiv. 14-20) mentioned as a public character, together with Noah and Daniel, and represented as an example of piety. 2. In the Epistle of James (v. 11), patience in sufferings is recommended by a reference to Job. 3. In the Greek translation of the Septuagint a notice is appended to Gen. xxxv. 33, which states that Job was the King Jobab of Edom. This statement is too late to be relied on, and originates in an etymolo-

gical combination; and that it must be erroneous is to a certain extent evident from the contents of the book, in which Job is not represented as a king. 4. Job's tomb continues to be shewn to Oriental tourists. Now the fact of a Job having lived somewhere would not of itself prove that the hero of our narrative was that person, and that this book contained a purely historical account. Moreover, his tomb is shown not in one place, but in six, and, along with it, the dunghill on which Job is reported to have sat!

Against this view it must be remarked generally, that the whole work is arranged on a well-considered plan, proving the author's power of independent invention; that the speeches are, in their general structure and in their details, so elaborate, that they could not have been brought out in the ordinary course of a conversation or disputation; that it would be unnatural to suppose Job in his distressed state to have delivered such speeches, finished with the utmost care; and that they exhibit uniformity in their design, fulness, propriety, and colouring, though the author, with considerable skill, represents each speaker whom he introduces arguing according to his character. Moreover, in the prologue and epilogue, as well as in the arrangement of the speeches, the figures 3 and 7 constantly occur, with the decimal number formed by their addition. The transactions between God and Satan in the prologue absolutely require that we should distinguish between the subject-matter forming the foundation of the work, and its enlargement; which can only be done when a poetical principle is acknowledged in its composition. God's speaking out of the clouds would be a miracle, without an object corresponding to its magnitude, and having a merely personal reference, while all the other miracles of the O. T. are in connection with the theocratical government, and occur in the midst and for the benefit of the people of God. This argument, which might be further extended without much difficulty, proves the first view above stated of the book of Job to be erroneous, and is meant to support the second; but it does not bear on the third, which contends that the narrative is an entire fiction, without any admixture of real facts. The latter opinion is, indeed, already stated in the Talmud, which says that Job never existed; and in modern times it has been defended chiefly by Bernstein; but is contrary to the practice which anciently prevailed, when writers rarely invented the subject of a narrative, and rather took the materials furnished by tradition, digesting, enlarging, and modifying them, so as to make them harmonize with the leading theme. Taking the second view, we must still abstain from undertaking to determine what the poet derived from tradition and what he added himself, since we know not how far tradition had already embellished the original fact. The separation of the historical groundwork from the poetical embellishments could only succeed, if the same history had been, although in a poetical dress, transmitted to us by several narrators. Would any person, if he was not assisted by other authorities, undertake to determine what is history, and what is fiction, in an historical romance of Walter Scott, or in an historical drama of Shakspeare or Schiller? Ewald, indeed, had the courage to undertake vindicating for history certain parts of our narrative, but his efforts were abortive, as we shall presently show. It will appear, indeed, that exactly those

particulars which Ewald considers historical may possibly have been invented, though we do not contend that they really were so, which would be equally presumptuous. He asserts, 1. That 'the name Job is not invented by the author of our book.' This would have some semblance of truth, if the name had no meaning connecting it with the contents of the narrative. But Job means in Hebrew 'the assailed,' and may be traced in

the form of *לֹחַד*, *born*, שָׁכֹר, *intoxicated*, from *אִיב*, *to attack*; whence also *אֹיֵב*, *the enemy*, and *אִיבָה*, *enmity*, are derived. Ewald observes, indeed, that the import of the word is not very apparent, and is not easily discoverable; but when it strikes us at once, must it not have much more readily occurred to Hebrew readers? The sense in which the hero of the book is called 'the assailed,' appears at once in the prologue, where Satan obtains leave to tempt him. 2. 'The names of the friends of Job are historical.' As to the name Eliphaz, it occurs in Gen. xxvi. 4, 10, 12, and seems to be taken from thence. Adopting names in this manner amounts to inventing them. 3. 'It is a fact that Job lived in the land of Uz, which, in Hebrew history, is distinguished neither in itself nor its inhabitants; and it is difficult to understand why the author selected this country, if he was not led to it by history.' We shall see below that the plan of the author required him to lay the scene without Palestine, but still in its immediate neighbourhood; which led him to Uz, a country already mentioned in Genesis. This observation applies also to the place of abode of Job's friends, which could not be Canaan, but must be in its vicinity; wherefore the country named in the book is assigned to them. 4. 'The sickness of Job is an historical fact; he was afflicted with elephantiasis, and it is inconceivable why the author chose this disease, which is of rare occurrence, if he had not drawn this particular fact from real history.' Now the reason of this selection was, that elephantiasis is a most awful disease, and that the author probably knew none more so; and persons labouring under elephantiasis were generally considered as smitten by God (Deut. xxiv. 8, 9) [JOB'S DISEASE].

These are all the particulars which Ewald points out as historical, and from our examination of them, it will be clear that we must confine ourselves to contending for an historical foundation of the book, but must not undertake to determine the exact nature of the groundwork: we infer the character of the composition from analogy, but cannot prove it from the book itself. That its historical framework was poetically enlarged by the author, has been already observed by Luther (see his *Tischreden*, or *Table Talk*, p. 318). As for the rest, the subtilty displayed in explaining opposite views, the carefully drawn characters of the persons introduced, and their animated discourses, lead us to suppose that the question at issue had *previously* been the subject of various discussions in presence of the author, who, perhaps, took part in them. Thus there would be an historical foundation, not only for the facts related in the book, but to a certain extent also for the speeches.

IV. DESCENT, COUNTRY, AND AGE OF THE AUTHOR.—Opinions differed in ancient times as to the nation to which the author belonged; some

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considering him to have been an Arab, others an Israelite; but the latter supposition is undoubtedly preferable. For, 1st, we find in our book many ideas of genuine Israelite growth: the creation of the world is described, in accordance with the prevailing notions of the Israelites, as the immediate effect of divine omnipotence; man is formed of clay; the spirit of man is God's breath; God employs the angels for the performance of his orders; Satan, the enemy of the chosen children of God, is his instrument for tempting them; men are weak and sinful; nobody is pure in the sight of God; moral corruption is propagated. There is promulgated to men the law of God, which they must not infringe, and the transgressions of which are visited on offenders with punishments. Moreover, the nether world, or Sheol, is depicted in hues entirely Hebrew. To these particulars might, without much trouble, be added many more; but the deep-searching inquirer will particularly weigh, 2dly, the fact, that the book displays a strength and fervour of religious faith, such as could only be expected within the domain of revelation. Monotheism, if the assertions of ancient Arabian authors may be trusted, prevailed, indeed, for a long period among the Arabs; and it held its ground at least among a portion of the nation till the age of Mohammed, who obtained for it a complete triumph over polytheism, which was spreading from Syria. Still the God of the Arabs was, as those of the heathens generally were, a retired god, dwelling far apart, while the people of the Old Covenant enjoyed the privilege of a vital communion with God; and the warmth with which our author enters into this view, incontrovertibly proves that he was an Israelite. 3dly, As regards the language of our book, several ancient writers asserted that it was originally written in the Aramaean or Arabic tongue, and afterwards translated into Hebrew by Moses, David, Solomon, or some unknown writer. Of this opinion was the author of the Appendix in the Septuagint, and the compiler of the tract on Job added to the works of Origen and Jerome: in modern times it has been chiefly defended by Spanheim, in his *Historia Jobi*. But for a translation there is too much propriety and precision, in the use of words and phrases; the sentences are too compact, and free from redundant expressions and members; and too much care is bestowed on their harmony and easy flow. The parallelism also is too accurate and perfect for a translation, and the whole breathes a freshness that could be expected from an original work only.

Sensible of the weight of this argument, others, as Eichhorn, took a medium course, and assumed that the author was a Hebrew, though he did not live among his countrymen, but in Arabia. 'The earlier Hebrew history,' they say, 'is unknown to the author, who is ignorant of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. In portraying nature, also, he proves himself always familiar with Arabia, while he is silent respecting the characteristics of Palestine. With Egypt he must have been well acquainted; which can be accounted for better by supposing him to have lived in Arabia than in Palestine.' These reasons are, however, not cogent. The cause why the author did not enter into the history of the Hebrews, and the nature of Palestine, appears from his design. In deciding the question at issue he waves the instruction given by divine revelation.

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and undertakes to perform the task by appealing only to religious consciousness and experience. On the plan of the author of Ecclesiastes, he treats the question as one of natural theology, in order that the human mind might arrive at its solution spontaneously, and be more deeply impressed. He would not, by referring to a few passages of Scripture, overturn errors which might afterwards spring up again; but they should be exposed and demolished separately, and the truth then be found by uniting the correct ingredients of opposite views. In following this plan the author intended to support Scripture; in a similar manner Pascal, in his *Pensées*, explains the nature of man first from experience only, and next from Scripture. This plan is indicated by the scene being laid not in Palestine, but among a people quite unconnected with its inhabitants; at the same time he will not go farther than his object required, and he therefore chooses the *immediate* neighbourhood of Palestine. Thus the placing of the scene in a foreign country is not historical, but proceeds from the free choice of the author. The scene being laid in a foreign country, the portraying of life and nature must of course agree with that country, and not with Palestine (see ch. xl. 23). It may no doubt be said, that the remarkable vigour and sprightliness of the author's descriptions of the scenery and people justify us in assuming that he was actually acquainted with them; but this cannot be asserted as quite certain, since it would impair the high idea entertained of the powers of poetry. The correctness of this view is eminently strengthened by the manner in which the author designedly uses the names of God. The O. T. distinguishes between Elohim, the abstract God, the Deity, on the one hand, and Jehovah, the concrete God, with whom the Israelites had made a covenant, on the other (Gen. vi. 3, 4). Now the latter name occurs in Job generally, where the author himself appears, not only in the prologue and epilogue, but in the short sentences introducing the speakers, as in xxxviii. 1; xl. 1, 3, 6. In the body of the work, however, we have only the names Elohim, Eloah, and similar terms, with the exception of xii. 9, where Jehovah occurs. This very passage argues against those who, from the distinct names of God, would infer that the prologue and epilogue are not genuine. Eichhorn (see *Einleitung*, sec. 644, a) assumes that the author had, by his particular use of the names of God, intended to represent himself as younger than the other interlocutors; but the notion of the name Jehovah having come later into general use, is contrary to history, and we must then arrive at this result, that the author by his selection of the names of God, which he lends to the interlocutors, intended to express his design of waving all theocratic principles. The few passages in which he seems to abandon this design, namely, in addition to that quoted, ch. i. 21, where Job, in speaking of God, uses the name Jehovah, make it appear even clearer. By thus forgetting himself, he betrays the fact that his general use of the names of God proceeds from designedly forsaking the usage of the language. The context, moreover of the two passages in which he *seems* to forget himself and uses the name Jehovah, proves that this change is judiciously made, the deep and awful sense of his subject prompting him to an elevated, solemn style, to which the name Eloah was not suitable. And if

there is design in the selection of the names of God, why not also in the selection of the country in which the scene is laid? This may be assumed the rather, because history says nothing of Israelites having permanently taken up their residence in the land of Uz, and because other circumstances already detailed oblige us to admit that the author was not only an Israelite by descent, but lived also in the midst of his people, and enjoyed the advantage of a religious communion with them. It should also be remembered, that the author, without directly mentioning the Pentateuch, frequently alludes to portions of it, as in ch. iii. 4, to Gen. i. 3; in ch. iv. 19, and xxxiii. 6, to Moses' account of the creation of man; in ch. v. 14, to Deut. xxxii. 32; in ch. xxiv. 11, to Deut. xxv. 4. That the name of Eliphaz the Temanite, one of the three friends of Job, seems also to have been taken from the Pentateuch, was mentioned above. In addition to these allusions there are several more to other books of the O. T., as the Psalms and Proverbs—which proves that the author must not be severed from the Israelite communion. From what we have stated against the hypothesis that our book was composed in Arabia, a judgment may be formed of the opinion of Hitzig and Hitzel, who assume that it was written in Egypt; the sole foundation for which is, that the author shews himself perfectly acquainted with that country, which proves him to have been a long observer of it. Most particulars adduced in support of this view cannot stand a close examination. Thus it is a mistake to suppose that the description of the working of mines in ch. xxviii. must necessarily have reference to Egypt: Phœnicia, Arabia, and Edom afforded much better materials. That the author must have known the Egyptian mausolea rests on an erroneous interpretation of ch. iii. 14, which may also be said of the assertion that ch. xxix. 18 refers to the Egyptian myths of the Phœnix. Casting aside these arbitrarily assumed Egyptian references, we have only the following:—Our author knows the Egyptian vessels of bulrushes, ix. 26; the Nile-grass, viii. 12; the Nile-horse (Behemoth), and the crocodile (Leviathan), xi. 15, xli. 1. Now, as these things belong to the more prominent peculiarities of a neighbouring country, they must have been known to every educated Israelite: the vessels of bulrushes are mentioned also in Is. xviii. 2. Neither are we disposed to adopt the compromising view of Stickel, who assumes that the author wrote his book in the Israelite territory, indeed, but close to the frontier, in the far south-east of Palestine. That the author had there the materials for his descriptions, comparisons, and imagery, set better before his eyes, than anywhere else, is true; for there he had an opportunity of observing mines, caravans, drying up of brooks, etc. But this is not sufficient proof of the author having lived permanently in that remote part of Palestine, and of having there written his book: he was not a mere copyist of nature, but a poet of considerable eminence, endowed with the power of vividly representing things absent from him. That he lived and wrote in the midst of his nation, is proved by all analogy and by the general character of the book. It looks not like a writing composed in some remote corner of the world, where the question at issue could not have been so fully discussed, nor have created such a deep interest. Jerusalem was

the metropolis of the Jews in a sense quite different from that which belongs to any other capital: it was, by order of God, the religious centre of the nation, where all general and leading measures of the nation originated, and to which all pretending to distinction and superiority resorted.

Proceeding to the inquiry as to the age of the author of this book, we meet with three opinions:—1. That he lived before Moses, or was, at least, his contemporary. 2. That he lived in the time of Solomon, or in the centuries next following. 3. That he lived shortly before, or during, or even after the Babylonian exile. The view of those who assert the book to have been written long after the Babylonian exile, can be supported, as Hirzel justly observes, neither by the nature of its language nor by reasons derived from its historical groundwork, and is therefore now generally rejected; but, apart from this opinion, there is, in those remaining, a difference as to the date of no less than 1000 years.

We must, first, declare ourselves decidedly against the view of those who—as Le Clerc among earlier interpreters; and among recent expositors, Bernstein, Gesenius, Umbreit, and De Wette—place our book in the time of the Chaldean exile. They were led to this conclusion by their preconceived opinion that the doctrine of Satan, who is introduced in the prologue, was of Chaldean origin; which has also induced others, while contending for a higher antiquity of the book, to pronounce the prologue, at least the scene in ch. i. 6-12, to be spurious; or losing sight of the poetical character of the prologue as well as of the speeches, to assert that the Satan of this book was different from the Satan of later times; or finally, to assume with Stickel, that the author had lived in a place where he could be impressed with Babylonian opinions before they had spread among the great body of his nation. But the assertion, that the doctrine of Satan originated among the Jews during the Babylonian exile, and was derived generally from Babylonian suggestions, has been shown by several interpreters to be erroneous, and very recently, by Hengstenberg (*Ägypten und die Bücher Moses*, p. 164, sq.) This opinion was, however, suited to and supported by those who, headed by Bernstein, asserted that Job was a symbolic personage—a personification of the Jews suffering in the Exile—and who thus gave to our book a national reference and meaning; in like manner as some had before introduced a preposterous system of interpreting psalms containing personal lamentations, by converting them into national lamentations, and applying to them the principle of symbolization. Now, in the book of Job there is certainly no trace of national reference; and it would be absurd to assume an allegory running through an entire work, and still nowhere manifesting its presence. It is said by other interpreters, that, in the times of trouble, during the Babylonian exile, first originated the disheartening view of human life, and that then the problem of our book first engrossed the public mind; by which observation they, by way of compromise, refer its composition to that period, without contending for a symbolic exposition. But the sense of misery and of the nothingness of human life, is found among all nations, ancient and modern, cultivated and uncultivated: Noah, Jacob, Moses, complain, and as old as suffering must be the question of the

seeming disparity in the distribution of good and evil, and how this disparity can be reconciled with God's justice. It is frequently under consideration in the Psalms.

Against those who refer the composition of Job to the time of the Babylonian exile, militate, first, the references to it in the O. T., which prove that it was before this period a generally known writing. Thus, in Ezek. xiv. 14-20, are mentioned 'three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job,' as examples of righteousness. Mr. Bernstein, indeed, in defending his hypothesis, rejects this passage as spurious, but it bears every mark of genuineness. Further, in Jeremiah xx. 14, we find evidently imitated Job's cursing of the day of his birth (ch. iii.). Not only the sentiments but the words are often the same; and that this coincidence is not accidental, or that the author did not imitate Jeremiah, appears from the literary character of each. Jeremiah shows himself throughout dependent on ancient writings, whereas our author is quite original and independent, as proved by Küper (see *Jeremias librorum sacrorum interpres atque vindex*, p. 164, sq.) There are also in the *Lamentations* of Jeremiah many passages clearly alluding to our book, which must have eminently suited his taste and interested him (comp. xvi. 13 with Lam. ii. 16; and xix. 8 with Lam. iii. 7, 9). In *Isaiah* the peculiar use of נָסָה (xl. 2) refers us to Job i. (comp. x. 17; xiv. 14); and the double received from God's hand alludes to the end of the history of Job, who is there considered as typifying the future fate of the church. Is. lxi. 7, 'In their land they shall have the double,' alludes to the same point; ch. li. 9 depends on Job xxvi. 13; and ch. xix. 5, almost literally agrees with Job xiv. 11 (see Küper, p. 166). Another example of words borrowed from Job occurs in Ps. cvii. 42, where the second part of the verse agrees literally with Job v. 16. 2. A most decisive reason against assigning the composition of Job to the period of the Exile is derived from the language, since it is free from those Chaldaisms which occur in the books written about that time. Eichhorn justly observes, 'Let him who is fit for such researches, only read, first, a writing, tainted with Aramæisms, and next the book of Job: they will be found diverging as east and west.' There is no example of an independent, original work, composed in pure language, after the Exile. Zechariah indeed, though writing after the Exile, has few Chaldaisms; but a closer inspection shews that this case is not analogous to that of our book. The comparative purity of Zechariah's language can be accounted for by his constant occupation with the sacred writings of the period before the Exile, on which he proves himself entirely dependent. 3. Equally conclusive is the poetical character of the book. The Exile might produce a soft, moving poem, but could not give birth to such a rich, compact, animated, and warm composition as ours, breathing youthful freshness throughout. Ewald, in acknowledging this, says justly, 'The high skill displayed in this book cannot be well expected from later centuries, when poetry had by degrees generally declined, and particularly in the higher art required by large compositions; and language so concise and expressive as that of our author is not found in writings of later times.'

To the view which places the age of the book of Job in the time of the Babylonian exile, is most

opposed that which assigns the composition of it to a period prior to Moses. In support of this latter view, only two arguments having a semblance of force can be adduced, and they will not bear the test of strict inquiry. It is said, 1. 'There is in the book of Job no direct reference to the Mosaic legislation; and its descriptions and other statements are suited to the period of the patriarchs; as, for instance, the great authority held by old men, the high age of Job, and fathers offering sacrifices for their families—which leads to the supposition that when our book was written no sacerdotal order yet existed.' These points, however, are quite intelligible, if the design of the book, as stated above, is kept in view. The author intended not to rest the decision of the question at issue on particular passages of Scripture, but on religious consciousness and experience. This at once explains why he places the scene without Palestine, why he places it in the patriarchal age, and why he avoids the use of the name Jehovah; of these three items the first sufficiently accounts for no reference being made to the Mosaic legislation. It is indeed said, that for an author of a later period, who undertook to portray earlier times, it would hardly have been possible to perform his task, without occasionally forgetting his roll. But it is not easy to determine what, in such a case, is possible. What might be expected from our author in this respect may be inferred from his skill in the intentional use of the names of God—from the steadiness with which, among foreign scenery, he proceeds to develop his subject—from the able disposition of the speeches, and the nicely drawing of the characters of the interlocutors, who are always represented speaking and acting in conformity with the part assigned to them. In the proper execution of his work he may have been assisted by witnessing abroad the patriarchal life of nomades, which, in its essential features, is always the same. This supposition is rendered in some degree probable, from the descriptions of Arabia being exactly agreeable to its natural condition, and being even more specific than those of Egypt, though Hirzel is pleased to select the latter country, in determining where the author of our book lived and composed it. 2. 'The language of the book of Job seems strongly to support the opinion of its having been written before Moses.' It has been often said, that no writing of the O. T. may be more frequently illustrated from the Arabic than this book. Jerome observes (*Prefat. in Din.*) 'Jobum cum Arabica lingua plurimam habere societatem;' and Schultens proved this so incontrovertibly that Gesenius was rather too late in denying the fact (see his *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache*, p. 33). Now, from this character of its language we might be induced to infer, that the work was written in the remotest times, when the separation of the dialects had only begun, but had not yet been completed. This inference would, however, be safe only if the book were written in prose. It is solely from works of this class, that the general usage of the language prevailing at the time of the author can be seen. On the contrary, the selection of obsolete and rare words and forms, with the Hebrews, was a peculiar feature of the poetical style, and served to distinguish it from the usual, habitual way of writing. This peculiarity belongs to our book more than to any other; which may be explained from its

elevated character and general plan; it rises above commonplace ideas more than any other Hebrew writing, and the plan of the author made it incumbent on him to impress on the language, as much as possible, an antique and foreign character.

The most complete statement of the reasons in support of the opinion that the book of Job was written after the age of Moses, may be found in Richter's essay, *De Aetate Jobi definienda*, reprinted in Rosenmüller's edition of Lowth's *Praelectiones De Poesi Sacra Hebraeorum*: in which he maintains that it was written in the age of Solomon. Most of these reasons, indeed, are either not conclusive at all, or not quite cogent. Thus it is an arbitrary assumption, proved by modern researches to be erroneous, that the art of writing was unknown previous to the age of Moses. The assertion too, that the marks of cultivation and refinement observable in our book belonged to a later age, rests on no historical ground. Further, it cannot be said, that for such an early time the language is too smooth and neat, since in no Semitic dialect is it possible to trace a progressive improvement. The evident correspondence also between our book and the Proverbs and Psalms is not a point proving with resistless force that they were all written at the same time. It is, indeed, sometimes of such a kind, that the authors of the Proverbs and Psalms cannot be exactly said to have copied our book; but it may be accounted for by their all belonging to the same class of writings, by the very great uniformity and accordance of religious conceptions and sentiments expressed in the O. T., and by the stability of its religious character.

Still the argument derived from the correspondence between our book and the Psalms is not devoid of force; for the accordance of ideas, sentiments, and colouring in them is such that the circumstances referred to cannot be considered as completely accounting for it. There are passages in which the author of our book clearly alludes to the Psalms and Proverbs. A striking example of this kind occurs in Ps. xxxix. 13. All the words of this verse, which, as they conclude the psalm, may have been deeply impressed on the public mind, are again found in various passages of the book of Job, whose author must have been acquainted with that psalm (comp. ch. vii. 19; xiv. 6; x. 20, 21; vii. 8, 21, in the Hebrew Bible). The whole psalm is a text-book for the speeches of Job. The argument, also, derived from the skilful plan of our book and its able exposition, must be allowed its weight in deciding that its composition is not to be assigned to an age prior to Moses; though we must not forget that what to us appears to be art, because it is done according to established rules, may also be the product of a creative genius. But a conclusive argument against assigning so early a date to the composition of our book is its reflecting and inquiring character. A didactic poem could never have been written in the time of the patriarchs; but our book presents a strong contrast to those immature conceptions and those statements which strike the senses but do not appeal to reason, which are of so frequent occurrence in Genesis. The notion which our author entertains of God, of his omnipotence and omnipresence, is undoubtedly more refined than that presented in the books of Moses. In addition to this it should be observed, that from many indica-

tions the problem treated in our book was at the time of its composition frequently discussed and variously solved. We have observed, indeed, above, that it is as old as the cause which originated it; but it must be allowed that the Mosaic revelation, with its leading doctrine concerning retribution, was calculated to direct the attention more forcibly towards it than had been previously the case, till God vouchsafed, through an instrument appointed by him, to promulgate the true solution. There are, moreover, indirect allusions to the Pentateuch, as stated above.

Summing up the whole of our investigations, we take it to be a settled point that the book of Job does not belong to the time of the Babylonian exile; and it is nearly equally certain that it was not composed prior to the time of Moses. Could it then have been written in some age preceding Samuel and David? It is only with them that a new period of sacred literature began; and our book is related to products of that period, or enlarges on them. But it cannot have been composed later than Isaiah, who alludes to it. Thus we come to this general determination of the age of our book, that it was written, *not before* Samuel and David, but *not later* than the era of Isaiah. With this result we must rest satisfied, unless we would go beyond the indications presented. The intermediate period offers no ground on which we can safely fix the composition of the book of Job. There remains then uncertainty, but it does not concern an important point of religion. The significance of our book for the church rests on the evidence of our Lord and his apostles in support of the inspiration of the whole collection of the O. T., and on the confirmation which this external evidence has at all times received, and continues to receive, from the internal testimony, among the true believers of all ages.—E. W. H.

[There is perhaps no single book of Scripture of which so many versions and commentaries have been published as that of Job, or respecting which a greater number of treatises and dissertations have been written. The following are the principal examples:—Mercer, 1573; Drusius, 1636; Abbott, 1640; Spanheim, 1672; Schmid, 1670; Caryl, 1669; Leigh, 1656, 1736, 1742; Schultens, 1737; Peters, 1751; Chappelow, 1752; Heath, 1756; Scott, 1773; Reiske, 1779; Dathe, 1789; Garden, 1796; Eichhorn, 1800; Gaab, 1809; Eliza Smith, 1810; Good, 1812; Bridel, 1818; Umbreit, 1824 (translated in the *Bibl. Cabinet*, vols. xvi., xix.); Rosenmüller, 1824; Fry, 1827; Lange, 1831; Knobel, *De Carminis Jobi, etc.*, 1835; Ewald, 1836; Arnheim, 1836; Fackens, 1836; Lee, 1837; Wemyss, 1839; Stickel, 1842; Heiligstedt, 1847; Hahn, 1850; Schlottmann, 1851; Hirzel, 1852; Ewald, 1854; Carey, 1858; Conant, 1859; Renan, 1859; A. B. Davidson, vol. i., 1862.]

JOB'S DISEASE. The opinion that the malady under which Job suffered was elephantiasis, or black leprosy, is so ancient, that it is found, according to Origen's *Hexapla*, in the rendering which one of the Greek versions has made of ch. ii. 7. It was also entertained by Abulfeda (*Hist. Antisl.* p. 26); and, in modern times, by the best scholars generally. The passages which are considered to indicate this disease are found in the description of his skin burning

from head to foot, so that he took a potsherd to scrape himself (ii. 7, 8); in its being covered with putrefaction and crusts of earth, and being at one time stiff and hard, while at another it cracked and discharged fluid (vii. 5); in the offensive breath which drove away the kindness of attendants (xix. 17); in the restless nights, which were either sleepless or scared with frightful dreams (vii. 13, 14; xxx. 17); in general emaciation (xvi. 8); and in so intense a loathing of the burden of life, that strangling and death were preferable to it (vii. 15).

In this picture of Job's sufferings, the state of the skin is not so distinctly described as to enable us to identify the disease with elephantiasis in a rigorous sense. The difficulty is also increased by the fact that שָׁחִין, *shechin*, is generally rendered 'boils.' But that word, according to its radical sense, only means *burning, inflammation*—a hot sense of pain, which, although it attends boils and abscesses, is common to other cutaneous irritations. Moreover, the fact that Job scraped himself with a potsherd is irreconcilable with the notion that his body was covered with boils or open sores, but agrees very well with the thickened state of the skin which characterizes this disease.

In this, as in most other Biblical diseases, there is too little distinct description of symptoms to enable us to determine the precise malady intended. But the general character of the complaint under which Job suffered, bears a greater resemblance to elephantiasis than to any other disease [LEPROSY].—W. A. N.

JOBAB (יֹבָב; Sept. Ἰωβὰβ). 1. One of the sons of Joktan (Gen. x. 29; 1 Chron. i. 23). The site of his tribe has not been ascertained, as no name answering to his is found in the part of Arabia occupied by the descendants of Joktan. Bochart (*Phaleg* ii. 29) compares the Ἰωβὰβῖται whom Ptolemy (vi. 7, p. 154) places on the Sachalitic gulf, and suggests that this should be read Ἰωβὰβῖται. Michaelis (*Spicil.* ii. 303) and Gesenius approve of this, as also of the suggestion that Jobab = *desert*, from *yab* to *howl* as a wild beast; but all this rests on very slight grounds.

2. One of the kings of Edom, son of Zerah of Bozrah, and successor of Bela (Gen. xxvi. 33, 34; 1 Chron. i. 44, 45). The LXX. identify this Jobab with the patriarch Job (Append. to Job xlii.).

3. King of Madon, one of the northern chiefs who joined Jabin in the attempt to oppose Joshua, and were routed by him in the decisive battle of Merom (Josh. xi. 1, ff.).

4. Head of a house in the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chron. viii. 9).—W. L. A.

JOCHEBED (יֹכֶבֶד; Sept. Ἰωχαβήδ), wife of Amram, and mother of Miriam, Moses, and Aaron. In Exod. vi. 20, Jochebed is expressly declared to have been the sister of Amram's father, and consequently the aunt of her husband. As marriage between persons thus related was afterwards forbidden by the law (Lev. xviii. 12), various attempts have been made to show that the relationship was more distant than the text in its literal meaning indicates. We see no necessity for this. The mere mention of the relationship implies that there was something re-

markable in the case; but if we shew that nothing is remarkable, we do away the occasion for the relationship being at all noticed. The fact seems to be, that where this marriage was contracted, there was no law forbidding such alliances, but they must in any case have been unusual, although not forbidden; and this, with the writer's knowledge that they were subsequently interdicted, sufficiently accounts for this one being so pointedly mentioned. The candour of the historian in declaring himself to be sprung from a marriage afterwards forbidden by the law, delivered through himself, deserves especial notice.—J. K.

JOEL (יְהוֹאֵל), *Whose God is Jehovah*, i.e., a worshipper of Jehovah, Gesen.; Sept. Ἰωὴλ). 1. The eldest son of Samuel the prophet (1 Sam. viii. 2; 1 Chron. vi. 33), appointed in the old age of his father, along with his brother Abia, a judge in Beersheba, an office which they dishonoured by their corruption and profligacy, and thereby paved the way for the placing of the government in the hands of a king (1 Sam. viii. 3-5). In 1 Chron. vi. 12 [A. V. 28], Vashni appears as the name of Samuel's eldest son; but this is evidently a mistake, arising from 'Joel' having fallen out of the text, and יְהוֹאֵל,

which means 'and the second,' and applies to Abia, being taken as a proper name. Joel was the father of Heman the singer (1 Chron. vi. 33; xv. 17). Another error occurs in ver. 20 [A. V. 36], where Joel stands for Shaul of ver. 8 [A. V. 24].

2. One of the minor prophets, the son of Pethuel. Beyond this, nothing is known with certainty concerning him. That his sphere of prophetic activity was in Judah, may be gathered, however, from his own book, in which he addresses the priests as in the midst of them (Joel i. 13, 14; ii. 15, 17); speaks of the house of the Lord and of Zion as places in the vicinity of which he was (i. 9; ii. 1, 23); and dwells exclusively on what relates to Judah and Jerusalem without any allusion to Israel. This throws discredit on the statement of Pseudo-Epiphanius (*De Vit. Proph.* c. 14), that he was of the tribe of Reuben, and was buried at Bethhoron. From the frequent reference which he makes to the Temple, its offices, and services, it has been inferred that he was himself a priest; but the manner in which he addresses the priests leads rather to the opposite conclusion, for he invariably addresses them as a body to which he himself did not belong. The close resemblance between parts of his prophecy and parts of that of Amos (comp. Joel iii. 16 with Amos i. 2; Joel iii. 18 with Amos ix. 13; Joel i. 4, ii. 25, with Amos iv. 6-9; Joel iii. 4-6 with Amos i. 6-10) points to the conclusion that they were nearly contemporaries, and as Amos appears to have connected his book with that of Joel by commencing with the words with which Joel introduces his closing utterance, it is probable that Joel was the earlier of the two. This would place the time of his prophesying somewhat earlier than the reign of Azariah king of Judah, during which Amos prophesied. Some, however, contend for an earlier date. Thus Credner, Hitzig, Ewald, Keil, and others, place Joel in the early part of the reign of Joash, before the attack of the Syrians under Hasael, on the ground that had this event preceded his writing, he would have included (iii. 4) the Syrians among the doomed enemies of Judah, as Amos includes them among those of

Israel. But it might as well be argued that because Joel does not include Moab and Ammon in his denunciation, he must have written before the invasion of Judah by them in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx. 1); and, moreover, the doom of Syria was incurred, not by the attack upon Judah, in which the Syrians were God's instruments to punish the Jews for their apostasy (2 Chron. xxiv. 24), but by their oppression of Israel (2 Kings xiii. 22), and especially by the cruelty they practised in Gilead (Amos i. 3); so that it did not fall to Joel as the prophet of Judah to refer to them. As has been justly remarked, 'the religious aspect of the single invasion of Judah by this band of Syrians was very different from the perpetual hostility of the Philistines, or the malicious cupidity of the Phœnicians' (Pusey, *Min. Proph.*, p. 90). [JOEL, BOOK OF.]

3. The head of one of the families of Simeon, and one of those who in the time of Hezekiah made an inroad on the Hamites in Gedor (Gerar?) and took possession of their pasture lands (1 Chron. iv. 35-41).

4. A descendant of Reuben (1 Chron. v. 4). In the following verses his descendants to the seventh generation are named, and as the latest of them synchronises with the Assyrian invasion, Bertheau conjectures (*Die Büch. der Chronik*, p. 54) that Joel must have lived in the time of David.

5. Chief of the Gadites in the land of Bashan (1 Chron. v. 12).

6. Son of Izrahiah, one of the chief men of Issachar (1 Chron. vii. 3).

7. Brother of Nathan, one of David's valiant men (1 Chron. xi. 38). In 2 Sam. xxiii. 36 he is called Igal 'the son of Nathan.' That by a clerical error יְהוֹאֵל should be confounded with יְהוֹנָתָן is easily supposable, but which is the true reading cannot now be determined. It is less easy to account for the one passage making him the son and the other the brother of Nathan. The former is probably the correct statement, as it is not usual to designate men from their brothers.

8-13. Six others bearing the name of Joel are mentioned in the O. T. (1 Chron. xv. 7, 11; xxiii. 8; xxvi. 22; xxvii. 20; xxix. 12; Ezra x. 43; Neh. xi. 9).—W. L. A.

JOEL, BOOK OF. This prophet opens his commission by announcing an extraordinary plague of locusts, accompanied with extreme drought, which he depicts in a strain of animated and sublime poetry under the image of an invading army. The fidelity of his highly-wrought description is corroborated and illustrated by the testimonies of Shaw, Volney, Forbes, and other eminent travellers, who have been eye-witnesses of the ravages committed by this most terrible of the insect tribe. Their accounts tend strongly, we think, to free the literal interpretation from the charge of being 'the greatest exaggeration.' It is also to be observed that locusts are named by Moses as instruments of the Divine justice (Deut. xxviii. 38, 39), and by Solomon in his prayer at the dedication of the Temple (1 Kings viii. 37). In the second chapter, the formidable aspect of the locusts—their rapid progress—their sweeping devastation—the awful murmur of their countless throngs—their instinctive marshalling—the irresistible perseverance with which they make their way over every obstacle and through every aperture—are delineated with

the utmost graphic force. Dr. Hengstenberg calls in question the mention of their flight, but, as it appears to us, without adequate reason. He considers the expression 'before them,' in ch. ii., as equivalent to 'before they rise:' but in the third

verse the same word (לפניהם) occurs twice, evidently in the sense of 'in the presence of,' 'in their front.' The eminent critic just named lays great stress on the alleged omission of this particular, which he considers inexplicable, unless on the supposition that the reality presented nothing corresponding to it. But whether this characteristic be alluded to or not, the argument for or against the literal interpretation will not be materially affected. Other particulars are mentioned which literally can apply only to locusts, and which, on the supposition that the language is allegorical, are explicable only as being accessory traits for filling up the picture (Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 310). The figurative interpretation has, it must be allowed, the support of antiquity. It was adopted by the Chaldee paraphrast, Ephrem the Syrian (A.D. 350), and the Jews in the time of Jerome (A.D. 400). Ephrem supposes that by the four different denominations of the locusts were intended Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, and Nebuchadnezzar. The Jews, in the time of Jerome, understood by the first term the Assyrians and Chaldeans; by the second, the Medes and Persians; by the third, Alexander the Great and his successors; and by the fourth, the Romans. By others, however, the prophecy was interpreted literally; and Jerome himself appears to have fluctuated between the two opinions, though more inclined to the allegorical view. Grotius applies the description to the invasions by Pul and Shalmaneser. Holzhausen attempts to unite both modes of interpretation, and applies the language literally to the locusts, and metaphorically to the Assyrians. It is singular, however, that, if a hostile invasion be intended, not the least hint is given of personal injury sustained by the inhabitants; the immediate effects are confined entirely to the vegetable productions and the cattle. Dr. Hengstenberg, while strongly averse from the literal sense, is not disposed to limit the metaphorical meaning to any one event or class of invaders. 'The enemy,' he remarks, 'are designated only as *north countries*. From the north, however, from Syria, all the principal invasions of Palestine proceeded. We have therefore no reason to think exclusively of any one of them. Nor ought we to limit the prophecy to the people of the old covenant. Throughout all centuries there is but one church of God existing in unbroken connection. That this church, during the first period of its existence, was concentrated in a land into which hostile irruptions were made from the north was purely accidental. To make this circumstance the boundary-stone of the fulfilment of prophecy were just as absurd as if one were to assert that the threatening of Amos, 'by the sword shall all sinners of my people die,' has not been fulfilled in those who perished after another manner' (*Christology*, Keith's transl., iii. 104). [Comp. Pusey, *Minor Proph.*, p. 99, ff.]

The prophet, after describing the approaching judgments, calls on his countrymen to repent, assuring them of the Divine placability and readiness to forgive (ii. 12-17). He foretels the restoration of the land to its former fertility, and

declares that Jehovah would still be their God (ii. 18-26). He then announces the spiritual blessings which would be poured forth in the Messianic age (iii. 1-5, Heb. text; ii. 28-32, A. V.) This remarkable prediction is applied by the Apostle Peter to the events that transpired on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 16-21). In the last chapter (iv. Heb. text; iii. A. V.), the Divine vengeance is denounced against the enemies and oppressors of the chosen people, of whom the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Edomites, are especially named. A minute examination of these predictions would exceed our limits; we must refer the reader for further information to the works named at the close of this article.

The style of Joel, it has been remarked, unites the strength of Micah with the tenderness of Jeremiah. In vividness of description he rivals Nahum, and in sublimity and majesty is scarcely inferior to Isaiah and Habakkuk. 'Imprimis est elegans, clarus, fusus, fluensque; valde etiam sublimis, acer, fervidus' (Lowth, *De Sacra Poesi Hebr.* Præl. xxi.)

The canonicity of this book has never been called in question.—J. E. R.

[*Commentarius*.—Leusden, *Joel Explicatus*, Ultraj. 1657; G. T. Baumgarten, Hal. 1756; Turretine (in *Tract. de SS. interpretat.*, Opp. iii. p. 104, ff., edited separately by Teller); Pococke, Oxf. 1691; Chandler, Lond. 1741; Eckermann, 1786; Justi, 1792; Scanborg, Upsal 1806; Credner, 1831; Ewald, Stuttg. 1840; Meier, Tüb. 1841; Umbreit, Hamb. 1844; Henderson, Lond. 1845; Pusey, Oxf. 1861. Comp. also Hengstenberg, *Christology*, E. T. [Clark], i. p. 285, ff.; Niemeyer, *Characteristik d. Bibel*, v. 295-362; Conn, *De Charact. Poet. Joëlis*, Tüb. 1783.]

JOGBEHAH (יִגְבְּהָהּ), perhaps *i. q.* יִגְבָּהּ, 'lofty,' from יָגַב, 'to be high'; יִגְבָּהּ; Alex. Ζεβέε; *Jegbaa*, a town in the territory given to the tribe of Gad, east of the Jordan. It appears to have been situated high up (as the name implies) on the brow of the mountain ridge which overlooks the Jordan valley east of Jericho, for it is placed between Bethnimrah in the valley, and Jaazer, which stood on the plateau near Heshbon (Num. xxxii. 35). The only other reference to it is in the account of Gideon's victory over the host of Zebah and Zalmunna, which was encamped 'on the east of Nobah and *Jogbeha*' (Judg. viii. 11). The site is unknown.

The Septuagint in Num. xxxii. 35 renders the word יִגְבְּהָהּ, καὶ ἐβύσσα αὐτὸς, as if it were a verb and pronoun, instead of a proper name.—J. L. P.

JOHANAN (יֹחָנָן), *Gift of Jehovah*; the contracted form of *Jehohanan*; Sept. Ἰωάναν and Ἰωάνναν, one of the officers who came and recognised Gedaliah as governor of Judæa after the destruction of Jerusalem, and who appears to have been the chief in authority and influence among them. He penetrated the designs of Ishmael against the governor, whom he endeavoured, without success, to put upon his guard. When Ishmael had accomplished his design by the murder of Gedaliah, and was carrying away the principal persons at the seat of government as captives to the Ammonites, Johanan pursued him, and released them. Being fearful, however, that the Chaldeans might misunderstand the affair, and make him and those who were with him respon-

sible for it, he resolved to withdraw for safety into Egypt, with the principal persons of the remnant left in the land. Jeremiah remonstrated against this decision; but Johanan would not be moved, and even constrained the prophet himself to go with them. They proceeded to Tahpanhes, but nothing further is recorded of Johanan, B.C. 588 (2 Kings xxv. 23; Jer. xl. 8-16; xli.; xlii.; xliii.).—J. K.

Nine other persons of this name are mentioned in the O. T. 1. (Sept. *Ἰωάνης*). The son of Azariah I. and father of Azariah II. (1 Chron. v. 15, 16 [A. V. vi. 9, 10]) [AZARIAH]; 2. The son of Elioenai (1 Chron. iii. 24); 3. The eldest son of Josiah, king of Judah (1 Chron. iii. 15); 4. A Benjamite, one of David's captains, who joined him at Ziklag (1 Chron. xii. 4); 5. Another of David's followers, one of the Gadites, whose faces were like the faces of lions, and whose feet were swift as roes upon the mountains (1 Chron. xii. 12); 6. The father of Azariah, an Ephraimite in the time of Ahaz; in the Heb. the full form of the name *יְהוֹנָתָן* *Jehonatan* (Sept. *Ἰωάνης*) is given (2 Chron. xxviii. 12); 7. The chief of the sons of Azgad, who returned with Ezra (Ezra viii. 12); 8. (*יְהוֹנָתָן*) The son of Eliashib, into whose chamber Ezra retired to mourn the transgression of those who had been seduced to marry strange wives (Ezra x. 6); he was one of the chief of the fathers of the tribe of Levi (Neh. xii. 23); 9. (*יְהוֹנָתָן*) The son of Tobiah the Ammonite, and the husband of the daughter of Meshullam the priest (Neh. vi. 18).—W. L. A.

JOHLSOHN, J. JOSEPH, was born in Fulda, 1777. Being the son of a rabbi, he was instructed from his early youth in the original language of the O. T., in which he afterwards greatly distinguished himself. He left his native place early in life, and went to Frankfort-on-the-Maine, where he was engaged in private tuition; he afterwards went to Kreuznach and became Professor of Hebrew, etc., in a public academy, but was called back, in 1813, by the Grand Duke to the professorial chair of Hebrew and religion in the Jewish academy at Frankfort. Here he at once began his public literary career, and published (1) a valuable work on the *fundamentals of the Jewish religion*, entitled *שְׁרָשְׁרֵי הָהָרָה*, with an appendix describing the manners and customs of the Hebrews, Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1814; second ed. 1819. (2) *A chronological history of the Bible*, in Hebrew, with the moral sayings of the Scriptures, seven Psalms with Kimchi's Commentary, a Hebrew Chrestomathy with notes, and a glossary called *תְּלִיטֵי אֲבוֹת*, Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1820; second ed. 1837. (3) *The Pentateuch translated into German, with annotations*, Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1831. (4) *The Sacred Scriptures of the Jews, translated into German, with annotations*, vol. ii. containing Joshua, Samuel, and Kings, Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1836. (5) *A Hebrew Grammar for schools*, entitled *סִימְנֵי הַלֶּשֶׁן*, forming a second part to the new ed. of the *Chrestomathy*, Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1838. (6) *A Hebrew Lexicon*, giving also the synonyms, with an appendix containing an explanation of the abbreviations used in the Rabbinical writings, entitled *עֵד מִלִּים*, Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1840. (7) *A historical and dogmatic treatise on circumcision*, Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1843. Johlsohn died in Frankfort-on-the-Maine in 1851. Comp. Stein, *Der Israelitische Volkslehrer*, vol. i.,

Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1851, p. 140, ff.; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, vol. ii. p. 99, etc.—C. D. G.

JOHN (*Ἰωάννης*), the same name as Johanan. It occurs in the Apocrypha and the N. T.

1. The father of Mattathias, and grandfather of the Maccabees (1 Maccab. ii. 1); 2. The son of Mattathias, surnamed Caddis (1 Maccab. ii. 2; ix. 36, 38); 3. The father of Eupolemos, one of the envoys sent to Rome by Judas Maccabæus (1 Maccab. viii. 17; 2 Maccab. iv. 11); 4. The son of Simon, surnamed Hyrcanus (1 Maccab. xiii. 53; xvi. 1); 5. An envoy from the Jews to Lysias (2 Maccab. xi. 17); [For details respecting most of the above, see article MACCABEES]; 6. The son of Zecharias [JOHN THE BAPTIST]; 7. The son of Zebedee [JOHN THE APOSTLE]; 8. One of the kindred of the high-priest who, along with Annas, Caiaphas, and Alexander, sat in judgment on Peter and John when summoned to answer for what they had done in curing the lame man and preaching to the people (Acts. iv. 6). This John Lightfoot supposes to be the Johanan ben Zaccai mentioned by Talmudic writers, and who was one of the most famous men of that time (*Hor. Heb.* in loc.); 9. John Mark [MARK].—W. L. A.

JOHN THE APOSTLE. He was the son of Zebedee, a fisherman, and of Salome. It is probable that he was born at Bethsaida, on the lake of Galilee. His parents appear to have been in easy circumstances; at least, we find that Zebedee employed hired servants (Mark i. 20), and that Salome was among the number of those women who contributed to the maintenance of Jesus (Matt. xxvii. 56). We also find that John received Mary into his house after the death of Jesus. Since this house seems to have been situated at Jerusalem (*ἀν' ἐκτὸς τῆς ὥρας*, John xix. 27), it would appear that he was the owner of two houses. John's acquaintance, also, with the high-priest (xviii. 15) seems to indicate that he lived at Jerusalem, and belonged to the wealthier class. We may suppose that from a tender age he nourished religious feelings, since Salome, who evinced so much love for Jesus, probably fostered at an earlier period those hopes of a Messiah which she expresses in Matt. xx. 20; and we find that he entered into communion with the Baptist from pure motives. The occupation, also, of a fisherman was adapted to promote holy meditations, since it would frequently lead him to pass whole nights in stillness upon the water, amid a charming country similar to the environs of the lake of Locarno. On the banks of the Jordan the Baptist directed John to Jesus, and he immediately became the Lord's disciple, and accompanied him on his return to Galilee. Having arrived there, he at first resumed his trade, but was afterwards called to remain permanently with the Redeemer (Luke v. 5-10). Jesus was particularly attached to John (John xiii. 23; xix. 26; xx. 2; xxi. 7), who was one of the three who were distinguished above the other apostles (Matt. xvii. 1; xxvi. 37; Mark v. 37). After the ascension, John abode at Jerusalem, where Paul met him on his third journey, about the year 52 (Gal. ii. 3-9). Since he had undertaken the care of the mother of Jesus, we cannot well suppose that he left Jerusalem before Mary's death; and, indeed, we find that about the year 58, when Paul was at Ephesus, John was not yet living there. If we consider the great importance of Ephesus among the various

churches of Asia Minor, and the dangers arising from false teachers, who were prevalent there as early as the days of Paul (Acts xx. 29), it will appear likely that John was sent to Ephesus after Paul had left that scene, about the year 65. During the time of his activity in Asia Minor, he was exiled by the Roman emperor to Patmos, one of the Sporadic isles in the Ægean Sea, where, according to Revelations i. 9, he wrote the Apocalypse. Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* v. 30), and, following him, Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 18), state that John beheld the visions of the Apocalypse about the close of the reign of Domitian. If this statement can be depended upon, the exile to Patmos also took place under Domitian, who died A. D. 96. Tertullian (*Præscr. adv. Hær.*, c. 30) relates that in the reign of Domitian John was forcibly conveyed to Rome, where he was thrown into a cask of oil; that he was miraculously released, and then brought to Patmos. But since none of the ancient writers besides the rather indiscriminating Tertullian relate this circumstance, and since this mode of capital punishment was unheard of at Rome, we ought not to lay much stress upon it (compare Mosheim, *Dissertationes ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam*, i. p. 497, sq.). It is, however, likely that John was called to suffer for his faith, since Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, writing about A. D. 200, calls him *μάρτυρ* (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* v. 24). According to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 20, 23), he returned from exile during the reign of Nerva. The three epistles of John, as also the affecting account concerning his fidelity as a spiritual pastor, given by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Quis Dives Salvus?* c. 52), testify that he was the pastor of a large diocese. John's second epistle, ver. 12, and third epistle, ver. 14, indicate that he made journeys of pastoral visitation. John died at Ephesus past the age of ninety, in the reign of the Emperor Trajan. According to Jerome, he was a hundred years old, and according to Suidas, a hundred and twenty.

If we endeavour to picture to ourselves an image of John as drawn from his Gospel and his Epistles, aided by a few traits of his life preserved by the fathers,* he appears to have been of a wise, affectionate, and rather feminine character.

It seems that originally this softness of disposition would sometimes blaze up in wrath, as feminine characters in general feel themselves as strongly repelled as attracted. An instance of his wrath we find in Luke ix. 54, sq. We trace also a degree of selfishness in Mark ix. 38; x. 35. Hence it appears that love, humility, and mildness, were in John the works of transforming grace. At a later period his writings indicate not only mildness, but also a strict moral earnestness (1 John i. 6; iii. 9-20; v. 16; 2 John 10, 11).—A. T.

JOHN, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO. 1. *Genuine.*

* Jerome (*Comm. ad Gal.*, iii. p. 314, mart.) relates that when John had attained a great age he was so feeble that he could not walk to the assemblies of the church; he therefore caused himself to be carried in by young men. He was no longer able to say much, but he constantly repeated the words, 'Little children, love one another.' On being asked why he constantly repeated this one saying, he replied, 'Because it is the command of the Lord; and enough is done if this is done.'

ness.—There is no reason to doubt that the fourth gospel was from the beginning received in the church as the production of the apostle whose name it bears. We may decline to accept as a testimony for this the statement at the close of the Gospel itself (xxi. 24), for this can have the force of an independent testimony only on the supposition that the passage was added by another hand; and though there is an evident allusion in 2 Pet. i. 14 to what is recorded in John xxi. 18, 19, yet as that saying of the Lord was one which tradition would be sure to send forth among the brethren (comp. ver. 23), it cannot be inferred from Peter's allusion to it that it was then put on record as we have it in the Gospel. We may also admit that the passages in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers which have been adduced as evidencing, on their part, acquaintance with this Gospel are not decisive; as all of them may owe their accordance with John's statements to the influence of true tradition, or to the necessary resemblance of the just utterance of Christian thought and feeling by different men; though in three of the passages cited from Ignatius (*Ad Rom.* vii.; *Ad Trall.* viii.; and *Ad Philad.* vii.) the coincidence of the two first with John vi. 32, ff., and of the last with John iii. 8, is almost too close to be accounted for in this way* (Ebrard, *Evangel. Joh.*, p. 102; Rothe, *Anfänge der Christl. Kirche*, p. 715). But Eusebius attests that this Gospel was among the books universally received in the church (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 25); and it cannot be doubted that it formed part of the canon of the churches, both of the East and West, before the end of the 2d century [CANON]. It is in the Peshito, and in the Muratori Fragment. It is quoted or referred to by Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 52, 61; ii. 6; c. *Tryph.* 105, etc.; comp. Olshausen, *Echtheit der Kan. Evv.*, p. 304, ff.); by Tatian (*Orat. ad Græcos*, 4, 13, 19), who, indeed, composed a Diatessaron (Euseb., *H. E.*, iv. 29; Theod., *Hard. Fab.*, i. 20), in preparing which he must have had this Gospel before him; in the Epistle of the Church at Vienne and Lyons (Euseb. v. 1); by Melito of Sardes (see Pitra, *Specileg. Solimense*, i., Prolegom. p. 5, Paris 1852); by Athenagoras (*Leg. pro Christ.* 10); by Apollinarius (*Frag. Chron. Pasch.*, p. 14, ed. Dindorf); by Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24); and in the Clementine Homilies (xix. 22, ed. Dressel, 1853), in such a way that not only its existence proved, but evidence is afforded of the esteem in which it was held as canonical from the middle of the 2d century. Still more precise is the testimony of Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, who not only composed a Harmony of the four evangelists (Hieron., *De viris illust.* 25; *Ep.* 151, *ad Algasiam*), but in an extant work (*Ad Autol.* ii. 22) expressly quotes John i. 1 as part of Holy Scripture, and as the production of the apostle, whom he ranks among the *πνευματοφόροι*. More important still is the testimony of Irenæus (*Hær.*

* The other passages usually cited from the Apostolic Fathers are, Barnab. *Ep.* v. vi. xii. (comp. John iii. 14); Herm., *Past.*, Sim. ix. 12 (comp. John x. 7, 9; xiv. 6); Ignat. *Ad Trall.* viii. (comp. John vi. 51); *Ad Magnes.* vii. (comp. John xii. 49; x. 30; xiv. 11). See Lardner, *Works*, vol. ii.

iii. 11. 3, p. 218, ed. Grabe), both because of his acquaintance in early youth with Polycarp, and because of the distinctness and unhesitating confidence with which he asserts the Johannine origin of this Gospel. To these testimonies may be added that of Celsus, the enemy of the Christians, who, in preparing his attack upon them, evidently had the four canonical gospels before him, and of whose citations from them some are undoubtedly from that of John (comp. Olshausen, bk. cited, p. 349, 355; Lücke, *Comment.* i. 68, ff., 3d ed.); which shews that, at the time when he wrote, this Gospel must have been in general acceptance by the Christians as canonical. The heretic Marcion, also, in rejecting this gospel on dogmatical grounds, is a witness to the fact, that its canonical authority was generally held by the Christians (Tertull. *c. Marcion*, iv. 5; *de Carne Christi*). That the Gospel was recognised as canonical by the Valentinians, one of the most important sects of the 2d century, is placed beyond doubt by the statement of Irenæus (*Her.* iii. 11), and by the fact that it is quoted by Ptolemæus, a disciple of Valentinus (Epiphani., *Her.* xxxiii. 3), and was commented on by Heracleon, another of his disciples, both of whom lived about the middle of the 2d century. That Valentinus himself knew and used the book is rendered probable by this, and by the statement of Tertullian (*De Præscr. Her.* 38), that Valentinus accepted the Biblical canon entire, though he perverted its meaning; and this probability is raised to certainty by the fact that, in the recently discovered work of Hippolytus, Valentinus is found twice (*Philosoph.* vi. 33, 34, ed. Miller) citing the phrase ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, as applied to the devil, which occurs only in John's Gospel, and repeatedly there (xii. 31; xiv. 30; xvi. 11); and also quoting the saying, John x. 8, as the word of Christ. From the same source, also (vii. 22, 27, p. 232, 242), we learn that Basilides was acquainted with John's Gospel, and cited it; and this brings us up to the beginning of the 2d century, within a short time of the apostle's death.

This concurrence of external testimony is the more noticeable, as there are certain peculiarities in the fourth gospel which would have thrown suspicion on its genuineness had not that been placed beyond doubt by the knowledge which the Christians had of its having proceeded from the pen of John. Of these are the prominence given to the extra-Galilean ministry of our Lord; the record of remarkable miracles, such as the healing of the impotent man (ch. v.), of the blind man (ch. ix.), the raising from the dead of Lazarus, and others, omitted by the other evangelists; the insertion of so many discourses of Jesus, of which no hint is found in the other gospels, as well as the omission of remarkable facts in the evangelic history, especially the institution of the supper and the agony in the garden; and certain important apparent discrepancies between this and the synoptic gospels. In perfect keeping with this assumption, also, is the entire tone, spirit, and character of the Gospel; it is emphatically, as Clement of Alexandria calls it, the πνευματικὸν εὐαγγέλιον, and breathes throughout the spirit which was characteristic of 'the disciple whom Jesus loved.' The work is evidently the production of one who was, as the writer professes to be (i. 14 [comp. i. John i. i; iv. 14]; xix. 35; xxi. 24), an eye-witness of what he

narrates; and there is a simplicity, a naturalness, and a vividness in the whole narrative which no forger of a later age could have attained—which the very consciousness of composing what was intended to be an imposition, would have precluded. The remarkable manner, also, in which the writer avoids introducing John by name (ch. xiii. 23; xix. 26; xx. 2, 3, 4; xxi. 7, 24), affords additional evidence that John himself was the writer. It has been urged also by some (Bleek, Ebrard, Credner), that the use of the simple Ἰωάννης, without in any case the addition of the usual ὁ Βαπτιστής, to designate the Baptist, in this Gospel, is an evidence of its being the production of John the apostle, on the ground that, 'supposing the apostle not to be the writer, one would expect that he should, like the Synoptists, discriminate the Baptist from the Apostle by this epithet, whereas, supposing the apostle himself to be the writer, he would feel less prompted to do so' (Bleek, *Einleit. in d. N. T.*, p. 148); but to this much weight cannot be attached, for though it is probable that a writer taking his materials from the other evangelists would have designated John as they do, and though, as Meyer suggests (*Krit. Exeg. Comm. über N. T., Ein. ins Ev. des Johannes*, p. 23), it is probable that John, who had been a disciple of the Baptist, might prefer speaking of him by the name by which he had been accustomed to designate him during their personal intercourse, rather than by his historical name; yet as we cannot tell what considerations might have occurred to a forger writing in the apostle's name to induce him to drop the distinctive epithet, it is hardly competent for us to accept this omission as a proof that the work is not the production of a forger. It is needless to press every minute particular into the service of the argument for the genuineness of this Gospel; it is impossible to read it without feeling that it is Johannine in all its parts, and that, had it been the production of any other than the apostle, that other must, in mind, spirit, affection, circumstances, and character, have been a second John.

It is only comparatively recently that any attempt has been made to impugn the genuineness of this gospel. The work of Bretschneider, entitled *Probabilia de Evangelii et Epp. Johannis apost. indole et origine*, Lips. 1820, is the earliest formal attack of any importance made upon it; and this the author has himself assured us, was made by him with a view of anew exciting and extending inquiry into the genuineness of the Johannine writings, an end which, he adds, has been gained, so that the doubts he suggested may be regarded as discharged (*Dogmatik*, i. p. 268, 3d ed. [BRETSCHEIDER]). Since this work appeared, the claims of the Gospel have been opposed by Strauss in his *Leben Jesu*; by Weisse, in his *Evangelische Geschichte*; by Lützelberger (*Die Kirchliche Tradition üb. d. Apost. Joh.*); by Baur (*Krit. Unters. üb. d. Kanonischen Evang.*); by Hilgenfeld (*Das Evang. u. die Briefe Joh. nach ihrem Lehrbegr. dargestellt*), and by others. But the reasons advanced by these writers have so little force, and have been so thoroughly replied to, that even in Germany the general opinion has reverted to the ancient and catholic belief in respect of the authorship of the fourth gospel. The reader who wishes to go into the controversy may consult with advantage the following works in reply to those above noted: Stein, *Authentia Ev. Joh. vindicata*, Bran-

denb. 1822; Crome, *Probabilia haud probabilia. oder Widerlegung der von Dr. Bretschneider gegen d. aechtheit des Ev. u. d. Br. Joh. erhobenen Zweifel*. Leipz. 1824; Hauff, *Die Authentie u. d. hobe werth d. Ev. Joh.*, Nürnberg 1831; and in the *Stud. und Krit.* for 1846, p. 806; Tholuck, *Glaubwürdigkeit der Evang. Gesch.*; Ebrard, *Kritik d. Evangel. Geschichte*, Zür. 1850, 2d ed.; Ewald, *Jahrbuch*, iii. p. 146, v. p. 178; Meyer, *Krit. Exeg. Comm.* ii. Th. 2 Abt., Gött. 1856, 3d ed.; Bleek, *Einh. in d. N. T.*, Berl. 1862; Davidson, *Introduction to the N. T.*, i. p. 233, ff.

2. *Integrity.*—Certain portions of this Gospel have been regarded as interpolations or later additions, even by those who accept the Gospel as a whole as the work of St. John. One of these is the closing part of v. 2, from ἐκδεχόμενον, and the whole of ver. 4, in regard to which the critical authorities fluctuate, and which contain statements that give a legendary aspect to the narrative, such as belongs to no other of the miracles related in the gospels. Both are rejected by Tischendorf but retained by Lachmann; and the same diversity of judgment appears among interpreters, some rejecting both passages (Lücke, Tholuck, Olshausen), others retaining both (Bruckner), others rejecting ver. 4, but retaining ver. 2 (Ewald), while some leave the whole in doubt (De Wette). Another doubtful portion is the section relating to the woman taken in adultery (vii. 53; viii. 11). This is regarded as an interpolation, because of the deficiency of critical evidence in its favour (see Tischendorf or Alford, *in loc.*), and because of reasons founded on the passage itself, viz., the apparently forced way in which it is connected with what precedes by means of vii. 53; the interruption caused by it to the course of the narrative, the words in viii. 12 being evidently in continuation of what precedes this section; the alleged going of Jesus to the Mount of Olives and return to Jerusalem, which would place this occurrence in the last residence of our Lord in Jerusalem (Luke xxi. 37); the absence of the characteristic usage of the οὖν, which John so constantly introduces into his narratives, and for which we have in this section δὲ used as John generally uses οὖν; and the presence of the expressions ὁρθρον, πᾶς ὁ λαός, καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς, οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ φαρισαῖοι, ἐπιμένειν, ἀναμάρτητος, καταλείπεσθαι, and κατακρίνειν, which are foreign to John's style. On the other side it is urged that the section contains, as Calvin says, 'nihil apostolico spiritu indignum,' that it has no appearance of a later legend, but bears every trace of an original account of a very probable fact, and that it has a considerable amount of diplomatic evidence in its favour. The question is one which hardly admits of a decided answer. The preponderance of evidence is undoubtedly against the Johannine origin of the section, and it has consequently been regarded as an interpolation by the great majority of critics and interpreters, including among the latter Calvin, Beza, Tittmann, Tholuck, Olshausen, Lücke, and Luthardt, as well as Grotius, De Wette, Paulus, and Ewald. At the same time, if it did not form part of the original Gospel, it is difficult to account for its being at so early a period inserted in it. From a passage in Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 39) some have concluded that Papias inserted it from the Gospel according to the Hebrews; but it is not certain that it is to this section that the words of Eusebius

refer. nor is it certain that he meant to say that Papias inserted the story he refers to in the Gospel. More important than either of these portions is chap. xxi., which is by many regarded as the addition of a later hand after the apostle's death. This opinion rests wholly on internal grounds, for there is no evidence that the Gospel was ever known in the church without this chapter. At first sight it certainly appears as if the original work ended with ch. xx., and that ch. xxi. was a later addition; but whether by the apostle himself or by some other is open to question. The absence of any trace of the Gospel having ever existed without it must be allowed to afford strong *prima facie* evidence of its having been added by the author himself; still this is not conclusive, for the addition may have been made by one of his friends or disciples before the work was in circulation. Grotius, who thinks it was made by the elders at Ephesus, argues against its genuineness, especially from ver. 24; but though the language there has certainly the appearance of being rather that of others than that of the party himself to whom: it refers, still it is not impossible that John may have referred to himself in the third person, as he does for instance in xix. 35, and as for the use of the pl. οὐbauer, that may be accounted for by his tacitly joining his readers with himself, just as he assumes their presence in xix. 35. There is more difficulty in accepting ver. 25 as genuine, for such a hyperbolic mode of expression does not seem to comport with the simplicity and sincerity of John; but there seems no valid reason for calling into doubt any other part of the chapter.

3. *Design.*—At the close of the Gospel the apostle has himself stated his design in writing it thus: 'These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name' (xx. 31). Taken in the general this may be said to be the design of all the evangelical narratives, for all of them are intended to produce the conviction that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah promised to the Fathers, and so to exhibit Him in his saving power, that men believing on Him might enjoy that life which He had come to bestow. We must seek, therefore, John's specific design either in some special occasion which he sought to meet, or in some peculiarity in his mode of presenting the claims of Jesus, by which not merely his Messiahship should be evinced, but the higher aspect of his Person, and the spiritual effects of his working, should be prominently exhibited. Probably both of these concurred in the apostle's design; and we shall best conceive his purpose by neither, on the one hand, ascribing to him a merely historical, nor on the other a purely dogmatical design. It is an old and still prevalent opinion that John wrote his Gospel to supply the omissions of the other three; but no such impression is conveyed by the Gospel itself, which is as far as possible from having the appearance of a mere series of supplemental notes to previously existing writings; indeed, if this had been the apostle's purpose, it cannot be said that he has in any adequate way fulfilled it. Nor is there any ground for believing that it was a polemical object which chiefly prompted him to write this Gospel, though such has often been suggested. Thus Irenaeus (*Hæc.* iii. 11. 1) says that the Gospel was written against the errors of Cerinthus. Jerome

(*De vir. ill.* 9) adds the Ebionites; and later writers have maintained that the Gnostics or the Doketae are the parties against whom the polemic of the apostle is here directed. All this, however, is mere supposition, for which there is no real basis. Doubtless in what John has written there is that which furnishes a full refutation of all Ebionite, Gnostic, and Doketic heresy; but that to confute these was the *design* of the apostle, as these writers affirm, cannot be proved. [GNOSTIC.] At the same time, though he may have had no intention of formally confuting any existing heresy, it is more than probable that he was stimulated to seek by means of this record to counteract certain tendencies which he saw rising in the church, and by which the followers of Christ might be seduced from that simple faith in Him by which alone the true Life could be enjoyed. Still this must be regarded, at the utmost, as furnishing only the occasion, not the design, of his writing. The latter is to be sought in the effect which this Gospel is fitted to produce on the mind of the reader in regard to the claims of Jesus as the Divine Redeemer, the source of light and life to darkened and perishing humanity. With this view St. John presents Him to us as He tabernacled among men, and especially as He taught when occasion called forth the deeper revelations which He, as the word who had come forth from the invisible God to reveal unto men the Father, had to communicate. John's main design is a theological one; a consciousness of which doubtless led to his receiving in the primitive church the title *καρ' ἐξόχην* of *Θεόλογος*. But the historical character of his writing must also be acknowledged. As one who had been privileged to 'company' with Jesus, he seeks to present Him to us as He really appeared among men, in very deed a partaker of their nature, yet, under that nature, veiling a higher, which ever and anon broke forth into manifestation, so that those around Him 'beheld his glory as the glory of the Only Begotten of the Father' (i. 14). 'There is here no history of Jesus and his teaching after the manner of the other evangelists; but there is, in historical form, a representation of the Christian faith, in relation to the Person of Christ, as its central point, and in this representation there is a picture, on the one hand, of the antagonism of the world to the truth revealed in Him, and on the other of the spiritual blessedness of the few who yield themselves to Him as the Light of Life' (Reuss, *Gesch. der Heil. Sch. d. N. T.*, p. 204).

4. *Contents.*—The Gospel begins with a prologue, in which the author presents the great theme of which his subsequent narrative is to furnish the detailed illustration—the theological programme of his history,' as one has called it, and which another has compared to the overture of a musical composition in which the leading idea of the piece is expressed (i. 1-5). The historical exposition begins with ver. 6, and the rest of the book may be divided into two parts. Of these the former (i. 6-xii.) contains the account of our Lord's public ministry from his introduction to it by John the Baptist and his solemn consecration to it by God, to its close in the Passion week. In this portion we have the Saviour presented to us chiefly in his manifestation to the world as a teacher sent from God, whose mission is authenticated by signs and wonders, and whose doctrines, truly divine, transcend in their spiritual import the narrow limits of

human speculation, and can be comprehended only by a spiritual discernment. The second portion (xiii.-xxi.) may be divided into two parts, the one of which is introductory to the other. The former (xiii.-xvii.) presents to us our Lord in the retirement of private life, in his intercourse with his immediate followers, to whom he pours out his soul in loving counsel, warning, and promise, in the prospect of his departure from them; and in communion with his heavenly Father, with whom, as one who had finished the work he had received to do, He intercedes for those whose redemption from sin and evil is the coveted recompense of his obedience. To this succeeds the account of the Passion, and the appearances of Christ to his disciples after his resurrection (xviii.-xxi.), which forms the other part of the second portion of the book.

The greater part of the book is occupied with the discourses of our Lord; the plan of the evangelist being obviously to bring the reader as much as possible into personal contact with Jesus, and to make the latter his own expositor. Regarding the discourses thus reported, the question has arisen, How far are they to be accepted as an exact report of what Jesus uttered? and in reply to this three opinions have been advanced:—1. That both in substance and in form we have them as they came from the lips of Christ; 2. That in substance they present what Christ uttered, but that the form in which they appear is due to the evangelist; and 3. That they are not the discourses of Christ in any proper sense, but only speeches put in his mouth by the evangelist to express what the latter conceived to be a just representation of his doctrine. Of these views the last has found adherents only among a few of the sceptical school; it is without the slightest authority from the book itself, is irreconcilable with the simplicity and earnestness of the writer, is foreign to the habits and notions of the class to which the evangelist belongs, and is contradicted by the frequent explanations which he introduces of the sense in which he understood what he reports (comp. ii. 19, 21; vii. 38, 39; xii. 32, 33, etc.) by the brief notices, which evince an actual reminiscence of the scenes and circumstances amid which the discourse was delivered (*ex. gr.*, xiv. 31), and by the prophetic announcements of his impending sufferings and death ascribed to the Saviour, and which are couched in language such as he might naturally use, such as accounts for those to whom he spoke, even his disciples, not understanding his meaning, but such as it is utterly incredible that one not desirous of reporting his very words should, writing after the fulfilment of these predictions impute to Him (comp. vii. 33-36; viii. 21, 22; x. 17-20; xii. 23-36; xiv. 1-4, 18, 28; xvi. 16, 19, etc.) Some of these considerations are of weight also as against the second of the opinions above stated; for if John sought merely to give the substance of the Saviour's teaching in his own words, why clothe predictions, the meaning of which at the time of his writing he perfectly understood, in obscure and difficult phraseology? Why especially impute to the speaker language of which he feels it necessary to give an explanation, instead of at once putting the intelligible statement in his discourse? Undoubtedly the impression which one gets from the narrative is that John means the discourses he ascribes to Jesus to be received as faithful reports of what He actually uttered; and this is confirmed when one compares

his report of John the Baptist's sayings with those of our Lord, the character of the one being totally different from that of the other. To this view it has been objected that there is such an identity of style in the discourses which John ascribes to Christ with his own style, both in this Gospel and in his Epistles, as betrays in the former the hand, not of a faithful reporter, but of one who gives in the manner natural to himself the substance of what his Master taught. In this there is some force; but it seems fully met by the suggestion that John was so imbued with the very mind and soul of Christ, so informed by his doctrine, and so filled by his spirit, that his own manner of thought and utterance became the same as that of Christ, and he insensibly wrote and spoke in the style of his Lord. Reuss objects to this, that on this supposition the style of Jesus 'must have been a very uniform and sharply defined one, and such as excludes the very different style ascribed to Him by the Synoptists' (*Gesch. der H. S. des N. T.*, p. 203). But the facts here are overstated; the style of our Lord's discourses in John is by no means perfectly uniform; nor is it further removed from that ascribed to Him by the Synoptists, than the difference of subject and circumstance will suffice to account for. As for the objection that it is inconceivable that the evangelist could have retained for so many years a faithful recollection of discourses heard by him only once, we need not, in order to meet it, resort to the foolish suggestion of Bertholdt, that he had taken notes of them at the time for his own behoof; nor need we to lay stress on the assurance of Christ which John records, that the Holy Ghost whom the Father should send to them would teach them all things, and bring all things to their remembrance whatsoever he had said unto them (John xiv. 26), though to the believer this is a fact of the utmost importance: it will suffice to meet the objection if we suggest that, as the apostle went forth to the world as a witness for Christ, he did not wait till he sat down to write his Gospel to give forth his recollections of his Master's words and deeds; what he narrates here in writing is only what he must have been repeating constantly during his whole apostolic career.

5. *Characteristics.*—There is something peculiar in the Evangelist's manner of writing. His language betrays traces of that Hebraistic character which belongs generally to the N. T. writers, and the author shews his Jewish descent by various incidental indications. But he writes purer Greek than most of the others, and his freedom from Judaic narrowness is so marked that some have founded on this an argument against the genuineness of the book, forgetting that the experiences of the apostle in his more advanced years would materially tend to correct the prejudices and party leanings of his earlier career. The apostle's style is marked by ease, simplicity, and vividness; his sentences are linked together rather by inner affinity in the thoughts than by outward forms of composition or dialectic concatenation; they move on one after the other, generally with the help of an *οὐν*, sometimes of a *καί*, and occasionally of a *δέ*; and favourite terms or phrases are repeated without regard to rhetorical art. The author wrote evidently for Hellenist readers; but he makes no attempt at Greek elegance or that wisdom of words which with many in his day constituted the perfection of Greek art.

6. *Time and place of writing.*—Ecclesiastical tradition is constant and uniform in affirming that this Gospel was written in the later part of the apostle's life, and at Ephesus; and with this the internal evidence fully accords. The Gospel bears traces of having been written at a distance from Palestine, and by one who had been a considerable time out of it; and as John probably did not take up his residence at Ephesus till the destruction of Jerusalem, if we accept the tradition which makes Ephesus the place of his writing, we cannot fix the time earlier than in the last decade of the 1st century. A later tradition makes Patmos the place where the Gospel was written, but to this no regard is due. The date and place assigned by the earlier tradition fall in with the fact above noticed as characteristic of this Gospel, viz., the purer Greek in which it is written and the freedom from Jewish narrowness which the author exhibits.

7. *Commentaries.*—Of patristic commentaries the most valuable are the *Exposition* of Augustine and the *Homilies* of Chrysostom; and next to these the compilations of Theophylact and Euthymius Zigabenus. Among the reformers those of Calvin and Beza are chiefly deserving of notice. That of the Roman Catholic Maldonatus is distinguished by originality, accuracy, and penetration. The most copious is that of Lampe, 1637, 3 vols. 4to, which in respect of learning leaves little to be desiderated. More recent works are those of Semler, 1771; Mosheim, 1777; Morus, 2d ed. 1808; Tittmann, 1816, translated in the *Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet*; Lücke, 1820, 3d ed. 1840; Tholuck, 1827, 6th ed. 1844, translated by Krauth; Klee, 1829; Matthæi, 1837; Baumgarten-Crusius, 1843; Luthardt, 1853; Ewald, 1862; Hengstenberg, 1863; and the commentaries in the more general works of Grotius, Whitby, De Wette, Olshausen, Lange, Alford, Bloomfield, and Wordsworth. Much may be gained also for the due understanding of John's writings from Schmid, *De theologia Joan. Apost.*, Jen. 1800; Frommann, *Der Johan. Lehrbegriff*, Leipz. 1839; Koestlin, *Der Lehrb. der Evang. und der Br. Joh.*, Berl. 1843; Neander, *Apost. Zeit.*, Th. ii., E. T. ii.; Reuss, *Histoire de la Theol. Chrit.*, ii. 273-466.—W. L. A.

JOHN, FIRST EPISTLE OF. 1. *Genuineness.*—That this is the production of the same author as wrote the fourth gospel, is so manifest, that it has been universally admitted (comp. Hauff, *Die Authentie u. der hohe werth des Evang. Johan.*, p. 137, ff.). The establishment of the genuineness of the one, therefore, involves the admission of that of the other. The evidence, however, in favour of the epistle is sufficient to establish its claims, apart from its relation to the Gospel. Eusebius informs us that Papias knew and made use of it (*H. E.* iii. 39); Polycarp quotes a passage (iv. 3) from it in his Epistle to the Philippians, ch. vii.; Irenæus uses it (comp. *Adv. Har.* iii. 15; v. 8, with 1 John ii. 18; iv. 1, 3; v. 1); it is quoted or referred to by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 389) and Tertullian (*Scorpiac.* c. 22; *Adv. Prax.* c. 15); and Eusebius assures us that it was universally and always acknowledged in the church (*H. E.* iii. 25-26). It is found in the Peshito and in all the ancient versions; and is included in every catalogue of the canonical books which has come down to us (Lardner, *Works*, vol.

vi. p. 584). With this the internal evidence fully accords. The work is anonymous, but the Apostle John is plainly indicated throughout as the writer. The author asserts himself to have been an immediate disciple of Jesus, who testifies that he himself had seen and heard (i. 1-4; iv. 14); and this assumption is sustained throughout in a way so natural and unaffected, that it would be doing violence to all probability to suppose that it could have been attained by one who felt that he was practising in this a deliberate imposition. The circumstances also of the writer to which he alludes, the themes on which he chiefly dwells, and the spirit his writing breathes, are all such as fall in with what we know of the Apostle John, and suggest him as the writer. If this be the work of a pretender, he has, as De Wette remarks (*Exeget. Hdb.*), 'shewn incredible subtlety in concealing the name of the Apostle, whilst he has indirectly, and in the most simple natural way, indicated him as the writer.'

2. *Integrity.*—The genuineness of only two small portions of this writing have been called in question, viz., the words *ὁ ὁμολογῶν τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἔχει* (ii. 23); and the words *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὁ Πατὴρ, ὁ Λόγος καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα: καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ* (v. 7, 8). The former of these is omitted in the Text. Rec., and is printed in italics in the A. V. It is, however, supported by sufficient authority, and is inserted by Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Scholz, etc. The latter of these passages has given rise to a world-famous controversy, which can hardly be said to have yet ended (Orme, *Memoir of the Controversy respecting the Heavenly Witnesses*, Lond. 1830). The prevailing judgment, however, of all critics and interpreters is, that the passage is spurious (see Griesbach, *Append. ad N. T.*, ii. 1-25; Tischendorf on the passage; Lucke, *Comment. on the Ep. of John in Biblical Cabinet*, No. xv. etc.)

3. *For whom written.*—The writer evidently had in his eye a circle of readers with whom he stood in close personal relation, Christians apparently who were living in the midst of idolaters (v. 21), and who were exposed to danger from false speculation and wrong methods of presenting the truths of Christianity (ii. 22-26; iv. 1-3; v. 1-6, etc.) If the epistle was written by John at Ephesus, we may, from these circumstances, with much probability conclude that the Christians in that region were the parties for whose behoof it was first designed. Augustine (*Quest. Evangel.* ii. 39) says it was addressed 'ad Parthos,' and this inscription appears in several MSS. of the Vulg., and has been defended by Grotius, Paulus, and others, as giving the real destination of the epistle. John, however, had no relations with the Parthians that we know of; nor does a single ancient testimony confirm the statement of Augustine, except on the part of later writers of the Latin Church, who probably simply followed him. It has been suggested that, as the second epistle is by some of the ancients described as *πρὸς παρθένους* (Clem. Alex., *Frags.*, ed. Potter, p. 1011), this may have been changed into *πρὸς Ἰδάρθους*, and by mistake applied to the first epistle (Whiston, *Comment. on the Cath. Ep.*; Hug, *Introd.*, p. 464, Fosdick's transl.) This is possible, but not very probable. The suggestion of Wegscheider, that 'Ad Parthos' is an error for 'Ad Sparsos,' an inscription which actually is

found in several MSS. (Scholz, *Bibl. Krit. Reise*, p. 67), is ingenious, and may be correct.

4. *Characteristics.*—Though ranked among the Catholic epistles, this writing has nothing of the character of an epistle; it more resembles a free homily. The general strain is admonitory, and the author seems to have written as he would have spoken had those whom he addresses been present before him. There does not seem to be any exact plan in the book; one great thought pervades it, the reality of Christ's appearance in the flesh, and the all-sufficiency of his doctrine for salvation, a salvation which manifests itself in holiness and love; but the author does not discuss these topics in any systematic or logical form; he rather allows his thoughts to flow out in succession as one suggests another, and clothes them in simple and earnest words as they arise in his mind. Some have imputed a character of senility to the work on this account, but without reason. Under a simple and inartificial exterior there lies deep thought; and the book is pervaded by a suppressed intensity of feeling that recalls the youthful Boanerges in the aged apostle. The mighty power that is in it has drawn to it in all ages the reverence and love of the noblest minds, 'especially of those who more particularly take up Christianity as a religion of love, a religion of the heart' (Lucke, *Int.*, p. 55).

5. *Relation to the Fourth Gospel.*—The close affinity between this epistle and John's gospel has been already alluded to; in style, in prevailing formulæ of expression, in spirit, and in thought, the two are identical. This has led to the suggestion that both, in a sense, form one whole, the epistle being according to some a prolegomenon to the Gospel, according to others, its practical conclusion, and according to others its commendatory accompaniment. The probability is that both were written at the same period of the author's life, and that they both contain in writing what he had been accustomed to testify and teach during his apostolic ministry. But whether any closer relation than this exists between them must remain matter entirely of conjecture.

6. *Design.*—That the apostle sought to confirm the believers for whom he wrote in their attachment to Christianity, as it had been delivered to them by the ambassadors of Christ, is evident on the surface of the epistle. It is clear also that he had in view certain false teachers by whose arts the Christians were in danger of being seduced from the faith of Jesus as the incarnate Son of God, and from that holy and loving course of conduct to which true faith in Jesus leads. But who these false teachers were, or to what school they belonged, is doubtful. It is an old opinion that they were Doketae (Tertullian, *De carne Christi*, i. 24; Dionys. Al. ap. Euseb., *H. E.* vii. 25); and to this many recent inquirers have given in their adherence. Lucke, who strenuously defends this view, attempts to shew that Doketism was in vogue as early as the time of John by an appeal to the case of Cerenthus, and to the references to Doketism in three of the epistles of Ignatius (*Ad Smyrn.* 2, ff.; *Ad Trall.* ix.; *Ad Eph.* vii.) But the doctrine of Cerinthus respecting the person of Jesus Christ was not Doketic in the proper sense; and the passages cited from Ignatius are all subject to the suspicion of being interpolations, as none of them are found in the Syriac recension. Lucke lays stress also on

the words *ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληύθοντα* (iv. 2; comp. 2 John vii.) as indicating an express antithesis to the doctrine of the Doketicks that Christ had come only in appearance. It may be doubted, however, whether this means anything more than that Christ had *really* come, the phrase *ἐν σαρκὶ ἐλθεῖν* being probably a familiar technicality for this among the Christians. It may be questioned also whether the passage should not be translated thus: 'Every spirit which confesseth Jesus Christ having [who has] come in the flesh is of God,' rather than thus, 'Every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come,' etc. (for *ὁμολογεῖν* with the accusative see John ix. 22; Acts xxiii. 8; Rom. x. 9; 1 Tim. vi. 12); and in this case even the appearance of allusion to a contrary doctrine vanishes (see Bleek, *Eintleit.* p. 593). It may be added that had John intended to express a direct antithesis to Doketism he would hardly have contented himself with merely using the words *ἐν σαρκὶ*, for there is a sense in which even the Doketæ would have admitted this. Besides the Doketæ, other heretical parties have been suggested, viz., the Judaisers, the Johannites, or disciples of the Baptist, the Gnostics as such, and even the Montanists. All this, however, is mere conjecture. Perhaps we shall best enter into the force of the Apostle's admonitions if we view them without relation to any known school of formal heresy.

Commentaries.—Augustine, *Tract x. in Joannis Ep. ad Parthos*; Bullinger, 1532; Semler, 1792; Ballenstädt, 1802; Rickli, 1828. For commentaries on all the three Epistles of John, see end of next article.—W. L. A.

JOHN, SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF. Whilst the internal evidence arising from similarity of style and tone of thought between these epistles and the First Epistle of John strongly supports the conclusion that all are from the same pen, the external evidence for their genuineness is less copious and decisive than that for the first epistle. They are not in the Peshito version, which shews that at the time it was executed they were not recognised by the Syrian churches; and Eusebius places them among the *ἀντιλεγόμενα* (*H. E.* iii. 25). The 11th ver. of the Second Epistle, however, is quoted by Irenæus (*Hæc.* i. 16. 3) as a saying of John the disciple of the Lord, meaning thereby, without doubt, the apostle. Clement of Alexandria, in referring to John's first epistle, uses the words *Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ μεΐζονι ἐπιστολῇ*, which shews that he was acquainted with at least two epistles of John; there is extant in a Latin translation a commentary by him on the second epistle; and as Eusebius and Photius both attest that he wrote commentaries on all the *seven* catholic epistles, it would appear that he must have known and acknowledged the third also. Origen speaks of the Apostle John having left a second and third epistle, which, however, he adds, all did not accept as genuine (*In Joan.* ap. Euseb. vi. 25). Dionysius of Alexandria (*Ibid.* vii. 25) recognises them as productions of the same John who wrote the Gospel and the first epistle; and so do all the later Alexandrian writers. Eusebius himself refers to them in his *Dem. Evang.* iii. 5 without hesitation, as John's; and in the Synod held at Carthage (A.D. 256), Aurelius, Bishop of Chullabi, confirmed his vote by citing 2 John 10, fl., as the language of St. John. In the Muratori Fragment, which, however, in the

part relating to the epistles of John is somewhat confused or apparently vitiated, there are at least two epistles of John recognised, for the author uses the plural in mentioning John's epistles. In all the later catalogues, with the exception of the Jambics ad Seleucum, they are inserted with the other canonical books of the N. T. There is thus a solid body of evidence in favour of the genuineness of these epistles; that they were not universally known and received is probably to be accounted for by their character as private letters to individuals, which would naturally be longer of coming under general recognition than such as were addressed to churches or the Christians of a district.

The only antagonist testimony which has reached us from antiquity is that of Jerome, who says (*De vir. illust.* ix. 18) that both epistles were commonly reputed to be the production not of John the Apostle, but of John the Presbyter; confirmed by the statement of Eusebius (iii. 25) that it was doubtful whether they were the production of the evangelist or of another John. On this it may be observed—1. That the statement of Jerome is certainly not true in its full extent, for there is evidence enough that both in his own time and before, as well as after it, the general belief both in the Latin and the Greek Churches was that they were written by John the Apostle; 2. Both Jerome and Eusebius concur in attesting that *all* ascribed these epistles either to John the Apostle or John the Presbyter as their author; which may be accepted as convincing evidence that they are not forgeries of an age later than that of the apostle; 3. The question being between John the Apostle and John the Presbyter, we may, without laying stress on the fact that the existence of the latter is, to say the least, involved in doubt [JOHN THE PRESBYTER], call attention to the consideration that, whilst the use of the expression *ὁ πρεσβύτερος* by the writer of the second epistle may have given rise to the report which Jerome and Eusebius attest, there lies in this a strong evidence that the writer was John the Apostle, and not John the Presbyter; for it is quite credible that the former, writing in his old age, should employ the term *πρεσβύτερος* to express this fact just as Paul does (*Philem.* 9), and as Peter does (1 *Ep.* v. 1), whereas it is incredible that the latter, with whom presbyter was a title of office, should, in writing a letter to an individual, designate himself thus, inasmuch as, the office being common to him with many others, the title, in the absence of his name, was no designation at all; to say nothing of the fact that there is no evidence that the members of the *πρεσβυτήριον* in the primitive churches ever received *πρεσβύτερος* as a title, any more than the members of the church, though collectively *οἱ ἄγιοι* and *οἱ ἀδελφοί*, received individually *ἄγιος* or *ἀδελφος* as a title. On these grounds there seems no reason for attaching any importance to the opinion or tradition reported by Jerome; though it has been adopted by Erasmus, Grotius, Credner, Jachmann (*Comm. ub. d. Kathol. Br.*), and more recently by Ebrard (*Olshausen's Comment.* vi. 4, E. T. vol. x., and in Herzog's *Encyc.* vi. 736).

The second epistle is addressed to one whom the writer calls *ἐκλεκτὴ κυρία*. This has been differently understood. By some it has been regarded as designating the Church collectively; by others as designating a particular congregation; and by others as denoting an individual. The two former

opinions are rendered improbable, partly by the reference in ver. 11 to the *children*, and in ver. 13 to the *sister* of the party addressed, partly by the want of any authority for such a usage of the term *κυρία* as would thus be imputed to the apostle. Of those who understand this of an individual, some take both terms appellatively (as in the A. V., 'elect lady'); some take the former as a proper name and the latter as appellative, 'the lady Eclecta;' and some reverse this, and make the latter the proper name and the former an adjective, 'the elect Kyria.' On the whole this last seems the preferable explanation. Kyria occurs elsewhere as a proper name; and that *ἐλεκτή* is to be taken in its usual signification is rendered probable by its being applied in ver. 13 to the sister of the party addressed.

The epistle is an affectionate address to an esteemed Christian friend, whom the apostle congratulates on the piety of her children, exhorts to continue in love to the brethren, and warns to shun erroneous teachers, especially such as denied that Jesus had come in the flesh. At the time of writing this epistle the apostle was with the sister of Kyria, but expresses a hope ere long to see the latter, and converse with her on matters of which he could not then write. From this we may infer either that the apostle was at the time on a journey from which he expected ere long to return, or that Kyria resided not very far from his usual residence, and that he intended soon to pay her a visit. Adopting the latter hypothesis as the more probable, and viewing it in connection with the apostle's styling himself *πρεσβύτερος*, we may infer that the epistle was written from Ephesus in the later part of the apostle's life.

The *third* epistle is addressed to Gaius, a Christian brother noted for his hospitality to the saints. Whether this be one of those mentioned elsewhere in the N. T. by this name is uncertain; he *may* have been the Gaius mentioned Acts xix. 28 [GAIUS]. The apostle having heard of his kind attentions to those Christians who travelled on the service of the gospel, writes to commend him for this; and at the same time animadverts on the misconduct of one Diotrophes, who had usurped undue power in the church to which Gaius belonged, and was exercising it in a way opposed to the mind of the apostle, and in opposition to his authority. He mentions especially an epistle which he himself had written to the church, but which Diotrophes apparently had rendered fruitless by his unhallowed influence. This epistle is lost, for it cannot have been either the first or second of those extant. The apostle intimates the probability of his soon personally visiting the church, when he would deal with Diotrophes for his misconduct, and would communicate to Gaius many things of which he could not then write. In the meantime he exhorts him to follow that which is good; commends one Demetrius, of whom we know nothing further; and concludes with benediction and salutation. The epistle was probably written about the same time as the second, and at Ephesus.

Commentaries on John's epistles:—Whiston, Morus, 1786; Oertel, 1795; Hawkins, 1808; Paulus, 1829; Sander, 1851; Lücke (translated in No. 15 of the *Edinburgh Bib. Cabinet*); Dusterdieck, 1852; Huther, 1855. On the second epistle, Rambonnet, Traj. 1818. On the third, Heumaun in *Nov. Syll.* i. 276.—W. L. A.

JOHN THE BAPTIST (Gr. *Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστής*, or simply *Ἰωάννης*, when the reference is clear, as in Matt. iii. 4; iv. 12). This eminent individual commonly bears the honourable title of 'forerunner of the Lord'—*antecursor et præparator viarum Domini* (Tertull. *adv. Marc.* iv. 33); in Greek, *πρόδρομος, προάγγελος Κυρίου*. The accounts of him which the gospels present are fragmentary and imperfect: they involve too, some difficulties which the learned have found it hard to remove; yet enough is given to show that he was a man of a lofty character, and that the relation in which he stood to Christianity was one of great importance.

His parents were Zacharias and Elisabeth, the latter 'a cousin of Mary,' the mother of Jesus, whose senior John was by a period of six months (Luke i.). The exact spot where John was born is not determined. The rabbins fix on Hebron, in the hill-country of Judæa; Paulus, Kuinoel, and Meyer, after Reland, are in favour of Jutta, 'a city of Judah.' According to the account contained in the first chapter of Luke, his father, while engaged in burning incense, was visited by the angel Gabriel, who informed him that in compliance with his prayers his wife should bear a son, whose name he should call John—in allusion to the grace thus accorded. A description of the manner of his son's life is given, which in effect states that he was to be a Nazarite, abstaining from bodily indulgences, was to receive special favour and aid of God, was to prove a great religious and social reformer, and so prepare the way for the long-expected Messiah. Zacharias is slow to believe these tidings, and seeks some token in evidence of their truth. Accordingly a sign is given which acts also as a punishment of his want of faith—his tongue is sealed till the prediction is fulfilled by the event. Six months after Elisabeth had conceived she received a visit from Mary, the future mother of Jesus. On being saluted by her relation, Elisabeth felt her babe leap in her womb, and, being filled with the Holy Spirit, she broke forth into a poetic congratulation to Mary, as the destined mother of her Lord. At length Elisabeth brought forth a son, whom the relatives were disposed to name Zacharias, after his father—but Elisabeth was in some way led to wish that he should be called John. The matter was referred to the father, who signified in writing that his name was to be John. This agreement with Elisabeth caused all to marvel. Zacharias now had his tongue loosed, and he first employed his restored power in praising God. These singular events caused universal surprise, and led people to expect that the child would prove a distinguished man.

The parents of John were not only of a priestly order, but righteous and devout. Their influence, in consequence, in the training of their son, would be not only benign but suitable to the holy office which he was designed to fill. More than this—the special aids of God's Spirit were with him (Luke i. 66). How thoroughly Zacharias was penetrated with his parental responsibility and the future dignity of his son, appears from the 'divine song' to which he gives utterance; the following words deserve notice:—'And thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Highest; for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways; to give knowledge of salvation unto his people by the remission of their sins, through the tender mercy

of our God, whereby the day-spring from on high hath visited us, to give light to them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death, to guide our feet in the way of peace.' As a consequence of the lofty influences under which he was nurtured, the child waxed strong in spirit. The sacred writer adds that 'he was in the deserts till the day of his showing unto Israel' (Luke i. 80). The apocryphal *Protev. Jac.*, ch. xxii., states that his mother, in order to rescue her son from the murder of the children at Bethlehem, which Herod commanded, fled with him into the desert. She found no place of refuge; the mountain opened at her request, and gave the needed shelter in its bosom. Zacharias, being questioned by Herod as to where his son was to be found, and refusing to answer, was slain by the tyrant. At a later period Elisabeth died, when angels took the youth under their care (Fabricius, *Cod. Apocryph.*, p. 117, *seq.*; comp. Kuhn, *Leben Jesu*, i. 163, remark 4).

In the fifteenth year of the Emperor Tiberius, John made his public appearance, exhibiting the austerity, the costume, and the manner of life of the ancient Jewish prophets (Luke iii.; Matt. iii.) His raiment was camel's hair; he wore a plain leathern girdle about his loins; his food was that the desert spontaneously offered—locusts and wild honey from the rock. Desert though the place is designated, the country where he began his mission—the wild mountainous tract of Judæa—lying between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea, along which it stretches, was not entirely destitute of means for supporting human existence (Matt. iii. 1-12; Mark i. 1-8; Luke iii. 1-20; John i. 28; Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryph.*, c. 88). Josephus, in his *Life* (ii. 2), gives an account of one of his instructors, Banus, which throws light on John's condition in the desert:—'he lived in the desert, and had no other food than what grew of its own accord, and bathed himself in cold water frequently, both by night and by day. I imitated him in these things, and continued with him three years.'

The burden of John's preaching bore no slight resemblance to the old prophetic exhortations, whose last echo had now died away for centuries. He called upon the Jewish people to repent (*μετανοεῖν*), to change their minds, their dispositions, and affections, and thus prepared the way for the great doctrine promulgated by his Lord, of the necessity of a spiritual regeneration. That the change which John had in view was by no means of so great or so elevated a kind as that which Jesus required, is very probable; but the particulars into which he enters when he proceeds to address classes or individuals (Matt. iii. 7, *seq.*; Luke iii. 7, *seq.*), serve fully to show that the renovation at which he aimed was not merely of a material or organic, but chiefly of a moral nature. In a very emphatic manner did he warn the ecclesiastical and philosophical authorities of the land of the necessity under which they lay of an entire change of view, of aim, and of desire; declaring in explicit and awful terms that their pride of nationality would avail them nothing against the coming wrathful visitation, and that they were utterly mistaken in the notion that Divine Providence had any need of them for completing its own wise purposes (Luke iii. 8, 9). The first reason assigned by John for entering on his most weighty and perilous office, was announced in these words—'the kingdom of heaven is at hand.' It was his

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great work to prepare the mind of the nation, so that when Jesus himself came they might be a people made ready for the Lord. What was the exact idea which John intended to convey by the term 'kingdom of heaven' it is not easy, at least in the space before us, to determine with satisfaction. We feel ourselves, however, justified in protesting against the practice of those who take the vulgar Jewish notion, and ascribe it to John, while some go so far as to deny that our Lord himself, at the first, possessed any other. The reference which we have made to John's addresses to his auditors suffices to show that there was an ample and predominant moral element in his conception of this kingdom; while, if he entertained the vulgar notion of the Messiah, why his urgency in behalf of *μετάνοια*—an entire, internal change? Besides, does the fact need enforcement, that all superior minds—especially those that are enlightened by the Divine Spirit—have both correcter and nobler views than the bulk of their contemporaries, and that it is the power which, under God's aid, these views give them, that sustains them in their duty and makes their efforts successful? If John really came in the spirit and power of Elias—if he reproduced the old ardour and quickening foresight of the prophets, he must have gone far beyond the vulgar conception of the kingdom of God. And indeed the whole tenor of his teaching seems to our mind intended and fitted to refine, exalt, and expand the ordinary Jewish mind, and so to prepare the way for the perfect day of Christ.

Had we space to develop the moral character of John, we could show that this fine, stern, high-minded teacher possessed many eminent qualities; but his personal and official modesty in keeping, in all circumstances, in the lower rank assigned him by God, must not pass without special mention. The doctrine and manner of life of John appear to have roused the entire of the south of Palestine, and people flocked from all parts to the spot where, on the banks of the Jordan, he baptised thousands unto repentance. Such, indeed, was the fame which he had gained, that 'people were in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ or not' (Luke iii. 15). Had he chosen, John might without doubt have assumed to himself the higher office, and risen to great worldly power. But he was faithful to his trust, and never failed to declare in the fullest and clearest manner, that he was not the Christ, but merely his harbinger, and that the sole work he had to do was to usher in the day-spring from on high.

The more than prophetic fame of the Baptist reached the ears of Jesus in his Nazarene dwelling, far distant from the locality of John (Matt. ii. 22-23). The nature of the report—namely, that his divinely-predicted forerunner had appeared in Judæa—shewed our Lord that the time was now come for his being made manifest to Israel. Accordingly he comes to the place where John is to be baptized of him, in order that thus he might fulfil all that was required under the dispensation which was about to disappear (Matt. iii. 13). John's sense of inferiority inclines him to ask rather than to give baptism in the case of Jesus, who, however, wills to have it so, and is accordingly baptised of John. Immediately on the termination of this symbolical act, a divine attestation

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is given from the opened vault of heaven, declaring Jesus to be in truth the long looked-for Messiah—'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased' (Matt. iii. 17). The events which are found recorded in John i. 19, *sq.*, seem to have happened after the baptism of Jesus by John. This appears to us to be implied in the *past* character of the narrative. John is obviously speaking of something over and gone: for instance, 'This is he of whom I said' (not I say), 'after me cometh a man,' etc.; John's testimony had already been borne when he gave his reply to the Sanhedrim. It was therefore prior to his baptism that John 'knew him not'—knew not *his person*, though, of course, he knew that the Messiah was on the point of coming; and though John and Jesus were relatives, yet, considering the distance at which they dwelt from each other, and the habits of retirement and solitude in which both indulged, there is no difficulty whatever in the statement. But it may be asked, if John was ignorant of the person of Jesus, how he could acknowledge his superiority, as he does when he intimates that it was more meet he should receive than give baptism. This difficulty has excited much attention. The reader may with advantage consult the very learned and, for the most part, impartial commentary of Lücke, on the passage. Our view is this: the relation in which John and Jesus stood to each other must have been well known to both. When, therefore, Jesus came to John, he would naturally declare himself to be the intended Messiah. Such a declaration—thus pointing out the person—would, of course, conciliate belief in John's mind, and might naturally prompt the self-abasing language which he employs when requested by Jesus to give him baptism. No other fact than such an assertion would communicate to John's mind, could justify the language which the Baptist uses, since, as the forerunner of the Messiah, he was second to him only. Still the divinely-promised evidence remained to be given—'upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost' (John i. 33). That evidence was at length vouchsafed after the baptism, and then the divine and human testimony concurred in giving such satisfaction to John's mind as he had been led of God to expect, and which the important interests at stake seemed to demand.

In the testimony which John bears to Jesus, as recorded by the Evangelist John, Winer, in his *Realwörterbuch*, finds some difficulty, and thinks that there is a variation, in fact a contrariety, between the view which John presents of the person and work of our Lord and that which the other evangelists afford—a view, indeed, of which the Baptist could have known nothing, but which came from the Gnosticizing colours of John's mind. We again refer the reader to Lücke's valuable work. But what has already been remarked will have shewn that Winer and others are in error in the supposition which lies at the bottom of these alleged difficulties and variations—namely, that John the Baptist had no idea of the kingdom of God, higher or more far-reaching than that which was prevalent in the common mind of Judæa. It is in the words, 'Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world' (John i. 29, 36), that the difficulty is thought to be found. What, it is asked, could John the Baptist have

known of this assumed function—the remission of sins? Lücke has, we think, satisfactorily shewn that such a function did enter into the prophetic idea of the Messiah (Is. liii.), or at least into that conception of him which the authoritative expounders of religious truth had drawn from the peculiar language of prophecy. And this is unquestionably certain, that 'the remission of our sins, through the tender mercy of our God' (Luke i. 77), did form a part of the conception of the coming Messiah which Zacharias, John's father, entertained and expressed immediately on the birth of his son; while in the account given by the synoptical evangelists (Matthew, Mark, Luke), to the effect that John preached 'the baptism of repentance, for the remission of sins' (Luke iii. 3), adding that the Christ would 'baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire' (Luke iii. 16), may surely be found the essence of the idea conveyed by the words, 'Behold the Lamb of God,' etc.

The relation which subsisted between John and Jesus, after the emphatic testimony above recorded had been borne, we have not the materials to describe with full certainty.

It seems but natural to think, when their hitherto relative position is taken into account, that John would forthwith lay down his office of harbinger, which, now that the Sun of Righteousness himself had appeared, was entirely fulfilled and terminated. Such a step he does not appear to have taken. On the contrary, the language of Scripture seems to imply that the Baptist church continued side by side with the Messianic (Matt. xi. 3; Luke vii. 19; Matt. ix. 14; Luke xi. 1; John iii. 23), and remained long after John's execution (Acts xix. 3). Indeed, a sect which bears the name of 'John's disciples,' exists to the present day in the East, whose sacred books are said to be pervaded by a Gnostic leaven. They are hostile alike to Judaism and Christianity, and their John and Jesus are altogether different from the characters bearing these names in our evangelists. Still, though it has been generally assumed that John did not lay down his office, we are not satisfied that the N. T. establishes this alleged fact. John may have ceased to execute his own peculiar work, as the forerunner, but may justifiably have continued to bear his most important testimony to the Messiahship of Christ; or he may even have altogether given up the duties of active life some time, at least, before his death; and yet his disciples, both before and after that event, may have maintained their individuality as a religious communion. Nor will the student of the N. T. and of ecclesiastical history, who knows how grossly a teacher far greater than John, was, both during his life and after his crucifixion, misunderstood and misrepresented, think it impossible that some misconception or some sinister motive may have had weight in preventing the Baptist church from dissolving and passing into that of Christ.

It was, not improbably, with a view to remove some error of this kind that John sent the embassy of his disciples to Jesus which is recorded in Matt. xi. 3; Luke vii. 19. The spiritual course which the teachings of Jesus were more and more taking, and the apparent failure, or at least uneasy postponement of the promised kingdom in the popular sense, especially the fact that their esteemed master lay in prison, and was in imminent danger of losing his life, may well have led John's disciples

to doubt if Jesus were in truth the expected Messiah. Appearances, to them, were purely adverse. What step so fit on the part of their master, as that he should send them to Jesus himself? No intimation is found in the record that John required evidence to give him satisfaction; and all the language that is used is proper and pertinent if we suppose that the doubt lay only in the minds of his disciples. That the terms employed admit the interpretation that John was not without some misgivings (Luke vii. 23; Matt. xi. 6), we are free to allow. And if any doubt had grown up in the Baptist's mind it was most probably owing to the defective spirituality of his views; for even of him Jesus has declared, 'he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he' (Matt. xi. 11). Were this the case, it would of itself account not only for the embassy sent by John to Jesus, but also for the continuance and perpetuation of John's separate influence as the founder of a sect.

The manner of John's death is too well known to require to be detailed here (Matt. iv. 12; xiv. 3; Luke iii. 19; Mark vi. 17; Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 2). He reproved a tyrant for a heinous crime, and received his reward in decapitation. Josephus, however, assigns a somewhat different cause for this execution from that given in the gospels. The passage bears forcible evidence to the general truth of the evangelical narrative respecting John, and therefore we transcribe it:—'Now some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment of what he did against John that was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him, although he was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness one towards another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism. Now when others came in crowds about him—for they were greatly moved by hearing his words—Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion (for they seemed ready to do any thing he should advise), thought it best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Machærus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death.'

There is no contrariety between this account and that which is given in the N. T. Both may be true: John was condemned in the mind of Herod on political grounds, as endangering his position, and executed on private and ostensible grounds, in order to gratify a malicious but powerful woman. The Scriptural reason was but the pretext for carrying into effect the determinations of Herod's cabinet. That the fear of Herod was not without some ground may be seen in the popularity which John had gained (Mark xi. 32; Lardner, *Works*, vi. 483).

The castle of Machærus, where John was imprisoned and beheaded, was a fortress lying on the southern extremity of Peræa, at the top of the lake Asphaltites, between the dominions of Herod and Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, and at the time of our history appears to have belonged to the former (Lardner, vi. 483). According to the Scripture ac-

count, the daughter of Herodias obtained the Baptist's head at an entertainment, without delay. How could this be, when Machærus lay at a distance from Jerusalem? The feast seems to have been made at Machærus, which, besides being a stronghold, was also a palace, built by Herod the Great, and Herod himself was now on his route towards the territories of Aretas, with whom he was at war. Bishop Marsh (*Lecture* xxvi.) remarks, that the soldiers who, in Luke iii. 14, are said to have come to John while baptizing in the Jordan, are designated by a term (*στρατιώμενοι*, not *στρατιῶται*) which denotes persons actually engaged in war, not merely soldiers. In the same way, in Mark vi. 27, the officer sent to bring John's head bears a military title—*σπεκουλάτωρ*. These minute indications are quite accordant with the fact that Herod was then making war on Aretas, as appears from Josephus (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1), and afford a very strong evidence of the credibility of the sacred narratives, by shewing that the authors described what was actually proceeding before their own eyes. We also see a reason why Herodias was present on this occasion, since she was Herod's paramour, and had, 'like another Helen,' led to the war.

John the Baptist is mentioned in the Koran, with much honour, under the name of Jahia (see Hottinger, *Historia Orientalis*, pp. 144-149, Tiguri 1660).

The literature connected with the subject of this article, to be found in foreign writers, is very rich. Besides the works already named, the following may be consulted: Hase (*Leben Jesu*, 3 Aufl., Leipzig 1840, p. 80), who, together with Walch (*Bibliotheca Theologica*, iii. 402), gives the chief authorities; Witsii *Exerc. de Joanne Bapt.* in his *Miscell. Sacra*, ii. 367; J. G. E. Leopold, *Johannes der Täufer*, Hannover. 1825; Usteri, *Nachrichten von Johannes dem Täufer, in the Studien und Kritiken*, 1829, part iii. p. 439; L. von Rohden, *Johannes der Täufer*, Lübeck 1838; Neander, *Das Leben Jesu*, Hamb. 1837, p. 49, E. T., p. 45, ff. The ecclesiastical traditions touching John may be found in the *Acta Sanctorum*, iv. 687-846; and, in a compendious form, in Tillemont, *Mémoires*, i. 82-108, 472-505.—J. R. B.

JOHN THE PRESBYTER. The important place which has been assigned by some to this individual as the writer of certain books in the sacred canon, renders it proper that some notice should be taken of him in this work. As his existence has been wholly denied by some, whilst it has been assumed as unquestionable by others, we shall best serve the interests of the reader by, in the first instance, setting before him in order all the statements occurring in ancient Christian writers respecting the object of our inquiry.

The earliest testimony is that of Papias (Euseb., *H. E.* iii. 39), who says, speaking of the efforts he made to establish himself with certainty in Christian truth, 'Whenever any one arrived who had had intercourse with the elders (*τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις*), I made inquiry concerning the declarations of these; what Andrew, what Peter, or Philip, or Thomas, or James, or John, or Matthew, or any other of the disciples of the Lord said, as also what Aristion and John the Presbyter, disciples of the Lord, say. For I believed that I should not derive so much advantage from books as from living and

abiding discourse.* In reporting this, Eusebius remarks that Papias purposely adduces the name John twice, first in connection with Peter, James, and Matthew, where only the Apostle can be intended, and again, along with Aristion, where he distinguishes him by the title of 'The Presbyter.' Eusebius goes on to say that this confirms the report of those who relate that there were two men in Asia Minor who bore that name and had been closely connected with Christ, and that two tombs had been found in Ephesus bearing the name of John. In another part of his history (vii. 25), Eusebius cites Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, about the middle of the 3d century, as uttering the same tradition concerning the finding of the two tombs at Ephesus inscribed with the name of John, and as ascribing to John the Presbyter the authorship of the Apocalypse; an opinion to which Eusebius himself inclined (iii. 39). Jerome (*De vir. ill.*, c. 9) reports the opinion of some that the second and third epistles of John are the production of John the Presbyter, 'cujus et hodie alterum sepulcrum apud Ephesum ostenditur, etsi nonnulli putant duas memorias ejusdem Johannis evangelistae esse.' An earlier testimony, that of the Apostolical Constitutions (vii. 36), declares that there was a second John who was bishop of Ephesus after St. John, by whom he was instituted in this office.

Such is the evidence in favour of the existence of John the Presbyter. On examining it we find—1. That Papias knew a disciple of our Lord named John, distinct from the Evangelist, and known as *ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης*; but Papias says nothing of his being bishop of Ephesus or of his being at Ephesus at all. 2. That there was a bishop at Ephesus of the name of John, who was the successor of the apostle John there. 3. That there was a tradition that two tombs were found at Ephesus bearing the name of John, one of which was supposed to be that of the apostle, the other that of the presbyter. 4. That this supposition did not obtain universal acceptance, and was by Eusebius held so doubtful that he appeals to the statement of Papias as supporting it. This tradition, consequently, must be discounted; and in that case there remains only the statement of Papias that he knew one John the Presbyter who had been a disciple of the Lord, and the statement of the Apostolical Constitutions that there was a bishop at Ephesus of the name of John, who was instituted to his office by the apostle. As there is nothing to prove that these two were the same person, the testimony of the Constitutions must also be discounted in our present inquiry; and consequently, the statement of Papias remains as the sole direct evidence for the existence of John the Presbyter.

To this evidence there is opposed—1. The negative evidence arising from the silence of all other ancient authorities, especially the silence of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, who, in a list of eminent teachers and bishops in Asia Minor, preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.*, v. 24), makes no mention of John the Presbyter; and 2. The positive evidence afforded by the statement of Irenæus, who not only omits all mention of the Presbyter, but says that Papias was a hearer of John the apostle, along

with Polycarp (*Adv. Haer.* v. 33). This counter evidence has appeared to some so strong that they have thought it sufficient to set aside that of Papias, who, they remind us, is described by Eusebius as a man of a very small intellect (*σφόδρα μικρὸς τὸν νοῦν*, *H. E.*, iii. 39). But this seems going too far. Papias describes himself as a hearer of the Presbyter John (Euseb. v. 24), and in this he could hardly be mistaken, whatever was his deficiency in intellectual power; whereas it is very possible that Irenæus may have confounded the presbyter with the apostle, the latter of whom would be to his mind much more familiar than the former. The silence of Polycrates may be held proof sufficient that no John the Presbyter was bishop of Ephesus or famed as a teacher of Christianity in Asia Minor; but as Papias does not attest this, his testimony remains unaffected by this conclusion.

On the whole, the existence of a John the Presbyter seems proved by the testimony of Papias; but beyond this and the fact that he was a disciple of the Lord, nothing is certainly known of him. Credner contends that *πρεσβύτερος* is to be taken in its ordinary sense of 'older,' and that it was applied to the person mentioned by Papias, either because he was the senior of St. John, or because he arrived before him in Asia Minor; but this is improbable in itself, and had Papias meant to intimate this he would not have simply called him *ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης*. In his statement *πρεσβύτερος* is plainly opposed to *ἀπόστολος* as a distinctive title of office.—W. L. A.

JOIADA (יְדִידָא; Sept. *Ἰωδαῖ*, *Ἰωδᾱ*; Alex. *Ἰωαδδ*). A Jewish high-priest, son and successor of Eliashib, and father of Jonathan or Johanan, by whom he was succeeded (Neh. xii. 10, 11, 22). Another of his sons married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite, and was expelled by Nehemiah (Neh. xiii. 28).—†

JOIAKIM (יְחִיָּה; Sept. *Ἰωακίμ*), a Jewish high-priest, father of Eliashib and grandfather of Joiada. His father was Jeshua, the colleague of Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 10).—†

JOKDEAM (יְדְעָא; perhaps 'possessed by the people,' from the root יָדַע; *Ἀριδαμ*; Alex. *Ἰεκδαμ*; *Jacadaam*), a town of the south of Judah, near Juttaah and Carmel (Josh. xv. 5, 6). Eusebius calls it *Iexdadδ*; but he does not appear to have known anything of it, and its site is still unknown.—J. L. P.

JOKIM (יְחִיָּה; Sept. *Ἰωακίμ*), one of the sons of Shelah (1 Chron. iv. 22). [JASHUBI-LEHEM.]

JOKMEAM (יְמָעָא; Sept. *Ἰωμαμ*), 'gathered of the people,' from יָמַע; *Ἰεμαδμ*; *Jemaaam*), one of the cities given to the Kohathites out of the tribe of Ephraim (1 Chron. vi. 68 [53]). It is worthy of note that the parallel passage in Josh. xxi. 22 has Kibzaim instead of Jokmeam. This may be accounted for either by a change in the name of the city—no uncommon occurrence in Palestine, or by an error of a scribe, the letters of the two names bearing considerable resemblance to each other (*יְמָעָא*, *יְכִמְעָא*), and even more in the ancient than in the modern characters. The site of Jokmeam is un-

* In what follows Papias reports what he heard from John concerning the authorship of the Gospels of Mark and Matthew.

known. There is a *Jokneam* mentioned in the Hebrew text of 1 Kings iv. 12, but it was manifestly situated at the western extremity of Esdraelon, and was no doubt identical with JOKNEAM, as the translators of our A. V. appear to have thought (Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 115).—J. L. P.

JOKNEAM (יִקְנֵאָם, 'possessed by the people'; יִקְנֵאָם, יִקְנֵאָם, *Madv*; Alex. יִקְנֵאָם, יִקְנֵאָם; *Juchanan*, *Jechonam*, *Jecnam*), an ancient royal Canaanitish city, situated at the base of Mount Carmel; whence its name, *Jokneam of Carmel* (Josh. xii. 22). It was given to the Levites out of the tribe of Zebulun (xxi. 34). Two other passages in which it is mentioned tend to define its exact position. In describing the border of Zebulun, Joshua says: 'It went up toward the sea and Maralah, and reached to Dabbasheth, and reached to the river that is before *Jokneam*' (xix. 11). This river was doubtless the Kishon. Again, in 1 Kings iv. 12, the district of one of Solomon's purveyors is thus described: To Baana pertained Taanach and Megiddo, and all Beth-shean, which is by Zartanah beneath Jezreel, from Beth-shean to Abelmeholah, even unto beyond *Jokneam* (מֵעֵבֶר לַיִם). Baana thus held the great plain from Beth-shean at the eastern extremity, to Jokneam at the western. It is true the Hebrew text in this passage reads *Jokneam*, but from the passage it is evident reference is made to the city at the base of Carmel, and not to *Jokneam* of Ephraim [JOKMEAM]. The letters D and J are often interchanged in Hebrew.

Dr. Robinson has satisfactorily identified Jokneam with Tell *Kaimon*, a conspicuous little hill, covered with ruins, situated at the western extremity of Esdraelon, on the south bank of the Kishon, and close to the base of Carmel. It commands the main pass leading through the hills from Esdraelon to Sharon. The Arabic name

Kaimon (قَيْمُون) is evidently identical with the *Kammon* of Eusebius, which lay in the great plain, six miles from Legio, on the way to Ptolemais (*Onomast.* s. v. *Canon*); and it is a corruption of the Hebrew קַיְמֹן. The *Yod* is dropped, as in *Zerin* for *Jezerel*; the *Nun* is changed to *Mem*; the *Ayin* probably was omitted in the Galilean dialect—thus the change was effected (Lightfoot, *Opera*, ii. 233; Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 115). The corruption must have taken place at an early date, for in the book of Judith (vii. 3) we have *Kammon* (see Van de Velde, *Travels*, i. 331; *Memoir*, p. 326).—J. L. P.

JOKSHAN (יִקְשָׁן, *foowler*; Sept. Ἰεζάν), second son of Abraham and Keturah, whose sons Sheba and Dedan appear to have been the ancestors of the Sabæans and Dedanites, who peopled a part of Arabia Felix (Gen. xxv. 2, 3) [ARABIA]. Knobel (*Genes.*, p. 188) suggests that the name *Jokshan* may have passed into יִקְשָׁן, *Kashan*, and that his descendants were the *Kασσαῖται* of Ptolemy (vi. 7. 6) and Steph. Byzant. (s. h. v.), the *Κασσάρηδες* of Agatharchides (p. 60, Huds.), the *Γασαρόηδες* of Diod. Sic. (iii. 44), and the Casani or Gasani of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, vi. 32); who dwelt by the Red Sea, to the south of the Kinædokolpites, and extended to the most northern of the Joktanites.—W. L. A.

JOKTAN (יִקְטָן, *small*; Sept. Ἰεκτάν), one of the sons of Eber, a descendant from Shem (Gen. x. 25-26), and the supposed progenitor of many tribes in Southern Arabia. The Arabians call him Kahtan, and recognise him as one of the principal founders of their nation. Edrisi mentions a town in Yemen called *Baishat Jaktan*, which Niebuhi conjectures may be the modern Kahtan (*Arab.* ii. 117). The Arabic Kahtan, which is commonly represented as a dialectical corruption of Joktan, seems rather to be a significant name given to him by the Arabs. An Arabic writer quoted by Mr. E. S. Poole (Smith's *Dictionary*, i. 1118), says he 'was named Kahtan only because of his suffering from drought' (كَحْطَانٌ, from كَحَطَ, *inopia pluviae laboravit*). There seems no ground for doubting that the descendants of the Arab Kahtan are Joktanites. See Schultens, *Hist. Imperii Juktanid. in Arabia Felice*; Pococke, *Spec. Hist. Arab.*, pp. 3, 38; Bochart's *Phaleg*, iii. 15 [ARABIA].—W. L. A.

JOKTHEEL (יִקְתָּאֵל, 'subdued of God,' from יִתְּן, an old root = יָטָא; Ἰαχαφῆλ; Alex. Ἰεχ-ῤαῆλ; *Jechthel*), a town of Judah, situated in the plain of Philistia (*Shephelah*), and apparently not far distant from Lachish (Josh. xv. 38). It has not been identified.

2. (Ἰεθῶλ; Alex. Ἰεκθῶλ; *Jecthel*). The name given by Amaziah, king of Judah, to *Selah*, or Petra, the capital of Edom, to shew that he had captured it. We read in 2 Kings xiv. 7: 'He slew of Edom, in the valley of Salt, ten thousand, and took *Selah* by war, and called the name of it *Joktheel*, that is, 'subdued of God.' The date of this victory was about B.C. 850 (see AMAZIAH and SELAH; and for some additional details of the capture, 2 Chron. xxv. 11).—J. L. P.

JOMTOB LIPMANN MÜHLHAUSEN. [LIPMANN.]

JONA B. GANACH. [IBN GANACH.]

JONADAB (יֹנָדָב, contraction of יֹהָנָדָב, *God-impelled*; Sept. Ἰωνάδδβ). 1. A nephew of David, a crafty person, whose counsel suggested to his cousin Amnon the means by which he accomplished his abominable design upon his half-sister Tamar (2 Sam. xiii. 4, 5).

2. A son or descendant of Rechab, the progenitor of those nomadic Rechabites who held themselves bound by a vow to abstain from wine, and never to relinquish the nomadic life. The principle on which the tribe acted may be considered elsewhere [RECHABITES]. Jonadab was at the head of this tribe at the time when Jehu received his commission to exterminate the house of Ahab, and is supposed to have added to its ancient austerities the inhibition of wine. He was held in great respect among the Israelites generally: and Jehu, alive to the importance of obtaining the countenance and sanction of such a man to his proceedings, took him up in his chariot, when on his road to Samaria to complete the work he had begun at Jezreel. The terms of the colloquy which took place on this occasion are rather remarkable. Perceiving Jonadab, he saluted him, and called out, 'Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy

heart?' Jonadab answered, 'It is.' Then said Jehu, 'If it be, give me thine hand' And he gave him his hand, and was taken up into the chariot, Jehu inviting him to 'Come and see my zeal for the Lord' (2 Kings x. 15-17; Jer. xxxv. 6-10). It would seem that the Rechabites were a branch of the Kenites, over another branch of whom Heber was chief in the time of Deborah and Barak (Judg. iv. 11, 17): and as it is expressly said that Jonadab went out to meet Jehu, it seems probable that the people of Samaria, alarmed at the menacing letter which they had received from Jehu, had induced Jonadab to go to meet and appease him on the road. His venerated character, his rank as the head of a tribe, and his neutral position, well qualified him for this mission; and it was quite as much the interest of Jonadab to conciliate the new dynasty, in whose founder he beheld the minister of the divine decrees, as it was that of Jehu to obtain his concurrence and support in proceedings which he could not but know were likely to render him odious to the people.—J. K.

JONAH (יֹנָתָן; Sept. *Iouân*), the fifth in order of the minor prophets. No era is assigned to him in the book of his prophecy, yet there is little doubt of his being the same person who is spoken of as the son of Amittai in 2 Kings xiv. 25. The Jewish doctors, followed by some of the fathers, have supposed him to be the son of the widow of Sarepta: 'Now by this I know,' said she to Elijah, 'that thou art a man of God, and that the word of the Lord in thy mouth is truth' אֲמַת (1 Kings xvii. 24). The restored child was thenceforward named יֹנָתָן, a title which was to preserve the memory of his miraculous resuscitation (Hieron. *Prefat. in Jonam*). His birthplace was Gath-hepher, in the tribe of Zebulun. In that place, according to Jerome, his grave was pointed out, and El-Meshad is identified by ecclesiastical tradition with Gath-hepher. Jonah flourished in the beginning of the reign of Jeroboam II., and predicted the successful conquests, enlarged territory, and brief prosperity of the Israelitish kingdom under that monarch's sway. The oracle itself is not extant, though Hitzig has, by a novel process of criticism, amused himself with a fancied discovery of it in chaps. xv. and xvi. of Isaiah. Hitzig, *Des Proph. Jon. Orakel über Moab kritisch-vindicirt*, etc., Heidelberg 1831.

The book of Jonah contains an account of the prophet's commission to denounce Nineveh, and of his refusal to undertake the embassy—of the method he employed to escape the unwelcome task [TARSHISH], and the miraculous means which God used to curb his self-willed spirit, and subdue his petulant and querulous disposition. The third and fourth chapters briefly detail Jonah's fulfilment of the divine command, and present us with another exemplification of his refractory temper. His attempt to flee from the presence of the Lord must have sprung from a partial insanity, produced by the excitement of distracting motives in an irascible and melancholy heart. The temerity and folly of the fugitive could scarcely be credited, if they had not been equalled by future outbreaks of a similar peevish and morbid infatuation. Dr. Pusey's diluted interpretation of the phrase כַּפְנֵי יְהוָה, as if it signified only an evasion of the mission, or that he fled from officially standing in the divine presence, does not relieve us of the difficulty. It

was as absurd in Hebrew creed to attempt to escape the divine omnipotence as it was to elude the divine omnipresence. But men in certain moods have often tried to do what their theology tells them is utterly in vain, and such actions done against a conviction of their vanity is yet no proof of theoretic unbelief.

The history of Jonah is certainly striking and extraordinary. His mission was to a distant city, brought about that time into closer connection with Israel. There is no precise parallel to it, for the mission of Elisha to Damascus is not quite analogous. But is any act of God to be suspected if it happen to want a direct historical parallel? Must we reject every apparent anomaly in the procedure of him whose 'ways are not our ways?' The Divine Being had made himself known to other nations in various forms; as in Egypt by Moses and his wonders, and in Philistia by the captivity of his ark. The influence of the theocracy on surrounding countries might be extended in a variety of ways, and Jonah's refusal of the message is as suggestive as his subsequent performance of it.

The extraordinary character given to Jonah in this book is so unflattering to the well-known national pride and partialities, that it is a presumption in favour of its historic reality. The tale of the prophet's flight is true to life;—the sudden departure to the westward—the paying of the fare when he took ship—the different effects produced by the storm on the crew and their passenger—they in their panic crying to their gods, and he fast asleep 'in the sides of the ship' wearied out with anxiety and terror—his conviction that Jehovah had overtaken him, and his sullen resignation to his fate—the casting of the lots, and the dialogue that followed—the reluctance of the sailors to do an act of murder for their own safety, even though the prophet had enjoined them—their prayer to Jonah's God in their extremity—the casting out of Jonah—the calm that followed, and the effect on the simple mariners—their devoutness and their sacrifice, not now to their own divinities, but to Jehovah.

What is said about the size of Nineveh also is in accordance with fact. It was 'an exceeding great city of three days' journey.' Built in the form of a parallelogram, it made, according to Diodorus (ii. 7), a circuit of 480 furlongs, or about 60 miles. It has been usual, since the publication of Layard's *Nineveh*, to say that the great ruins of Koyunjik, Nimrud, Keremles, and Khorsabad, form such a parallelogram, the distances from north to south being about 18 miles, and from east to west about 12; the longer sides thus measuring 36 miles, and the shorter ones 24. But against this view Professor Rawlinson has recently urged, with considerable force, that the four great ruins bore distinct local titles; that Nimrud, identified with Calah, is mentioned in Scripture as a place so far separated from Nineveh, that 'a great city'—Resen—lay between them (Gen. x. 12); that there are no signs of a continuous town; and that the four sites are fortified 'on what would be the inside of the city.' Still Nineveh, as represented by the ruins of Koyunjik and Nebbi-Yunus, or Tomb of Jonah, was of an oblong shape, with a circuit of about eight miles, and was therefore a place of unusual size—'an exceeding great city.' The phrase, 'three days' journey,' may mean that it would take that time to traverse the city and pro

claim through all its localities the divine message; and the emphatic point then is, that at the end of his first day's journey the preaching of Jonah took effect. The clause, 'that cannot discern their right hand from their left hand,' probably denotes children, and 120,000 of these might represent a population of more than half a million [NINEVEH]. Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 310; Sir Henry Rawlinson's *Comment. on Cuneif. Inscrip.*, p. 17; Captain Jones' *Topography of Nineveh*; *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. p. 298. Jonah entered the city 'a day's journey,' that is, probably went from west to east uttering his incisive and terrible message. The sublime audacity of the stranger—the ringing monotony of his sharp short cry—had an immediate effect. The people believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and man and beast fasted alike. The exaggeration ascribed to this picture adds to its credibility, so prone is Oriental nature to extremes. If the burden of Jonah was to have any effect at all, one might say that it must be profound and immediate. It was a panic—we dare not call it a revival, or with Dr. Pusey, dignify it into conversion. There was plainly no permanent result. After the sensation had passed away, idolatry and rapacity resumed their former sway, as is testified by the prophets Isaiah, Nahum, and Zephaniah. Yet the appalled conscience of Nineveh did confess its 'evil and its violence,' as it grovelled in the dust. Various causes may have contributed to deepen this consternation—the superstition of the people, and the sudden and unexplained appearance of the foreigner with his voice of doom. 'The king,' as Layard says, 'might believe him to be a special minister from the supreme deity of the nation,' and it was only 'when the gods themselves seemed to interpose that any check was placed on the royal pride and lust.' Layard adds, 'It was not necessary to the effect of his preaching that Jonah should be of the religion of the people of Nineveh. I have known a Christian priest frighten a whole Mussulman town to tents and repentance by publicly proclaiming that he had received a divine mission to announce a coming earthquake or plague' (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 632). The compulsory mourning of the brute creation has at least one analogy in the lamentation made over the Persian General Masistius: 'The horses and beasts of burden were shaven' (Herodotus, ix. 24). According to Plutarch also, Alexander commanded the observance of a similar custom on the death of Hephæstion. Therefore, in the accessories of the narrative there is no violation of probability—all is in accordance with known customs and facts.

The characteristic prodigy of the book does not resemble the other miraculous phenomena recorded in Scripture. Yet we must believe in its literal occurrence, as the Bible affords no indication of its being a myth, allegory, or parable. On the other hand, our Saviour's pointed and peculiar allusion to it is evidence of its reality (Matt. xii. 40). The Pharisees asked a sign—*σημειον*—or supernatural token—some signal and brilliant proof of his mission. He refuses such a sign in their sense of it, but adds that the sign of Jonah shall be given them: 'For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so also shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.' To say that such words are 'only put into the mouth' of Jesus, as Paulus, De Wette, Strauss, and Krabbe

affirm, at once gainsays all critical evidence, and puts an end to all reasoning on the point. Holding, however, that Jesus spoke them, and there is the same proof that he spoke them as that he spoke any other sentence ascribed to him in the gospels, we maintain, that the *σημειον* is not Jonah's call to repentance, but his miraculous preservation. The context plainly implies it, and warrants us to give to *σημειον* the meaning of a miracle or supernatural token. Not that Jonah, in the strict theological sense, was a type of Christ—but this wonder of his life had in itself, and in its lessons, a striking resemblance to that great event in Christ's career which proved the divinity of his mission, and the perfection of his mediatorial work. The preaching of Jonah referred to in verse 41 is indeed connected with the sign, but is distinct from it, and brings out another aggravation of Pharisaic unbelief. The denial of the possibility or probability of this miracle, or of other miracles, limits omnipotence, while it deifies the uniformity of nature, and judges of the sovereign ruler from our own self-imposed conceptions of his ways and works. The opinion of the earlier Jews (Tobit xiv. 4; Joseph. *Antiq.* ix. 10. 2) is also in favour of the literality of the adventure. It requires less faith to credit this simple excerpt from Jonah's biography, than to believe the numerous hypotheses that have been invented to deprive it of its supernatural character. In vindication of its reality, it may be argued too, that the allusions of Christ to Old Testament events on similar occasions are to actual occurrences (John iii. 14; vi. 48); that the purpose which God had in view justified his miraculous interposition; and that this miracle must have had a salutary effect both on the minds of the Ninevites and on the people of Israel. Neither is the character of Jonah improbable. Many reasons might induce him to avoid the discharge of his prophetic duty—fear of being thought a false prophet, scorn of a foreign and hostile race, desire for their utter destruction, and a false dignity which might reckon it beneath him to officiate among uncircumcised idolaters (Laberenz, *De Vera lib. Jona Interp.*, Fulda 1836).

Some, who cannot altogether reject the reality of the narrative, suppose it to have had a historical basis, though its present form be fanciful or mythical. Such an opinion is the evident result of a mental struggle between receiving it as a real transaction and regarding it as wholly a fiction. (Blasche, Grimm, *Uebersetz.* p. 61, and Abarbanel, regard it as a dream produced in that sleep which fell upon Jonah as he lay in the sides of the ship). The opinion of the famous Herman von der Hardt, in his *Jonas in luce*, and other similar productions, a full abstract of which is given by Rosenmüller (*Prolegom. in Jonam*, p. 19), was, that the book is a historical allegory, descriptive of the fate of Manasseh, and Josiah his grandson, kings of Judah. The fancy of this eccentric author has found ample gratification. Tarshish, according to him, represents the kingdom of Lydia; the ship, the Jewish republic, whose captain was Zadok the high-priest; while the casting of Jonah into the sea symbolized the temporary captivity of Manasseh in Babylon. We cannot say, with Rosenmüller, that this theory deserves even the praise of ingenious fiction. That the book is an allegory, is the opinion of Bertholdt, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, and Winer—an allegory based upon the Phœnician Myth of

Hercules and the Sea-monster. Less, in his tract, *Von Historischen Styl der Urwelt*, supposed that all difficulty might be removed by imagining that Jonah, when thrown into the sea, was taken up by a ship having a large fish for a figure-head—a theory somewhat more pleasing than the hypothesis of Anton, who fancied that the prophet took refuge in the interior of a dead whale floating near the spot where he was cast overboard (Rosenm. *Prolegom. in Jon.*, p. 328). Not unlike the opinion of Less is that of Charles Taylor, in his *Fragments affixed to Calmet's Dictionary*, No. cxlv., that it signifies a life-preserver, a notion which, as his manner is, he endeavours to support by mythological metamorphoses founded on the form and names of the famous fish-god of Philistia. But many regard the book as a mere fiction with a moral design—the grotesque coinage of a Hebrew imagination. This opinion, variously modified, seems to be that of Semler, Michaelis, Herder, Stäudlin, Eichhorn, Augusti, Meyer, Pareau, Hitzig, and Maurer. On the other hand, the historical character of the narrative is held by Hess, Lilienthal, Sack, Reindl, Hävernicks, Hengstenberg, Laberenz, Baumgarten, Delitzsch, Welte, Stuart, and Keil, *Einleitung*, sec. 89. (See Friedrichsen *Krit. übersicht der verschied. Ansichten von d. Buch Jona*, 2d ed. 1841.) There are others who allow, as De Wette and Knobel, that Jonah was a real person, but hold that the book is made up, for didactic purposes, of legendary stories which had gathered around him. Bunsen maintains that the hymn in the second chapter is a genuine poem composed by Jonah on an occasion of shipwreck and deliverance, and that it suggested the narrative which now imbeds it.

The plain literal import of the narrative being set aside, the supposed design of it has been very variously interpreted. Michaelis, Semler, and Bleek, virtually suppose the purpose of the narrative to be the injustice of the arrogance and hatred cherished by the Jews towards other nations. Eichhorn and Jahn think its design was to teach the Jews that other people with less privileges excelled them in pious obedience. Hezel argues that this episode was meant to solace and excite the prophets under the discharge of difficult and dangerous duties; while Paulus (*Memorabilia*, vi. 32, sqq.) maintains that the object of the author of *Jonah* is to impress the fact that God remits punishment on repentance and reformation. Similar is the idea of Kimchi and Pareau. Krahmer thinks that the theme of the writer is that God's kindness to penitents extends to Gentiles as well as Jews. Maurer adheres to the opinion that it inculcates the sin of not obeying God, even in pronouncing severe threatenings on a heathen people; and lastly, Köster (*Die Propheten des A. und N. T.*, Leipz. 1839) favours the malignant insinuation that its chief end was to save the credit of the prophets among the people, though their predictions against foreign nations might not be fulfilled, as Nineveh was preserved after being so menaced and doomed. While the book embodies several of these truths, the prophet's mission had also a direct bearing on the profligacy, impenitence, and danger of his own people.

Much profane wit has been expended, very unnecessarily and very absurdly, on the miraculous means of Jonah's deliverance. It is simply said, 'The Lord had prepared a great fish to swallow up

Jonah.' Now the species of marine animal is not defined, and the Greek *κῆτος* is often used to specify, not the genus whale, but any large fish or sea-monster. All objections to its being a whale which lodged Jonah in its stomach from its straitness of throat, or rareness of haunt in the Mediterranean, are thus removed. Hesychius defines *κῆτος* as *θαλάσσιος ἰχθύς παμμεγέθης*. Eustathius explains its correspondent adjective *κητώσσαν* by *μεγάλην*, in the Homeric line (*Iliad*, ii. 581)—

οἱ δ' εἶχον κολῆν Λακεδαιμόνα κητώσσαν.

Diodorus Siculus speaks of terrestrial monsters as *κητώδη ζῶα*, and describes a huge fish as *κῆτος ἀπιστον τὸ μέγεθος*. The Scripture speaks only of an enormous fish, which under God's direction swallowed the prophet, and does not point out the species to which the monster belonged. There is no ground for the supposition of Bishop Jebb, that the asylum of Jonah was not in the stomach of a whale, but in a cavity of its throat, which, according to naturalists, is a very capacious receptacle, sufficiently large, as Captain Scoresby asserts, to contain a merchant ship's jolly-boat full of men (*Sacred Literature*, p. 178). Since the days of Bochart it has been a common opinion that the fish was of the shark species, *Lamia canis carcharias*, or 'sea-dog' (Bochart, *Op.* iii. 72; Calmet's *Dissertation sur Jon.*) Entire human bodies have been found in some fishes of this kind. The stomach, too, has no influence on any living substance admitted into it. Granting these facts as proof of what is termed the economy of miracles, still must we say, in reference to the supernatural preservation of Jonah, 'Is anything too hard for the Lord?' We cannot accede to the system of Gale, Huet, Bryant, Faber, and Taylor, in tracing all pagan fiction, legend, and mythology, to Scripture facts and events. The miraculous incident of this book is unlike in many particulars the story of Arion and the dolphin (Herodot. i. 24), or the wild adventure of Hercules in regard to Hermione, which is referred to in Lycophron (*Cassandra*, v. 33). The same assertion may be made of the myth of Perseus and Andromeda and the Babylonian fable of the sea monster Oannes—a name not unlike that of Jonah. Cyrillus Alex., however, in his *Comment. in Jon.*, notices some similitude between the incident of Jonah and the fabled enterprise of the son of Alcmena. Compare, too, Theophylact (*Opp.*, tom. iv. p. 189).

On what portion of the coast Jonah was set down in safety we are not informed. The opinions held as to the peculiar spot by the Rabbins and other similar expositors need not to be repeated. The prophet proceeded, on receiving a second commission, to fulfil it. The second commission was sharper and more determinate than the original one. The fearful menace had the desired effect. The city humbled itself before God, and a respite was vouchsafed. The king (Pul, according to Usher) and his people fasted, and their penitence was accepted. The spirit of Jonah was chafed that the doom which he had uttered was not executed. He retired to a station out of the city whence he might witness the threatened catastrophe. Under the shadow of a gourd prepared by God he reclined, while Jehovah taught him by the growth and speedy death of this plant, and his attachment to it, a sublime lesson of patient and forgiving generosity. The

gourd, קִיקִיּוֹן, was probably the *Ricinus*, whose name *Kiki* is yet preserved in some of the tongues of the East. The Sept. renders it *κολοκύνθη*. Jerome translates it *hedera*, but against his better judgment, and for fear of giving offence to the critics of his age, as he quietly adds in justification of his less preferable rendering, 'sed timuimus grammaticos.' It is impossible to determine the king who reigned in Nineveh at the period of Jonah's mission. Layard (*Nineveh*, ii. 249) supposes that the visit of the prophet took place during the second dynasty, which may have commenced 747 B. C.; but Jeroboam II., under whom or at the beginning of whose reign Jonah prophesied, began to reign 825 B. C. The earlier Assyrian dynasty was also a mighty one, and to one of its kings Jonah may have been sent—perhaps to Ivalush III., supposed by some to be the Pul of Scripture. The name of Jehu, grandfather of Jeroboam II., has been discovered on an obelisk, in connection with Shalmanubar grandfather of Ivalush.

The book of Jonah is a simple narrative, with the exception of the prayer or thanksgiving in chap. ii. Its style and mode of narration are uniform. There are no traces of compilation, as Nactigall supposed. The prayer contains, indeed, not only imagery peculiar to itself, but also such imagery as at once was suggested to the mind of a pious Hebrew preserved in circumstances of extreme jeopardy. On this principle we account for the similarity of some portions of its phraseology to portions of Ps. xxx., xxxi., xlii., lxix., cx., cxxx., etc. The language in such places had been hallowed by frequent usage, and had become the consecrated idiom of a distressed and succoured Israelite. The prayer, allowed by many to be original, is thus based on theocratic language which the saints used in common, and is well adapted to Jonah's strange and perilous situation—uttered by him in the whale's belly and afterwards recorded by himself. It is mere guesswork to say that the psalms referred to were imitated from it, and there is no proof of its being a collection of excerpts or an anthology. That the book of Jonah has a place among the prophets shows the opinion held of it by those who formed the canon. It has, however, this anomaly, as Stähelin remarks, 'that it is not a prophecy, but the history of a prophecy' (*Specielle Einleitung*, p. 360, 1862). But the lesson for the people and for all time lies as much in the circumstances as in the brief oracle which Jonah repeated. There is little reason either for dating the composition of this book later than the age of Jonah, or for supposing it the production of another than the prophet himself (Vance Smith, *Proph. relating to Nineveh*, p. 252). The book does not, indeed, claim Jonah for its author, but to his authorship its use of the third person in speaking of him can be really no objection. The Chaldaisms which Jahn and others find in it may be accounted for by the nearness of the canton of Zebulun, to which Jonah belonged, to the northern territory, whence by national intercourse Aramaic peculiarities might be insensibly borrowed. Thus we have ספינה—a ship with a deck—not the more

common Hebrew term; רֶכֶב—a foreign title applied to the captain; מִנֵּה, to appoint—found however in Ps. lxi., a psalm which Hupfeld without any valid grounds places after the Babylonish cap-

tivity; אָמַר, to command, as in the later books; צִוָּה, command, referring to the royal decree, and probably taken from the native Assyrian tongue; רֶכֶב, to row, a nautical term; and the abbreviated form of the relative, which however occurs in other books, etc.

As for the date of the book, Gesenius, Ewald, and many others, place it after the exile, Bleek in the Persian times, and Hitzig in the period of the Maccabees. Yet Ewald admits that the conclusion of the book is in the true prophetic style. There is no force in the assertion that the phrase 'Nineveh was an exceeding great city' implies that it had long perished, the language is only in accordance with the common idiom of narrative (Keil, *Einleitung*, sec. 90). Sharpe (Bononi, *Nineveh and its palaces*, p. 73) places the book in the reign of Josiah, as if the partial overthrow of Nineveh by Nabopolassar were connected with Jonah's prophecy, and the purport of his book were to explain the divine justice in sparing it. With as much probability the overthrow menaced by Jonah and warded off for a season by repentance, may have come upon the city at the conclusion of the first dynasty, for the first king of the second dynasty seems to have been a usurper, since, unlike his royal predecessors, he makes no mention of his ancestors [ASSYRIA]. The book seems to be but a fragment, though the commencing 1, i. 1, which refers to prior things, will not of itself prove a literary connection with some antecedent and unreported oracles (Ezek. i. 1), nor can we assign it the deeper logical meaning which Pusey gives it. Apocryphal prophecies ascribed to Jonah may be found in the pseudo-Epiphanius (*De Vitis Proph.*, c. 16), and the *Chronic. Paschale*.

Among the numerous commentators on Jonah may be noticed Archbishop Abbot, *Exposition of Jonah*, 1600; Crocius, *Comment. in Jonam.*, Cassell 1656; J. Gerhardt, *Annot. in Proph. Amos et Jon. etc.*, Frag. 1692; Leusden, *Jonas Illustratus*, 1692; Lessing, *Observat. in Vatic. Jon.*, 1782; Grimm, *Der Proph. Jonas Uebersetz.*, 1798; Forbiger, *Proslutio*, etc., 1827; Krahmer, *Das B. Jon. Hist. Krit. untersucht*, Cassel 1839; Henderson, *Minor Prophets*, 1845; Goldhorn, *Excurs.*, 1803; Hitzig, *die Zwölf kl. propheten*, 1852, 2d ed.; Drake's *Notes on Jonah and Hosea*, 1853; Schreg, *Die kleinen propheten*, 1854; Pusey, *Minor Prophets*, 1861; Kaulen, *Liber Jonæ Proph.*, Moguntia 1862.—J. E. See also Raleigh's *Story of the Prophet Jonah*.

JONATHAN (יֹנָתָן, or יְהוֹנָתָן, JEHOATHAN, Given by Jehovah; comp. Theodorus; Sept. Ἰωνάθαρ). 1. A Levite descended from Gershom, the son of Moses (Judg. xviii. 30). It is, indeed, said, in our common copies, that the Gershom from whom this Jonathan sprang was 'the son of Manasseh'; but it is on very good grounds supposed that in the name Moses (מֹשֶׁה), the single letter נ (n) has been interpolated, changing it into Manasseh (מְנַשֶּׁה), in order to save the character of the great lawgiver from the stain of having an idolater among his immediate descendants. The singular name Gershom, and the date of the transaction, go far to establish this view. Accordingly, the Vulgate, and some copies of the Septuagint, actually exhibit the name of Moses instead of Manasseh. The interpolation, however, has been very timidly

executed. The letter **j** was originally placed above the line of the other letters (as it now appears in the printed Hebrew Bibles), as if rather to suggest than to make an alteration; but in process of time the letter sunk down into the body of the word. The Hebrew writers themselves admit the fact of the interpolation, and allege the intention to veil the disgrace of Moses, by suggesting a figurative descent from Manasseh. The history of this Jonathan is involved in the narrative which occupies Judg. xvii., xviii.; and is one of the two accounts which form a sort of appendix to that book. The events themselves appear to have occurred soon after the death of Joshua, and of the elders who outlived him, when the government was in a most unsettled state. Its proper place, in the chronological order, would have been between the second and third chapters of the book.

Jonathan, who was resident at Bethlehem, lived at a time when the dues of the sanctuary did not afford a livelihood to the numerous Levites who had a claim upon them; and belonged to a tribe destitute of the landed possessions which gave to all others a sufficient maintenance. He, therefore, went forth to seek his fortune. In Mount Ephraim he came to 'a house of gods,' which had been established by one Micah, who wanted nothing but a priest to make his establishment complete [MICAH]. This person made Jonathan what was manifestly considered the handsome offer of engaging him as his priest for his victuals, a yearly suit of clothes, and ten shekels (twenty-five shillings) a year in money. Here he lived for some time, till the Danite spies, who were sent by their tribe to explore the north, passed this way and formed his acquaintance. When, not long after, the body of armed Danites passed the same way when going to settle near the sources of the Jordan, the spies mentioned Micah's establishment to them; on which they went and took away not only 'the ephod, the teraphim, and the graven image,' but the priest also, that they might set up the same worship in the place of which they were going to take possession. Micah vainly protested against this robbery; but Jonathan himself was glad at the improvement in his prospects, and from that time, even down to the captivity, he and his descendants continued to be priests of the Danites in the town of Laish, the name of which they changed to Dan.

There is not any reason to suppose that this establishment, whether in the hands of Micah or of the Danites, involved an apostasy from Jehovah. It appears rather to have been an attempt to localise or domesticate His presence, under those symbols and forms of service which were common among the neighbouring nations, but were forbidden to the Hebrews. The offence here was two-fold,—the establishment of a sacred ritual different from the only one which the law recognised, and the worship by symbols, naturally leading to idolatry, with the ministration of one who could not legally be a priest, but only a Levite, and under circumstances in which no Aaronic priest could legally have officiated. It is more than likely that this establishment was eventually merged in that of the golden calf, which Jeroboam set up in this place, his choice of which may very possibly have been determined by its being already in possession of 'a house of gods.'

2. The eldest son of Saul, king of Israel, and

consequently heir apparent of the throne which David was destined to occupy (1 Sam. xiv. 9; 1 Chron. viii. 33; ix. 39). The war with the Philistines, which occupied the early part of his father's reign, afforded Jonathan more than one opportunity of displaying the chivalrous valour and the princely qualities with which he was endowed. His exploit in surprising the Philistine garrison at Michmash, attended only by his armour-bearer, is one of the most daring which history or even romance records (1 Sam. xiv. 1-14). His father came to follow up this victory, and in the ensuing pursuit of the confounded Philistines, Jonathan, spent with fatigue and hunger, refreshed himself with some wild honey which he found in a wood through which he passed. He knew not that his father had rashly vowed to put to death any one who touched a morsel of food before night. When the fact transpired, Saul felt himself bound to execute his vow even upon his gallant son; but the people, with whom the young prince was a great favourite, interposed, saying, 'Shall Jonathan die, who hath wrought this great salvation in Israel? God forbid! As the Lord liveth, there shall not one hair of his head fall to the ground; for he hath wrought with God this day' (1 Sam. xiv. 16-52).

Jealousy and every mean or low feeling were strangers to the generous heart of Jonathan. Valiant and accomplished himself, none knew better how to acknowledge valour and accomplishment in others. The act of David in meeting the challenge of Goliath, and in overcoming that huge barbarian, entirely won his heart; and from that day forward the son of Jesse found no one who loved him so tenderly, who admired his high gifts with so much enthusiasm, or who risked so much to preserve him from harm, as the very prince whom he was destined to exclude from a throne. Jonathan knew well what was to happen, and he submitted cheerfully to the appointment which gave the throne of his father to the young shepherd of Bethlehem. In the intensity of his love and confidence he shrank not to think of David as his destined king and master; and his dreams of the future pictured nothing brighter than the day in which David should reign over Israel, and he be one with him in friendship, and next to him in place and council—not because he was covetous even of this degree of honour, but because 'next to David' was the place where he wished always to be, and where he desired to rest.

When Saul began to hate David as his intended successor, he was highly displeased at the friendship which had arisen between him and his son. This exposed Jonathan to much contumely, and even to danger of life; for, once at least, the king's passion against him on this account rose so high that he cast a javelin at him 'to smite him to the wall.'

This unequivocal act taught Jonathan that the court of Saul was no safe place for David. He told him so, and they parted with many tears. David then set forth upon those wanderings among strangers and in solitary places, which lasted all the time of Saul. The friends met only once more. Saul was in pursuit of David when he was in the wilderness of Ziph; and Jonathan could not forbear coming to him secretly in the wood to give him comfort and encouragement (1 Sam. xxiii. 16-18). Nothing more is related of Jonathan till

both he and his father lost their lives in the fatal battle of Gilboa, combating against the enemies of their country. When informed of this catastrophe, David uttered a lamentation over his lost friend, than which there is, perhaps, nothing in Hebrew poetry more beautiful and touching, nothing more complete as a whole, or more full of fine images and tender thoughts.—J. K.

3. Son of Shimeah and nephew of David, famous for having encountered and slain a Philistine giant of Gath (2 Sam. xxi. 21; 1 Chron. xx. 7). It is probably the same person who is mentioned 1 Chron. xxvii. 32 as one of David's officers, and who is there described as a wise man and a scribe. The word used there to indicate his relationship to David is דודר, a word which, though commonly applied to a father's brother, properly denotes simple relationship of any kind, and may therefore be used for nephew as well as for uncle.

4. The son of Abiathar the high-priest, who, from the only two occasions on which his name is introduced, may be regarded as especially distinguished by his qualities as a swift and trustworthy messenger (2 Sam. xv. 36; 1 Kings i. 42, 43).

5. The son of Jehoiada and his successor in the priesthood (Neh. xii. 11). In vers. 22 and 23 of this chap. he is called Johanan, and it is recorded that the catalogue of the heads of houses among the Levites was kept in a book of chronicles up to his time. What the meaning of this statement may be is not very clear, for the writer himself informs us of lists continued till the reign of Darius the Persian. Bertheau proposes to connect the latter clause of ver. 23 with ver. 24, and to read thus—'And to the days of Johanan the son of Eliashib were heads of the Levites, Hashabiah,' etc. Josephus, who also calls him John, records the slaughter by him of his brother Jesus in the temple in a fit of passion, excited by the latter making pretensions to the priesthood; a crime which, he says, was punished by God by the oppression of the nation and the profanation of the temple by the Persians (*Antiq.* xi. 7. 1).

Other persons of the name of Jonathan are mentioned 2 Sam. xxiii. 32; comp. 1 Chron. xi. 34; Esd. viii. 6; x. 15; Neh. xii. 14; xii. 35; Jer. xi. 8; 1 Maccab. ix. 19; xiii. 11; 2 Maccab. i. 23.—W. L. A.

JONATHAN B. UZZIEL (יהונתן בן עוזיאל), the celebrated translator of the Pentateuch and Prophets into Chaldee, was the distinguished disciple of Hillel I., and therefore flourished about 30 B.C. [EDUCATION]. He was the first of those thirty disciples of Hillel who, in the language of the Talmud, 'were worthy to possess the power of stopping the sun like Joshua,' and 'when he sat studying the Scriptures, every bird which happened to fly over his head was burned or converted into a Seraph' (*Succa* 28, a; *Baba Bathra* 134, a). His expositions were those of the three last prophets, viz., Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, which had been orally transmitted, and the high esteem in which they were held by the nation may be gathered from the following description in the Talmud:—'When the illuminating sun arose upon the dark passages of the Prophets, through this translation, the length and breadth of Palestine were agitated, and everywhere the voice of God (בְּת קוֹל) or the voice of the people (*vox populi vox dei*) was heard asking, 'Who has disclosed these

mysteries to the sons of men?' With great humility and becoming modesty, Jonathan b. Uzziel answered, 'I have disclosed thy mysteries; but thou, O Lord, knowest that I have not done it to get glory for myself or for the house of my father; but for thy glory's sake, that discussion might not increase in Israel' (*Megilla* 3, a). From these notices in the Talmud, it will be seen that he is only described as the Chaldee translator of the Prophets; and, indeed, it is distinctly declared in the last quoted passage that when Jonathan wanted also to translate the Hagiographa (כְּתוּבִים), the same voice from Heaven (בְּת קוֹל) emphatically forbade it (רִייד) because of the great Messianic mysteries contained therein (רְאוּת בִּיה קִץ מְשִׁיחַ), especially in the book of Daniel (comp. Rashi *in loco*). But as tradition has also ascribed to him the paraphrase of the Pentateuch which is known by the name of *Pseudo-Jonathan*, and the Targum of the Five Megilloth, and as the student will naturally look for an account of the editions of, and the literature on these paraphrases under the name which they bear, it is deemed best to describe them here.

The (reputed) paraphrase of Jonathan on the Pentateuch (תרגום יונתן על התורה), as has been shewn with great learning and reason in a Prize Essay by Selgsohn and Traub (Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, vol. vi., Leipzig 1857, pp. 96-114, 138-149), was made in the middle of the 7th century, by some one who was anxious to make a complete version of what is called the *Jerusalem or Palestine Targum* (תרגום ירושלמי), which in reality is nothing but desultory glosses on Onkelos' paraphrase. The Targum thus based upon the ancient Jerusalem fragments was at first called *Targum Jerusalem*, and afterwards obtained the name of *Targum Jonathan*, by erroneously resolving the abbreviation תי תרגום ירושלמי into תרגום יונתן. This so-called paraphrase of Jonathan b. Uzziel on the Pentateuch, was first published in Venice 1590-91, with the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch, the paraphrase of Onkelos, the fragments of the Jerusalem glosses, the commentaries of Rashi and Jacob b. Asher, then in Basle 1607, Hanau 1614, Amsterdam 1640, Prague 1646, etc., etc., and has lately been printed, with a commentary, in the beautiful edition of the Pentateuch with the Rabbinic commentaries, Vienna 1859. Explanations of this Targum were also written by David b. Jacob, Prague 1609; Feiwei b. David Secharja, Hanau 1614; Mordecai Kremser, Amsterdam 1671. It was translated into Latin by Chevallier in Walton's *Polyglott*. The first volume of an English translation, containing Genesis and Exodus, has just been published by Etheridge (Longman 1862); but the masterly treatises on this *Pseudo-Jonathan* are by Selgsohn and Traub, already quoted, and by Frankel, *Zeitschrift für die religiöse Interesse d. Judenthums*, 1846, p. 100, etc. Comp. also Wiener, *De Jonathanis in Pentateuchum paraphrasi chaldaica*, Erlangen 1823; Petermann, *De duabus Pentateuchi paraphrasis chaldaicis*, Berlin 1829.

The (reputed) paraphrase of Jonathan on the Five Megilloth, is perhaps of a still later date, and has most probably been compiled by several individuals from ancient materials. It is generally published with the Hebrew text of these Megilloth

in the Jewish editions of the Pentateuch, and is contained in all the Rabbinic Bibles. A rhymed version of the whole of this paraphrase by Jacob b. Samuel, also called Koppelman b. Bonem, was published about 1584. A Latin version of it is given in Walton's *Polyglott*. Gill has given an English translation of the entire paraphrase on the Song of Songs (*Comment on the Song*, 1728). Ginsburg translated the first chapter of the paraphrase on the Song (*Comment on the Song*, p. 29, etc.), and the whole of the paraphrase on Ecclesiastes (*Comment on Ecclesiastes*, p. 503, etc.) There are Hebrew commentaries on this paraphrase by Mordecai Lorca, Cracow 1580, and Chajim Feivel, Berlin 1705.

The *paraphrase of Jonathan on the Prophets* (תרגום נביאים ראשונים ואחרונים) embraces Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor Prophets. The importance of this version may be judged of not only from the opinion of the ancient Jews, that it embodies the expositions of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, but from the fact that it contains numerous ancient readings which are undoubtedly genuine, and which relieve many an obscure passage in the Prophets from the constrained and unnatural interpretations forced upon it by critics who are determined to adhere to manifest textual corruptions. A most interesting and instructive list of these readings of Jonathan b. Uzziel, and by no means an exhaustive one, is given in the Hebrew Annual entitled הוֹחֵלֵץ, vol. i., Lemberg 1852, p. 109, etc. This paraphrase is printed in all the Rabbinic Bibles, and is given in the Polyglotts of Antwerp 1572, Paris 1645, London 1657, etc., with a Latin translation. Comp. Bartolucci, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, vol. iii. p. 788, etc.; Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, vol. ii. p. 1159-1191; Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin 1832, p. 61-82; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, vol. ii. p. 105-107; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 167, and the works quoted in this article.—C. D. G.

JONES, JEREMIAH, was born in 1693, and died in 1724. He was educated for the ministry among the dissenters, and was for some time pastor of a congregation at Forest Green, Avening, Gloucestershire. He had also an academy at Nailsworth in that neighbourhood, where he resided. His leisure time was devoted to Biblical studies. In 1719 he published *A Vindication of St. Matthew's Gospel from Mr. Whiston's charge of Dislocations, etc.*, in which he maintains, with much ability and learning, the integrity of the existing text of that gospel, and offers some valuable remarks on the harmony of the four gospels. At his death he left in MS. the work on which his fame principally rests, his *New and Full Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the N. T.* This was published in 1726 in 2 vols. 8vo, followed afterwards by a third vol. This work, along with his dissertation on Matthew, has been recently issued in a correct and elegant edition from the Clarendon Press, Oxford 1827. The writings of Jones are marked by sound erudition, careful citation, and judicious inference.—W. L. A.

JOPPA and JAPHO (יָפֹה and יָפוֹה), 'beauty,' in the LXX. and N. T. Ἰόππη; Vulg. *Joppa*, one of the most ancient and important sea-port

towns of Palestine, situated on the coast of the Mediterranean, in lat. 32° 2', and long. E. 34° 47', about 30 geographical miles from Jerusalem, and nearly midway between the promontory of Carmel and Gaza. Various accounts have been given of the origin and meaning of the name. Some derive it from the Heb. יָפֹה, 'beautiful'; others from Japhet, the son of Noah; classic authors from Ἰόπη, the daughter of Aeolus (see Reland, p. 864-65).

The first mention of Japho is in the description given by Joshua of the boundaries of Dan, of which it was one of the marks (xix. 46). We hear no more of it till the time of Solomon. That wise monarch was the father of Jewish commerce, and he resolved to imitate the Phœnicians in building navies and founding sea-ports. By him, probably, Joppa was made the port of the Jewish capital, and the western outlet of its trade, as Eziongeber was the eastern. When building the Temple he employed Tyrian workmen to fell timber in the pine and cedar forests of Lebanon; they conveyed it 'in floats by sea to Joppa,' whence it was carried to Jerusalem (2 Chron. ii. 16). At Joppa Jonah embarked for Tarshish, in his vain attempt to escape an unpleasant mission to Nineveh (Jonah i. 3). During the captivity the situation of the city, and its commercial importance, appear to have saved it from ruin. On the return of the Jews, Ezra tells us that they gave 'meat, and drink, and oil to them of Zidon, and to them of Tyre, to bring cedar-trees from Lebanon to the sea of Joppa,' for rebuilding the House of the Lord (iii. 7).

After the close of O. T. history Joppa rose in importance. The sea was then beginning to be the highway of nations. Greece, Egypt, Persia, and some of the little kingdoms of Asia Minor had their fleets for commerce and war. Joppa was the only port in Palestine proper at which foreign ships could touch; it was thus not only the shipping capital, but the key of the whole country on the sea-board. During the wars of the Maccabees it was one of the principal strongholds of Palestine (1 Maccab. x. 75; xiv. 5, 34; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 1). It would seem that Jews then constituted only a minority of the population; and the foreign residents—Greeks, Egyptians, and Syrians—were so rich and powerful, and so aided by the fleets of their own nations, as to be able to rule the city. On one occasion they enticed 200 Jews on board ships, and threw them into the sea. For this act of cruelty Judas Maccabæus took signal revenge. Attacking the town by night, he burned all the shipping with every human being on board (2 Maccab. xii. 3-7). The Maccabæan princes subsequently strengthened the fortifications, placed a garrison in the citadel, and retained Joppa in their hands as the chief port of their little kingdom (1 Maccab. xii. 34; xiii. 11; xiv. 5).

When Pompey invaded Palestine (B.C. 63), Joppa was among the first cities captured and annexed to the Roman province of Syria, doubtless because it was deemed wise to secure such an important sea-port (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 4). After the fall of Antony and Cleopatra, Cæsar gave Joppa, with other cities, to Herod the Great (xv. 7. 3). Herod founded Cæsarea Palæstina on the coast a little south of Carmel, formed a harbour there at vast expense, and made it the capital of his kingdom. After Herod's death Joppa passed into the hands of Archelaus (xvii. 11. 4); but on his deposition

(A.D. 6) the whole of Palestine was annexed to the Roman province of Syria, and placed under the immediate rule of a deputy.

Joppa was virtually a Roman town in the time of the apostles. The population was mixed, as is the case in all sea-ports—Greeks, Syrians, Phœnicians, and Egyptians, with a few Roman officials, and a large Jewish community, chiefly engaged in

trade (Strabo, xvi. 2. 34). When Peter visited Lydda, ten miles distant across the plain of Sharon, the Christians of Joppa sent for him, fondly hoping that he would be able to restore to them the dead Tabitha. He came and raised her; and while staying there with 'one Simon a tanner, whose house was by the sea-side,' and while praying on the house-top, he saw that remarkable vision which



291. Jaffa.

shewed him that the distinction between Jew and Gentile was for ever removed by the Gospel (Acts ix. 36-43; x. 9-18).

During the last Jewish war Joppa suffered severely. Cestius, marching from the north, suddenly captured the city, and massacred upwards of 8000 of its inhabitants (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 18. 10). A few years later bands of pirates, taking advantage of the disturbed state of the country, rebuilt Joppa, established themselves there, and

extended their ravages over the whole sea from Cilicia to Egypt. The attention of Vespasian was at length drawn to them, and he took their stronghold, and when the people fled to their ships a storm rose, dashed them to pieces on the rocky shore, so that not a single man escaped. The houses and fortifications were then razed to the ground (*Id.* iii. 9. 2-4).

Joppa is mentioned by many of the classic authors; and some of them assign to it a wondrous

antiquity, affirming that it existed before the flood (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 14). It was mainly, however, in connection with the fable of Andromeda that Joppa was known to Greeks and Romans. Pliny tells us that 'in front of the city lies a rock upon which they point out the vestiges of the chains by which Andromeda was bound,' when she was rescued, and the sea-monster slain by Perseus (*Hist. Nat.* l.c.; Apollod. ii. 4. 3; Strabo, xvi. 2. 28; i. 2. 35; Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iii. 9. 3; Jerome, in *Jon.* i.).

Joppa must have soon revived again. In the 4th century Eusebius calls it a city (*Onomast.* s. v.); and it was then made the seat of a bishopric, an honour which it retained till the conquest of the country by the Saracens (Reland, p. 868; S. Paul, *Geogr. Sac.* p. 305). Joppa has been the landing-place of pilgrims going to Jerusalem for more than a thousand years, from Arculf in the 7th century to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in the 19th; and it is mentioned in almost all the itineraries and books of travel in the Holy Land which have appeared in different languages (*Early Travels in Pal.*, pp. 10, 34, 142, 286). During the Crusades Joppa was several times taken and retaken by Franks and Saracens. Saladin destroyed its fortifications, and Richard of England rebuilt them (*Itinerary of Richard I.*, iv. 23 and 26; vi. 13 and 18). After the close of the Crusades Joppa fell to ruin. In the 13th century it did not contain a single habitable house. Bertrandon de la Broquiere says of it in that age—'It formerly belonged to the Christians, and was then strong; at present it is entirely destroyed, having only a few tents covered with reeds, whither pilgrims retire to shelter themselves from the heat of the sun' (*Early Travels in Pal.*, Bohn, p. 286). It soon afterwards began to revive, and has since attained to something of its ancient importance. In the year 1797 it was taken by the French, and upon that occasion the conquerors were guilty of an act of cruelty fortunately rare in modern warfare. A body of 4000 Albanians, who held a strong position in the town, surrendered on promise of having their lives spared. The promise was given, and yet the whole 4000 were afterwards pinioned and shot on the strand! Another tragedy perpetrated at Joppa by Napoleon is not only an everlasting disgrace to the man, but it leaves a dark stain on the history of a civilized nation. When compelled to retreat to Egypt, between 400 and 500 French soldiers lay ill of the plague in the hospitals of Joppa. They could not be removed, and *Napoleon ordered them to be poisoned!* (*Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 288).

Yifsa is the modern name of Joppa, and is identical with the old Hebrew *Japho* (יָפוֹ = יָפֹא). It contains about 5000 inhabitants, of whom 1000 are Christians, about 150 Jews, and the rest Muslims. It is beautifully situated on a little rounded hill, dipping on the west into the waves of the Mediterranean, and on the land side encompassed by orchards of orange, lemon, apricot, and other trees, which for luxuriance and beauty are not surpassed in the world. They extend for several miles across the great plain. Like most Oriental towns, however, it looks best in the distance. The houses are huddled together without order; the streets are narrow, crooked, and filthy; the town is so crowded along the steep sides of the hill that the rickety dwellings in the upper part seem to be

toppling over on the flat roofs of those below. It has no port, and it is only under favourable circumstances of wind and weather, vessels can ride at anchor a mile or so from the shore. There is a place on the shore which is called 'the harbour.' It consists of a strip of water from fifteen to twenty yards wide and two to three deep, enclosed on the sea side by a ridge of low and partially sunken rocks. It may afford a little shelter to boats, but it is worse than useless so far as commerce is concerned. The town is defended by a wall, on which a few old guns are mounted. With the exception of a few broken columns scattered about the streets, and through the gardens on the southern slope of the hill, and the large stones in the foundations of the castle, Joppa has no remains of antiquity; and none of its modern buildings, not even the reputed 'house of Simon the tanner,' which the monks show, are worthy of note. The town has still a considerable trade as the port of Jerusalem, and its fruits are reckoned the best in Syria.—J. L. P.

JORAH (יֹרָה; Sept. *Iwpa*), the ancestor of the Benei Jorah, or, as they are elsewhere called, the Benei-Hariph, a company of 112 persons who came up from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 18; Neh. vii. 24). Whether *Jorah* or *Hariph* (חֲרִיף) is the correct form, or whether both are not errors for חֲרִים, *Harim*, is uncertain. In the Syr. for חֲרִי there is *ܡܫܠܝܢ*, *Churum*, in Neh. vii. 24; and the Cod. Alex. has here *Ἀπελῶ*, which, when compared with Ezra x. 31, favours the conclusion that the proper reading in all the passages is חֲרִים.—†.

JORAM (יֹרָם; Sept. *Iwpa*, a contraction of JEHORAM), ninth king of Israel, son of Ahab, and successor to his elder brother Ahaziah, who died childless. He began to reign B.C. 896, and reigned twelve years (2 Kings i. 17; iii. 1). Joram adhered to the sinful policy of Jeroboam in the matter of the golden calves; but, although his mother Jezebel was still alive, he discontinued the dark idolatries of Baal which she had introduced and maintained at such high cost of guilt and blood to the nation.

The Moabites had been tributary to the crown of Israel since the separation of the two kingdoms. But king Mesha deemed the defeat and death of Ahab so heavy a blow to the power of Israel that he might safely assert his independence. He accordingly did so, by withholding his tribute of '100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams with the wool.' The short reign of Ahaziah had afforded no opportunity for any operations against the revolvers; but the new king hastened to reduce them again under the yoke they had cast off. The good king of Judah, Jehoshaphat, was too easily induced to take a part in the war. He perhaps feared that the example of Moab, if allowed to be successful, might seduce into a similar course his own tributary, the king of Edom, whom he now summoned to join in this expedition. The deliverance of the allies from perishing from lack of water, and the signal overthrow of the Moabites at the word of Elisha, have been already described under ELISHA and JEHO-SHAPHAT.

After this a more redoubtable enemy, Benhadad, king of Syria, occupied for a long time the attention and strength of the king. In the sacred records the more striking events of this war seem to

be recorded for the sake of shewing forth the great acts of ELISHA, and they have therefore been related under his name. It suffices here to indicate that they consisted in the Syrian king being constrained to terminate one campaign in consequence of all his plans being made known by the prophet to the king of Israel (2 Kings vi. 1-23); and in the deliverance of Samaria, according to the prediction of the prophet, from a horrible famine, caused by the city being besieged by the Syrians (2 Kings vi. 24-33; vii.) An interval of the war also afforded occasion for the remarkable cure of Naaman, the Syrian leper, by the same prophet (2 Kings v.) [NAAMAN]. These events serve to manifest the uncertain character of Joram, and the too strong influence of instant circumstances upon his faith and conduct. So in his conduct to Elisha, we find him at one time obedient to the prophet, and full of respectful admiration of his office and character; and at another time devoting his head to destruction, sending messengers to put him to death, and then starting himself after them—probably to prevent his own orders from being executed (2 Kings vi. 31-33).

After the death of Benhadad, Joram found a new and active enemy in his murderer and successor, Hazael. During the illness of Benhadad, the king of Israel seems to have employed himself in strengthening his eastern frontier against the Syrians, and in fortifying Ramoth-Gilead, which had fallen into his hands, and which his father had perished in the attempt to recover from the Syrians. This strong fortress henceforth became the head-quarters of the operations beyond the river. Hazael was scarcely settled on the throne before he took arms, and marched against Ramoth, in the environs of which the Israelites sustained a defeat, and the king was wounded. He returned to Jezreel to be healed of his wounds, leaving the army in the charge of Jehu, one of his ablest and most active generals. It was in this interval that Jehu was anointed king of Israel by the messenger of Elisha, and immediately proceeded to Jezreel to fulfil his commission to exterminate the house of Ahab. The king, who went forth from the city to meet him when the watchman on the tower of Jezreel announced his approach, was slain under the circumstances described in the article JEHU; and Ahaziah, the king of Judah, who was at Jezreel on a visit to his sick cousin, shared his fate (B.C. 884). With Joram ended the dynasty of Ahab, which reigned forty-four years in Israel (2 Kings viii. 25-29; ix. 1-20).—J. K.

JORDAN (יַרְדֵּן), always with the article in prose, יַרְדֵּן; ὁ Ἰορδάνης; *Jordanis*), the chief and most celebrated river of Palestine, flowing through a deep valley down the centre of the country from north to south.

The name.—*Jordan* may be rendered 'the descender,' from the root יָרַד, 'to descend'—a name most applicable to it, whether we consider the rapidity of its current, or the great depth of the valley through which it runs. From whatever part of the country its banks are approached, the 'descent' is long and steep. That this is the true etymology of the word seems evident from an incidental remark in Josh. iii. 16, where, in describing the effect of the opening of a passage for the Israelites, the word used for the 'coming

down' of the waters (הַמַּיִם הַיֹּרְדִּים) is exactly the same as the name of the river (יַרְדֵּן; see Stanley, *S. and P.*, 279, note). Other derivations have been given. Some say it is compounded of יָרַד, 'a river,' and יָרֵן, the name of the city where it rises, but this etymology is impossible, for the word יַרְדֵּן has no relation to the name of the city

יָרֵן (Reland, *Pal.*, p. 271). Another view is, that the river having two sources, the name of the one was *Jor*, and of the other *Dan*; hence the united stream is called *Jordan*. So Jerome, 'Jordanes oritur ad radices Libani; et habet duos fontes, unum nomine *Jor*, et alterum *Dan*; qui simul mixti Jordanis nomen efficiunt' (*Comm. in Matt.* xvi. 13). This theory has been copied by Adamnanus (*De Loc. Sanct.* ii. 19), William of Tyre (xiii. 18), Brocardus (3), Adrichomius (p. 109), and others; and the etymology seems to have spread among the Christians in Palestine, from whom Burckhardt heard it (*Travels in Syria*, pp. 42, 43; see Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 412, note). The Greeks called the river Ἰορδάνης; but Pausanias has Ἰόρδανος. Arab geographers call it either

الأردن (*El-Urdon*), which is equivalent to the

Hebrew יַרְדֵּן; or الشريعة (*Esh-sheriah*), which signifies 'the watering-place;' and this latter is the name almost universally given to it by the modern Syrians, who sometimes attach the appellative *el-Kebtr*, 'the great,' by way of distinction.

Sources.—The snows that deeply cover Hermon during the whole winter, and that still cap its glittering summit during the hottest days of summer, are the real sources of the Jordan. They feed its perennial fountains; and they supply from a thousand channels those superabundant waters which make the river 'overflow all its banks in harvest time' (Josh. iii. 15). The Jordan has two *historical* sources. In the midst of a rich but marshy plain, lying between the southern prolongation of Hermon and the mountains of Naphtali, is a low cup-shaped hill, thickly covered with shrubs. On it once stood *Dan*, the northern border-city of Palestine; and from its western base gushes forth the great fountain of the Jordan. The waters at once form a large pond encircled with rank grass and jungle—now the home of the wild boar—and then flow off southward. Within the rim of the cup, beneath the spreading branches of a gigantic oak, is a smaller spring. It is fed doubtless by the same source; and its stream, breaking through the rim, joins its sister, and forms a river some forty feet wide, deep and rapid. The modern name of the hill is *Tell el-Kâdy*, 'the hill of the judge;' and both fountain and river are called *Laddan*—evidently the name *Dan* corrupted by a double article, *El-ed-Dan* (Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 394; Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 214; and in *Bibliotheca Sac.* for 1846, p. 196). Josephus calls this stream 'Little Jordan' (τὸν μικρὸν Ἰορδάνην, *Bell. Jud.* iv. 1. 1); but it is the principal source of the river, and the largest fountain in Syria.

Four miles east of Tell el-Kâdy, on a lower terrace of Hermon, amid forests of oak, lie the ruins of Banias, the ancient Caesarea-Philippi, and more ancient Panium. Beside the ruins is a lofty cliff of red limestone, having a large fountain at its

base. Beneath the cliff there was formerly, as Josephus tells us, a gloomy cave, and within it a yawning abyss of unfathomable depth, filled with water. This was the other source of the Jordan (*Bell. Jud.* i. 21. 3). A temple was erected over the cave by Herod, and its ruins now fill it and conceal the fountain. From it a foaming torrent still bursts, and dashes down to the plain through a narrow rocky ravine, and then glides swiftly on till it joins the other about four miles south of Tell el-Kâdy (Robinson, iii. 397; *Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 446).

Such are the sources of the Jordan, of which Stanley well says—'It is not always that the sources of great rivers correspond to the future course of their progeny. But those of the Jordan meet every requirement. Geographically they might be perhaps sought elsewhere; but historically the sight of the springs which we have now reached at once vindicates and explains their claims' (*S. and P.*, p. 386). They are in truth noble fountains; and their crystal waters burst forth in the very centre of the richest and grandest scenery in all Palestine. It seems fitting, too, that the river in which the SON OF MAN was baptised should spring from that mountain whose summit was the only spot on earth where his divine glory was manifested in the Transfiguration (Porter's *Damascus*, i. p. 306).

The Jordan has also a *fabled* fountain, thus described by Josephus:—'Apparently Panium is the source of the Jordan; but the water is, in reality, conveyed thither unseen by a subterranean channel from Phiala, as it is called, which lies not far from the high road, on the right as you ascend to Trachonitis, at the distance of 120 stadia from Cæsarea . . . That the Jordan hence derived its origin was formerly unknown, until it was ascertained by Philip, Tetrarch of Trachonitis; who, having thrown chaff into Phiala, found it cast out at Panium' (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 10. 7). The lake here referred to appears to be *Burkat er-Ram*, which Robinson visited and described (*B. R.*, iii. 399). The legend has no foundation in reality.

Other fountains in this region, though unnamed in history, contribute much to the Jordan. The chief of these, and the highest perennial source of the Jordan, is in the bottom of a valley at the western base of Hermon, a short distance from the town of Hasbeiya and twelve miles north of Tell el-Kâdy. The fountain is in a pool, at the foot of a basalt cliff; the stream from it, called *Hasbâny* (from *Hasbeiya*), flows through a narrow glen into the plain, and falls into the main stream about a mile south of the junction of the Leddân and Baniâsy. The relative size of the three streams Robinson thus estimates—'That from Banias is twice as large as the Hasbâny; while the Leddân is twice, if not three times, the size of that from Banias' (*B. R.*, iii. 395). The united river flows southward through the marshy plain for six miles, and then falls into lake Hûleh, called in Scripture 'The Waters of Merom' [MEROM].

Besides these a considerable stream comes down from the plain of Ijon, west of the Hasbâny; and two large fountains (called Balât, and Mellâhah), burst forth from the base of the mountain-chain of Naphtali. Such, then, are the sources, and such is the gradual formation of the Jordan (*Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 436).

Physical features of the Jordan and its valley.—The most remarkable feature of the Jordan is, that

throughout nearly its entire course *it is below the level of the sea*. Its valley is thus like a huge fissure in the earth's crust. The following measurements, taken from Van de Velde's *Memoir of Map*, will give the best idea of the depression of this singular valley:—

Fountain of Jordan at Hasbeiya,	1700 ft. elevation.
" " Banias,	1147 "
" " Dan,	647 "
The Lake Hûleh, . . . about	120 "
The Lake of Tiberias, . . .	650 ft. depression.
The Dead Sea,	1312 "

There must be some error in the elevations of the fountains as here given. Lake Hûleh is encompassed by a great plain, extending to Dan, and as it appears to the eye almost level, it is impossible there could be a difference of 500 feet in the elevations of the fountain and the lake. The writer estimated it on the spot at not above 100 feet; and it is worthy of note that von Wildenbruch makes it by measurement 537 feet, and De Bertou 344.

The general course of the Jordan is due south. From their fountains the three streams flow south to the points of junction, and continue in the same direction to the Hûleh; and from the southern extremity of this lake the Jordan again issues and resumes its old course. For some two miles its banks are flat, and its current not very rapid; but on passing through Jisr Benât Yakûb ('The bridge of Jacob's daughters'), the banks suddenly contract, and rise high on each side, and the river dashes in sheets of foam over a rocky bed, rebounding from cliff to cliff in its mad career. Here and there the retreating banks have a little green meadow, with its fringe of oleanders all wet and glistening with spray. Thus it rushes on, often winding, occasionally doubling back like the coils of a serpent, till, breaking from rocky barriers, it enters the rich plain of Bathlah, where on the left bank stand the ruins of Bethsaida [BETHSAIDA]. The stream now expands, and glides lazily along till it falls on the still bosom of the sea of Galilee. Between Bethsaida and the sea, the Jordan averages about twenty yards in width, and flows sluggishly between low alluvial banks. Bars of sand extend across its channel here and there, at which it is easily forded (*Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 426; Robinson, ii. 414, *seq.*; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 315). From Jisr Benât Yakûb the distance is only seven miles; and yet in that distance the river falls 700 feet. The total length of the section between the two lakes is about eleven miles as the crow flies.

An old tradition tells us that the Jordan flows direct through the sea of Galilee without mingling with its waters. The origin of the story may be the fact that the river enters the lake at the northern extremity, and leaves it at a point exactly opposite at the southern, without apparent increase or diminution.

The *third section* of the river, lying between the sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea, is the Jordan of Scripture; the other two sections not being directly mentioned either in the O. T. or N. T. Until the last few years little was known of it. The notices of ancient geographers are not full. Travellers had crossed it at several points, but all the portions between these points were unknown. When the remarkable depression of the Dead Sea was ascertained by trigonometrical measurement,

and when it was shown that the Jordan must have a fall of 1400 feet in its short course of about 100 miles, the measurements were called in question by that distinguished geographer Dr. Robinson, in a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society in 1847 (*Journal*, vol. xviii., part 2). In that same year Lieut. Molyneux, R.N., conveyed a boat from the sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea, mostly in the river, but in places on the backs of

camels, where rocks and rapids prevented navigation. Owing to the hostility of the Arabs the expedition was not successful; and the Jordan was not yet explored. Lieut. Lynch of the United States Navy headed a much more successful expedition in 1848, and was the first fully to describe the course, and fully to solve the mysteries of the Jordan. His *Official Report* is the standard work on the river. Molyneux's paper in the *Journal of*



292. Jordan by Moonlight.

the *R. Geog. Society* also contains some useful matter (vol. xviii., part 2).

The valley through which this section of the Jordan flows is a long, low plain, running from north to south, and shut in by steep and rugged parallel ridges; the eastern ridge rising fully 5000 feet above the river's bed; and the western about 3000. This plain is the 'great plain' of the later Jews; the 'great desert' (πολλὴν ἐρημὴν) of Josephus; the 'Aulon' or 'channel of the Greek geo-

graphers; and the 'Ghar' or 'sunken plain' of the modern Arabs (Stanley, p. 277; Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iii. 9. 7; iv. 8. 2; Reland, *Pal.*, p. 305, 361, 377, *seq.*) It is about six miles wide at its northern end, but it gradually expands until it attains a width of upwards of twelve at Jericho. Its sides are not straight lines, nor is its surface perfectly level. The mountains on each side here and there send out rocky spurs, and long low roots far into it. Winter torrents, descending from wild

ravines, cut deeply through its soft strata. As a whole it is now a desert. In its northern division, above the fords of Succoth, small portions are cultivated around fountains, and along the banks of streamlets, where irrigation is easy; but all the rest is a wilderness—in spring covered with rank grass and thistles, but in summer parched and bare. The southern section—known as the 'plain of Jericho'—is different in aspect. Its surface is covered with a white nitrous crust, like hoar frost, through which not a blade of grass or green herb springs. Nothing could be imagined more dreary or desolate than this part of the plain.

Down the midst of the plain winds a ravine, varying from 200 yards to half a mile in breadth, and from 40 to 150 feet in depth. Through this the Jordan flows in a tortuous course, now sweeping the western, and now the eastern bank; now making a wide, graceful curve, and now doubling back; but everywhere fringed by a narrow, dense border of trees and shrubs. The river has thus two distinct lines of banks. The first or lower banks confine the stream, and are from five to ten feet high, the height of course decreasing in spring when the river is high; the second or upper are at some distance from the channel, and in places rise to a height of 150 feet. The scenery of the river is peculiar and striking. Lynch thus describes the upper section: 'The high alluvial terraces on each side were everywhere shaped by the action of the winter rains into numbers of conical hills, some of them pyramidal and cuneiform, presenting the appearance of a giant encampment. This singular conformation extended southward as far as the eye could reach. At intervals I caught a glimpse of the river in its graceful meanderings, sometimes glittering like a spear-head through an opening in the foliage, and again clasping some little island in its shining arms, or, far away, snapping with the fierceness and white foam of a torrent by some projecting point. . . . The banks were fringed with the laurustinus, the oleander, the willow, and the tamarisk, and farther inland, on the slope of the second terrace, grew a small species of oak, and the cedar.'

The Jordan issues from the Sea of Galilee close to the hills on the western side of the plain, and sweeps round a little peninsula, on which lie the ruins of Tarichæa (*Handbook*, p. 321; Robinson, i. 538). The stream is about 100 feet wide, and the current strong (Lynch). A short distance down are the remains of a Roman bridge, whose fallen arches greatly obstruct the river, and make it dash through in sheets of foam. Below this are several weirs, constructed of rough stones, and intended to raise the water, and turn it into canals, so as to irrigate the neighbouring plain (Molyneux). Five miles from the lake the Jordan receives its largest tributary, the *Sheriat el-Maudhâr* (the *Hiromax* of the Greeks), which drains a large section of Bashan and Gilead. This stream is 130 feet wide at its mouth. Two miles farther is Jisr el-Mejâmia, the only bridge now standing on the lower Jordan. It is a quaint structure; one large pointed arch spanning the stream, and double tiers of smaller arches supporting the roadway on each side. The river is here deep and impetuous, breaking over high ledges of rocks.

Below this point the ravine inclines eastward to the centre of the plain, and its banks contract. Its sides are bare and white, and the chalky strata

are deeply furrowed. The margin of the river has still its beautiful fringe of foliage; and the little islets which occur here and there are covered with shrubbery. Fifteen miles south of the bridge, Wady Yîbes (so called from *Yabesh-Gilead*), containing a winter torrent, falls in from the east. A short distance above it a barren sandy island divides the channel, and with its bars on each side forms a ford, probably the one by which Jacob crossed, as the site of Succoth has been identified on the western bank [SUCCOTH]. The plain round Succoth is extensively cultivated, and abundantly watered by fountains and streamlets from the adjoining mountains. The richness of the soil is wonderful. Dr. Robinson says, 'the grass intermingled with tall daisies, and wild oats, reached to our horses' backs; while the thistles sometimes overtopped the riders' heads. All was now dry, and in some places it was difficult to make our way through this exuberant growth' (iii. p. 313). Jacob exercised a wise choice when 'he made booths for his cattle' at this favoured spot (Gen. xxxiii. 17). No other place in the great plain equals it in richness. The ravine of the Jordan is here 150 feet below the plain, and shut in by steep bare banks of chalky strata (Robinson, *l.c.*, p. 316).

About nine miles below Succoth, and about half-way between the lakes, the Jabbok, the only other considerable tributary, falls into the Jordan, coming down through a deep wild glen in the mountains of Gilead [JABBOK]. When Lynch passed (April 17), it was 'a small stream trickling down a deep and wide torrent bed. . . . There was another bed, quite dry, shewing that in times of fresher there were two outlets.' Lynch gives some good pictures of the scenery above the junction. 'The plain that sloped away from the bases of the hills was broken into ridges and multitudinous cone-like mounds. . . . A low, pale, yellow ridge of conical hills marked the termination of the higher terrace, beneath which swept gently this low plain, with a similar undulating surface, half redeemed from barrenness by sparse verdure and thistle-covered hillocks. Still lower was the valley of the Jordan—its banks fringed with perpetual verdure—winding a thousand graceful mazes. . . . its course a bright line in this cheerless waste.'

Below the Jabbok the fall of the river is still greater than above; but there is less obstruction from rocks and cliffs. The jungles along the banks become denser, the sides of the river-glen more regular, and the plain above more dreary and desolate.

On approaching the Dead Sea, the plain of the Jordan attains its greatest breadth—about 12 miles. The mountain ranges on each side are higher, more rugged, and more desolate. The plain is coated with a nitrous crust, like hoar-frost; and not a tree, shrub, or blade of grass is seen except by fountains or rivulets. The glen winds like a serpent through the centre, between two tiers of banks. The bottom is smooth, and sprinkled on the outside with stunted shrubs. The river winds in ceaseless coils along the bottom, now touching one side and now another, with its beautiful border of green foliage, looking all the greener for contrast with the desert above. The banks are of soft clay, in places ten feet high; the stream varies from 80 to 150 feet in breadth, and from 5 to 12 in depth. Near its mouth the current becomes more sluggish, and the stream expands. Where

Wady Hesbân falls in, Lynch found the river 150 feet wide and 11 deep, 'the current four knots.' Farther down the banks are low and sedgy; the width gradually increases to 180 yards at its mouth; but the depth is only three feet (Lynch, *Official Report, Handbook*, pp. 195-197; Robinson, i. 538, *seq.*; Stanley, p. 290).

Lynch in a few words explains the secret of the great and almost incredible fall in the Jordan. 'The great secret is solved by the tortuous course of the Jordan. In a space of 60 miles of latitude, and four or five of longitude, the Jordan traverses at least 200 miles. . . . We have plunged down twenty-seven threatening rapids, besides a great many of lesser magnitude.'

(In addition to the works cited on the physical features of the Jordan, the following afford important information:—*Journal of R. Geog. Society*, xviii., part 2, articles by Robinson, Petermann, and Molyneux; Berton in *Bulletin de la Soc. Geograph. de Paris*, xii. 166, *seq.*; Wildenbruch, *Monatsberichte der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1845-46. A clear summary of all known about the Jordan up to 1850 is given by Ritter in *Palästina und Syrien*, vol. ii., pp. 152-556. Where facts are stated and scenery is described, without citing authorities, the writer is giving his own personal observations.)

The *Fords* of the Jordan have always been important in connection with the history of the country. The three streams which flow from the fountains are fordable at almost every point. It is south of lake Hületh that the river begins to form a serious barrier. The bridge called *Jisr Benât Yakûb* has for centuries been the leading pass from Western Palestine to Damascus. The first reference to it is in A.D. 1450 (*Reisbuch des Heil. Landes*, p. 451; Robinson, ii. 441); though, as early as the Crusades, a 'Ford of Jacob' (*Vadium Jacob*, Will. Tyr. *Hist.* xviii. 13) is mentioned, and was reckoned a most important pass. The bridge was probably built during the 15th century, when the caravan road was constructed from Damascus to Egypt (*Handbook*, ii. 466). The origin of the name, 'Bridge of Jacob's daughters,' is unknown. Perhaps this place may have been confounded with the ford of Succoth, where the patriarch crossed the Jordan, or perhaps the 'Jacob' referred to was some Muslim saint or Turkish pasha (Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, 269, *seq.*)

Between Bethsaida-Julias and the Sea of Galilee there are several fords. The river is there shallow and the current sluggish. At this place the multitudes that followed our Lord from Capernaum and the neighbourhood were able to cross the river to where he fed the 5000 (Mark vi. 32, *seq.*; Robinson, ii. 414).

The first ford on the southern section of the Jordan is about half a mile from the lake, where the ruins of the Roman bridge now lie. It was the means of communication between Tiberias and Gadara; and it was doubtless at this point our Lord crossed when he went from Galilee to Judæa 'by the farther side of Jordan' (Mark x. 1; Matt. xix. 1, 2). *Jisr el-Mejâmia* is a Saracenic bridge on an old caravan route from Damascus to Egypt. Probably a Roman bridge may have stood at the same place, connecting Scythopolis with the other cities of Decapolis. There is no ford here. At a point east of the ruins of Scythopolis, ten miles below the bridge, the river is now fordable;

but the passage is deep and dangerous (Robinson, iii. 325; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 137).

At *Succoth* is one of the best and most important fords over the Jordan. Here Jacob crossed with his cattle. This, too, is in all probability the *Beth-barah*, 'house, or ford of passage,' where the Israelites intercepted the routed Midianites (Judg. vii. 24). It is still the place at which the eastern Bedawîn cross in their periodical invasions of Esdraelon. From Succoth to the mouth of the Jabbok the river becomes very low during the summer, and is fordable at many points. At one spot are the remains of a Roman bridge (Molyneux, pp. 115, *seq.*; Lynch, April 16; Burckhardt, pp. 344, *seq.*) Ten miles south of the Jabbok there is a noted ford on the road from Nabulus to Es-Salt. Traces of a Roman road and bridge were here discovered by Van de Velde (*Memoir*, p. 124). The only other fords of note are those in the plain of Jericho, one above and one below the pilgrims' bathing-place. They are much deeper than those higher up, and when the river is swollen they become impassable.

Historical Notices.—The first notice of the Jordan is in the story of the separation of Abraham and Lot;—Lot 'beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere, before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah' (Gen. xiii. 10). The section of the valley visible from the heights of Bethel, where the patriarchs stood, was the plain of Jericho and southward over a part of the Dead Sea. The 'plain,' or 'circle' (עֵרְבָה), of the Jordan must have been different then from what it is now. It is now a parched desert—then it was well watered everywhere. The waters of numerous springs, mountain torrents, and probably of the Jordan, raised by weirs such as are seen at its northern end, were used by the old Phœnician inhabitants in the irrigation of the vast plain. The curse had not yet come upon it; the fire of heaven had not yet passed over it; the Lord had not yet destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah (Stanley, p. 215). It is manifest that some great physical change was produced in the valley by the convulsion at the destruction of the cities. The bed of the Dead Sea was probably lowered, and a greater fall thus given to the river; but this subject will be considered elsewhere [SEA].

Another wonderful epoch in the Jordan's history was the passage of the Israelites. They were encamped on the 'plains of Moab'—on the broad plain east of the river, extending along the northern shore of the sea to the foot of the mountains. It was harvest-time—the beginning of April—when the rains were still falling heavily in Hermon, and the winter snows were melting under the rays of the warm sun, and when a thousand mountain torrents, thus fed, swept into the Jordan, and made it 'overflow all its banks;' or, as the Hebrew literally signifies, made it 'full up to all its banks'

(מָלָא עַד-כָּל-נְדוּתָיו; see Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 540); that is, perhaps, up not merely to the banks of the stream itself, but up to the banks of the glen; covering, as it still does in a few places (Molyneux, p. 116; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 125), the whole bottom of the glen, and thus rendering the fords impassable for such a host as the Israelites. There can be no doubt that in ancient times the Jordan rose higher than it does now. When the country was more thickly wooded, and more extensively

cultivated, more rain and more snow must have fallen. There are wet seasons even yet, when the river rises several feet more than ordinarily (Reland, p. 273; Raumer, *Pal.*, p. 61, 2d ed.) The opening of a passage through the river at such a season was the greater miracle. Had it been late in summer, it might have been thought that natural causes operated; but in harvest—the time of the overflow—the finger of God must have been manifest to all. It is a remarkable fact that at this same spot the Jordan was afterwards twice miraculously opened—by Elijah and Elisha (2 Kings ii. 8, 14).

At a later period it was considered a feat of high daring that a party of David's 'mighty men' crossed the Jordan 'in the first month (April), when it had overflowed all its banks,' and subdued their enemies on the east side (1 Chron. xii. 15). Jeremiah speaks of the lions 'coming up' from the 'swellings of the Jordan'; but the Hebrew word *יִנְיָ*, signifies 'beauty' or 'glory,' and refers to the

dense jungles and verdant foliage of its banks; these jungles are impenetrable except to the wild beasts that dwell there. No allusion is made to the rise or overflow of the river (Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, s. v.; Robinson, i. 540). The writer has often seen wild swine, hyænas, and jackals, and also the tracks of panthers, on the banks of the Jordan (cf. Molyneux, p. 118).

The passage of the river by King David in his flight from Absalom has one peculiarity—a *ferry-boat* was used to convey his household over the channel (2 Sam. xix. 18). The passage was probably effected at one of the fords in the plain of Jericho. The word *עֲבָרָה* simply signifies a thing for crossing—it may have been a 'boat,' or a 'raft,' or a few inflated skins, such as are represented on the monuments of Nineveh, and are still used on the Euphrates and the Jordan.

Naaman's indignant depreciation of the Jordan, as compared with the 'rivers of Damascus,' is well known. The rivers of Damascus water its great plain, converting a desert into a paradise; the Jordan rolls on in its deep, deep bed, useless to the Sea of Death.

The great event of the N. T. history enacted at the Jordan, was the baptism of our Lord. This has made it the queen of rivers, and has given it the title 'sacred.' The exact spot is disputed. The topography and the incidents of the narrative, both before and after the baptism, unquestionably point to the same place, already famous as the scene of three miracles (*Handbook*, p. 198). In commemoration of the baptism, the Christian pilgrims who assemble at Jerusalem at Easter, visit the Jordan in a body and bathe at this spot (Stanley, p. 308).

The references to the Jordan in the writings of Josephus contain nothing of importance beyond what has been already mentioned in connection with the fountains and the physical features. Greek and Roman geographers seem to have known but little of the river. Pliny praises its beauty, and states that, with the greatest reluctance, as it were, it moves onward toward Asphalites, a lake of gloomy and unpropitious nature, by which it is at last swallowed up' (*H. N.*, v. 15). Strabo makes the singular assertion that it is 'navigated upwards with vessels of burden!' Of course, he can only refer to the Sea of Galilee

(xvi. 2, 16). Pausanias tells how strangely the river disappears in the Dead Sea (book v. 7. 4).

Such, then, is the river Jordan, without any parallel, historical or physical, in the whole world. A complete river beneath the level of the sea! Disappearing in a lake which has no outlet, which could have none, and which originated in a miracle! Thrice were its waters divided by the direct agency of God, that his servants might pass in safety and comfort. In whatever light we regard it, the Jordan stands alone.—J. L. P.

JORKOAM (יִרְקֹאם; Sept. *Ἰερκόαμ*; Alex. *Ἰερκάαμ*), a place of which Rekem, a descendant of Caleb, was chief (1 Chron. ii. 44). From the form of the word in the LXX, Bertheau conjectures that יִרְקֹאם, *Jorkoam*, may be the proper reading. Neither name has been identified with any known locality. [JOKDEAM.]

JOSABAD. [JOZABAD.]

JOSEPH (יוֹסֵף; Sept. *Ἰωσήφ*), son of Jacob and Rachel, born under peculiar circumstances, as may be seen in Gen. xxx. 22; on which account, and because he was the son of his old age (xxxvii. 3), he was beloved by his father more than were the rest of his children, though Benjamin, as being also a son of Jacob's favourite wife, Rachel, was in a peculiar manner dear to the patriarch. The partiality evinced towards Joseph by his father excited jealousy on the part of his brethren, the rather that they were born of different mothers (xxxvii. 2). Joseph had reached his seventeenth year, having hitherto been engaged in boyish sports, or aiding in pastoral duties, when some conduct on the part of 'the sons of Bilhah and the sons of Zilpah, his father's wives,' seems to have been such as in the opinion of Joseph to require the special attention of Jacob, to whom, accordingly, he communicated the facts. This regard to virtue, and this manifestation of filial fidelity, greatly increased his brothers' dislike, who henceforth 'hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him' (xxxvii. 4). Their aversion, however, was carried to the highest pitch when Joseph acquainted them with two dreams that he had had, to the effect—the first, that while he and they were binding sheaves, his sheaf arose and stood erect, while theirs stood round and did obeisance to his; the second, that 'the sun and the moon and the eleven stars paid him homage.' These dreams appeared to indicate that Joseph would acquire pre-eminence in the family, if not sovereignty; and while even his father rebuked him, his brothers were filled with envy. Jacob, however, was not aware of the depth of their ill will; so that on one occasion, having a desire to hear intelligence of his sons, who were pasturing their flocks at a distance, he did not hesitate to make Joseph his messenger for that purpose. His appearing in view of his brothers was the signal for their malice to gain head. They began to devise means for his immediate destruction, which they would unhesitatingly have effected, but for his half-brother, Reuben, who, as the eldest son, might well be the party to interfere on behalf of Joseph. A compromise was entered into, in virtue of which the youth was stripped of the distinguishing vestments which he owed to his father's affection, and cast into a pit. Having performed this evil deed, and while they were tak-

ing refreshment, the brothers beheld a caravan of Arabian merchants, who were bearing the spices and aromatic gums of India down to the well-known and much-frequented mart, Egypt. Judah on this feels a bitter emotion arise in his mind, and proposes that, instead of allowing Joseph to perish, they should sell him to the merchants, whose trade obviously from this embraced human beings as well as spicery. Accordingly the unhappy young man was sold for a slave, to be conveyed by his masters into Egypt. While on his way thither, Reuben returned to the pit, intending to rescue his brother, and convey him safely back to their father. Joseph was gone. On which Reuben went to the wicked young men, who, not content with selling a brother into slavery, determined to punish their father for his partiality towards the unoffending sufferer. With this view they dipped Joseph's party-coloured garment in the blood of a kid and sent it to Jacob, in order to make him believe that his favourite child had been torn to pieces by some wild beast. The trick succeeded, and Jacob was grieved beyond measure.

Meanwhile the merchants sold Joseph to Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the royal guard, who was a native of the country. It is by no means easy to determine who at this time was the Pharaoh, or ruling monarch, though, what is far more important, the condition of the country, and therein the progress of civilization, are in certain general and important features made clear in the course of the narration. According to Syncellus, however, the general opinion in his day was that the sovereign's name who ruled Egypt at the time of the deportation of Joseph was Apophis.

In Potiphar's house Joseph enjoyed the highest confidence and the largest prosperity. A higher power watched over him; and whatever he undertook succeeded, till at length his master gave every thing into his hands. The Hebrew race have always been remarkable for personal beauty, of which Joseph seems to have had an unusual share. This fact explains, if it cannot palliate, the conduct of Potiphar's wife, who tried every means to bring the uncontaminated and pure-minded youth to fulfil her unchaste desires. Foiled in her evil wishes, she resolved to punish Joseph, who thus a second time innocently brings on himself the vengeance of the ill-disposed. Charged with the very crime to which he had in vain been tempted, he is, with a fickleness characteristic of Oriental lords, at once cast into the state prison.

The narrative, which is obviously constructed in order to shew the workings of divine Providence, and may not impossibly have received some shape or hue from the predominant idea, states, however, that Joseph was not left without special aid, in consequence of which he gained favour with the keeper of the prison to such an extent that every thing was put under his direction. If the suddenness and magnitude of this and other changes in the lot of Joseph should surprise any one, the feeling will be mainly owing to his want of acquaintance with the manners and customs of the East, where vicissitudes not less marked and sudden than are those presented in our present history are not uncommon; for those who come into the charmed circle of an Eastern court, especially if they are persons of great energy of character, are subject to the most wonderful alternations of for-

tune, the slave of to-day being the vizier of to-morrow.

Among the many advantages secured to posterity by this interesting and admirable narrative regarding the patriarch Joseph, is an intimate acquaintance (so far as it goes) with the state, at the time to which it refers, of civilization in Egypt. In the part at which we are now arrived, we read of 'the chief of the butlers' and 'the chief of the bakers'; officers who vouch, by the duties which they had to discharge, for the advanced and complex condition of society in which their services were required and supplied. How true and trustworthy, too, the Biblical narrative is, may be learned by an implication which is here offered. The head-butler had a dream in which he saw a vine. On the authority of Herodotus and others, it was long denied that the vine grew in Egypt; and if so, the imagery of the butler's dream would hardly have been appropriate. Wilkinson, however, has shewn beyond a question that vines did grow in Egypt, and thus not only removed a doubt, but given a positive confirmation of the sacred record (*Manners of the Anc. Egypt.* ii. 152).

The two regal officers just mentioned had, while in prison with Joseph, each one a dream, which Joseph interpreted correctly. The butler, whose fate was auspicious, promised the young Hebrew to employ his influence to procure his restoration to the free air of day; but when again in the enjoyment of his 'butlership,' 'he forgot' Joseph (xl.) Pharaoh himself, however, had two dreams, which found in Joseph a successful expounder; for the butler remembered the skill of his prison-companion, and advised his royal master to put it to the test in his own case. Pharaoh's dream, as interpreted by Joseph, foreboded the approach of a seven years' famine; to abate the evils of which Joseph recommended that some 'discreet and wise' man should be chosen and set in full power over the land of Egypt. The monarch was alarmed, and called a council of his advisers. The wisdom of Joseph was recognised as of divine origin and supereminent value; and the king and his ministers (whence it appears that the Egyptian monarchy—at Memphis—was not despotic, but constitutional) resolved that Joseph should be made (to borrow a term from Rome) Dictator in the approaching time of need. 'And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch as God hath shewed thee all this, there is none so discreet and wise as thou art. Thou shalt be over my house, and according unto thy word shall all my people be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou. See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt. And Pharaoh took off his ring and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck; and he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, Bow the knee. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt. And Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphnath-paaneah ('saviour of the world'; comp. Jablonsky, *Opusc.* i. 207, sq.); and he gave him to wife Asenath, the daughter of Poti-pherah, priest of On. And Joseph went out over all the land of Egypt' (xli. 39, sq.). It has been supposed that Joseph was taken into the priestly order, and thus ennobled. The Biblical narrative does not support this opinion, though it leaves it with-

out a doubt that in reality, if not in form as well, the highest trust and the proudest honours of the state were conferred on one so recently a Hebrew slave.

Seven years of abundance afforded Joseph opportunity to carry into effect such plans as secured an ample provision against the seven years of need. The famine came, but it found a prepared people. The visitation did not depend on any mere local causes, for 'the famine was over all the face of the earth;' 'and all countries came into Egypt to Joseph to buy corn' (ver. 56, 57). Among these customers appeared ten brethren, sons of the Hebrew Jacob. They had of necessity to appear before Joseph, whose licence for the purchase of corn was indispensable. Joseph had probably expected to see them, and he seems to have formed a deliberate plan of action. His conduct has brought on him the always ready charges of those who would rather impeach than study the Bible, and even friends of that sacred book have hardly in this case done Joseph full justice (Niemeyer, *Charakt.* ii. 366; Heuser, *Diss. non inhumaniter sed prudentissime Josephum cum fratribus fecisse*, Hal. 1773). Joseph's main object appears to have been to make his brothers feel and recognise their guilt in their conduct towards him. For this purpose suffering, then as well as now, was indispensable. Accordingly Joseph feigned not to know his brothers, charged them with being spies, threatened them with imprisonment, and allowed them to return home to fetch their younger brother, as a proof of their veracity, only on condition that one of them should remain behind in chains, with a prospect of death before him should not their words be verified. Then it was, and not before, that 'they said one to another, We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul and would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us. And Reuben said, Spake I not unto you, saying, Do not sin against the child, and ye would not hear? therefore, behold also his blood is required' (xlii. 21). On which, after weeping bitterly, he by common agreement bound his brother Simeon, and left him in custody. How deeply concerned Joseph was for his family, how true and affectionate a heart he had, may be learned from the words which escape from the brothers in their entreaty that Jacob would allow Benjamin to go into Egypt, as required by Joseph: 'The man asked us straitly of our state and of our kindred, saying, Is your father yet alive? have ye another brother?' (xliii. 7). At length Jacob consents to Benjamin's going in company with his brothers: 'And God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that he may send away your other brother, and Benjamin. If I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved' (ver. 14). Thus provided, with a present consisting of balm, honey, spices and myrrh, nuts and almonds, and with double money in their hands (double, in order that they might repay the sum which Joseph had caused to be put into each man's sack at their departure, if, as Jacob supposed, 'it was an oversight'), they went again down to Egypt and stood before Joseph (xliii. 15); and there, too, stood Benjamin, Joseph's beloved brother. The required pledge of truthfulness was given. If it is asked why such a pledge was demanded, since the giving of it caused pain to Jacob, the answer may be thus: Joseph knew not how to demean himself towards his family until

he ascertained its actual condition. That knowledge he could hardly be certain he had gained from the mere words of men who had spared his life only to sell himself into slavery. How had these wicked men behaved towards his venerable father? His beloved brother Benjamin, was he safe? or had he suffered from their jealousy and malice the worse fate with which he himself had been threatened? Nothing but the sight of Benjamin could answer these questions and resolve these doubts.

Benjamin had come, and immediately a natural change took place in Joseph's conduct: the brother began to claim his rights in Joseph's bosom. Jacob was safe, and Benjamin was safe. Joseph's heart melted at the sight of Benjamin: 'And he said to the ruler of his house, Bring these men home, and slay and make ready, for these men shall dine with me at noon' (xliii. 16). But guilt is always the ready parent of fear. Accordingly the brothers expected nothing but being reduced to slavery. When taken to their own brother's house they imagined they were being entrapped. A colloquy ensued between them and Joseph's steward, whence it appeared that the money put into their sacks, to which they now attributed their peril, was in truth a present from Joseph, designed, after his own brotherly manner, to aid his family in their actual necessities. The steward said, 'Peace be to you, fear not: your God and the God of your father hath given you the treasure in your sacks. I had your money' (ver. 23).

Noon came, and with it Joseph, whose first question regarded home: 'He asked them of their welfare, and said, Is your father well, the old man of whom ye spake? is he yet alive? And he lifted up his eyes and saw his brother Benjamin, his mother's son, and said, Is this your younger brother? And he said, God be gracious unto thee, my son!' 'And Joseph made haste, for his bowels did yearn upon his brother, and he sought where to weep, and he entered into his chamber and wept there.' Does this look like harshness?

The connection brings into view an Egyptian custom, which is of more than ordinary importance, in consequence of its being adopted in the Jewish polity: 'And they set on (food) for him by himself (Joseph), and for them by themselves (the brethren), and for the Egyptians which did eat with them, by themselves: because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that is an abomination with the Egyptians' (ver. 32). This passage is also interesting, as proving that Joseph had not, in his princely grandeur, become ashamed of his origin, nor consented to receive adoption into a strange nation: he was still a Hebrew, waiting, like Moses after him, for the proper season to use his power for the good of his own people.

Other customs appear in this interesting narrative: 'And they (the brothers) sat before him (Joseph), the first-born according to his birthright, and the youngest according to his youth.' 'And he sent messes (delicacies) unto them from before him; but Benjamin's mess was five times so much as any of theirs' (ver. 32, 33). Fear had now given place to wonder, and wonder at length issued in joy and mirth (comp. ver. 18, 33, 34). Thus ended the second act in the drama. Another now opens.

Joseph, apparently with a view to ascertain how

far his brethren were faithful to their father, hit upon a plan which would in its issue serve to shew whether they would make any, and what, sacrifice, in order to fulfil their solemn promise of restoring Benjamin in safety to Jacob. Accordingly he orders not only that every man's money (as before) should be put in his sack's mouth, but also that his 'silver cup, in which my lord drinketh, and whereby he divineth, should be put in the sack's mouth of the youngest. The brethren leave, but are soon overtaken by Joseph's steward, who charges them with having surreptitiously carried off this costly and highly-valued vessel. They on their part vehemently repel the accusation, adding, 'With whomsoever of thy servants it be found, both let him die, and we also will be my lord's bondmen.' A search is made, and the cup is found in Benjamin's sack. Accordingly they return to the city. And now comes the hour of trial: Would they purchase their own liberation by surrendering Benjamin? After a most touching interview, in which they prove themselves worthy and faithful, Joseph declares himself unable any longer to withstand the appeal of natural affection. On this occasion Judah, who is the spokesman, shews the deepest regard to his aged father's feelings, and entreats for the liberation of Benjamin even at the price of his own liberty. In the whole of literature we know of nothing more simple, natural, true, and impressive; nor, while passages of this kind stand in the Pentateuch, can we even understand what is meant by terming that collection of writings 'the Hebrew national epic,' or regarding it as an aggregation of historical legends. If here we have not history, we can in no case be sure that history is before us (xliv.)

Most natural and impressive is the scene also which ensues, in which Joseph, after informing his brethren who he was, and inquiring, first of all, 'Is my father alive?' expresses feelings free from the slightest taint of revenge, and even shews how, under Divine Providence, the conduct of his brothers had issued in good—'God sent me before you to preserve a posterity in the earth, and to save your lives by a great deliverance.' Five years had yet to ensue in which 'there would be neither earring nor harvest;' and therefore the brethren were directed to return home and bring Jacob down to Egypt with all speed. 'And he fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck and wept; and Benjamin wept upon his neck. Moreover, he kissed all his brethren and wept upon them; and after that his brethren talked with him' (xlv. 14, 15).

The news of these striking events was carried to Pharaoh, who being pleased at Joseph's conduct, gave directions that Jacob and his family should come forthwith into Egypt—'I will give you the good of the land of Egypt, and ye shall eat the fat of the land; regard not your stuff, for the good of all the land is yours.' The brethren departed, being well provided for—'And to his father Joseph sent ten asses laden with the good things of Egypt, and ten she asses laden with corn and bread and meat for his father by the way.'

The intelligence which they bore to their father was of such a nature that 'Jacob's heart fainted, for he believed them not.' When, however, he had recovered from the thus naturally told effects of his surprise, the venerable patriarch said, 'Enough; Joseph my son is yet alive: I will go and see him before I die' (xlv. 26, 28).

Accordingly Jacob and his family, to the number of threescore and ten souls, go down to Egypt, and by the express efforts of Joseph, are allowed to settle in the district of Goshen, where Joseph met his father: 'And he fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while.' There Joseph 'nourished his father and his brethren, and all his father's household, with bread, according to their families' (xlvii. 12).

Meanwhile the predicted famine was pauperising Egypt. The inhabitants found their money exhausted, and their cattle and substance all gone, being parted with in order to purchase food from the public granaries, until at length they had nothing to give in return for sustenance but themselves. 'Buy us'—they then imploringly said to Joseph—'and our land for bread, and we and our land will be slaves unto Pharaoh.' 'And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh, so the land became Pharaoh's. The people, too, 'Joseph removed to cities from one end of the borders of the land to the other end.' Religion, however, was too strong to submit to these political and social changes, and so the priests still retained their land, being supplied with provisions out of the common store gratuitously. The land, which was previously the people's own, was now let to them on a tenancy, at the rent of one-fifth of the produce: the land of the priests being exempted.

This is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, social revolution recorded in history. 'Under the pressure of famine an entire nation is reduced from freedom to dependence; while the population, which had been apparently limited to certain districts, was distributed all over the land on different spots.

At this distant period it may not be easy to understand and explain the entire conduct observed by Joseph in this crisis of the nation's fate; but we must protest against the application to it of measures of judgment which are derived from modern notions, and the pure and lofty morality of the Gospel. If a great change was suddenly effected in the social condition of the people, we are not hastily to conclude that the change was for the worse, especially considering that a very long and grievous famine had afflicted so fertile a land as Egypt under the previously existing social condition. And if an opportunity was taken to increase the royal power over the nation, it cannot be denied that the nation was saved from impending destruction by the foresight, wisdom, and benevolence of the Hebrew vizier.

Joseph had now to pass through the mournful scenes which attend on the death and burial of a father. Having had Jacob embalmed, and seen the rites of mourning fully observed, the faithful and affectionate son—leave being obtained of the monarch—proceeded into the land of Canaan, in order, agreeably to a promise which the patriarch had exacted, to lay the old man's bones with those of his fathers, in the 'field of Ephron the Hittite.' Having performed with long and bitter mourning Jacob's funeral rites, Joseph returned into Egypt. The last recorded act of his life forms a most becoming close. After the death of their father, his brethren, unable, like all guilty people, to forget their criminality, and characteristically finding it difficult to think that Joseph had really forgiven them, grew afraid now they were in his power, that he would take an opportunity of inflicting

some punishment on them. They accordingly go into his presence, and in imploring terms and an abject manner, entreat his forgiveness. 'Fear not'—this is his noble reply—'I will nourish you and your little ones.'

Joseph lived an hundred and ten years, kind and gentle in his affections to the last; for we are told, 'The children of Machir, the son of Manasseh, were brought up upon Joseph's knees' (l. 23). And so having obtained a promise from his brethren, that when the time came, as he assured them it would come, that God should visit them, and 'bring them unto the land which he sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob,' they would carry up his bones out of Egypt, Joseph at length 'died, and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin' (l. 26). This promise was religiously fulfilled. His descendants, after carrying the corpse about with them in their wanderings, at length put it in its final resting-place in Shechem, in a parcel of ground that Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor, which became the inheritance of the children of Joseph (Josh. xxiv. 32).

By his Egyptian wife Asenath, daughter of the high-priest of Heliopolis, Joseph had two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim (Gen. xli. 50, seq.), whom Jacob adopted (Gen. xlviii. 5), and who accordingly took their place among the heads of the twelve tribes of Israel. Among other authorities the following may be consulted.—Wolfenb. *Fragment*; Less, *Geschichte der Rel.* i. 267; J. T. Jacobi, *Sämmtl. Schrift.* 3 thl.; Hess, *Gesch. der Patriarch.* ii. 324; Niemeyer, *Charakt.* ii. 340; Allg. *Welthist.* ii. 322; Heeren, *Idem.* ii. 551.—J. R. B.

JOSEPH, 'the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ' (Matt. i. 16). By Matthew he is said to have been the son of Jacob, whose lineage is traced by the same writer through David up to Abraham. Luke represents him as being the son of Heli, and traces his origin up to Adam. This is not the place to attempt to reconcile these two accounts, as it would lead to discussion and detail, for which we have not space: but it may be mentioned that Luke appears to have had some specific object in view, since he introduces his genealogical line with words of peculiar import:—'Jesus being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph, which was the son of Heli' (Luke iii. 23)—ὡς ἐνομίσθητο, 'as was supposed,' in other terms, as accounted by law, as enrolled in the family registers; for Joseph, being the husband of Mary, became thereby, in law (νόμος), the father of Jesus. And as being the legal father of Jesus, he might have his origin traced in the line of Mary's family, as well as in that of his own.

The statements of Holy Writ in regard to Joseph are few and simple. According to a custom among the Jews, traces of which are still found, such as hand-fasting among the Scotch, and betrothing among the Germans, Joseph had pledged his faith to Mary; but before the marriage was consummated she proved to be with child. Grieved at this, Joseph was disposed to break off the connection; but, not wishing to make a public example of one whom he loved, he contemplated a private disruption of their bond. From this step, however, he is deterred by a heavenly messenger, who assures him that Mary has conceived under a divine influence. 'And she shall bring forth a

son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins' (Matt. i. 18, 19; Luke i. 27). To this account various objections have been taken; but most of them are drawn from the ground of a narrow, short-sighted, and half-informed rationalism, which judges everything by its own small standard, and either denies miracles altogether, or admits only such miracles as find favour in its sight; attempting not to learn what Christianity is, nor what was suitable and proper in the days of Christ, but to construct a Christianity of its own, and then to impose the new creation on the writers of the Gospel, and the primitive church.

Joseph was by trade a carpenter, in which business he probably educated Jesus. In Matt. xiii. 55, we read, 'Is not this the son of the carpenter?' and in Mark vi. 3, 'Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?' The term employed, τέκτων, is of a general character (from τεύχω, 'I form'), and may be fitly rendered by the English word 'artificer' or 'artizan,' signifying any one that labours in the fabrication (*faber* in Latin) of articles of ordinary use, whatever the material may be out of which they are made. Accordingly, sometimes it denotes a smith as well as a carpenter or joiner, and in the Septuagint the additional term 'iron' (σίδηρου) or 'wood' (ξύλων) is employed, in order to denote its specific application. If some doubt may exist whether 'carpenter' is the necessary rendering of the word when applied to Joseph, yet there is no impropriety in that rendering, for not seldom the word, when used without any explanatory addition, has that signification. Schleusner (*in voc.*) asserts that the universal testimony of the ancient church represents our Lord as being a carpenter's son. This is, indeed, the statement of Justin Martyr (*Dial. cum Tryphone*, sec. 88), for he explains the term τέκτων, which he applies to Jesus, by saying that he made ἀροτρα καὶ ζυγά, *ploughs and yokes*; but Origen in replying to Celsus, who indulged in jokes against the humble employment of our Lord, expressly denied that Jesus was so termed in the Gospels (see the passage cited in Otho's *Justin Martyr*, tom. ii. p. 306, Jené 1843)—a declaration which suggests the idea that the copies which Origen read differed from our own; while Hilarius, on Matthew (quoted in Simon's *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, i. 691), asserts, in terms which cannot be mistaken, that Jesus was a smith (*ferrum igne vincentis, massamque formantis, etc.*) Of the same opinion was the venerable Bede; while others have held that our Lord was a mason, and Cardinal Cajetan that he was a goldsmith.

The last notion probably had its origin in those false associations of more modern times which disparage hand-labour. Among the ancient Jews all handicrafts were held in so much honour, that they were learned and pursued by the first men of the nation.

Jewish tradition (*Hieros. Schaph.* c. 14) names the father of Jesus מנדיה, Phenedia, and represents him (Orig. c. *Cels.* i. 31) as a rough soldier, who became the father of Jesus, after Mary was betrothed to Joseph. Another form of the legend sets him forth (*Toled. Jeschu*, p. 3, ed. Wagenseil; Epiphani. *Hier.* 78. 7) under the name of Pandira. Christian tradition makes Joseph an old man when first espoused to Mary (Epiphani. *Hier.* 78. 7), being no less than eighty years of age, and father

of four sons and two daughters. [Comp. the Apocryphal Gospels, especially the *Protevangelium Jacobi*, whence all the traditionary stories concerning Christ are derived.] Theophylact, on Matt. xiii. 55, says that Jesus Christ had brothers and sisters, all children of Joseph, whom he had by his sister-in-law, wife of his brother Cleophas, who having died without issue, Joseph was obliged by law to marry his widow. Of the sons, James, the brother of the Lord, was, he states, the first bishop of Jerusalem. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 1) agrees in substance with Theophylact; so also does Epiphanius, adding that Joseph was fourscore years old when he married Mary. Jerome, from whom it appears that the alleged mother's name was Escha, opposes this tradition, and is of opinion that what are termed the brothers of Jesus were really his cousins. The painters of Christian antiquity conspire with the writers in representing Joseph as an old man at the period of the birth of our Lord—an evidence which is not to be lightly rejected, though the precise age mentioned may be but an approximation to fact.

Another account (Niceph. ii. 3) gives the name of Salome as that of Joseph's first wife, who was related to the family of John the Baptist.

It is not easy to determine when Joseph died. That event may have taken place before Jesus entered on his public ministry. This has been argued from the fact, that his mother only appeared at the feast at Cana in Galilee. The premises, however, hardly bear out the inference. With more force of argument, it has been alleged (Simon, *Dict. de la Bible*) that Joseph must have been dead before the crucifixion of Jesus, else he would in all probability have appeared with Mary at the cross. Certainly the absence of Joseph from the public life of Christ, and the absence of reference to him in the discourses and history, while 'Mary' and 'his brethren' not unfrequently appear, afford evidence not only of Joseph's death, but of the inferior part which, as the legal father only of our Lord, Joseph might have been expected to sustain. So far as our scanty materials enable us to form an opinion, Joseph appears to have been a good, kind, simple-minded man, who, while he afforded aid in protecting and sustaining the family, would leave Mary unrestrained to use all the impressive and formative influence of her gentle, affectionate, pious, and thoughtful soul. Those who may wish to pursue this subject in its details, we refer to the following works:—J. T. Meyer, *Num Jos. tempore Natu. C. fuerit senex decrepitus*; *Hist. Joseph. fabri lignar.*, Arab. ed. G. Wallin, a Latin translation of which may be found in Fabricii *Pseudepigr.* i. 309. [The original, with a translation and notes, is given in Hirtii *Antholog. Arab.* Jen. 1774, p. 41.] The traditions respecting Joseph are collected in *Act. Sanct.* iii. p. 4, sq.; there is a Life of Joseph written in Italian by Affaitati.—J. R. B.

JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA. The name Arimathea denotes probably the place where Joseph was born, not that where he resided. We make this remark because Michaelis (*Begräbniss- und auferstehungs-gesch. Christi*, p. 44, translated into English) states it as his opinion that it was unlikely that Joseph possessed a burial-place in or near Jerusalem, since that city was not his ordinary abode. So easy is it to be led away by modern associations in interpreting the Scripture that even

a man of Michaelis' learning could allow Germany to overpower Palestine, and modern days to give their colouring to ancient ones, and thus hold that 'of Arimathea' must of necessity denote the residence and not the birth-place of Joseph; whereas a little reflection might have taught him that in a measure in his own times, and fully so in the days of our Lord, such a form of speech indicated rather a man's birth-place than his customary abode.

Arimathea lay in the territory of Benjamin, on the mountain range of Ephraim, at no great distance south of Jerusalem (Josh. xviii. 25; Judg. iv. 5), not far from Gibeah (Judg. xix. 13; Is. x. 29; Hos. v. 8).

Joseph was a secret disciple of Jesus—'an honourable counsellor (*βουλευτής*), who waited for the kingdom of God' (Mark xv. 43), and who, on learning the death of our Lord, 'came and went in boldly unto Pilate, and craved the body of Jesus.' Pilate having learned from the centurion, who commanded at the execution, that 'Jesus was actually dead,' gave the body to Joseph, who took it down and wrapped his deceased Lord in fine linen which he had purchased for the purpose; after which he laid the corpse in a sepulchre which was hewn out of a rock, and rolled a stone unto the door of the sepulchre (Mark xv. 43; *seq.*) From the parallel passages in Matthew (xxvii. 57, *seq.*), Luke (xxiii. 50, *seq.*), and John (xix. 38, *seq.*), it appears that the body was previously embalmed at the cost of another secret disciple, Nicodemus, and that the sepulchre was new, 'wherein never man before was laid;' also that it lay in a garden, and was the property of Joseph himself. This garden was 'in the place where Jesus was crucified.' Luke describes the character of Joseph as 'a good man and a just,' adding that 'he had not consented to the counsel and deed of them,' *i.e.*, of the Jewish authorities. From this remark it is clear that Joseph was a member of the Sanhedrim: a conclusion which is corroborated by the epithet 'counsellor,' applied to him by both Luke and Mark. Whether or not Joseph was a priest, as Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.* p. 669) thought, there is not evidence to determine. Various opinions as to his social condition may be found in Thiess (*Krit. Comment.* ii. 149). Tradition represents Joseph as having been one of the Seventy, and as having first preached the Gospel in our own country (Ittig, *Diss. de Pat. Apostol.*, sec. 13; Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* iii. i. 319, *seq.*) [GOLGOTHA.]—J. R. B.

JOSEPH CALLED BARSABAS was one of the two persons whom the primitive church, immediately after the resurrection of Christ, nominated, praying that the Holy Spirit would show which of them should enter the apostolic band in place of the wretched Judas. On the lots being cast, it proved that not Joseph, but Matthias, was chosen.

Joseph bore the honourable surname of Justus, which was not improbably given him on account of his well-known probity. He was one of those who had 'complicated with the Apostles all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out amongst them, beginning from the baptism of John,' until the ascension (Acts i. 15, *seq.*) Tradition also accounted him one of the Seventy (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* i. 12). The same historian relates (iii. 39), on the authority of Papias, that Joseph the Just

'drank deadly poison, and by the grace of God sustained no harm.' It has been maintained that he is the same as Joscs surnamed Barnabas, mentioned in Acts iv. 36 (Heinrichs, *On Acts* i. 23; Ullmann, in the *Theolog. Stud. und Kritik*, i. 377); but the manner in which the latter is characterized seems to point to a different person.—J. R. B.

JOSEPH B. CHIJA (ר'יוסף בר חייא), also called *Joseph Coccus* = סני נהור, *great in light*, a euphemic antiphrasis for a pious blind man, in the Talmud is simply styled *R. Joseph*. This distinguished president of the College at Pumbedita, and reputed translator of the Hagiographa into Chaldee, was born in Babylon about A.D. 270. He was a disciple of Jehudah b. Jechekel, founder and president of the College at Pumbedita, and fellow-student of the celebrated Rabba b. Nachmani, commonly called Rabba, the reputed author of the *Midrash Rabba*, or the traditional commentary on Genesis, with whom he formed an intimate friendship which lasted all their lifetime. At the death of their teacher (A.D. 299) both disciples were named by the students as successors to the presidency of the college, but both of them declined the honour, whereupon Chasda was elected, and when, after occupying this high position for two years, Chasda died, Rabba and Joseph were again respectively urged to take this office. Joseph again refused the office, but his friend Rabba accepted it (A.D. 309), and when, after holding it for about twenty-two years, he died, Joseph at last yielded and was installed as president of the College at Pumbedita about 330; but he was not permitted to occupy long this distinguished position, for he died in the third year of his Rectorate, about A.D. 333 [EDUCATION]. His learning was so extensive, and his knowledge of the traditional lore was so profound, that he obtained the appellation of *Sinai* (סיני), that is, one who is acquainted with all the traditions in succession since the giving of the Law on Sinai (Horajoth 14, a; Sanhedrim 42, a). One of his favourite studies was the Jewish Theosophy, the mysteries of which, being contained in the vision of Ezekiel respecting the throne of God (מעשיה מרכבה), he endeavoured to propound (Chagiga 18, a). Another department of his studies, which is of great interest to the Biblical student, was the rendering of the Hebrew Scriptures in Chaldee. From the twelve passages of his version which are quoted in the Talmud (comp. Moed Katon 26, a; Pesachim 68, a; Menachoth 110, a; Joma 32, b; 77, b; Aboda Sara 44, a; Kiddushin 13, a; 72, b; Nedarim 38, a; Baba Kama 3, b; Berachoth 28, a) it is evident that he translated Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Amos, Obadiah, Zephaniah, and Zechariah, since these passages are from these books, and are distinctly cited with the declaration *כדמתרגם רב יוסף*, as *R. Joseph has rendered it into Chaldee*. These renderings are almost exactly the same that are given in the Targum of Jonathan b. Uzziel, a fact which has led some to suppose that this Targum ascribed to Jonathan is in reality Joseph's. But there is no necessity for such a conclusion, since we are expressly told that Jonathan's Targum embodied the traditional renderings of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi [JONATHAN B. UZZIEL], and that Joseph also was the depository of the ancient traditions. The identity of the renderings is therefore to be ascribed to the

identity of the ancient source from which both paraphrasts drew their information. That a Chaldee paraphrase of the Prophets existed before Joseph made his, is moreover evident from the fact that he himself declares on several occasions, when discussing the meaning of a difficult passage in the

Scriptures, *אלמלא תרגומא דהאי קרא לא היה ידענא*, 'if we had not the Targum on this passage we should not know what it means' (Sanhedrin 94, a; Moed Katon 28, b; Megilla 3, a). But though the quotations in the Talmud from Joseph's Chaldee paraphrase are restricted to the Prophets, yet the version in our Rabbinic and Polyglott Bibles, which is now ascribed to him, is that of the Hagiographa, i. e., Psalms, Proverbs, and Job. Rashi on Kiddushin 13 a, and Tossafoth on Baba Kama, indeed deny that he made any Chaldee paraphrase at all, and say that he was simply conversant with the Targum of Jonathan b. Uzziel on the prophets *דהיה בקי בתרגם נביאים שתרגם יונתן* (כן עזיאל), but this is contrary to the meaning of the phrase *כדמתרגם רב יוסף*, as *Joseph translates*, with which the quotations from his Targum are always introduced. In his advanced life Joseph became totally blind and also lost his memory, which greatly afflicted him and ruffled his temper, as he could not remember his own sayings about the traditions of the fathers (Erub. 10, a; Nedarim 41, a; Baba Bathra 134, b; Pesachim 113, b; Succa 29, a).

His paraphrase on the Hagiographa is contained in all the Rabbinic Bibles, and is given with a Latin translation in the Polyglotts of Antwerp (1572), Paris (1645), London (1657), etc. Comp. Bartolucci, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, vol. iii., p. 814; Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, vol. ii., p. 1171-1181; Zuntz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin 1832, p. 65, etc.; Fürst, *Kultur und Literaturgeschichte der Juden in Asien*, Leipzig 1849, p. 144-155; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iv., Berlin 1853, p. 408, ff; 553, ff; Lebrecht and Cassel, in *Ersch und Gruber's Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, sec. ii., vol. xxxi., p. 75; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 169.—C. D. G.

JOSEPH B. GORION. [JOSIPPON.]

JOSEPH B. SHEMTOV, a distinguished philosopher, polemic, and commentator, flourished in the middle of the 15th century in Spain. Besides his numerous philosophical works, which form important contributions to the history of Jewish philosophy, Joseph b. Shemtov wrote—(1) A commentary on the celebrated Epistle of Prophant Duran against Christianity [PROPHIAT DURAN], published in Constantinople 1577, and in Geiger's *יונתן וכתובים*, Breslau 1844; (2) A course of homilies delivered in the Synagogue on different Sabbaths on various portions of the Bible, entitled *עין הקורא*, *the eye of the reader*, still in MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Cod. Michael 581; (3) A commentary on Lamentations, composed at Medina del Campo in the year 1441, MS. by De Rossi, No. 177; (4) A commentary on Genesis i. 1-vi. 8, being the Sabbath lesson which commences the Jewish year [HAPHTARA]; and (5) An exposition of Deut. xv. 11. Comp. Steinschneider, in *Ersch und Gruber's Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, sec. ii., vol. xxxi., p. 87-93; *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 1529.—C. D. G.

JOSEPH JOEL. [WITZENHAUSEN.]

JOSEPH TAITATZAK. [TAITATZAK.]

JOSEPHUS, FLAVIUS, the celebrated Jewish historian, was born at Jerusalem, A.D. 37, in the first year of Caius (Caligula). His father was a priest of the first course, and his mother belonged to the royal Asmonean family; he appeals to public documents in proof of his genealogy, at which some of his cotemporaries seem to have sneered (Bios, ed. Havercamp, ii. 1, sec. 1). The only authority for the outline of his life is his own self-laudatory autobiography; but in spite of the egregious vanity which marks every page of that performance, he does not seem to have wilfully perverted any facts. He tells us that even at the age of fourteen he was so remarkable for learning that even the high-priests and chief men of the city came to inquire * of him about minute questions of the law. After a careful examination of the tenets held by the three chief sects of Jews—Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes—and after residing three years in the desert with the ascetic eremite Banus, he embraced Pharisaism, which, he says, resembled the Stoic philosophy (Vit. 2). At the age of twenty-six (A.D. 63) he sailed to Rome to plead the cause of some imprisoned Jewish priests. Like St. Paul he was shipwrecked, but after a night's swimming (cf. 2 Cor. xi. 25) † was picked up by a Cyrenian vessel, and through the friendship of the actor Aliturus obtained the patronage of Poppea, who gained his cause for him, and dismissed him with great gifts (Vit. 3; cf. Antiq. xx. 8. 11). About the time of his return (A.D. 66) the Jewish insurrection broke out, the causes of which he very obscurely describes, although the greater part of his autobiography, as well as much of the book on the Jewish war, is occupied with this portion of his history. Although he despaired from the first, and advised his countrymen to submission, he accepted the command in Galilee, and has given us a most graphic account of the numerous plots and perils in which he was entangled during the brilliant and stormy period of his life as a general (Vit. 4-74). After displaying consummate courage and ability in putting Galilee in a state of defence, and in resisting the Romans, he finally threw himself into Jotapata, which was taken after a splendid defence of forty-seven days. He hid himself with forty others in a cave, and, being betrayed, refused to surrender on a promise of safety. Against his wishes they all determined to commit suicide, but at his proposal finally agreed to kill each other by lot, when (by whatever means) he and another alone survived. (They surrendered to the Romans, and Vespasian put him in chains, intending to send him to Nero, a fate which he avoided by prophesying (for he distinctly claims a prophetic gift, Bell. Jud. iii. 8. 9) Vespasian's future elevation to the purple. After three years of lenient imprisonment (A.D. 70) his prophecy came true, and his chains were cut off by order of Titus (Bell. Jud. iv. 10. 7).

* The suggestion of Paret (Herzog, *Encykl.* s.v.), that in this narrative Josephus had an eye to Luke ii. 46, 47, is extremely probable, and if so, it throws light on the character of the man.

† There is, however, no ground for identifying the voyage of Josephus with that of St. Paul, as is done by Ottius, *Spicileg. ex Josepho*.

He took part in the siege of Jerusalem, and was once struck senseless by a stone while urging the Jews to surrender. He was enabled by the patronage of Titus to save the lives of his brother and fifty other Jews, and to rescue from destruction a valuable copy of the Scriptures. Detested as he was, and suspected of double treachery both by Jews and Romans, subjected to endless accusations and attacks, his life must have been sufficiently burdensome, but the position of a renegade was rendered supportable by imperial favour, and probably by unlimited self-approbation. After the fall of Jerusalem he lived as a court-pensioner, comfortably following his literary pursuits, and surviving till the early years of Trajan's reign (about A.D. 103) in contented and wealthy infamy. For all these facts, and many others of a more directly personal character, such as his three marriages, the names of his sons, etc., see the seventy-six chapters of his life, and the following passages of his other works, *C. Apion.* i. 9. 10; *Bell. Jud.* i.; *Proem* ii. 20. 3, *sqq.*, 21. 2, *sqq.*; iii. 7. 13, *sqq.*, 8. 1, *sqq.*, 9; vi. 5; *Antiq.* ed. Havercamp, vol. 1, pp. 5, 228, 536, 545, 682, 982; *Suid.*, s.v. 'Ιωσήφος.

Josephus is one of those men for whose characters, in spite of their learning, their ability, and even their good qualities, it is impossible to feel any respect. An almost girlish conceit is everywhere visible in his narrative of his own proceedings; and a consciousness of his own importance often betrays him into a superstition quite alien to the natural tone of his mind (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 8. 9; *Vit.* 15, 42, 75, etc.). Cunning, worldliness, and a vulgar desire for external prosperity, appear in him throughout his life. (He was a fulsome flatterer of the great, and was not even ashamed to assume the name of Flavius, as though he had been a freedman of Titus.) He was a strange mixture of the bigoted Pharisee and the time-serving Herodian, and he mingles the national pride of the patriot with the apostasy of a traitor. The worst stain on his character is his desertion of his country in the hour of her sorest need; and the fact that he was eager to kiss the hands that were reeking with her blood, and to sing the praises of the men for whom his countrymen could find no curse too deep or loud. While *Judea Captiva* wept under her desolate palm-tree, he could live in splendour in the house assigned to him by her conquerors, enjoy a share of their booty, and boast of their patronage (*Vit.* 76); while his countrymen were dead, degraded, or enslaved, this 'nescio quis Arabarches' (*Juv.* i. 130) could bear to see his own triumphal statue set up among their oppressors, and could 'sit as a congratulating guest, offering homage and adoring cringes, whilst the triumphal pageant for Judea ravaged, and Jerusalem burned, filled the hours of a long summer's day ere it unfolded its pomps before him' (*Bell. Jud.*, vii. 5. 5-7).

Josephus was an admirable writer. Although he could not pronounce Greek well, he writes it with singular purity (Niebuhr, *Lectures on Rom. Hist.*, iii. 205), with the exception of a few constant errors; and he is fairly entitled to his own claim of possessing the highest qualifications for a Greek writer of Jewish history (*Antiq.* xx. 12. 1), as well as to St. Jerome's complimentary designation of him as 'Græcus Livius' (*Epist. ad Eustoch.*) 'His work,' says Niebuhr (*Ancient Hist.* iii. 455), 'is one of the most charming and interesting books, and is read a great deal too little.' Never-

theless, he is hardly deserving of the epithet φιλαλήτης, so often bestowed on him (Suid. s. v. Ἰώσηπος; Isidor Pelusiot. iv., *Ep.* 75; 'diligentissimus et φιλαληθέτατος', Jos. Scaliger, *De Emend. Temp. Prof.*, etc.); for though he understood the duty and importance of veracity to the historian (*Antiq.* xiv. i. 1; *Rel. Jud.* i. 1; *c. Ap.* i. 19), yet 'he is often untrue, and his archaeology abounds in distortions of historical facts, and in falsifications which arise from his inordinate national pride; and wherever he deals in numbers, he shews his Oriental love of exaggeration' (Niebuhr, *Lect. Rom. Hist.*, l. c.). Hence his narrative, even of events sufficiently near his own times, requires constant correction (Prideaux, *Connect.*, i. 44, 341, 542, ii. *passim*). Yet he has received very hard measure at the hands of Baronius and other writers, and we must agree with Casaubon (*Exerc.* xx. 2), that his works have been preserved to us by a singular providence, and throw a flood of light on Jewish affairs.

It is hardly possible to overrate the importance of Josephus to the theologian. The numberless references to all his writings in this volume will shew how indispensable he is, and how constantly his works elucidate the history, geography, and archaeology of Scripture. Yet, in spite of his constant assertions (*Antiq.* x. 11), he can have had no real respect for the writings which he so largely illustrates. If he had felt, as a Jew, any deep or religious appreciation of the O. T. history, which he professes to follow (οὐδὲν προθεῖς οὐδ' ἀπαλινύων, *Antiq.* i. *proæm*), he would not have tampered with it as he does, mixing it with pseudo-philosophical fancies (*c. Ap.* i. 10), with groundless Jewish *Agadoth* or traditions (such as the three years' war of Moses with the Ethiopians, the love of Tharbis for him, etc.—*Antiq.* ii. 10. 2), and with quotations from heathen writers of very doubtful authority (*Antiq.* viii. 5. 3, etc.; see Van Dale, *De Aristat.*, p. 211). Moreover, he constantly varies from the sacred text in numbers (*e.g.*, in his entire chronology), and in names, so that in his genealogy of the high-priests, 'scarce five of the names agree with anything that we have in Scripture' (Prideaux, *Connect.* i. 44). The worst charge, however, against him, is his constant attempt, by alterations and suppressions (and especially by a rationalistic method of dealing with miracles, which contrasts strangely with his credulous fancies), to make Jewish history palatable to Greeks and Romans, to such an extent that J. Ludolfus calls him 'fabulator sepius quam historicus' (*Hist. Ethiop.*, p. 230). Thus he omits all the most important Messianic prophecies; he manipulates the book of Daniel in a most unsatisfactory manner (*Antiq.* ix. 11); he speaks in a very loose way about Moses and Abraham (*Antiq.* i. 8. 1; *c. Ap.* ii. 15); and though he can swallow the romance of the pseudo-Aristeas, he rationalises the account of the Exodus and Jonah's whale (*Antiq.* ii. 16. 5; ix. 10. 2). On the whole subject of his credibility as a writer, his omissions, his variations, and his panderings to ethnic taste, see J. A. Fabricius, *De Joseph. et ejus Scriptis*, in Hudson's ed.; Van Dale, *De Aristat.*, x., xi.; *De Idolo-latrid.*, vii.; Brinch, *Examen Hist. Flav. Josepho*, in Havercamp, ii. 309, sq.; Ottius, *Spicilegium ex Josepho*; Ittigius, *Prolegomena*; Usher, *Epist. ad Lud. Cappellum*, p. 42, Whiston's *Dissertations*, etc.

Nothing is more certain than that Josephus was no Christian (ἀπιστῶν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὡς Χριστῷ, Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 35); the whole tone of his mind was alien from the noble simplicity of Christian belief, and, as we have seen already, he was not even a good Jew. Whatever, therefore, may be thought about the passages alluding to John the Baptist* (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 2), and James, 'the Lord's brother' (*Id.* xx. 9. 1), which may possibly† be genuine, there can be no reasonable doubt that the famous allusion to our Lord (*Antiq.* xviii. 3. 3), is either absolutely spurious, or largely interpolated. The silence of Josephus on a subject of such importance, and with which he must have been so thoroughly acquainted, is easily explicable, and it is intrinsically much more probable that he should have passed over the subject altogether (as is done also by his cotemporary Justus of Tiberias, Phot. *Cod. Bibl.* 33), than that he should only have devoted to it a few utterly inadequate lines; and even if he had been induced to do this by some vague hope of getting something by it from Christians like Flavius Clemens, he certainly would not have expressed himself in language so strong as ἐλεγε ἀνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρῆ, and still less would he have vouched for the Messiahship, the miracles, or the resurrection. Justin, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Origen, and even Photius, knew nothing of the passage, nor does it appear till the time of Eusebius (*Hist. Ecc.*, i. 2; *Dem. Evang.*, iii. 5), a man for whom Niebuhr can find no better name than 'a detestable falsifier,' and whose historical credibility is well nigh given up. Whether Eusebius forged it himself, or borrowed it from the marginalia of some Christian reader, cannot be determined, but that Josephus did not write it may be regarded as settled. Nay, the very next section (*Antiq.* xvii. 3. 4) is a disgusting story, wholly irrelevant to the tenor of the narrative, and introduced in all probability for the sole purpose of a blasphemous parody on the miraculous conception, such as was attempted by various rabbinical writers (*e.g.*, Sopher Toledoth Jeshua; see Wagenseil, *Tela Ign. Satan.*; Winer, s. v. *Joseph.*). That Josephus intended obliquely to discredit some of the chief Christian doctrines, by representing them as having been anticipated by the Essenes, seems by no means improbable (De Quincey's Works, ix., *The Essenes*). For a compendium of the abundant literature on those questions, see Gieseler, *Ecl. Hist.*, sec. 34. The chief treatises are, Daubuz, *Pro testimonio Fl. Jos. de Jesu Christ.*, Lond. 1706; reprinted in Havercamp. Böhmert, *über der Fl. Jos. Zeugniß von Christo*, Leipz. 1823; Le Moyné, *Var. Sacr.* ii. 931; Heinichen, *Excurs.* i. ad Euseb. H. E. vol. iii. p. 331.

The works of Josephus are—1. *De Bello Judaico*, or περί ἀλώσεως, in seven books, translated by himself from the Syro-Chaldee. 2. *Ἰουδαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία*, in twenty books (A. D. 95), an apologetic paraphrase of Scripture history for Gentiles. 3. *The Autobiography*, in seventy-six chapters. 4. *Against Apion*, a treatise of immense learning (Jer.,

* It is by no means impossible that Josephus may have learnt from Banus a respect for John the Baptist (*Vit.* 2).

† The latter passage, however, was early tampered with by Christians (Orig., *Comment. ad Matt.*, ed. Rothom., p. 223; *c. Celsum*, i., p. 35; ii., p. 69., ed. Cant.; Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, ii. 23).

ad Magn. Orat., Ep. 83) on the antiquity and nobility of the Jews. *The Fourth of Maccabees* (εἰς Μακκαβαίους λόγος) is doubted, and the *πρὸς πᾶν-τος* is spurious. Other books which he contemplated writing (*On God, On the Laus, On Customs, Antiq.* xx. 11. 2; viii. 10; iv. 8. 2, etc.) were either never written or have been lost. The best editions of Josephus are—Hudson's, 1720; Haver-camp's, 1726; Richter, 1827; Dindorf, 1845; Bekker, 1855. There are English translations by Whiston, Lodge, L'Estrange, and Traill.—F. W. F.

JOSES (Ἰωσῆς). 1. An ancestor of our Lord (Luke iii. 29; A. V. *Jose*). The best authorities read Ἰησοῦ here. 2. Son of Mary and Cleopas, and brother of James the Less, of Simon, and of Jude, and, consequently, one of those who are called the 'brethren' of our Lord (Matt. xiii. 55; xxvii. 56; Mark vi. 3; xv. 40, 47). Whether any of these brothers was an apostle has been disputed [JESUS CHRIST; JAMES, 3; JUDE, EPISTLE OF]. If one was, two at least were, James and Jude, and it is supposed by some Simon also. This is not at all probable on the face of it. 3. [BARNABAS].

JOSHUA (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, יֵשׁוּעַ, or יְשֻׁעַ, whose help is Jehovah, or Jehovah is help; comp. the German name *Gotholf*; Sept., N. T., and Joseph., Ἰησοῦς). 1. The son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, the assistant and successor of Moses. His name was originally יְהוֹשֻׁעַ (*Hoshea*), *salvation* (Num. xiii. 8); and it seems that the subsequent alteration of it by Moses (Num. xiii. 16) was significant, and proceeded on the same principle as that of Abram into Abraham (Gen. xvii. 5), and of Sarai into Sarah (Gen. xvii. 15).

According to the *Tismach David*, Joshua was born in Egypt, in the year of the Jewish era 2406 (B.C. 1537). In the Bible he is first mentioned as being the victorious commander of the Israelites in their battle against the Amalekites at Rephidim (Exod. xvii. 8-16). He distinguished himself by his courage and intelligence during and after the exploration of the land of Canaan, on which occasion he represented his tribe, which was that of Ephraim (Num. xiii., xiv.). Moses, with the divine sanction, appointed him to command the Israelites, even during his own lifetime (Num. xxvii. 18-23; Deut. iii. 28; xxxi. 23). After the death of Moses he led the Israelites over the Jordan, fortified a camp at Gilgal (Josh. ix. 6; x. 6-43), conquered the southern and middle portions of Canaan (vi.-x.), and also some of the northern districts (ix.). But the hostile nations, although subdued, were not entirely driven out and destroyed (xiii.; xxiii. 13; Judg. i. 27-35). In the seventh year after entering the land, it was distributed among the various tribes, which then commenced individually to complete the conquest by separate warfare (xv. 13, seq.; xvi. 10; xvii. 12, seq.). Joshua died 110 years old (B.C. 1427), and was buried at Timnath-serah (Josh. xxiv.), on Mount Ephraim. According to the *Archæologia* or *Antiquities* of Josephus, (v. 1. 29), Joshua commanded the Jews twenty-five years, but, according to other Jewish chronologists, twenty-seven years. The *Tismach David*, on the years of the Jewish era 2489 and 2496, remarks:—'It is written in the *Seder Olam* that Joshua judged Israel twenty-eight years, commencing from the year 2488, immediately from the death of Moses, to the

year 2516. This, however, would not be known to us but for cabbalistic tradition, but in some degree also by reasoning,' etc. Hottinger (*Smegma*, p. 469) says:—'According to the *Midrash*, Rahab was ten years old when the Israelites left Egypt; she played the whore during the forty years in which the Israelites were in the desert. She became the wife of Joshua, and eight prophets descended from her, viz., Jeremiah, Mahasia, Hanamael, Shallum, Baruch, Ezekiel. Some say also that Huldah the prophetess was her descendant.' Some chronologists have endeavoured to reduce the rule of Joshua to seventeen, and others to twenty-one years.

There occur some vestiges of the deeds of Joshua in other historians besides those of the Bible. Procopius mentions a Phœnician inscription near the city of Tingis in Mauritania, the sense of which in Greek was:—Ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν οἱ φυγόντες ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἰησοῦ τοῦ ληστοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυῆ.—'We are those who fled before the face of Joshua the robber, the son of Nun' (*De Bell. Vandal.*, ii. 10). Suidas (sub voce Χαναάν):—ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν Χαναανῖται οὓς ἐδίωξεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ληστής.—'We are the Canaanites whom Joshua the robber persecuted.' Compare Fabricii *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, i. 889, seq., and the doubts respecting this statement in Dale, *De Origine et Progressu Idolatriæ*, p. 749, seq.

The Samaritans, who for dogmatical purposes endeavoured to depreciate the authority of persons mentioned in the latter books of the O. T., such as Eli, Samuel, Zerubbabel, and others, had no such interest to attack the person of Joshua. Eulogius, according to Photius (*Codex*, p. 230), states: Τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν τὸ πλῆθος οἱ μὲν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναυῆ ἐδίωξαν εἶναι περὶ οὗ Μωυσῆς εἶπε, προφήτην ἡμῶν ἀναστήσει Κύριος, etc.—(Comp. Lampe, *Comment. in Evangelium Johannis*, vol. i., p. 748.) The Samaritans even endeavoured to exalt the memory of Joshua by making him the nucleus of many strange legends which they embodied into their Arabic book of Joshua, a work which seems to have been compiled in the middle ages, and is quoted by the Rabbinical chroniclers of that period, R. Samuel Schullam (*Fuchasin*, 154; *Shalsheleth Hakkabalah*, p. 96), Hottinger (*Historia Orientalis*, p. 60, sq.), Zunz (*Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, p. 140). Reland supposed that this book was written at an earlier period, and augmented in the middle ages; but it is more likely that the whole is a late compilation.

A letter of Shaubech, שׁוּבֵחַ, king of Armenia Minor, in the Samaritan book of Joshua (chap. xxvi.), styles Joshua אֱלִיפָאטוֹר, אֱלִיפָאטוֹר, *lupus percussor*, 'the murderous wolf;' or, according to another reading in the book *Fuchasin* (p. 154, f. 1), and in the *Shalsheleth Hakkabalah* (p. 96), עֶרְבֹת, *lupus vespertinus*, 'the evening wolf' (comp. Hab. i. 8; Hottinger, *Historia Orientalis*, Tiguri 1651, p. 40, seq.; Buddeus, *Hist. Eccles.*, p. 964, seq.). A comparison of Hercules, according to the Phœnician and Greek mythology, with Joshua, has been attempted by Hercklitz (*Quod Hercules idem sit ac Josua*, Lipsiæ 1706, 4to).—C. H. F. B.

2. The Bethshemite in whose field the cart containing the ark of the Lord rested when the ark was brought up from among the Philistines. In this field a memorial stone long stood commemor-

ating the occurrence (1 Sam. vi. 14, 18). For **תֵּר אֶבֶן** we should probably read **תֵּר אֶבֶן** (so LXX., Targ., 3 codd. of Kennicott, and 1 of De Rossi), 'And a witness [thereof] is the great stone . . . unto this day.'

3. A governor in Jerusalem after whom a gate in the city was named (2 Kings xxiii. 8). This cannot have been one of the city gates, as no such name was borne by any of them. We must therefore regard it as a gate within the city, probably one made by Joshua for the purpose of affording a private entrance into the citadel, where, as governor, he doubtless resided, and where there may have been some place of idolatrous worship. The city gate mentioned in this verse is apparently the gate Gennath, by which access to the citadel was obtained from the valley of Gihon, the modern Jaffa Gate. The gate of Joshua was probably a smaller gate on the left hand side of the main gate as one entered the city.

4. The first of the high-priests after the Captivity. In Ezra ii. 2; iii. 2, the name is spelt **Jeshua** (**יֵשׁוּעַ**). He was the son of Jehozadak, and was probably born in Babylon, as his father was one of those carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar (1 Chron. vi. 15). His father having died in exile, it fell to Joshua, of hereditary right, to assume the place and functions of the high-priest when the people were restored to their own land. Associated with Zerubbabel, he acted as chief among the leaders of those who, availing themselves of the decree of Cyrus, returned to Jerusalem; and he took a principal part in the rebuilding of the Temple, and the repairing of the city. After the interruption caused by the efforts of the enemies of the Jews, he and Zerubbabel resumed the work in obedience to the summons of Haggai and Zechariah, and happily completed it. For his services in this respect he is praised among the famous men by the Son of Sirach (Ecclus. xlix. 12). Of his life subsequent to this event we have no information. The Chron. Alex. places his death in the fifty-third year of his high-priesthood. In the prophecies of Zechariah (iii., and vi. 8-14) he is set forth as typically representing the Messiah (comp. Hengstenberg, *Christology*, iii. 317, ff.; 349, ff.).—W. L. A.

JOSHUA, BOOK OF. The first in order of the **נְבִיאִים רִאשׁוֹנִים** in the Hebrew Canon. 1. *Contents.*—This book contains an account of the fortunes of the Israelites from the death of Moses to that of Joshua, the son of Nun. Beginning with the appointment of Joshua to succeed Moses as the leader of the people, it proceeds to describe the arrangements made by Joshua in prospect of passing over Jordan (i.-ii.); the crossing of the river, and the setting up of a memorial on the further side at Gilgal (iii.-iv.); the dismay which this occasioned to the Canaanites (v. 1); the circumcision of the males among the people, that rite having been neglected in the wilderness; the observance of the Passover by them in the camp at Gilgal; the ceasing of the manna on the day after they had entered Canaan (v. 2-12); the encouragement given to Joshua to proceed on his enterprise by the appearance of an angel to him (v. 13-15); the siege and capture of Jericho (vi.); the defeat of the Israelites at Ai (vii.); the taking of

Ai (viii. 1-29); the writing of the law on tables of stone, and the solemn repetition from Ebal and Gerizim of the blessings and the curses which Moses had written in the book of the law (viii. 30-35); the confederation of the kings of Northern Canaan against the Israelites; the cunning device by which the Gibeonites secured themselves from being destroyed by the Israelites; the indignation of the other Canaanites against the Gibeonites, and the confederation of the kings around Jerusalem against Joshua, with their signal defeat by him (ix.-x.); the overthrow at the waters of Megiddo of the great northern confederacy, with the destruction of the Anakim (xi.); the list of kings whose country the Israelites had taken under Moses and Joshua (xii.); the division of the country, both the parts conquered and those yet remaining under the power of the Canaanites, among the different tribes, chiefly by lot; the setting up of the tabernacle in Shiloh; the appointment of cities of refuge and of cities for the Levites; the return of the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, to their possessions on the east of the Jordan, after the settlement of their brethren in Canaan (xiii.-xxii.); and the farewell addresses of Joshua to the people, his death and burial (xxiii.-xxiv.). The book naturally divides itself into two parts; the former (i.-xii.) containing an account of the conquest of the land; the latter (xiii.-xxiv.) of the division of it among the tribes. These are frequently distinctively cited as the historical and the geographical portions of the book.

2. *Design.*—The design of the book is manifestly to furnish a continuation of the history of the Israelites from the point at which it is left in the closing book of the Pentateuch, and at the same time to illustrate the faithfulness of Jehovah to his word of promise, and his grace in aiding his people by miraculous interference to obtain possession of the land promised to Abraham. The ground idea of the book, as Maurer (*Comment.*, p. 3) observes, is furnished by God's declaration to Joshua, recorded i. 5, 6, that the work which Moses commenced he should finish by subduing and dividing to the tribes of Israel the promised land. The book, therefore, may be regarded as setting forth historically the grounds on which the claims of Israel to the proprietorship of the land rested; and as possessing, consequently, not merely an historical, but also a constitutional and legal worth. As illustrating God's grace and power in dealing with his people, it possesses also a religious and spiritual interest.

3. *Structure.*—On this head a variety of opinions have been entertained. It has been asserted—

1. That the book is a collection of fragments from different hands, put together at different times, and the whole revised and enlarged by a later writer. Some make the number of sources whence these fragments have been derived ten (Herwerden, *Disp. de Libro Jos.*, Groning. 1826); others five, including the reviser (Knobel, *Exeg. Hdb.* pt. 13; Ewald, *Gesch. der Israel.*, i. 73, ff.); while others content themselves with three (Bleek, *Eintrit. ins. A. T.*, p. 325).

2. That it is a complete and uniform composition, interspersed with glosses and additions more or less extensive.

3. That the first part is the composition of one author; but the second betrays indications of

being a compilation from various sources (Hävernicks, *Einleit.* II. i. p. 34).

4. That the book is complete and uniform throughout, and, as a whole, is the composition of one writer.

It is impossible here to enter into all the details of this discussion. The reader will find these fully presented by De Wette, *Einleit. ins A. T.*, 4th and subsequent editions; Hävernicks, *Einleit.* 2ter Th. Abt. i. p. 1, ff.; König, *Alt-testamentl. Studien*, i. p. 4, ff.; Maurer, *Comment.*; Keil, *Comment.*, E. T., p. 3, ff.; Bleek, *Einl. ins A. T.*, p. 311, ff.; Knobel, in the *Exeget. Handbuch*, pt. 13; and Davidson, *Introd. to the O. T.*, i. p. 412. It may suffice here to notice a few of the grounds on which principally the unity of the book has been denied. These are found partly in alleged double narratives of the same event, partly in supposed discrepancies of statement, and partly in marked differences of phraseology and style in different parts of the book.

The events so alleged to be twice narrated in this book are, Joshua's decease, ch. xxiii. and xxiv.; the command to appoint twelve men, one out of each tribe, in connection with the passing over Jordan (iii. 12; iv. 3); the stoning of Achan and his dependants (vii. 25); the setting of an ambush for the taking of Ai (viii. 9, 12); the rest from war of the land (xi. 23; xiv. 15); the command to Joshua concerning dividing the land (xiii. 6, ff.); and the granting of Hebron to Caleb (xiv. 13; xv. 13). This list we have transcribed from Knobel (*Kritik des Pentat. und Josua, Exeget. Hdb.*, xiii. p. 498). On referring to the passages, the reader will probably be surprised that they should be gravely adduced as instances of repetition, such as can be accounted for only by the hypothesis of different authors. What evidence, for instance, is there that the address of Joshua reported in ch. xxiv. is a repetition of the address reported in ch. xxiii.? Is it incredible that Joshua should have *twice* assembled the representatives of the people, to address them before his decease? May he not have felt that, spared beyond his expectation, it behoved him to avail himself of the opportunity thus afforded to address once more to the people words of counsel and admonition? This surely is more probable than that these two chapters contain different reports of the same speech. In the case of the grant to Caleb of Hebron, there is undoubtedly a repetition of the same fact; but it is such a repetition as might proceed from the same pen; for the two statements are made in different connections, the one in connection with Caleb's personal merits, the other in connection with the boundaries and occupation of the portion allotted to Judah. The taking of Ai will be considered further on. As for the other instances, we leave them to the judgment of our readers.

Of the alleged *discrepancies*, one on which much stress has been laid is, that in various parts of the book Joshua is said to have subdued the whole land and destroyed the Canaanites (xi. 10; xii. 7, ff.; xxi. 43; xxii. 4), whereas in others it is stated that large portions of the land were not conquered by Joshua (xiii. 1, ff.; xvii. 14, ff.; xviii. 3, ff.; xxiii. 5-12). Now, at first sight, the discrepancy here appears very manifest and somewhat serious. It is worthy of note, however, in the outset, that it is a discrepancy which pervades the book, and on which, consequently, no argument

for diversity of authorship, as between the *first* and the *second* parts of it, can be built. Is it, then, of such a kind as to prove that the *whole* book is a compilation of fragments? This will hardly be affirmed by any one who reflects that a discrepancy of this sort is of a kind so obvious, that it is exactly such as a compiler, coolly surveying the materials he is putting together, would at once detect and eliminate; whereas an original writer might write so as to give the *appearance* of it from looking at the same object from different points of view in the course of his writing. It is on this latter hypothesis alone, we think, that the phenomenon before us is to be accounted for. Viewed in relation to purpose and effect, the land was conquered and appropriated; Israel was settled in it as master and proprietor, the power of the Canaanites was broken, and God's covenant to his people was fulfilled. But through various causes, chiefly the people's own fault, the work was not literally completed; and therefore, viewed in relation to what ought to have been done and what might have been done, the historian could not but record that there yet remained some enemies to be conquered, and some portions of the land to be appropriated. To find in such differences of statement discrepancies fatal to the unity of authorship in the book, seems really being critical overmuch, critical to the extent of being captious. Supposing a historian were to narrate that William the Conqueror subdued all England, and yet afterwards to tell us of the numbers of Anglo-Saxons who refused to acknowledge his rule, and the consequent revolts on the part of the English which disturbed his reign, would any reader be at a loss how to reconcile his statements? or would any candid and intelligent man resort to the violent hypothesis that, because of these diverse statements, the unity of the book must be impeached, and the authorship of it parcelled out among different annalists? Why, then, apply to the sacred historian a test which all would declare unsound and unfair if applied to writers of secular history?

Another apparent discrepancy has been found between xxii. 2 and xxiv. 14, 23. How, it is asked, could there be 'gross idolatry' amongst a people who had in all things conformed to the law of God given by Moses? This difficulty is dealt with by Augustine (*Quest. in Jos.*, qu. 29), who solves it by understanding the injunction of Joshua to refer to alienation of heart on the part of the people from God:—'Non ait Et nunc auferte deos alienos siqui sint in vobis; sed omnino tanquam sciens esse, Qui sunt, inquit, in vobis. Proinde Propheta sanctus in cordibus eorum esse cernebat cogitationes de Deo alienas a Deo, et ipsas admonere auferré.' This explanation is followed in substance by Calvin and others; and it is apparently the true one. Had Joshua known that 'gross idolatry' was practised by the people, he would have taken vigorous measures before this to extirpate it. But against secret and heart idolatry he could use only words of warning and counsel.

Another discrepancy is thus set forth by Dr. Davidson (*Introd.* i. p. 415)—'It is related that the people assembled at Sichem, 'under an oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord,' and 'they presented themselves before God,' implying that the tabernacle and ark were there. But we know from xviii. 1 that the tabernacle had been re-

moved from its former place at Gilgal to Shiloh, where it remained for a long period after Joshua's death (1 Sam. iii. 21; iv. 3). Here are several mistakes. The phrase 'before God' (לפני האלהים) does not necessarily mean 'before the

ark of the Lord' (comp. Gen. xxvii. 7; Judg. xi. 11; xx. 1; 1 Kings xvii. 1, etc.; Hengstenberg, *Beitr.*, Bd. iii. 43); and it is not related that 'the people assembled under an oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord,' but that Joshua 'took a great stone and set it up there under the oak that was within the sanctuary of the Lord' (xxiv. 26). The oak referred to was probably a well-known one that stood within the spot which had been the first sanctuary of the Lord in Canaan (Gen. xii. 6, 7), and where the nation had been convened by Joshua, on first entering the promised land, to listen to the words of the law (Josh. viii. 30-35). No place more fitting, as the site of a memorial stone such as Joshua is here said to have set up, could be found.

These are the only discrepancies that have even the appearance of seriously affecting the claim of the book to be regarded as the work of one author throughout. The others, which have been discovered and urged by some recent critics in Germany, are such that it seems unnecessary to take up space by noticing them. The reader will find them noted and accounted for in the Introduction to Keil's *Commentary on Joshua*, p. 9, ff.

The alleged differences of *phraseology* and *style* in different parts of the book might deserve more extended notice, were it not for the very unsatisfactory state in which this method of inquiry as yet is. Without doubt, it is true that, if it can be shewn that these differences are such as to indicate diversity of authorship, the argument must be admitted as legitimate, and the conclusion as valid; but before dealing with such questions, it would be well if it were settled on some scientific basis what is the competent test in such a case, what kind and amount of difference in phraseology and style are sufficient to prove a diversity of authorship. On this head critics seem wholly at sea; they have no common standard to which to appeal; and hence their conclusions are frequently determined by purely personal leanings and subjective affections, and hardly any two of them agree in the judgment at which they arrive. This is remarkably the case with the instances which have been adduced from the book before us. Of these, some are of such a kind as to render an argument from them against the unity of the book little better than puerile. Thus we are told that in some places the word שבט is used for a *tribe*, while in others מטה is used, and this is employed as a test to distinguish one fragment from another. Accordingly, for instance, in ch. xviii. vers. 2, 4, 7, are pronounced to belong to one writer, and ver. 11 to another; which is just as if an author, in giving an account of the rebellion of 1745, should speak in the same chapter, first of a body of Highlanders as a *clan*, and then of the same as a *sept*, and some critic were to come after him and say, 'This could not have been written by one author, for he would not have called the same body by different names.' Could it be shewn that either שבט or מטה is a word introduced into the language for the first time at a date much later than the age of

Joshua, while the other word had then become obsolete, an argument of some weight, and such as a scholar like Bentley might have employed, would have been advanced; but to attempt to assign parts of the same chapter to different authors and to different epochs, simply because synonymous appellations of the same object are employed, is nothing better than sheer trifling. Again, it is said that 'the historical parts have the

rare word מַחֲלָקָה, *inheritance** (xi. 23; xii. 7;

xviii. 10), which does not appear in the geographical sections' (Davidson, i. 417). Is ch. xviii., then, not in the geographical part of the book? or does a part become geographical or historical as suits the caprice or the preconceived theory of the critic?

Similarly, the geographical portion has יְרֵחוֹ, *Jordan by Jericho*, xiii. 32; xvi. 1, xx. 8;

a mode of expression wanting in the historical' (*Ibid.*) True; but suppose there was no occasion to use the phrase in the historical portions, what then? Are they, therefore, from a different pen from that which produced the geographical? Again, in the historical parts occur the words, כֹּהֲנִים

הַלֵּוִיִּם [הַכֹּהֲנִים], *the priests, the Levites* (iii. 3; viii.

33); or simply כֹּהֲנִים, *priests* (iii. 6, 15; vi. 4, 6,

etc.); but in the geographical sections the same persons are termed *sons of Aaron* (xxi. 4, 10, 13, 19) (*Ibid.*) Is there not, however, a reason for this in the fact that, as it was in virtue of their being descended from Aaron, and not in virtue of their being priests, that the Kohathites received their portion, it was more proper to designate them 'children of Aaron, of the Levites,' than 'priests,' or 'the priests the Levites.' Davidson scouts this explanation as one which 'only betrays the weakness of the cause.' We confess ourselves unable to see this; the explanation is, in our judgment, perfectly valid in itself, and sufficient for the end for which it is adduced; and he has made no attempt to show that it is otherwise. All he says is, 'The former is a Deuteronomistic expression; the latter Elohistic.' What this is meant to convey we are at a loss to determine, for the only other places in which the phrase 'sons of Aaron' occurs is in connection with the names of Nadab and Abihu, who were sons of Aaron by immediate descent, and must have been so described by any writer, whether Deuteronomist or Elohist.

A number of other words are adduced by the opponents of the unity of the book of Joshua, for the purpose of showing that it includes fragments from different authors. On these we do not linger. There are two considerations which seem to us entirely to destroy their force as evidences for that which they are adduced to prove. The one of these is that, according to Ewald, 'the later historians imitated the words and phraseology of those who preceded them, and moreover, that they frequently altered the phrases which they found in the earlier documents.' On this Kurz (from whom we borrow the statement) remarks with great force — 'If that was the case, we can no longer think of peculiarities of style as characteristic signs by

* מַחֲלָקָה happens to be the plural of מַחְלָקָה, which signifies, not *inheritance*, but *division*, or *course*.

which the different sources may be distinguished. His entire theory is therefore built on sand' (*Comment. on Josh., Intro.*, p. 9, E. T.) The other observation we would make is, that supposing it made out by indubitable marks that the book of Joshua has undergone a careful revision by a later editor, who has altered expressions and interpolated brief statements that would not seriously impeach the unity of the book, it would still remain substantially the work of one author. We cannot forbear adding that, in all such inquiries, more faith is to be placed on a sound literary perception and taste, than on those minutiae of expression and phraseology on which so much stress has of late been laid by some of the scholars of Germany and their followers in this country. The impression undoubtedly left on the mind of the reader is, that this book contains a continuous and uniform narrative; and its claims in this respect can be brought into doubt only by the application to it of a species of criticism which would produce the same result were it applied to the histories of Livy, the commentaries of Cæsar, or any other ancient work of narrative.

4. *Date of Composition.*—This can be only approximately determined. Of great value for this purpose is the frequent use of the phrase, 'until this day,' by the writer, in reference to the duration of certain objects of which he writes. The use of such a phrase indicates indubitably that the narrative was written while the object referred to was still existing. It is a phrase, also, which may be used in reference to a very limited period; as, for instance, when Joshua uses it of the period up to which the two tribes and a half had continued with their brethren (xxii. 3), or when he uses it of the period up to which the Israelites had been suffering for the iniquity of Peor (xxii. 17); comp. also xxiii. 8, 9. Now, we find this phrase used by the historian in cases where the reference is undoubtedly to a period either within the lifetime of Joshua, or not long after his death. Thus it is used in reference to the stones which Joshua set up in the midst of Jordan, in the place where the priests had stood as the people passed over (iv. 9), and which we cannot suppose remained in that position for a very long time; it is used also of Rahab's dwelling in the midst of Israel (vi. 25), which must have ceased, at the furthest, very soon after Joshua's death; also of Caleb's personal possession of Hebron (xiv. 14), which of course terminated soon after the time of Joshua. From these notices we infer that the book *may* have been written during Joshua's lifetime, and *cannot* have been written long after. With this falls in the use of the first person in the reference to the crossing of the Jordan (v. 1), where one who was present on the occasion is evidently the writer. To the same effect is the fact, that no allusion is anywhere made to anything that is known to have been long posterior to the time of Joshua. From all this we may infer, that the book was written not later than a quarter of a century at furthest, after the death of Joshua.

Several words occurring in this book have been adduced as belonging to the later Hebrew, and as, consequently, indicating a later date of composition for the book than the age of Joshua, or that immediately succeeding. But it strikingly shows the precarious basis on which all such reasoning rests, that words are pronounced archaic or late, just as it suits the purpose of the inquirer; what

De Wette calls late being declared to be ancient by Hävernick and Keil, and what Hävernick and Keil call ancient being again pronounced late by Knobel and Davidson; and with equal absence of any show of reason on both sides. One thing of importance, however, is, that whether the writer has used what modern scholars, judging *a priori*, call later forms or not, he has undoubtedly made no allusions to later facts, and so has given evidence of antiquity which common sense inquirers can appreciate.

5. *Author.*—Assuming that the book is the production of one writer, and that it was written about the time above suggested, the question arises, To whom is it to be ascribed? That it is the work of Joshua himself is the tradition of the Jews (*Baba Bathra*, cap. i. fol. 14, B); and this has been embraced by several Christian writers, and among others in recent times, by König, and, as respects the first half of the book, by Hävernick. That this might have been the case as respects all but the concluding section of the book, cannot be denied; but the reasons which have been adduced in support of it have not appeared sufficient to the great majority of critics. These may be briefly noticed here. From xxiv. 26, where it is said that Joshua 'wrote these words in the book of the law,' it is inferred that whether by 'these words,' we are to understand all the preceding part of the book, or only the things narrated in the last two chapters, it may be alike concluded that Joshua is the author of the book; on the former supposition, from direct assertion; on the latter, from the consideration that, if he wrote the last two chapters in the Torah, the presumption is that he wrote the whole book. But it is probable that it is to the covenant which Joshua made with the people as expressed in his farewell addresses to them, that reference is made in this passage, and not to the preceding narrative, either in whole or in part; and if so, the inference is, that as the writing of that part alone is ascribed to Joshua, the rest of the book is not from his pen. Again, it has been contended that, in the account of the death and burial of Joshua, which must, of course, have been written by some other than Joshua himself, the style is so different as to render it probable that Joshua wrote the rest of the book (Jahn, *Intro.*, p. 243). But an argument of this sort is always very uncertain, especially in the case of a book which has appeared to some critics to present traces of different styles throughout; to say nothing of the consideration that it is assuming more than can be conceded, that, supposing a diversity of style made out, the *only* way of accounting for that is, that the writer of the book was dead before the concluding portion was added. As for the title of honour given to Joshua, xxiv. 29, where he is called יְהוָה עֲבָדֵינוּ, a title nowhere else bestowed on him throughout the book, one can hardly infer from this that its absence in the earlier part of the book is a proof that that part was written by Joshua himself. He might indeed have from modesty refrained from using such a designation; but such a title comes in more appropriately in connection with the death of one who has faithfully served his generation by the will of God, than it does in the narrative of his exploits, and consequently, whilst the historian, in recording the events of Joshua's life, may have refrained

from any such designation, he may have felt himself at perfect liberty to bestow it on him when narrating his death. Stress has also been laid on the use of the first person in v. 1, 6; but though the use of the 'we' in the former passage indicates that the writer was one of those who passed over, it does not necessarily prove that the writer was Joshua; and in the latter passage, the 'us' stands evidently for the nation as such, and might have been used by an Israelite at any period of the national existence. On the other hand, there are statements in the book which seem incompatible with the supposition that it was written by Joshua himself. Such is the account of the capture of Hebron by Caleb, of Debir by Othniel (xv. 13-19), and of Leshem by the Danites; events which, as we learn from Judg. i. 15, did not take place till after Joshua's death. Again, when Josh. xv. 63 is compared with Judg. i. 21, it seems evident that the event narrated took place after the time of Joshua, for, according to the author of Judges, it occurred subsequent to the assault on Jerusalem mentioned Judg. i. 8, and this is distinctly referred to the period after Joshua's death. It is probable, also, that such notices as those contained Josh. xiii. 2-5 (comp. Judg. iii. 3), Josh. xvi. 10 (comp. Judg. i. 29), and Josh. xvii. 11 (comp. Judg. i. 27, 28), relate to a period subsequent to that of Joshua. That the account of Joshua's death and burial, of the interment of the bones of Joseph, and of the burial of Eleazar (xxiv. 29-33), was not written by Joshua, all admit as a matter of course; but, if it be also admitted that Joshua did not write the rest of the book, there is no need for supposing the author of these verses to be different from the author of the book. Who this was we can only conjecture. There seems no serious objection to the suggestion of Keil that he was one of the elders who lived for some time after Joshua, and who had seen all the works of Jehovah which He had done for Israel (xxiv. 31; Judg. ii. 7), 'and who occupied himself at the close of his life with writing down, partly from recollection, and partly also from contemporary documents and other written notices, the things which he himself had witnessed' (p. 47). In this case the title which the book bears must be referred to the principal subject of the book, and not to the author of it.

6. *Credibility*.—That the narrative contained in this book is to be accepted as a trustworthy account of the transactions it records, is proved alike by the esteem in which it was always held by the Jews; by the references to events recorded in it in the national sacred songs (comp. Ps. xlv. 2-4; lxxviii. 54, 55; lxxviii. 13-15; cxiv. 1-8; Hab. iii. 8-13), and in other parts of Scripture (comp. Judg. xviii. 31; 1 Sam. i. 3, 9, 24; iii. 21; Is. xxviii. 21; Acts vii. 45; Heb. iv. 8; xi. 30-32; Jam. ii. 25); by the traces which, both in the historical and in the geographical portions, may be found of the use by the writer of contemporary documents; by the minuteness of the details which the author furnishes, and which indicates familiar acquaintance with what he records; by the accuracy of his geographical delineations, an accuracy which the results of modern investigation are increasingly demonstrating; by the fact that the tribes never had any dispute as to the boundaries of their respective territories, but adhered to the arrangements specified in this book; and by the general fidelity to historical consistency and probability which the

book displays (Hävernicks, *Einl.*, sec. 148, ff.) Some of the narratives, it is true, are of a miraculous kind, but such are wholly in keeping with the avowed relation to the Almighty of the people whose history the book records, and they can be regarded as unhistorical only on the assumption that *all* miracles are incredible; a question we cannot stop to discuss here [MIRACLES]. In the list of such miraculous interpositions we do not include the standing still of the sun, and the staying of the moon, recorded in ch. x. 12, 13. That passage is apparently wholly a quotation from the book of Jashar, and is probably a fragment of a poem composed by some Israelite on the occasion; it records in highly poetical language the gracious help which God granted to Joshua by the retarding of the approach of darkness long enough to enable him to complete the destruction of his enemies; and is no more to be taken literally than is such a passage as Ps. cxiv. 4-6, where the Red Sea is described as being frightened and fleeing, and the mountains as skipping like rams [JASHAR, BOOK OF]. That God interposed on this occasion to help his people we do not doubt; but that he interposed by the working of such a miracle as the words taken literally would indicate, we see no reason to believe.

The account given, ch. viii. 1, ff., of the taking of Ai has been much dwelt upon as presenting a narrative which is unhistorical. It must be confessed that very considerable obscurity hangs over this portion of the book. It is incredible that Joshua sent *two* bodies of men, one comprising 30,000 soldiers, the other 5000, to lie in ambush against the city, while he himself advanced on it with the main body of his army; and yet this seems to be what the narrative states. What increases the improbability here is that the larger body is never mentioned as having come into action at all, for the whole exploit was accomplished by the 5000 and those who were with Joshua. If the case were stated thus: That Joshua took 30,000 of his warriors, and of these sent away 5000 to lie in ambush, while he with the remaining 25,000 advanced against the city; the narrative would be perfectly simple and credible. But as the text stands it is impossible to extract such a statement from it. The difficulty here has been often confessed by interpreters; but no satisfactory solution of it has been offered. The suggestion that vers. 12 and 13 are a marginal gloss which has been supposed to creep into the text, leaves the narrative burdened with the improbable statement that 30,000 men could advance on Ai in daylight, and lie concealed in its immediate neighbourhood for several hours without their presence being suspected by the inhabitants. Still less probable seems the suggestion that in these verses we have a fragment of an older record; for unless we suppose the fragment to have inserted *itself* in the middle of the other narrative, and the whole book to have formed itself by a fortuitous concourse of fragments, much after the manner in which the Epicureans supposed the universe to have been formed from a fortuitous concourse of atoms, we must presume it was inserted intentionally by some intelligent compiler; and such an insertion is just what no intelligent compiler would make. Keil labours to shew that from the peculiar style of Shemitic narrative it is competent to supply, in ver. 3, in thought, from

the subsequent narrative, that Joshua selected from the 30,000 whom he took 5000, whom he sent away by night; but there appears to us too much in this of special pleading in order to escape a difficulty to make it acceptable. We prefer to admit our inability to solve the difficulty; at the same time maintaining that it would be unreasonable on this account to relinquish our confidence on the general credibility of the book.

7. *Relation to the Pentateuch.*—The Pentateuch brings down the history of the Israelites to the death of Moses, at which it naturally terminates. The book of Joshua takes up the history at this point, and continues it to the death of Joshua, which furnishes another natural pause. From resemblance between the language and forms of expression used by the author of the book of Joshua, and those found in Deuteronomy, it has been supposed that both are to be ascribed, in part at least, to the same writer. This, of course, proceeds on the supposition that the book of Deuteronomy is not the composition of Moses; a question on which it would be out of place to enter here [DEUTERONOMY; PENTATEUCH]. It may suffice to observe, that whilst it is natural to expect that many similarities of phraseology and language would be apparent in works so nearly contemporaneous as that of Deuteronomy and that of Joshua; there are yet such differences between them as may seem to indicate that they are not the production of the same writer. Thus, in the Pentateuch, we have the word *Jericho* always spelt יִרְחֹו, whilst in Joshua it is always יִרְחֹו; * in Deuteronomy we have אֵל קָנָא (iv. 24; v. 9; vi. 15), in Joshua אֵל קָנָא (xxiv. 19); in Deut. the inf. of יָרָא, *to fear*, is יִרְאָה (iv. 10; v. 26; vi. 24, etc.), in Josh. it is יָרָא (xxii. 25); in Deut. we have warriors described as בְּנֵי חַיִּל (iii. 18), whilst in Josh. they are called בְּנֵי הַחַיִּל (i. 14; vi. 2, etc.). We have also in Joshua the peculiar formula דָּמּוּ בְּרָאשׁוֹ, which nowhere occurs in the Pentateuch, but only דָּמּוּ בּוֹ (Lev. xx. 9, 11, 12, etc.); the expression אָדָם לֵל הָאָרֶץ (iii. 11, 13), which occurs again only in Zech. vi. 5; the phrase, 'the heart melted' (ii. 11; v. 1; vii. 5); etc. In the Pentateuch also we find the usage in respect of the third personal pronoun feminine fluctuating between הִיא and הִיא; in the book of Joshua the usage is fixed down to הִיא, which became the permanent usage of the language. We find also that in the Pentateuch the demonstrative pronoun, with the article, sometimes appears in the form הַזֶּה, while in Joshua and elsewhere it is always הַזֶּה. The evidence here is the same in effect as would accrue in the

* In some editions the word is written יִרְחֹו, in ch. ii. 1, 3; iv. 13, etc. Keil calls this in question, saying, 'I have not met with this form in any of the editions issued by J. H. Michaelis and Hahn.' It is found, however, in the edition of Leusden, Amst. 1667, and that of Jablonski, Ber. 1690, and Kennicott reports it as the reading of several codices.

case of Latin writers from the use of *ipsum* and *ipse, illud* and *ille*.

8. *Samaritan Book of Joshua.*—Hottinger, in his *Historia Orientalis*, p. 60, ff. (comp. also Fabricius, *Codex Apocr. Vet. Test.*, p. 876, ff.), has given an account of this work from Rabbinical sources. It seems to have been originally composed in Arabic, though alleged to have been translated into Arabic from the Samaritan (see Rödiger in the *Hall. Allg. Lit. Zeit.* for 1848, No. 217, ff.), and bears evident marks of having been written subsequent to the Coran, probably as late as the 13th century. It contains a compilation from the canonical books of Moses and Joshua, mixed up with much legendary matter. An edition, from the only MS. extant, appeared in 1848 at Leyden, with the title *Liber Josue: Chronicum Samaritanum; edidit, latine vertit, etc.*, T. G. J. Juynboll. It seems never to have been recognised by the Samaritans themselves (De Wette, *Eintl.*, sec. 171).

9. *Commentaries.*—There is an explanation of the Book of Joshua in the works of Ephraem Syrus (*Opp. Syr.*, vol. i.), also Questions on it in the works of Theodoret and Augustine. The Hebrew commentary of Rashi was published with a Latin translation by Breithaupt, Goth. 1714. The most valuable of the commentaries since the Reformation are those of Masius, 1574; Chytræus, 1592; Calvin, 1667; Osiander, 1681; Corn. a Lapide, 1718; Maurer, 1831; Rosenmüller (in his *Scholia*, P. ix. vol. 1), 1833; Bush, 1838; Keil, 1847, translated into English by Martin, 1857.—W. L. A.

JOSHUA, or JESHUA B. JEHUDAH, called in Arabic *Abulfarag Forkan Ibn Assad* (أَبُو الْفَرَّاسِ فَرْكَانُ بْنُ إِسْحَاقَ), and quoted by Ibn Ezra by the simple name *R. Joshua* (ר' יושוע), a distinguished Karaite philosopher, grammarian, and commentator, who flourished in the 11th century, and who, from his great piety and extensive knowledge, obtained the honourable appellation of the *aged*, or *presbyter* (*Ha-Saken, Al-Shaich*). He wrote expositions of the whole O. T., which are still in MS. The only fragments printed are given by Ibn Ezra on Gen. xxviii. 12; xlix. 27; Exod. iii. 2, 13; iv. 4; vi. 3, 13; vii. 3, 12; viii. 22; x. 6; xii. 5; xv. 4; xvii. 16; xxi. 37; xxii. 7; xxxv. 5; Lev. xvi. 1; Hos. v. 7; Joel iii. 1; Amos ix. 10; Obad. 17; Jonah iii. 3; Micah ii. 7; vii. 12; Hab. ii. 7; Zeph. iii. 1; Hag. ii. 10; Mal. ii. 6; Dan. i. 3; ii. 4; iv. 17; vi. 9; xii. 2; Ps. lxxxviii. 1; cix. 8; cx. 3; cxix. 160; cxii. 1; cxlix. 6. Comp. Delitzsch, in *Aaron b. Elias*, Leipzig 1844, p. 315, ff.; Pinsker, *Lichtek Dammonit*, Vienna 1860, text, p. 117; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. vi., Leipzig 1861, p. 94, etc.

JOSIAH (יְהוֹשִׁיָּהוּ, *Jehovah heals*; Sept. *Iwoslas*).

1. Seventeenth king of Judah, and son of Amon, whom he succeeded on the throne in B.C. 698, at the early age of eight years, and reigned thirty-one years.

As Josiah thus early ascended the throne, we may the more admire the good qualities which he manifested, seeing, as Coquerel remarks, 'qu'il est difficile de recevoir une bonne éducation sur le trône' (*Biographie Sacrée*, p. 305). Avoiding the example of his immediate predecessors, he 'did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, and

walked in all the ways of David his father, and turned not aside to the right hand or to the left' (2 Kings xxii. 1, 2; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 1, 2). So early as the sixteenth year of his age he began to manifest that enmity to idolatry in all its forms which distinguished his character and reign; and he was not quite twenty years old when he proclaimed open war against it, although more or less favoured by many men of rank and influence in the court and kingdom. He then commenced a thorough purification of the land from all taint of idolatry, by going about and superintending in person the operations of the men who were employed in breaking down idolatrous altars and images, and cutting down the groves which had been consecrated to idol-worship. His detestation of idolatry could not have been more strongly expressed than by ransacking the sepulchres of the idolatrous priests of former days, and consuming their bones upon the idol altars before they were overturned. Yet this operation, although unexampled in Jewish history, was foretold 326 years before Josiah was born, by the prophet who was commissioned to denounce to Jeroboam the future punishment of his sin. He even named Josiah as the person by whom this act was to be performed; and said that it should be performed in Beth-el, which was then a part of the kingdom of Israel (1 Kings xiii. 2). All this seemed much beyond the range of human probabilities. But it was performed to the letter; for Josiah did not confine his proceedings to his own kingdom, but went over a considerable part of the neighbouring kingdom of Israel, which then lay comparatively desolate, with the same object in view; and at Beth-el, in particular, executed all that the prophet had foretold (2 Kings xxiii. 1-19; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3-7, 32). In these proceedings Josiah seems to have been actuated by an absolute *hatred* of idolatry, such as no other king since David had manifested, and which David had scarcely occasion to manifest in the same degree.

In the eighteenth year of his reign and the twenty-sixth of his age, when the land had been thoroughly purified from idolatry and all that belonged to it, Josiah proceeded to repair and beautify the temple of the Lord. In the course of this pious labour, the high-priest Hilkiah discovered in the sanctuary a volume, which proved to contain the books of Moses, and which, from the terms employed, seems to have been considered the original of the law as written by Moses. [HILKIAH.] It appears that the king was greatly astonished when some parts of this were read to him. It is manifest that he had previously been entirely ignorant of much that he then heard; and he rent his clothes in consternation when he found that, with the best intentions to serve the Lord, he and all his people had been living in the neglect of duties which the law declared to be of vital importance. It is difficult to account for this ignorance. Some suppose that all the copies of the law had perished, and that the king had never seen one. But this is very unlikely; but however scarce complete copies may have been, the pious king was likely to have been the possessor of one. The probability seems to be that the passages read were those awful denunciations against disobedience with which the book of Deuteronomy concludes, and which from some cause or other the king had never before read, or which had never

before produced on his mind the same strong conviction of the imminent dangers under which the nation lay, as now when read to him from a volume invested with a character so venerable, and brought with such interesting circumstances under his notice.

The king in his alarm sent to Huldah 'the prophetess,' for her counsel in this emergency [HULDAH]: her answer assured him that, although the dread penalties threatened by the law had been incurred and would be inflicted, he should be gathered in peace to his fathers before the days of punishment and sorrow came.

It was perhaps not without some hope of averting this doom that the king immediately called the people together at Jerusalem, and engaged them in a solemn renewal of the ancient covenant with God. When this had been done, the Passover was celebrated with careful attention to the directions given in the law, and on a scale of unexampled magnificence. But all was too late; the hour of mercy had passed; for 'the Lord turned not from the fierceness of his great wrath, wherewith his anger was kindled against Judah' (2 Kings xxii. 3-20; xxiii. 21-27; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8-33; xxxv. 1-19).

That removal from the world which had been promised to Josiah as a blessing was not long delayed, and was brought about in a way which he had probably not expected. His kingdom was tributary to the Chaldean empire; and when Pharaoh-necho, king of Egypt, sought a passage through his territories, on an expedition against the Chaldeans, Josiah, with a very high sense of the obligations which his vassalage imposed, refused to allow the march of the Egyptian army through his dominions, and prepared to resist the attempt by force of arms. Necho was very unwilling to engage in hostilities with Josiah: the appearance of the Hebrew army at Megiddo, however, brought on a battle, in which the king of Judah was so desperately wounded by arrows that his attendants removed him from the war-chariot, and placed him in another, in which, apparently, he died whilst being taken to Jerusalem (comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 30; 2 Chron. xxxv. 24). No king that reigned in Israel was ever more deeply lamented by all his subjects than Josiah: and we are told that the prophet composed on the occasion an elegiac ode, which was long preserved among the people, but which is not now in existence (2 Kings xxiii. 29-37; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20-27).—J. K.

2. The son of Zephaniah, to whose house the prophet Zechariah was commanded to conduct the delegates from the Israelites in Babylon, that they might assist at the crowning of Joshua the high-priest (Zech. vi. 10). Josiah was probably the treasurer of the temple; and in his house the delegates had apparently deposited their gifts, from which the materials of the crown were to be taken. In ver. 14 Josiah is called *Hen*, as Heldai is called *Helem*; both having apparently double names. Some, indeed, would translate *הן* *favour*, and explain it of the hospitality shewn by Josiah to the delegates; but this is forced and unnecessary. Josiah's father was probably the Zephaniah mentioned 2 Kings xxv. 18 as a priest of the second rank, and as one of those carried captive to Babylon.—W. L. A.

JOSIPPON B. GORION (יוסיפון בן גוריון), also called JOSEPH B. GORION, the reputed author of

the celebrated Hebrew Chronicle entitled **ספר יוספון** *the book of Josippon*, or **יוסף העברי** *the Hebrew Josippon*. This chronicle consists of six books, begins its record with Adam, explains the genealogical table in Gen. xi., then passes on to the history of Rome, Babylon, Cyrus, and the fall of Babel, resumes again the history of the Jews, describes the times of Daniel, Zerubbabel, Esther, etc.; gives an account of Alexander the Great, his connection with the Jews, his exploits, and expeditions of his successors, and then continues the history of the Jews, of Heliodorus' assault on the Temple, the translation of the O. T. into Greek, the deeds of the Maccabees, the events of the Herodians, and the last war which terminated in the destruction of the Temple by Titus. The authorities quoted in this remarkable book are—1, Nicolaus the Damascene; 2, Strabo of Cappadocia; 3, Titus Livius; 4, Togthas of Jerusalem; 5, Porophius of Rome; 6, The History of Alexander, written in the year of his death by Magi; 7, The book of the antediluvian patriarch Cainan b. Enos; 8, Books of the Greeks, Medians, Persians, and Macedonians; 9, Epistle of Alexander to Aristotle about the wonders of India; 10, Treaties of alliance of the Romans; 11, Cicero, who was in the Holy of Holies of the Temple, during the reign of Pompejus; 12, The intercalary years of Julius Cæsar, composed for the Nazarites and Greeks; 13, The chronicles of the Roman Emperors; 14, The constitutional diploma which Vespasian venerated so highly that he kissed every page of it; 15, The Alexandrian Library with its 995 volumes; 16, Jewish histories which are lost; and 17, The national traditions which have been transmitted orally.

As to the author and date of this book, the greatest divergency of opinions prevails amongst scholars. The writer himself says that he is *the priest of Jerusalem, i.e., Flavius Josephus*, and that he was appointed governor of the whole Jewish nation by Titus (pp. 68, 157, 164, 367, 673, ed. Breithaupt), and this has been the unanimous opinion of the most learned Jewish writers since the days of Saadia (A. D. 950). It is quoted as the genuine production of Flavius Josephus by the celebrated Rashi (on 2 Kings xx. 13; Is. xxi. 4; xxxix. 2; Ezek. xxvii. 17; Hag. ii. 7; Zech. ix. 14; Dan. v. 1; vi. 29; vii. 6; viii. 11, 21; xi. 2, 4, 16, 17, 29); Ibn Ezra (on Gen. xxxvii. 25; Is. ii. 2; Hos. xiv. 2; Hag. ii. 9; Ps. xlix. 20; cxx. 5; Dan. ii. 39; xi. 3); Kimchi (Lex. art. **יְהוֹשֻפִּת**); Pseudo-Saadia (on Dan. ix. 27); De Rossi (*Meor Enaim*, ed. Mantua 1574, c. xix., p. 86, b); and a host of other scholars, both Jewish and Christian. But Zunz (*Zeitschrift*, Berlin 1822, p. 300) has tried to show that this Josippon is ignorant of history. He says, *ex gr.*, that Titus executed the high-priest Ishmael b. Elisa (p. 888), makes Ptolemy Lagi and Antigonus identical (p.

153), Ptolemy and **תלמי** separate persons (p. 176), etc.; he sometimes forgets to simulate Josephus (comp. pp. 443, 446, 452, 510, 524, 370, 373, 250, 334, 350, where he quotes the Latin translation of Josephus as belonging to somebody else, and from p. 677 speaks of Josephus as a third person); he speaks of later nations and countries, viz., of Campagna (p. 7), Romagna (p. 20), Sorrento (p. 19), Trani (p. 869), Tessino (p. 6), Po (*ibid.*), Candia (p. 163), the Danes (p. 745), Turko-

mans (p. 92), the Goths in Spain (p. 221); he also describes the coronation of an emperor, speaks of popes and bishops (p. 671). Zunz therefore concludes that the writer was a French Jew, who flourished in the 9th century, that this deceiver made the fragments of the genuine Josephus which had been translated into Hebrew the basis of his work, and that he made use of other apocryphal writings and his own imagination to fill up the gaps, and that subsequent hands have made all manner of interpolations into it. In his notes on Benjamin of Tudela (ed. Asher, 1841, vol. ii., p. 246), however, Zunz speaks of Josippon b. Gorion in more respectful terms, regards him as '*the [Hebrew] translator and editor of Josephus*,' and says that 'he lived in Italy about the middle of the latter half of the 10th century, and that his accounts of several nations of his time are as important as his orthography of Italian towns is remarkable.' Steinschneider, who also assigns its birth to the 10th century and to northern Italy, describes the book as '*the Hebrew edition of the Latin Hegesippus*,' and '*as an offshoot from the fully developed Midrash of Arabian and Latin literature*' (*Jewish Literature*, London 1857, p. 77); whilst Graetz maintains that it is a Hebrew translation of an Arabic book of Maccabees, entitled (**TARICH AL MAKKABAIN**, JUSSUFF IBN G'OR'ON) *History of the Maccabees of Joseph b. Gorion*, which has partly been published in the Polyglotts (Paris 1645; London 1657) under the title of the Arabic book of Maccabees, and which is to be found complete in two MSS. in the Bodleian (URI Catalogue, Nos. 782, 829), and that the translator, an Italian Jew, has made additions to it and displayed great skill in his Hebrew style (*Geschichte der Juden*, v. 281).

The first edition of this work appeared in Mantua 1476-1479, with a preface by Abraham b. Salomon Conato. A reprint of this edition (the text vitiated), with a Latin version by Munster, was published at Basle, 1541. There appeared an edition from a MS. containing a somewhat different version of the work, and divided into ninety-seven chapters, edited by Tam Ibn Jachja b. David, Constantinople 1510. New editions of it were published in Venice 1544; Cracow 1589; Frankfurt-on-the-Maine 1689; Amsterdam 1723; Prague 1784; Zolkiew 1805; Vilna 1819. It was partly translated into Arabic by Zechariah ben Said el-Tememi about 1223; and into English by Peter Morwyng, London 1558, 1561, 1575, 1579, 1602. There are two other Latin translations, besides the one by Munster, 1541; one was made by our countryman the learned orientalist John Gagnier, Oxford 1706, and one by Breithaupt, the last has also the Hebrew text and elaborate notes, and will always continue the students' edition. We have German translations by Michael Adam, Zurich 1546; Moses b. Bezaliel, Prague 1607; Abraham b. Mordecai Cohen, Amsterdam 1661; Seligmann Reis, Frankfurt-on-the-Maine 1707. Comp. Zunz, *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Berlin 1822, p. 300, ff.; *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin 1832, p. 146-154; Delitzsch, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Poesie*, Leipzig 1836, p. 37-40; Carmoly in *Jost's Annalen*, vol. I, Frankfurt-on-the-Maine 1839, p. 149, ff.; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, vol. ii., p. 111-114; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 1547-1552.—C. D. G.

JOST, ISAAC MARCUS, the ornament of modern Jews, the first Israelite who, since the days of Josephus, wrote the history of God's ancient people, was born in Bernburg, Feb. 22, 1793, of very poor Jewish parents. At the tender age of five, he, being the only brother of eleven sisters, had to become the guide of his blind father, a duty which he performed for five years with the utmost filial affection; and when his father died in 1803, Jost came to Wolfenbüttel, where his grandfather lived, and where he was received into Samson's Institute. Here he spent four years (1803-1807) studying Hebrew and the Talmud under great deprivations and sufferings. A new epoch, however, commenced in the studies of Jost when this institution was entrusted to the management of Ehrenberg, towards the end of 1807. It was then that Jost, at the age of thirteen, was for the first time properly instructed in German, which was his mother tongue, and that his unquenchable desire to learn other languages was kindled. Favoured with the friendship of a fellow-inmate alike poor and thirsting for knowledge, and that no less a youth than Leopold Zunz, Jost and his friend eagerly prosecuted their studies during the winter of 1808-1809 labouring to acquire as much of Latin and Greek as would fit them for entering the Gymnasium. 'Whole nights,' he touchingly records, 'have we laboured by the tapers which we made ourselves from the wax that ran down the big wax candles in the synagogue. By hard study we succeeded in bringing it so far in the course of the six months terminating with April 1809, that we, Zunz in Wolfenbüttel, and I in Brunswick, were put in the senior class in the Gymnasium.' Jost remained in the Gymnasium at Brunswick till 1813, acquiring a wonderful knowledge of Latin and Greek, as well as of some modern languages, during these four years, and then went to the University at Göttingen, where he most diligently devoted himself in 1814-1816 to the study of history, philology, philosophy, and theology. In 1816, at the age of twenty-three, he undertook the management of a civil and commercial school at Berlin, which consisted of both Jewish and Christian youths, and to which he continued to devote his energies till 1833, though all the Christian students were ordered, by a ministerial decree, to leave it in 1819. It was here, during his seventeen years attending to the school, that he published—(1) his gigantic historical work, entitled, *Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Maccabäer bis auf unsere Tage*, 9 vols., Berlin 1820-1828; (2) *Allgemeine Geschichte des Israelitischen Volkes*, etc., 2 vols., Berlin 1831-1832, being an abridgment, with corrections of the former work; and (3) *ששה סדרי משנה*, the Mishna, with the Hebrew text and vowel points, accompanied by a German translation, a rabbinic commentary and German annotations, 6 vols., Berlin 1832-1834. His literary fame, as well as the great ability he displayed in the management of the school at Berlin, made the directors of the Jewish High School at Frankfort-on-the-Maine offer to him the office of headmaster, which he accepted in 1835, and held to the end of his life. Whilst discharging his scholastic duties Jost vigorously prosecuted his literary researches, and started in 1839, (4) *Israelitische Annalen*, a weekly journal for Jewish history, literature, etc., of which appeared three volumes, Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1839-1841. It is not too

much to say that, in this journal, to which some of the greatest Jewish literati contributed, the student of Biblical exegesis, Hebrew grammar, or of Jewish antiquities and history, will find materials which he will rarely meet with elsewhere, as may be seen from the frequent references to it in this *Cyclopædia*. The same year in which this journal was discontinued, Jost, in conjunction with Creizenach, started (5) a Hebrew periodical, of which appeared two volumes, entitled, *פנח, Ephemerides hebraicae s. collectio dissertationum maxime theologiarum, variorumque hebraicorum scriptorum, ad ordinem mensium lunarium disposita*, Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1841-1842. This, like the former journal, is a very important contribution to Biblical and Jewish literature, and will always be read with great pleasure by the lover of the sacred language, owing to the beautiful Hebrew style in which it is written. All this time, however, Jost was labouring at his grand history of the Jews, of which he published (6), in 1846-1847, three more parts, under the title *Neuere Geschichte der Israeliten*, etc., being a continuation, and forming a tenth volume, of his great historical work; and in 1857-1859 he embodied all his historical and critical researches, in which he was engaged the whole of his life, in (7) the *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Secten*, published in three volumes by the *Institut zur Förderung der Israelitischen Literatur*, in Leipzig. This work is a cyclopædia of Jewish history and Biblical literature, containing the ripest scholarship of the 19th century. It would be impossible to catalogue the numberless articles which Jost contributed to various periodicals, all bearing more or less upon the history of the Jews, and upon Scriptural subjects; some of them are frequently referred to in this *Cyclopædia*. After enriching the world for upwards of forty years from his abundant stores of sacred literature, this noble descendant of Abraham died November 20, 1860, in his sixty-seventh year.—C. D. G.

JOT AND TITTLE. The force of these expressions, which are used figuratively in Scripture (Matt. v. 18; Luke xvi. 17) to represent *the minutest part*, will be seen when their form and proverbial use among the rabbins are described. *Iod*, or *Yod*, which is the proper meaning of יוֹדָה, being the smallest letter in the Hebrew alphabet (י), is constantly used in the rabbinical writings to denote the smallest, or the most insignificant thing. Thus, the conscious insignificance, and yet the importance, of this small letter י, is beautifully described in one of the Midrashic parables as follows:—'R. Josua b. Karchah said the Iod which God took from the name Sarah was divided [into two *Hes*], one ה was left for Sarah (שרה), and the other was given to Abram (אברם), when his name was changed into Abraham (אברהם). R. Simon b. Jachai remarked, the Iod, which was thus divided from the name Sarai, complained before the throne of God, saying: Lord of the universe, is it because that I am the smallest of all the letters (סמני קטנות) that thou hast taken me away from the name of the righteous woman? Whereupon the Lord said, hitherto thou hast been in the name of a woman, and wast the last of the letters (שרי), now thou shalt be in the name of a man, and be the first of the letters. This is it which is written, that Moses called *Hosea* (הושע) *Joshua* (יהושע), Num. xiii. 16), putting the *Iod* before it' (comp. *Mi-*

rash Rabba and Jalkut on Gen. xvii. 5). The figurative use of the letter *Iod* to express that which is small, may also be seen from the fact, that a small city was called *Iod*, because this is the smallest letter of the alphabet (עיר ששמה י' (ר) comp. Rashi on *Taanith* 21, b), and from the phrase, 'I saw a city come forth from a *Iod*' (יוד קרת קא) *Kiddushin* 16, b). Still more insignificant is the *tittle* *kepalā*, or the different ornaments of the letters, called in the Talmud כתרין, and זיונים, and תנין, and קוצים, inasmuch as these ornaments are smaller even than the י', and form no essential part of the letter, which is complete without them. Much stress, however, has been laid upon these ornaments from time immemorial, and the Talmud specifies seven letters, each of which must be ornamented on the top with these זיונים. To shew what these ornaments are, and that they form no part of the letters, we shall give these seven letters, both ornamented and without the ornaments.

ש ע ט נ ז נ ז
ש ע ט נ ז נ ז

Other letters again have the תנינים, and Maimonides gives every word which is to be written with this ornament in the four passages of the Pentateuch to be enclosed in the phylacteries [PHYLACTERY], of

which the following is a specimen—והיו ל' וטפות. Now, from this it will be seen that the meaning of our Saviour in Matt. v. 18 and Luke xvi. 17 is, that not only shall the י', the smallest letter of the alphabet, not fail to fulfil its design in the word of God, but even the ornament, this insignificant stroke, which is smaller still both in size and purpose than the י', shall not pass away. A striking illustration of this phrase is given in one of the Talmudic allegories, which is as follows:—Once upon a time the Book of Deuteronomy fell down before the throne of God, and bitterly exclaimed, O Lord of the universe, thou hast laid down in me thy Law, but remember, that if the least thing is altered therein, the whole of it must fall. Now King Solomon labours to expunge the letter י', for it is written,

לא ירבה לו נשים, he shall not multiply wives to himself (Deut. xvii. 17), as by the omission of the י' the prohibition ceases. Whereupon the Lord answered, Solomon, and thousands like him, shall perish, but not even the *tittle* or ornament of the *Iod* shall pass away from the Law (וקצו של יוד אינו) *Jerusalem Sanhedrin* 20, b). This passage renders it unnecessary to refute the opinion that *kepaia* are the little turns of the strokes, the points or the corners of letters by which one letter differs from another similar to it, which is advanced by Origen (comp. Ps. xxxiii.), τῶν στοιχείων παρ' ἑβραίοις, λέγω δὲ τοῦ χάφ καὶ τοῦ βῆθ (כ and ב), πολλὰν ομοιότητα σωζόντων, ὡς κατὰ μηδὲν ἀλλήλων διαλλάττειν ἢ βραχεία κεφαλα μόνη, and has been espoused by almost all modern critics. Comp. *Menachoth* 29, b; Maimonides, *Iod Ha-Chesaka Hilchoth Tefillin*, section ii. 8-10; *Hilchoth Sepher Torah*, section vii.—C. D. G.

JOTAPATA, a fortress in Galilee, in which Josephus, by whom it had been strongly fortified, resisted for a considerable time the assault of the Romans under Vespasian, but was ultimately

defeated and taken prisoner (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 20, 6; iii. 6. 7; *Vita*, sec. 37). Josephus describes it as situated on a precipitous rock of great height, and accessible only on the northern side, and as so surrounded by mountains that it cannot be described until it is actually approached (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 7. 7). It has been identified with Jefat, 'a high round tell perfectly regular and isolated, except that it is connected with the northern hills by a low ridge or neck' (Robinson, *Lat. Bib. Res.*, p. 105). It is shut in by mountains, and lies to the N.E. of Kaukab and about ten miles to the N.W. of Nazareth, in long. 35° 15' E., lat. 32° 52' N. It is the נופתתא, *Gopatata*, of the Talmud (*Reland, Pal.* 816, 867). [JIPHTAH-EL].—W. L. A.

JOTBAH (יֹטְבָה; Sept. *Iereβα*; 'Alex. *Ieraxδλ*), the residence of Haruz, the father of Meshullemeth, queen of Manasseh, and mother of Amon, king of Judah (2 Kings xxi. 19). Josephus calls it *Iabáth* (*Antiq.* x. 3. 2). It is probably the same place as the following.

JOTBATH, OR JOTBATHAH (יֹטְבָתָה; Sept. *Ereβathā*; Alex. *Iereβathán*), one of the stations of the Israelites in the wilderness (*Num.* xxxiii. 33; *Deut.* x. 7). In the latter passage it is described as 'a land of rivers of waters,' i.e., of gorges or defiles, through which brooks flowed. On the western side of the Arabah there are several spots where the Wadys converge, and one of these is probably the locality indicated.—W. L. A.

JOTHAM (יֹתָם, *Jehovah is upright*; Sept. *Iwáθam*). 1. The youngest of Gideon's seventy legitimate sons; and the only one who escaped when the rest were massacred by the order of Abimelech. When the fratricide was made king by the people of Shechem, the young Jotham was so daring as to make his appearance on Mount Gerizim for the purpose of lifting up a protesting voice, and of giving vent to his feelings. This he did in a beautiful parable, wherein the trees are represented as making choice of a king, and bestowing on the bramble the honour which the cedar, the olive, and the vine would not accept. The obvious application, which indeed Jotham failed not himself to point out, must have been highly exasperating to Abimelech and his friends; but the speaker, as soon as he had delivered his parable, fled to the town of Beer, and remained there out of his brother's reach. We hear no more of him; but three years after, if then living, he saw the accomplishment of the malediction he had pronounced (*Judg.* ix. 5-21).

2. The tenth king of Judah, and son of Uzziah, whom he succeeded in B.C. 758, at the age of twenty-five; he reigned sixteen years. His father having during his last years been excluded by leprosy from public life [UZZIAH], the government was administered by his son. Jotham profited by the experience which the reign of his father, and of the kings who preceded him, afforded, and he ruled in the fear of God, although he was unable to correct all the corrupt practices into which the people had fallen. His sincere intentions were rewarded with a prosperous reign. He was successful in his wars. The Ammonites, who had 'given gifts' as a sort of tribute to Uzziah, but had ceased to do so after his leprosy had incapacitated him from governing, were constrained by Jotham

to pay for three years a heavy tribute in silver, wheat, and barley (2 Chron. xxvi. 8; xxvii. 5, 6). Many important public works were also undertaken and accomplished by Jotham. The principal gate of the temple was rebuilt by him on a more magnificent scale; the quarter of Ophel, in Jerusalem, was strengthened by new fortifications; various towns were built or rebuilt in the mountains of Judah; and castles and towers of defence were erected in the wilderness. Jotham died greatly lamented by his people, and was buried in the sepulchre of the kings (2 Kings xv. 38; 2 Chron. xxvii. 7-9).—J. K.

JOZABAD, OR JOSABAD (יֹזָבָד; Sept. Ἰωζαβὰδ; Alex. Ἰωζαβδδ). 1. The Gederathite, one of the mighty men who came to David at Ziklag (1 Chron. xii. 4). 2, 3. Two captains of the thousands of Manasseh who went over to David at Ziklag, and aided him to repress the bands of brigands or marauders in the wilderness (1 Chron. xii. 20). The LXX. distinguish the latter of these by calling him Ἰωζαβὰθ, Alex. Ἰωζαβδδ. 4. An overseer, under Cononiah and Shimei, of the chambers in which were deposited the tithes and other offerings collected by order of Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxi. 13). 5. A chief of the Levites who took part in the preparations for the Passover celebrated by Josiah (2 Chron. xxxv. 9). The recurrence of the same names here, or in xxxi. 12-15, and the frequent recurrence through the history of the same names, has led to the suggestion that these are not so much personal names as names of Levitical or priestly families (Bertheau, *Exeg. Hdb.* in loc.) This may account for a double name so frequently occurring for the same person. 6. The son of Jeshua, a Levite who assisted at the weighing of the precious materials belonging to the temple-service which were brought back from Babylon (Ezra viii. 33). In 1 Esdras viii. 63 he is called Josabad (Ἰωσαβδδ; Alex. Ἰωσαβδδς). 7. One of the sons of Pashur, a priest who had married a strange woman after the return from Babylon (Ezra x. 22). In 1 Esdras ix. 22 he is called Ὀυδδῆλος (A. V. Ocidelus). 8. A Levite who had also married a strange woman (Ezra x. 23). He is called Ἰωζαβδδς in 1 Esdras ix. 23, and is probably the person mentioned, Neh. viii. 7, as one of those who interpreted to the people the reading of the law, and, xi. 16, as presiding over the outward work of the temple; perhaps also the same as No. 6, though this is doubtful.—W. L. A.

JOZACHAR (יֹזָכָר; Sept. Ἰεζαχαρ; Alex. Ἰωζαχαρ), one of the two conspirators by whom Joash, king of Judah, was slain (2 Kings xii. 21). In the parallel passage in 2 Chron. (xxiv. 26) he is called Zobad, which is probably a clerical error, the omission of the י being accounted for by preceding it, and the י and כ being confounded with ז and ב. Jozachar was the son of an Ammonite.—†

JUBAL (יובל, *jubilum*, i.e., *music*; Sept. Ἰουβὰλ), one of Cain's descendants, son of Lamech and Adah. He is described as the inventor of the כנור, *kinnor*, and the עוגב, *ugab*, rendered in our version 'the harp and the organ,' but perhaps more properly 'the lyre and mouth-organ,' or Pandean pipe (Gen. iv. 21). [MUSIC.]—J. K.

JUBILEE, THE YEAR OF (שַׁנַּת הַיּוֹבֵל, or simply יובל, and שַׁנַּת דְּרוֹר; Sept. ἔτος τῆς ἀφέσεως, ἀφέσις; Vulg. *annus jubilei*, or *jubilus*), the half centennial festival, the institution of which is contained in Lev. xxv. 8-16, 23-55; xxvii. 16-25.

1. *Name and its signification.*—The etymology of this word is greatly disputed. According to the reputed Targum of Jonathan* on Josh. vi. 5-9, the Talmud (*Rosh Ha-Shana* 26, a), Rashi, Ibn Ezra (on *Exod.* xix. 13), Kimchi (on *Josh.* v. 6, and *Lex.* s. v.), Parchon (*Lex.* s. v.), etc., יובל primarily signifies a *ram*,† then metonymically stands for קַרְן הַיּוֹבֵל, *the horn of a ram* (comp. *Exod.* xix. 13 with *Josh.* vi. 5), and, like the Latin *buccina*, denotes also the sound produced by the horn. Thus the name שַׁנַּת יוֹבֵל, *the year of blowing the horn*, exactly corresponds to יוֹם הַתְּרוּעָה, *the day of blowing the horn*, the appellation given to the feast of the New Year (Num. xxix. 1), and, like it, is given to this festival, because it is announced by the blast of the horn (עַל שֵׁם תְּקִיעָה, שׁוֹפָר, Rashi). Luther has therefore rightly translated it *Halljahr*. According to another ancient interpretation, יובל is from יבַל, *to emit, to liberate*, and, like דְּרוֹר, is primarily used as a concrete for *one who is at liberty*, and then, like דְּרוֹר, is used abstractly for *freedom, liberty* (comp. Hitzig on *Jer.* xxxiv. 8). This suits Lev. xxv. 10, and is given by the Sept. (ἀφείσις), Joseph. (*Antiq.* iii. 12. 3), Ibn Ezra on *Lev.* xxv. 13, etc. Others,

* Kalisch's assertion (*Historical and Critical Commentary on Exodus*, p. 335) that Onkelos takes יובל to mean *ram* (דְּרֹבָא), is incorrect, as this paraphrast simply renders it by שׁוֹפָר (comp. Onkelos on *Exod.* xix. 13); it is the reputed Targum of Jonathan which has דְּרֹבָא שְׁפִירָא for the Hebrew שׁוֹפֹרֶת הַיּוֹבֵל (comp. *Josh.* vi. 5, etc.).

† When Mr. S. Clark, the writer of the article JUBILEE in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, contemptuously rejects this explanation on the supposition that it took its origin 'from the strange nonsense which some of the rabbis in early times began to talk respecting the ram which was sacrificed in the place of Isaac,' and states that 'R. Akiba, to connect this with the jubilee, affirms that יובל is the Arabic for a ram,' we can only say that this explanation has not derived its source from this Hagadic legend, but, on the contrary, that the legend was suggested by it; that R. Akiba, in his remark, 'In going to Arabia I found that they called a ram *jubla*' אֲמַר רַבִּי יוֹבֵל, does not at all attempt to connect it with the jubilee, since this 'strange nonsense' is not even mentioned in the discussion in the Talmud, as may be seen by a reference to the passage in *Rosh Ha-Shana* 26, a; that no less an authority than Fürst most unhesitatingly affirms that יובל does mean *ram*, though he does not derive the name of the festival in question from this sense of the word (comp. *Lex.* s. v.); and that even Ewald does not treat this explanation with contempt (comp. *Die Alterthümer d. Volkes Israel*, 1854, p. 417, note).

again, regard יבל as onomatopoetic, like the Latin *jubilare*, denoting *to be jubilant*, so the Vulg., Gesenius (*Lex. s. v.*), etc. Whilst most modern critics derive יבל from יבל, *to flow impetuously*, and hence assign to it the meaning of *the loud or impetuous sound*, streaming forth from the trumpet, and proclaiming this festival. This idea, though obtained in a different way, is the same as the traditional one which we have given first. It is also called שנת דרור, *the year of freedom* (Ezek. xlvi. 17), because every slave was set at liberty at jubilee, and freely returned to his family and the patrimony of his father (comp. Lev. xxv. 10).

2. *The laws connected with this festival.*—The laws respecting the jubilee embrace the following three main enactments—(1.) Rest for the soil; (2.) Reversion of landed property to its original owner, who had been driven by poverty to sell it; and (3.) Manumission of those Israelites who through poverty or otherwise had become slaves.

The first enactment, which is comprised in Lev. xxv. 11, 12, enjoins that, as on the Sabbatical year, the soil is to be at rest, and that there should be no tillage nor harvest during the jubilee year. The Israelites, however, were permitted to fetch the spontaneous produce of the field for their immediate wants (מן השדה תאכלו את תבואתה), but not to lay it up in their storehouses.

The second enactment, which refers to the reversion of landed property, is comprised in Lev. xxv. 13-34; xxvii. 16-24. The Mosaic law enacted that the promised land should be divided by lots, in equal parts, among the Israelites, and that the plot which should thus come into the possession of each family was to be absolutely inalienable, and for ever continue to be the property of the descendants of the original possessor. When a proprietor, therefore, being pressed by poverty, had to dispose of a field, no one could buy it of him for a longer period than up to the time of the next jubilee, when it reverted to the original possessor, or to his family. Hence the sale, properly speaking, was not of the land, but of the produce of so many years, and the price was fixed according to the number of years (שני תבואת) up to the next jubilee, so as to prevent any injustice being done to those who were compelled by circumstances to part temporarily with their land (Lev. xxv. 15, 16). The lessee, however, according to Josephus, could claim some compensation if he had great outlays on the field just before he was required by the law of jubilee to return it to its owner (comp. *Antiq.* iii. 12. 3). But even before the jubilee year the original proprietor could recover his field, if either his own circumstances improved, or if his next of

kin (נאול) could redeem it for him by paying back according to the same price which regulated the purchase (Lev. xxv. 26, 27). In the interests of the purchaser, however, the Rabbinical law enacted that this redemption should not take place before he had the benefit of the field for two productive years (so the Rabbins understood שני תבואת, exclusive of a Sabbatical year, a year of barrenness, and of the first harvest, if he happened to buy the plot of land shortly before the seventh month, *i. e.*, with the ripe fruit (*Erachin*, ix. 1; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Shmita Ve-Jobel*, xi. 10-13). As poverty is the only reason which the law supposes might lead one to part with his field, the Rabbins enacted

that it was not allowable for any one to sell his patrimony on speculation (comp. Maimonides, *Hilchoth Shmita Ve-Jobel*, xi. 3). Though nothing is here said about fields which were given away by the proprietors, yet there can be no doubt, as Maimonides says (*Ibid.*, xi. 10), that the same law is intended to apply to gifts (comp. Ezek. xlvi. 17), but not to those plots of land which came into a man's possession through marriage with an heiress (comp. Num. xxxvi. 4-9; *Mishna Berachoth*, viii. 10). Neither did this law apply to a house in a walled city. Still the seller had the privilege to redeem it at any time within a full year from the day of the sale. After the year it became the absolute property of the purchaser (Lev. xxv. 29, 30*). As this law required a more minute definition for practical purposes, the Rabbins determined that this right of redemption might be exercised from the very first day of the sale to the last day which made up the year. Moreover, as the purchaser sometimes concealed himself towards the end of the year, in order to prevent the seller from redeeming his house, it was enacted, that the original proprietor should hand over the redemption-money to the powers that be when the purchaser could not be found, break open the doors, and take possession of the house; and, if the purchaser died during the year, the original proprietor could redeem it from the heir (comp. *Mishna Erachin*, ix. 3, 4; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Shmita Ve-Jobel*, xii. 1-7). Open places, however, which are not surrounded by walls, belong to landed property, and, like the cultivated land on which they stand, are subject to the law of jubilee, and must revert to their original proprietors (Lev. xxv. 31). But although houses in open places are thus treated like fields, yet, according to the Rabbinic definition, the reverse is not to be the case, *i. e.*, fields or other places not built upon in walled cities are not to be treated as cities, but come under the jubilee law of fields (comp. *Erachin*, ix. 5). The houses of the Levites, in the forty-eight cities given to them (comp. Num. xxxv. 1-8), were exempt from this general law of house property. Having the same value to the Levites as landed property had to the other tribes, these houses were subject to the jubilee law for fields, and could at any time be redeemed (comp. Lev. xxv. 32; *Erachin* ix. 8), so that, even if a Levite redeemed the house which his brother Le-

* There is an apparent contradiction in the original Hebrew between verses 29 and 30—for in the former the house is described as being in a walled city (עיר חומה), whilst in the latter it is spoken of as being in a city without a wall (עיר). But this has evidently arisen from a confusion of the relative pronoun הוּ with its homonym הֵן, the negative particle, of which there are many instances (comp. Exod. xxi. 8; Lev. xi. 21; and the article KERI of this *Cyclopaedia*). The *Keri*, or the marginal reading, has therefore given the right reading, which is also to be found in the Sept., Chaldee, etc., etc. Some of the Rabbins, however, defend the textual reading, and say that it speaks of cities which had no walls prior to Joshua's conquering the land, but which were walled round afterwards (comp. Rashi on Lev. xxv. 30, 31; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Shmita Ve-Jobel*, xii. 15).

vite was obliged to sell through poverty, the general law of house property is not to obtain, even among the Levites themselves, but they are obliged to treat each other according to the law of landed property. Thus, for instance, the house of A, which he, out of poverty, was obliged to sell to the non-Levite B, and was redeemed from him by a Levite C, reverts in the jubilee year from C to the original Levitical proprietor A. This seems to be the most probable meaning of the enactment contained in Lev. xxv. 33, and it does not necessitate us to insert into the

text the negative particle **לֹא** before **יָשָׁב**, as is done by the Vulgate, Houbigant, Ewald (*Allerthümer*, p. 421), Knobel, etc., nor need we, with Rashi,

Ibn Ezra, etc., take **יָשָׁב** in the unnatural sense of *buying*. The lands in the suburbs of their cities the Levites were not permitted to part with under any condition, and therefore did not come under the law of jubilee (*Ibid.*, ver. 34). The only exception to this general law were the houses and the fields consecrated to the Lord, or to the support of the sanctuary. If these were not redeemed before the ensuing jubilee, instead of reverting to their original proprietors they at the jubilee became forever the property of the priests (Lev. xxvii. 20, 21). The conditions, however, on which consecrated property could be redeemed were as follows: A house thus devoted to the Lord was valued by the priest, and the donor who wished to redeem it had to pay one-fifth in addition to this fixed value (Lev. xxvii. 14, 15). And a field was valued according to the number of homers of barley which could be sown thereon, at the rate of fifty silver shekels of the sanctuary for each homer for the whole fifty years, deducting from it a proportionate amount for the lapse of each year (Lev. xxvii. 16-18). According to the Talmud the fiftieth year was not counted. Hence, if any one wished to redeem his field, he had to pay one-fifth in addition to the regular rate of a *se'la* (shekel), and a pundium = 1-48th *se'la*, per annum, for every homer, the surplus *pundium* being intended for the forty-ninth year. No one was therefore allowed to sanctify his field during the year which immediately preceded the jubilee, for he would then have to pay for the whole forty-nine years, because months could not be deducted from the sanctuary, and the jubilee year itself was not counted (*Mishna Erachin*, vii. 1). If one sanctified a field which he had purchased, *i. e.*, not freehold property, it reverted to the original proprietor in the year of jubilee (Lev. xxvii. 22-24).

The third enactment relates to the manumission of those Israelites who had become slaves, and is comprised in Lev. xxv. 39-54. All Israelites who through poverty had sold themselves as slaves to their fellow Israelites or to the foreigners resident among them, and who, up to the time of the jubilee, had neither completed their six years of servitude, nor redeemed themselves, nor been redeemed by their relatives, were to be set free in the jubilee, to return with their children to their family and to the patrimony of their fathers. Great difficulty has been experienced in reconciling the injunction here, that in the jubilee all slaves are to regain their freedom, with Exod. xxv. 6, where it is enacted, that those bondmen who refuse their liberty at the expiration of the appointed six years' servitude, and submit to the boring of their ears, are to be *slaves*

for ever (**עַבְדוֹ לְעֹלָם**). Josephus (*Antiq.* iv. 8. 28), the Mishna (*Kidushin*, i. 3); and Talmud (*Ibid.* 14, 15), Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Maimonides (*Hilchoth Avadim*, iii. 6), and most Jewish interpreters, who are followed by Ainsworth, Bp. Patrick, and

other Christian commentators, take **לְעֹלָם** to denote *till the jubilee*, maintaining that the slaves who submitted to have their ears bored are included in this general manumission, and thus try to escape the difficulty. But against this is to be urged,

that, 1. The phrase **עַבְדוֹ לְעֹלָם** is used in Lev. xxv. 46 for *perpetual servitude*, which is unaffected by the year of jubilee. 2. The declaration of the slave that he will not have his freedom, in Exod. xxi. 5, unquestionably shews that perpetual slavery is meant. 3. Servitude till the year of jubilee is not at all spoken of in Lev. xxv. 40-42 as something contemptible, and could therefore not be *the punishment designed* for him who refused his freedom, especially if the year of jubilee happened to occur *two or three years* after refusing his freedom; and that it is bondage beyond that time which is characterised as real slavery; and 4. The jubilee, without any indication whatever from the lawgiver, is here, according to this explanation, made to give the slave the right to take with him the maid and the children who are the property of the master—the very right which had previously been denied to him. Ewald therefore (*Allerthümer*, p. 421), and others, conclude that the two enactments belong to different periods, the manumission of slaves in the year of jubilee having been instituted when the law enjoining the liberation of slaves at the expiration of six years had become obsolete; whilst Knobel (*Comment. on Exod.* xxi. 6) regards this jubilee law and the enactments in Exod. xxi. 5, 6, as representing one of the many contradictions which exist between the Jehovistic and Elohist portions of the Pentateuch. All the difficulties, however, disappear, when the jubilee manumission enactment is regarded as designed to supplement the law in Exod. xxi. 2-6. In the latter case *the regular period of servitude is fixed*, at the expiration of which the bondman is *ordinarily* to become free, whilst Lev. xxv. 39-54 institutes an additional and *extraordinary* period, when those slaves who had not as yet completed their appointed six years of servitude, at the time of jubilee, or had not forfeited their right of free citizenship by spontaneously submitting to the yoke of bondage, and becoming slaves for ever (**עַבְדוֹ לְעֹלָם**), are once in every fifty years to obtain their freedom. The one enactment refers to the *freedom of each individual* at different days, weeks, months, and years, inasmuch as hardly any twenty of them entered on their servitude at exactly the same time, whilst the other legislates for a general manumission, which is to take place at exactly the same time. The enactment in Lev. xxv. 39-54, therefore, takes for granted the law in Exod. xxi. 2-6, and begins where the latter ends, and does not mention it because it simply treats on the influence of jubilee upon slavery.

That there must also have been a perfect remission of debts in the year of jubilee is self-evident, for it is implied in the fact that all persons who were in bondage for debt, as well as all the landed property of debtors, were freely returned. Whether debts generally, for which there were no such pledges, were remitted, is a matter of dispute.

Josephus positively declares that they were (*Antiq. xiii. 2. 3*), whilst Maimonides (*Hilchoth Shmita Ve-Jobel*, x. 16) as positively denies it.*

3. *The time and manner in which the jubilee was celebrated.*—According to Lev. xxv. 8-11, it is evident that 49 years are to be counted, and that at the end thereof the *fiftieth* year is to be celebrated as the jubilee. Hence the jubilee is to follow immediately upon the Sabbatic year, so that there are to be two successive fallow years. This is also corroborated by ver. 21, where it is promised that the produce of the sixth year shall suffice for three years, *i. e.*, 49, 50, and 51, or the two former years, which are the Sabbatic year and the jubilee, and the immediately following year, in which the ordinary produce of the preceding year would be wanting. Moreover, from the remark in ver. 22, it would appear that the Sabbatic year, like the jubilee, began in the autumn, or the month of *Tishri*, which commenced the *civil* year [YEAR; SABBATIC YEAR], when it was customary to begin sowing for the ensuing year. At all events, ver. 9 distinctly says, that the *jubilee* is to be proclaimed by the blast of the trumpet 'on the tenth of the seventh month, on the day of atonement,' which is *Tishri* [ATONEMENT, DAY OF; FESTIVALS]. The opinion that the Sabbatic year and the jubilee were distinct, or that there were *two fallow years*, is also entertained by the Talmud (*Rosh Ha-Shana*, 8 b, 9 a); Philo (*On the Decalogue*, xxx.); Josephus, and many other ancient writers. It must, however, be borne in mind, that though there was to be no sowing, nor any regular harvest, during these two years, yet the Israelites were allowed to fetch from the fields whatever they wanted (Lev. xxv. 12). That the fields did yield a crop in their second fallow year is most unquestionably presupposed by the prophet Isaiah (xxxvii. 30). Palestine was, at all events, not less fruitful than Albania, in which Strabo tells us (lib. xi. c. iv. sec. 3), 'the ground that has been sowed once produces in many places two or three crops, the fruit of which is even fifty-fold.' It must however be remarked, that many, from a very early period down to the present day, have taken the jubilee year to be identical with the seventh Sabbatic year. Thus the Book of Jubilees, which dates prior to the Christian era [JUBILEES, BOOK OF], divides the Biblical history from the creation to the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan into fifty jubilees of *forty-nine* years each, which shews that this view of the jubilee must have been pretty general in those days. Some Rabbins in the Talmud (*Erachin*, 12 b, with 33 a), as well as many Christian writers (Scaliger, Petavius, Usher, Cunæus, Calvinius, Gatterer, Frank, Schroeder, Hug, Rosenmüller), support the same view. As to the remark, 'ye shall hallow the *fiftieth* year' (ver. 10), 'a jubilee shall that *fiftieth* year be unto you' (ver. 11), it is urged that this is in accordance with a mode of speech which is common to all languages and ages. Thus, we call a week *eight days*, including both Sundays, and the best classical writers called an *olympiad* by the

name of *quinquennium*, though it only contained four entire years. Moreover, the sacred *number seven*, or the *Sabbatic idea*, which underlies all the festivals, and connects them into one chain, the last link of which is the jubilee, corroborates this view, inasmuch as we have—1. A Sabbath of days; 2. A Sabbath of weeks (*the seventh week* after the passover being the Sabbath week, as the first day of it is the festival of weeks); 3. A Sabbath of months (inasmuch as *the seventh month* has both a festival and a fast, and with its first day begins the civil year); 4. A Sabbath of years (*the seventh year* is the Sabbatic year); and 5. A Sabbath of Sabbaths, inasmuch as *the seventh Sabbatic year* is the jubilee.

As the observance of the jubilee, like that of the Sabbatical year, was only to become obligatory when the Israelites had taken possession of the promised land, and cultivated the land for that period of years, at the conclusion of which the festival was to be celebrated, the ancient tradition preserved in the Talmud seems to be correct, that the first Sabbatical year was in the one-and-twentieth, and the first jubilee in the sixty-fourth, year after the Jews came into Canaan, for it took them seven years to conquer it, and seven years more to distribute it (*Erachin*, xii. 6; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Shmita Ve-Jobel*, x. 2). The Bible says nothing about the *manner* in which the jubilee is to be celebrated, except that it should be proclaimed by the blast of a trumpet. As in many other cases, the lawgiver leaves the practical application of this law, and the necessarily complicated arrangements connected therewith, to the elders of Israel. Now tradition tells us that the trumpets used on this occasion, like those of the feast of trumpets, or new year, were of rams' horns, straight, and had their mouth-piece covered with gold (*Mishna Rosh Ha-Shana*, iii. 2; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Shmita Ve-Jobel*, x. 11), that every Israelite blew nine blasts so as to make the trumpet literally 'sound throughout the land' (Lev. xxv. 9); and that 'from the feast of trumpets, or new year [*i. e.*, *Tishri* 1], till the day of atonement [*i. e.*, *Tishri* 10], the slaves were neither manumitted to return to their homes nor made use of by their masters, but ate, drank, and rejoiced, and wore garlands on their heads; and when the day of atonement came the judges blew the trumpet, the slaves were manumitted to go to their homes, and the fields were set free' (*Rosh Ha-Shana*, 8 b; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Shmita Ve-Jobel*, x. 14). Though the Jews, from the nature of the case, cannot now celebrate the jubilee, yet on the evening of the day of atonement, the conclusion of the fast is announced in all the synagogues to the present day by the blast of the *Shophar* = horn, which, according to the rabbins, is intended to commemorate the ancient jubilee proclamation (*Orach Chajim*, cap. DCXXIII. sec. 6, note).

Because the Bible does not record any particular instance of the public celebration of this festival, Michaelis, Winer, etc., have questioned whether the law of jubilee ever came into actual operation; whilst Kranold, Hupfeld, etc., have positively denied it. The following considerations, however, speak for its actual observance:—1. All the other Mosaic festivals have been observed, and it is therefore surpassing strange to suppose that the jubilee which is so organically connected with them, and is the climax of all of them, is the only

* Mr. Clark (*Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v. JUBILEE) is mistaken in saying that the Mishna, *Shebiith*, cap. x., is of the same opinion, viz., 'that the remission of debts was a point of distinction between the Sabbatical year and the jubilee.' The Mishna in the passage referred to does not even mention the name *jubilee*.

one that never was observed; 2. The law about the inalienability of landed property, which was to be the result of the jubilee, actually obtained among the Jews, thus shewing that this festival must have been observed. Hence it was with a view of observing the jubilee law that the right of an heiress to marry was restricted (Num. xxxvii. 4, 6, 7); and it was the observance of this law, forbidding the sale of land in such a manner as shall prevent its reversion to the original owner or his heir in the year of jubilee, that made Naboth refuse to part with his vineyard on the solicitation of King Ahab (1 Kings xxi. 1-4). 3. From Ezek. xlvii. 17, where even the king is reminded that if he made a present of his landed property to any of his servants it could only be to the jubilee year, when it must revert to him, it is evident that the jubilee was observed. Allusions to the jubilee are also to be found in Is. lxi. 1, 2; Neh. v. 1-19. 4. This observance of the jubilee is attested by the unanimous voice of Jewish tradition. This unanimity of opinion, however, only extends to the observance of the jubilee prior to the Babylonish captivity, for many of the later rabbins affirm that it was not kept after the captivity. But in the *Seder Olam* (cap. xxx.), the author of which lived shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem, we are positively assured that it was observed. Josephus too (*Antiq.* iii. 12, sec. 3) speaks of it as being permanently observed. This is, moreover, confirmed by Diodorus Siculus (lib. xl.), who tell us that the Jews cannot dispose of their own patrimony *ἰδιού κλήρου πωλεῖν*, as well as by the fact that we have distinct records of the law respecting the redemption of houses in cities without walls, which forms an integral part of the jubilee law, being strictly observed to a very late period (*Erachin*, 31 b; *Baba Kama*, 82 b).

4. *Design and importance of the Jubilee.*—The design of this institution is that those of the people of God who, through poverty or other adverse circumstances, had forfeited their personal liberty or property to their fellow-brethren, should have their debts forgiven by their co-religionists every half century, on the great day of atonement, and be restored to their families and inheritance as freely and fully as God on that very day forgave the debts of his people and restored them to perfect fellowship with himself, so that the whole community, having forgiven each other and being forgiven by God, might return to the original order which had been disturbed in the lapse of time, and being freed from the bondage of one another might unreservedly be the servants of him who is their redeemer. The aim of the jubilee, therefore, is to preserve unimpaired the essential character of the theocracy, to the end that there be no poor among the people of God (Deut. xv. 4). Hence God, who redeemed Israel from the bondage of Egypt to be his peculiar people, and allotted to them the promised land, will not suffer any one to usurp his title as Lord over those whom he owns as his own. It is the idea of grace for all the suffering children of man, bringing freedom to the captive and rest to the weary as well as to the earth, which made the year of jubilee the symbol

of the Messianic year of grace (שנת רצון ליהוה). Is. lxi. 2), when all the conflicts in the universe shall be restored to their original harmony, and when not only we, who have the first-fruits of the

Spirit, but the whole creation, which groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now, shall be restored into the glorious liberty of the sons of God (comp. Is. lxi. 1-3; Luke iv. 21; Rom. viii. 18-23; Heb. iv. 9).

The importance of this institution will be apparent if it is considered what moral and social advantages would accrue to the community from the sacred observance of it. 1. It would prevent the accumulation of land on the part of a few to the detriment of the community at large. 2. It would render it impossible for any one to be born to absolute poverty, since every one had his hereditary land. 3. It would preclude those inequalities which are produced by extremes of riches and poverty, and which make one man domineer over another. 4. It would utterly do away with slavery. 5. It would afford a fresh opportunity to those who were reduced by adverse circumstances to begin again their career of industry, in the patrimony which they had temporarily forfeited. 6. It would periodically rectify the disorders which crept into the state in the course of time, preclude the division of the people into nobles and plebeians, and preserve the theocracy inviolate.

5. *Literature.*—The Mishna, *Erachin*, ch. viii. ix., gives very important enactments of a very ancient date respecting the jubilee. In Maimonides, *Iod Ha-Chesaku*, *Hilchoth Shmita Ve-Yobel*, ch. x. xiii., an epitome will be found of the Jewish information on this subject, which is scattered through the Talmud and Midrashim. Of the modern productions are to be mentioned the valuable treatises of Cunæus, *De Rep. Hebr.*, ch. 2, sec. iv., in the *Critici Sacri*, vol. ix., p. 278, sq.; and Meyer, *De Tempor. et Diebus Hebræorum*, 1755, p. 341-360; Carpov, *Apparatus Historico-Criticus*, p. 447, sq.; Michaelis, *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, English version, London 1814, vol. i. art. lxxxiii., p. 376, sq.; Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, vol. i., Berlin 1825, p. 502, sq.; the excellent prize essays of Kranold, *De Anno Hebr. Jubileo*, Göttingen 1837, and Wolde, *De Anno Hebr. Jubileo*, Göttingen 1837; Bahr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, vol. ii., Heidelberg 1839, p. 572, sq.; Ewald, *Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel*, Göttingen 1854, p. 415, sq.; Saalschütz, *Das Mosaische Recht*, vol. i., Berlin 1853, ch. xiii., p. 141, etc.; and by the same learned author, *Archæologie der Hebræer*, vol. ii., Königsberg 1856, ch. lxvi., sec. 3, p. 224, etc.; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i., Nordhausen 1855, p. 463, etc.; Keil, *Handbuch der Biblischen Archæologie*, Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1858, vol. i. p. 374, etc.—C. D. G.

JUBILEES, BOOK OF. This Apocryphal or Hagadic book, which was used so largely in the ancient church, and was still known to the Byzantines, but of which both the original Hebrew and the Greek were afterwards lost, has recently been discovered in an Ethiopic version in Abyssinia.

1. *Title of the Book, and its signification.*—The book is called τὰ Ἰωβηλαία = ספר היובלות, the *Jubilees* or the *book of Jubilees*, because it divides the period of the Biblical history upon which it treats, i. e., from the creation to the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan, into fifty Jubilees of forty-nine years each, equal to 2450 years, and carefully describes every event according to the Jubilee, Sabbath year, or year in which it transpired, as stated

in the inscription: 'These are the words of the division of the days according to the law and the testimony, according to the events of the years in Sabbatic years and in Jubilees, etc.' It is also called by the Fathers *ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις*, *λεπτισγενέσις*, *μικρογενέσις*; *τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως*, = *בראשית זוטא*, i. e., the *small Genesis*, *compendium of Genesis*, because it only selects certain portions of Genesis, although through its lengthy comments upon these points it is actually longer than this canonical book (comp. Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.*, lib. I., tom. iii., cap. vi., ed. Petav.; G. Syncellus, p. 8); or according to Ewald's rendering of it, *τὰ λεπτὰ (subtilia, minuta) Γένεσις*, because it divides the history upon which it treats into very minute and small periods (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. 271); it is called by St. Jerome *the Apocryphal Genesis* (see below, sec. 3), and it is also styled *ἡ τοῦ Μωσέως ἀποκάλυψις*, *the Apocalypse of Moses*, by George Syncellus and Cedrenus, because the book pretends to be a revelation of God to Moses, and is denominated 'the book of the division of days' by the Abyssinian Church, from the first words of the inscription.

2. *Design and Contents of the Book.*—This Apocryphal book is designed to be a commentary on the canonical books of Genesis and Exodus. (1) It fixes and arranges more minutely the chronology of the Biblical history from the creation to the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan; (2) Solves the various difficulties to be found in the narratives of these canonical books; (3) Describes more fully events which are simply hinted at in the sacred history of that early period; and (4) Expatiates upon the religious observances, such as the Sabbath, the festivals, circumcision, sacrifices, lawful and unlawful meats, etc. etc., setting forth their sacred character, as well as our duty to keep them, by shewing the high antiquity of these institutions, inasmuch as they have been sacredly observed by the patriarchs, as may be seen from the following notice of these four points.

a. In its *chronological arrangements* we find that it places the deluge in 1353 A.M. (Jubil. vi. 61), and the exodus in the year 2410 A.M. (iv. 10.) This, with the forty years' sojourn in the wilderness, yields fifty jubilees of forty-nine years each from the creation to the entrance into Canaan, i. e. 2450, and also allows a new jubilee period to commence immediately upon the entering of the Israelites into the promised land. Though in the calculations of this period the book of Jubilees agrees in its particulars with the Hebrew text of Genesis and Exodus, yet it differs from the canonical text both as to the time of the sojourn in Egypt and the years in which the ante and post-diluvian patriarchs begat their children. Thus Jared is said to have lived 62 instead of 162 years before Enoch was born, Methuselah was 67 instead of 187 at the birth of Lamech, and Lamech again was 53 instead of 182 when he begat Noah; agreeing partly with the Samaritan Pentateuch, and partly with the Septuagint in their statements about these ante-diluvian patriarchs. In the chronology of the post-diluvian patriarchs, however, the book of Jubilees deviates from these versions, and says that Arphaxad begat Cainan when 74-75; after the deluge, Cainan begat Salah when 57, Salah begat Eber when 67, Eber begat Peleg when 68, Peleg begat Reu when 61, the birth of Serug is omitted, but Serug is said to have begat Nahor in the year 116 after the birth of Reu, and Nahor begat Terah in his 62d year

(comp. Jubil. iv. 40, etc.) The going down into Egypt is placed about 2172-2173 A.M. (Jubil. xlv. 1-3), so that when we deduct it from 2410, in which year the exodus is placed, there remains for the sojourn in Egypt 238 years. In the description of the lives of Noah, Abraham (xxiii. 23), Isaac (xxxvi. 49-52), Jacob (xlv. 40-43), and Joseph (xlv. 9-15), the chronology agrees with the Hebrew text of Genesis.

b. Of the *difficulties* in the sacred narrative which the book of Jubilees tries to solve, may be mentioned that it accounts for the serpent speaking to Eve, by saying that all animals spoke before the fall in paradise (comp. Gen. i. 1 with Jubil. iii. 98); explains very minutely whence the first heads of families took their wives (Jubil. iv. 24, 71, 100, etc.); how far the sentence of death pronounced in Gen. ii. 17 has been fulfilled literally (iv. 99, etc.); shews that the sons of God who came to the daughters of men were angels (v. 3); with what help Noah brought the animals into the ark (v. 76); wherewith the tower of Babel was destroyed (x. 87); why Sarah disliked Ishmael and urged Abraham to send him away (xvii. 13); why Rebecca loved Jacob so dearly (xix. 40-84); how it was that Esau came to sell his birthright for a mess of pottage (xxiv. 5-20); who told Rebekah (Gen. xxvii. 42) that Esau determined to kill Jacob (xxxvii. 1, etc.); how it was that he afterwards desisted from his determination to kill Jacob (xxxv. 29-105); why Rebekah said (Gen. xxvii. 45) that she would be deprived of both her sons in one day (xxxvii. 9); why Er Judah's first-born died (xli. 1-7); why Onan would not redeem Tamar (xli. 11-13); why Judah was not punished for his sin with Tamar (xli. 57-67); why Joseph had the money put into the sacks of his brethren (xlii. 71-73); and how Moses was nourished in the ark (xlvii. 13), and that it was not God but the chief-mastemah, *מַסְתֵּמָחָה*, the enemy who hardened the hearts of the Egyptians (xlvi. 58).

c. Instances where events which are *briefly mentioned* or *simply hinted at* in the canonical book of Genesis, and which seem to refer to another narrative of an earlier or later date, are given more fully in the book of Jubilees, will be found in Jubil. xvi. 39-101, where an extensive description is given of the appearance of the angels to Abraham and Sarah as a supplement to Gen. xviii. 14; in Jubil. xxxii. 5-38, 50-53, where Jacob is described as giving tithes of all his possessions, and wishing to erect a house of God in Bethel, which is a fuller description of that hinted at in Gen. xxviii. 22; in Jubil. xxxiv. 4-25, where Jacob's battle with the seven kings of the Amorites is described, to which allusion is made in Gen. xlviii. 22.

d. As to the *religious observances*, we are told that the *Feast of Weeks*, or *Pentecost* (יוֹם הַחֲבוּרִים), is contained in the covenants which God made with Noah and Abraham (comp. Jubil. vi. 56-60 with Gen. ix. 8-17; xiv. 51-54 with Gen. xv. 18-21); the *Feast of Tabernacles* was first celebrated by Abraham at Beersheba (Jubil. xvi. 61-101); the *concluding Festival* (שְׁמִינִי עֶצְרָת) which is on the 23d of *Tishri*, continuing the *Feast of Tabernacles* [FESTIVALS], was instituted by Jacob (Jubil. xxxii. 87-94) after his vision at Bethel (Gen. xxxv. 9-14); and that the mourning on the *Day of Atonement* (יוֹם כִּפּוּר) was instituted (Lev. xvi. 29) to commemorate the mourning of Jacob over the loss of Joseph (Jubil. xxxiv. 50-60).

The German version by Dillmann, through which this book has recently been made known to Europeans, has been divided by the erudite translator into *fifty chapters*, but not into verses. The references in this article are to those chapters, and the *lines* of the respective chapters.

3. Author and Original Language of the Book.

—That the author of this book was a Jew is evident from—(1) His minute description of the Sabbath and festivals, as well as all the Rabbinic ceremonies connected therewith (l. 19-33, 49-60), which developed themselves in the course of time, and which we are told are simply types described by Moses from heavenly archetypes, and have not only been kept by the angels in heaven, but are binding upon the Jews world without end; (2) The elevated position he ascribes to the Jewish people (ii. 79-91; xvi. 50-56), ordinary Israelites are in dignity equal to angels (xv. 72-75), and the priests are like the presence-angels (xxxi. 47-49), over Israel only does the Lord himself rule, whilst he appointed evil spirits to exercise dominion over all other nations (xv. 80-90); and (3) The many Hagadic elements of this book which are still preserved in the Talmud and Midrashim. Comp. for instance Jubil. i. 116, where the presence-angel, **מַטְטָרִן**, **שֵׁר הַפְּנִיִּים**, is described as having preceded the hosts of Israel, with Sanhedrim 38, b; the description of the creation of paradise on the third day (Jubil. ii. 37 with *Bereshith Rabba*, c. xv.); the twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob (Jubil. ii. 64, 91, with *Bereshith Rabba* and *Midrash Tadshe*, 169); the animals speaking before the fall (Jubil. iii. 98 with the *Midrashim*); the remark that Adam lived 70 years less than 1000 years in order that the declaration might be fulfilled 'in the day in which thou eatest thereof thou shalt die,' since 1000 years are as one day with the Lord (Jubil. iv. 99 with *Bereshith Rabba*, c. xix.; Justin. *Dial. c. Tryph.* p. 278, ed. Otto); the causes of the deluge (Jubil. v. 5-20 with *Bereshith Rabba*, c. xxxi.); the declaration that the beginning of the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth months, are to be celebrated as festivals, being the beginning of the four seasons called **תְּקֵפוֹת**, and having already been observed by Noah (Jubil. vi. 31-95 with *Pirke d. R. Eliezer*, cap. viii.; *Pseudo-Jonathan* on Gen. viii. 22); the statement that Satan induced God to ask Abraham to sacrifice his son (Jubil. xvii. 49-53 with *Sanhedrim* 89, b); that Abraham was tempted ten times (Jubil. xix. 22 with *Mishna*, *Aboth* v. 3; *Targum Jerusalem* on Gen. xxii. 1, etc.); and that Joseph spake Hebrew when he made himself known to his brothers (Jubil. xliii. 54 with *Bereshith Rabba*, cap. xciii.) As, however, some of the practices, rites, and interpretations given in this book are at variance with the traditional expositions of the Rabbins, Beer is of opinion that the writer was a *Dosithean* who was anxious to bring about a fusion of Samaritanism and Rabbinic-Judaism, by making mutual concessions (*Das Buch d. Jubiläen*, pp. 61, 62); Jelinek again thinks that he was an *Essene*, and wrote this book against the Pharisees, who maintained that the beginning of the month is to be fixed by obser-

vation and not by calculation (**קִדְּשׁ הַחֹדֶשׁ עַל פִּי הַרְאִיִּי**), and that the Sanhedrim had the power of ordaining intercalary years (HILLEL II.), adducing in corroboration of this view the remark in Jubil. vi. 95-133, the chronological system of the author,

which is based upon heptades; and the strict observance of the Sabbath, which as an Essene loving the sacred number seven, he urges upon every Israelite (comp. *Jubil.* ii. 73-135; iv. 19-61; *Bd. Ha-Midrash*, iii. p. xi.) Whilst Frankel maintains that the writer was an Egyptian Jew, and a priest at the temple in Leontopolis, which accounts for his setting such a high value upon sacrifices, and tracing the origin of the festivals and sacrifices to the patriarchs (*Monatschrift*, v. p. 396).

Notwithstanding the difference of opinion as to which phase of Judaism the author belonged, all agree that this book was written in Hebrew, that it was afterwards translated into Greek, and that the Ethiopic, of which Dillmann has given a German version is made from the Greek. Many of the expressions in the book can only be understood by retranslating them into Hebrew. Thus, for instance, the remarks '*und es giebt keine UEBERGEHUNG*' (Jubil. vi. 101, 102), '*und sie sollen keinen Tag UEBERGEHEN*' (vi. 107), become intelligible when we bear in mind that the original had **עִיבּוּר**, *intercalation*. Moreover, the writer designates the wives of the patriarchs from the family of Seth by names which express beauty and virtue in Hebrew, Seth married Azurah, **עֲצוּרָה**, *restrain*; Jared married Beracha, **בְּרַכָּה**, *blessing*; Enoch and Methuselah married wives of the name of Adni, **עֲדְנָה**, *pleasure*; whilst Cain married his sister Avam, **אָחַן**, *vice* (Jubil. iv. 24-128). The words **בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי**, Gen. xxii. 16, are rendered in the book of Jubil. (xvii. 42), *bei meinem Haupte*, which is the well-known Palestinian oath, **רִאשִׁי**, *comp. Sanhedrim*, 2, 3, *al.*), and which no Greek writer would use, especially as the Sept. has not got it here. There are also other renderings which shew that the writer had the Hebrew Scriptures before him and not the Sept., a fact which is irreconcilable on the supposition that he was a Greek Jew, or wrote in Greek, as he would undoubtedly have used the Sept. Thus, for instance, the book of Jubil. xiv. 9, 10, has '*der aus DEINEM LEIBE hervorgeht*,' which is a literal translation of the Hebrew **אֲשֶׁר יָצָא מִמֶּנִּי**, Gen. xv. 4; otherwise the Sept. *ὅς ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἐκ τῆς σπύης*: Jubil. xiv. 29 has '*aber Abram WEHRTE SIE AB*,' so the Hebrew **וַיִּשָּׁב**

אֹתָם אַבְרָם (Gen. xv. 11), not the Sept. *καὶ συνέκδυσεν αὐτοῖς Ἀβραμ* (comp. also book of Jubil. xv. 17 with Sept. Gen. xvii. 7; xv. 43 with Sept. xvii. 17; xv. 46 with Sept. xvii. 19). To these is to be added the testimony of St. Jerome, who remarks upon **וַיִּשָּׁב**, hoc verbum, quantum memoria suggerit, nusquam alibi in scripturis sanctis apud Hebræos invenisse me novi, absque libro apocrypho, qui a Græcis *uxoriporygeus* appellatur. Ibi in edificatione turris pro stadio ponitur, in quo excercitur pugiles et athleteæ et cursorum velocitas comprobatur (comp. *In epistola ad Fabiolam de mansionibus*, Mansio xviii. on Num. xxxiii. 21, 22); and again (Mansio xxiv. on Num. xxxiii. 27, 28), hoc eodem vocabulo (**וַיִּשָּׁב**) et iisdem literis scriptum invenio patrem Abraham, qui in supradicto apocrypho Genesios volumine abactis corvis, qui hominum frumenta vastabant, abactoris vel depulsoris sortitus est nomen; as well as the fact that portions of the book are still extant in Hebrew (comp. Jelinek, *Bd. Ha-Midrash*, vol. iii. p. ix. etc.) The agreement of many passages with the Sept. when the latter deviates from the Hebrew, is

as Dillmann observes, to be ascribed to the translator who, when rendering it into Greek, used the Sept. (Ewald, *Jahrbuch*, iii. p. 90).

4. *Date and Importance of the Book.*—That this book was written before the destruction of the Temple is evident, not only from its description of the sacrifices and the services performed therein, but from its whole complexion, and this is admitted by all who have written on it. Its exact date, however, is a matter of dispute. Krüger maintains that it was written between 332-320 B.C.; Dillmann and Frankel think that it was written in the first century before Christ; whilst Ewald is of opinion that it originated about the birth of Christ. The medium of the two extremes is the most probable.

The importance of this book can hardly be overrated, when we remember that it is one of the very few Biblical works, written between the close of the O. T. canon and beginning of the N. T., which have come down to us. There are, however, several other considerations which render this book a most important contribution, both to the interpretation of the Bible and to the history of Jewish belief anterior to the Christian era. 1. Many portions of it are literal translations of the book of Genesis, and therefore enable us to see in what state the Hebrew text was at that age, and furnish us with some readings which are preferable to those given in the *textus receptus*, e.g., Jubil. xvii. 17 shows that the correct reading of Gen.

xxi. 11 is עַל אֶרֶץ בְּנוֹ תֵּל אֶרֶץ אֲמֹתוֹ, which is corroborated by the verse immediately following. 2. It shows us that the Jews of that age believed in the survival of the soul after the death of the body (xxiii. 115), though the resurrection of the body is nowhere mentioned therein; that they believed in the existence of Satan, the prince of legions of evil spirits, respecting which so little is said in the O. T. and so much in the New; and that these evil spirits have dominion over men, and are often the cause of their illnesses and death (x. 35-47; xlix. 7-10). 3. It shows us what the Jews believed about the coming of the Messiah, and the great day of judgment (xxiii. 37-118). 4. It explains the statements in Acts vii. 53; Gal. iii. 19; Heb. ii. 2, which have caused so much difficulty to interpreters, by most distinctly declaring that the law was given through the *presence angel* (i. 99-102). 5. There can hardly be any doubt that it is quoted in the N. T. (comp. 2 Pet. ii. 4; Jude 6, with Jubil. iv. 76; v. 3, 20).

5. *Literature.*—It has already been remarked that the Hebrew original of this book is lost. Chapters xxv. and xxxv. are, however, preserved from *Midrash Vajisau* in *Midrash Jalut Sabatic*, section *Bereshith*, cxxxiii., as has been pointed out by Jellinek (see below); and Treuenfels has shown parallels between other parts of the book of Jubilees and the Hagada and Midrashim in *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1846, p. 81, ff. The Greek version of this book, which was made at a very early period of the Christian era, as is evident from *Recognit. Clement.*, cap. xxx.-xxxii., though Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* lib. i., cap. iv. vi.; lib. ii.; tom. ii., cap. lxxxiii. lxxxiv.) and St. Jerome (*In Epistolam ad Fabiolam de mansionibus*, Mansio xviii. on Num. xxxiii. 21, 22; Mansio xxiv. on Num. xxxiii. 27, 28) are the first who mention it by name, was soon lost in the Western Church, but it still existed in the Eastern Church, and was copiously

used in the *Chronographia* of Georgius Syncellus and Georgius Credrenus, and quoted several times by Joannes Zonaras and Michael Glycas, Byzantine theologians and historians of the 11th and 12th centuries (comp. Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraph. V. Test.*, 851-863; Dillmann in *Ewald's Jahrb.* iii. 94, ff.) From that time, however, the Greek version was also lost, and the book of Jubilees was quite unknown to Europeans till 1844, when Ewald announced in *Der Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, pp. 176-179, that Dr. Krapf had found it preserved in the Abyssinian church in an Ethiopic translation, and brought over a MS. copy which was made over to the Tübingen University. This Ethiopic version was translated into German by Dillmann in *Ewald's Jahrbücher*, vols. ii., pp. 230-256, and iii., pp. 1-96, Göttingen 1851-1853; and Ewald at once used its contents for the new edition of his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i., Göttingen 1851, p. 271; vol. ii. (1853), p. 294. This was seasonably followed by Jellinek's edition of the *Midrash Vajisau*, with an erudite preface; *Feth Ha-Midrash*, vol. iii., Leipzig 1855; by the learned treatises of Beer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und sein Verhältniss zu den Midraschim*, 1856; and Frankel, *Das Buch der Jubiläen, Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, v. pp. 311-316; 380-400; and another masterly production by Beer, entitled *Noch ein Wort über das Buch der Jubiläen*, in *Frankel's Monatschrift*, 1857; and strictures on the works of Jellinek, Beer, and Frankel, by Dillmann, in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xi., Leipzig 1857, p. 161, ff. Krüger, too, published an article on *Die Chronologie im Buche der Jubiläen*, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xii., Leipzig 1858, p. 279, ff.; and Dillmann has at last published the *Ethiopic itself*, Kiel and London 1859.—C. D. G.

JUDA. This name occurs three times in the A. V. instead of Judas (Mark vi. 3 [comp. Matt. xiii. 55, where the same person is called Judas in the A. V.]; Luke iii. 26, 30; in all which passages 'Iouda is the genitive of 'Ioudas), and four times for the patriarch Judah (Luke iii. 33; Heb. vii. 14; Rev. v. 3; vii. 5).—†

JUDÆA LEO. [LEO JUDÆA]

JUDÆA AND JUDEA. Ezra employs the Chaldee word *Yehūd*, יְהוּדָא (= Heb. יְהוּדָה), to denote the whole country in which the Jews settled after the return from captivity (Ezra v. 1; Sept. 'Iouda, *Judea*); and he calls it the 'province of Judea' (יְהוּדָא מְרִיבָתָא; *ἡ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου χώρα*; *Judeam Provinciam*). Daniel uses the word in the same sense, to denote the land of the Jews generally (ch. ii. 25; and v. 13, where it is rendered in our A. V. both *Judah* and *Jewry*). In

Arabic the word *Yehūd*, يَهُودَا, is applied exclusively to the Jews as a people.

In the time of Daniel and Ezra this word had no definite and well understood geographical signification. It was the name given by foreigners to the country which was considered the home of the Jews. Its origin is easily traced. When the people were divided under Rehoboam, ten tribes chose Jeroboam for their king, and called his kingdom '*Israel*,' the two tribes who held by Rehoboam

called their kingdom 'Judah,' because it was mainly made up of the people and possessions of that powerful tribe (1 Kings xii. 20, 23, 27). This kingdom, being so closely connected with the tribe, will be treated of in the Art. JUDAH.

The kingdom of Israel was overthrown by the Assyrians in B.C. 721; Judah survived it 133 years. During this period the name 'Judah' became identified with the Jewish nation, and, among foreigners, with the whole country in which they dwelt, that is, with all Palestine. By the Jews themselves, a distinction was made between Judah and Samaria, but among strangers it was overlooked. Hence, during the captivity the name *Yehud* (יהודה), or 'Judea,' as it is in the English version, was applied in Babylon to the whole of Palestine. And after the captivity, though a considerable portion of the 'Ten Tribes' returned with the others, and though many of them settled in their ancient country (Ezra i. 5; x. 5; 1 Chron. ix. 3; Neh. vii. 73; see Prideaux, *Connection*, i. 128), yet the name Judah, or Judea, continued to be applied to all Palestine, and more especially that section west of the Jordan (Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 5. 7). The whole province over which the Persian satrap ruled was called 'Judah' (יהודה); Hag. i. 1, 14; ii. 2; cf. Esther viii. 9; Herodot. iii. 91).

These facts will account for the somewhat vague manner in which the Greek word *Ἰουδαία*, *Judæa*, is used by Josephus, by classic authors, and even in a few places by the writers of the N. T. Thus Josephus says, 'Canaan inhabited the country now called *Judea*, and called it from his own name Canaan' (*Antiq.* i. 6. 2). In another place he speaks of 'Judæa beyond Jordan' (*ῥῆς Ἰουδαίας πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*; *Antiq.* xii. 4. 11; Reland, *Pal.*, p. 32), which is identical with that expression in Matthew about which there has been so much controversy—'Jesus departed from Galilee, and came into the *coasts of Judæa beyond Jordan*' (τὰ ὄρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, Matt. xix. 1). Ptolemy begins one of his chapters, '*Syrian Palestine, which is also called Judæa* (*ἥτις καὶ Ἰουδαία καλεῖται*, v. 16); and Luke, in Acts xxviii. 21, evidently puts 'Judæa' for Palestine (see Reland, pp. 35, 47, etc., where other examples are cited).

Before the commencement of our era, Palestine was divided into three distinct provinces—Galilee, Samaria, and *Judea* (John iv. 3-5; Reland, pp. 177, seq.; Strabo, xvi. 2. 34, seq., p. 759); and of these divisions Josephus gives a detailed account (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 3). Judæa lay on the south, and extended from the Jordan and Dead Sea on the east, to the Mediterranean on the west; and from about the parallel of Shiloh on the north, to the wilderness on the south; and also included, apparently, a strip of coast running as far north as Ptolemais (Josephus, *l.c.*) This was the province usually meant by the term '*Judea*' in the N. T. (Luke v. 17; Matt. iv. 25; John iv. 47, 54, etc.); but sometimes the word is used in a wider sense. Thus, in Luke i. 5, Herod is called king of Judæa; that is, the general name Judea is given to his whole kingdom, which included all Palestine both east and west of the Jordan (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 1, seq.) Josephus also says that part of Idumea was embraced in Judæa (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 3. 5). The southern part of Palestine, between Hebron, Beersheba, and Gaza, was then called Idumea [IDUMEA], and thus formed part of the proper province of Judæa.

The territory anciently allotted to the tribe of Judah was divided by its natural conformation into three sections:—The *Shephelah*, the *Mountains*, and the *Arabah* (Josh. xi. 16; xv. 6; xviii. 18; xv. 33, 48). In like manner, the later Jews divided Judæa into three corresponding sections—*Plain*, *Mountain*, and *Valley*. The 'Plain' included Philistia and part of Sharon; the 'Mountain' was the central ridge on which Jerusalem stands; and the 'Valley' lay along the shore of the Dead Sea between Engedi and Jericho (Reland, p. 176; see the Jewish authorities there cited).

In the N. T., however, only two natural divisions are mentioned—the mountain or 'hill country of Judæa' (ἐν ὄρει τῇ ὀρεινῇ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, Luke i. 65), and the 'Wilderness of Judæa' (ἐν τῇ ἐρημῇ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, Matt. iii. 1). The 'hill country' embraced the crown of the mountain ridge around Jerusalem, and southwards. This was the native country of the Baptist (Luke i. 39; Alford, *in loc.*) The 'Wilderness of Judæa,' or, emphatically, '*The Wilderness*,' as it is termed in the narrative of our Lord's temptation (τῇ ἐρημῇ, Matt. iv. 1), is that wild and desolate region along the whole eastern slope of the mountains, from the brow of the ridge at Bethany, Bethlehem, and Tekoa, down to the shore of the Dead Sea. For the physical geography of this region, see PALESTINE; and for its history, JERUSALEM (see also DESERT).

That section of Judæa which formed the scene of a part of our Lord's labours, teachings, and sufferings, was 'a hill country,' a land of vineyards, olive groves, and fig-orchards, which flourished luxuriantly in the deep glens and along the terraced sides of the limestone hills. The 'Wilderness,' where he was tempted, and through which he travelled from Jericho to Bethany, was a land of sheep and shepherds, and daring outlaws (*Handbook for S. and P.*, pp. 184, 248). This had a marked effect on our Lord's teaching, and on the illustrations and parables he employed, as is seen by a careful study of the gospel of John, which chiefly relates those incidents that occurred in Judæa. The parables of the vineyard (Matt. xxi. 28), of the fig-trees (xxi. 19; Luke xxi. 29, etc.), of the good Samaritan (Luke x. 30, seq.), and of the good shepherd (John x.), were all told in Judæa, where Christ could point to the scenes, and where the auditors were familiar with every circumstance of the stories; there, too, among the vine-clad hills of Judæa, was given that most beautiful of all his illustrations of divine truth—'I am the true vine, and my father is the husbandman,' etc. (John xv; see Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 412). Judæa has changed. Its glory and its beauty are departed. Its hills are now scantily clothed with grayish and brown shrubs, intermixed with aromatic plants and bright flowers; and their sides are broken by concentric rings of white rocks, and great piles of white stones, which make them look painfully desolate. Here and there is a deep glen bordered with belts of olives, and its banks above green with the foliage of the oak; but the noble forests are gone; the vegetation that resulted from careful irrigation is gone; the terraces that supported the soil on the hill-sides are broken; and instead of spreading vine and fig-tree, we have now naked rocks, and confused heaps of stones. The ancient populousness of this mountain region is manifest still in the vast number of ruined towns and villages which everywhere stud the landscape. 'In

Judah we may now wander for miles together without seeing a vestige of *present* habitation, save the little goat-pen on the hill-side, and the groups of sheep and goats round the fountains; but there is scarcely a hill-top that is not crowned with ruins, and there is scarcely a fountain where fragments of walls and scattered heaps of stones do not indicate the sites of former dwellings. The light Saracenic arch, the stately Roman column, and the massive Jewish substruction, lead us up by a regular architectural chronology to the rude 'cairns' of the mountain regions, and the rounded *tells* of the plains—the vestiges of primitive Canaanitic cities' (*Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 184). In addition to the works already referred to, some good descriptions of Judæan scenery and antiquities will be found in Keith on *Prophecy*, Van de Velde's *Travels*, Thomson's *The Land and the Book*, Olin's *Travels*, and Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*. Its history is sketched by Robinson, *Biblical Researches*; and Kitto, *Pictorial History of Palestine*.—J. L. P.

JUDAH (יְהוּדָה, *celebrated*; Sept. Ἰούδας), fourth son of Jacob and Leah (B.C. 1755). The narrative in Genesis brings this patriarch more before the reader, and makes known more of his history and character, than it does in the case of any other of the twelve sons of Jacob, with the single exception of Joseph. It is indeed chiefly in connection with Joseph that the facts respecting Judah transpire; and as they have already been given in the articles JACOB and JOSEPH, it is only necessary to indicate them shortly in this place. It was Judah's advice that the brethren followed when they sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites, instead of taking his life. By the light of his subsequent actions we can see that his conduct on this occasion arose from a generous impulse, although the form of the question he put to them has been sometimes held to suggest an interested motive:—'What profit is it if we slay our brother and conceal his blood? Come, let us sell him,' etc. (Gen. xxvii. 26, 27).

Not long after this Judah withdrew from the paternal tents, and went to reside at Adullam, in the country which afterwards bore his name. Here he married a woman of Canaan, called Shuah, and had by her three sons, Er, Onan, and Shelah. When the eldest of these sons became of fit age, he was married to a woman named Tamar, but soon after died. As he died childless, the patriarchal law, afterwards adopted into the Mosaic code (Deut. xxv. 6), required him to bestow upon the widow his second son. This he did; but as Onan also soon died childless, Judah became reluctant to bestow his only surviving son upon this woman, and put her off with the excuse that he was not yet of sufficient age. Tamar accordingly remained in her father's house at Adullam. She had the usual passion of Eastern women for offspring, and could not endure the stigma of having been twice married without bearing children, while the law precluded her from contracting any alliance but that which Judah withheld her from completing.

Meanwhile Judah's wife died, and after the time of mourning had expired, he went, accompanied by his friend Hirah, to attend the shearing of his sheep at Timnath in the same neighbourhood. These circumstances suggested to Tamar the strange thought of connecting herself with Judah himself, under the guise of a loose woman.

Having waylaid him on the road to Timnath, she succeeded in her object, and when the consequences began to be manifest in the person of Tamar, Judah was highly enraged at her crime, and, exercising the powers which belonged to him as the head of the family she had dishonoured, he commanded her to be brought forth, and committed to the flames as an adulteress. But when she appeared, she produced the ring, the bracelet, and the staff, which he had left in pledge with her; and put him to confusion by declaring that they belonged to the father of her coming offspring. Judah acknowledged them to be his, and confessed that he had been wrong in withholding Shelah from her. The result of this painful affair was the birth of two sons, Zerah and Pharez, from whom, with Shelah, the tribe of Judah descended. Pharez was the ancestor of the line from which David, the kings of Judah, and Jesus came (Gen. xxxviii. ; xli. 12; 1 Chron. ii. 3-5; Matt. i. 3; Luke iii. 33).

These circumstances seem to have disgusted Judah with his residence in towns; for we find him ever afterwards at his father's tents. His experience of life, and the strength of his character, appear to have given him much influence with Jacob; and it was chiefly from confidence in him that the aged father at length consented to allow Benjamin to go down to Egypt. That this confidence was not misplaced has already been shewn [JOSEPH]; and there is not in the whole range of literature a finer piece of true natural eloquence than that in which Judah offers himself to remain as a bond-slave in the place of Benjamin, for whose safe return he had made himself responsible to his father. The strong emotions which it raised in Joseph disabled him from keeping up longer the disguise he had hitherto maintained, and there are few who have read it without being, like him, moved even to tears.

We hear nothing more of Judah till he received, along with his brothers, the final blessing of his father, which was conveyed in lofty language, glancing far into futurity, and strongly indicative of the high destinies which awaited the tribe that was to descend from him.

Addendum.—In character, Judah appears to have been ambitious, designing, and somewhat unscrupulous. He acquired at an early period considerable ascendancy over his brethren, and some influence also over his father. His tact and talent were displayed in obtaining Jacob's consent to send Benjamin to Egypt, and still more in pleading for him before Joseph. Judah was, in fact, the leading man in Jacob's household; and he prepared the way for making his tribe the leading tribe in Israel. There seems to be an acknowledgment of his ascendancy, and a prediction of its continuance, in Jacob's blessing:—'Judah is a lion's whelp . . . who shall rouse him? The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come' (Gen. xlix. 9, 10). The knowledge that the *Shiloh*—the Great Deliverer—was to spring from this tribe, doubtless tended to increase its influence.—J. L. P.

JUDAH, TRIBE AND POSSESSIONS OF. At the Exodus, the tribe of Judah numbered 74,600 adult males, being 11,900 more than the largest of the other tribes, and 1900 more than Ephraim

and Manasseh together (Num. i.) When the Israelites were marshalled in the wilderness by the command of God, the tribe of Judah had assigned to it the post of honour, on the east side of the tabernacle; and was made chief of the first of the four grand divisions of the host. In marching, Judah always led the van (Num. ii. 3, 9; x. 14). It is a singular fact, that the two tribes which afterwards became the chief in Israel, were those whose spies brought back a true report of Canaan to Moses in Paran. The spies were Caleb of Judah, and Joshua of Ephraim (Num. xiii. 6, 8, 30; xiv. 6). The faithfulness of Caleb was not left without its reward. The sin of Achan at the taking of Jericho left a stain upon the tribe, and brought calamity on the whole host (Josh. vii.)

Judah was the first tribe which received its allotted possessions west of the Jordan, and its territory is described with more accuracy and greater detail than that of any other. It is remarkable, too, that this territory included fully *one-third* of the whole land. The boundaries are very minutely given by Joshua, and the principal towns are all named (chap. xv.) Its eastern boundary was the Dead Sea and the Arabah, and its western the Mediterranean (vers. 5, 12). On the north the border ran from the mouth of the Jordan, by Jericho, Jerusalem, Kirjath-jearim, Bethshemesh, Ekron, and Jabneel, to the coast. The southern border cannot now be so accurately defined, because the region through which it ran is to a great extent unexplored, and the sites of the places named are unknown. It is said to begin at 'the shore of the Salt Sea, and from the bay that looks southward;' but it is clear from what follows that the line ran *due south* from that point, through the Arabah, as far as Kadesh-barnea (35 miles), where it turned westward, and extended apparently in nearly a straight line to the River of Egypt, now *Wady-el-Arish*, 50 miles south-west from Gaza (vers. 2-4). The country thus defined was 65 miles long, and averaged about 50 in breadth. But while this large tract was nominally allotted to Judah, the portion of it available for actual settlement was comparatively small, not amounting to above one-third of the whole. On the east, extending along the Dead Sea and the Arabah, from north to south, was 'the Wilderness' (מִדְבָּר, Josh. xv. 6), averaging 15 miles in breadth, a wild, barren, uninhabitable region, fit only to afford scanty pasturage for sheep and goats, and a secure home for leopards, bears, wild-goats, and outlaws (1 Sam. xvii. 34; Mark i. 13; 1 Sam. xxii. 1, *seq.*) Different sections of it were called by different names, as, 'Wilderness of Engedi' (1 Sam. xxiv. 1); 'Wilderness of Judah' (Judg. i. 16); 'Wilderness of Maon' (1 Sam. xxiii. 24; see art. DESERT). It was the training-ground of the shepherd-warriors of Israel, where 'David and his mighty men' were braced and trained for those feats of daring courage which so highly distinguished them. [BETHLEHEM; DAVID.]

On the west of Judah's allotted territory was the *Plain of Philistia*, called the *Shephelah*, or 'low country,' in the Bible (Josh. xv. 33, etc.) It extended from Joppa to Gaza, and embraced the whole of that noble plain which constituted far the richest portion of the land. The people of Judah were properly mountaineers, accustomed to light guerilla warfare; and they could not withstand in the open plain the shock of the Philistines' war-

chariots, and the heavy panoply of their mailed champions. The Shephelah was thus worse than useless to Judah, for it involved the tribe in increasing and devastating wars. They never completely conquered, nor attempted to colonize it.

The real possessions of Judah, therefore, consisted only of the central *mountain range*, the *hill country*, with its terraced slopes and peaks all clothed in the rich foliage of the vine; and its long winding glens, running down between rocky ridges into the Shephelah, their sides covered with olives and figs, and their winter brooks running through corn-fields below; and its southern declivities breaking into undulating downs, and broad steppes of pasture-land, out towards Beer-sheba.

And even this comparatively narrow strip of mountain and hill Judah was eventually compelled to share with two other tribes. Dan got a section of the very best of the western declivities, where the mountains break down in long terraced spurs, and rich intervening vales, to the plain beneath Zorah and Bethshemesh [DAN]. In fact, Judah's real border does not seem to have gone farther west in this direction than Kirjath-jearim (Judg. xiii. 25; xviii. 12; Josh. xix. 40-46). Simeon again obtained a large part of that splendid pasture land which Joshua calls the *South*, and which lay near Beer-sheba, and towards the coast of Edom (xv. 21; xix. 2-8). 'Of the portion of the children of Judah was the inheritance of the children of Simeon; for the part of the children of Judah was too much for them' (ver. 9). These southern pasture-lands were the favourite camping-grounds of the old patriarchs, as they still are of those nomad tribes that frequent the southern border of Palestine (Robinson, *B. R.*)

These partitions of its allotted territory, while they curtailed its extent, tended in the end greatly to strengthen the position, and increase the power of Judah. Dan defended the western border against the inroads of the Philistines, with a brave and well-trained band of soldiers; having established, as it seems, a permanent camp on the commanding height between Zorah and Eshtaol (Judg. xiii. 25; xvi. 31; xviii. 12; see DAN). Simeon bore the brunt of all attacks and forays made on the southern border by the tribes of the great 'Wilderness of Wandering.' And when the Edomites attempted to penetrate Judah, Simeon could always check them by an attack upon their flank.

The broad summit of the mountain ridge between Jerusalem and Juttah was the home and stronghold of Judah. On every side the approaches to it were difficult, and the passes easily defended. The towns and villages, too, were generally perched on the tops of hills, or on rocky slopes. The resources of the soil were great. The country was rich in corn, wine, oil, and fruits; and the daring shepherds were able to lead their flocks far out over the neighbouring plains and through the mountains. During the wars of Joshua two men distinguished themselves by successful excursions, the aged Caleb, and his nephew Othniel. Caleb took Hebron from the giant Anakim; and Othniel captured Debir, and as a reward for his valour got Caleb's daughter with a rich dowry (Josh. xv. 13-19).

During the rule of the Judges the tribe of Judah was mainly occupied in completing the conquest of the territory. A few strongholds in the mountains

still remained in the hands of the Canaanites; these they took, and they also made a successful expedition into Philistia, capturing Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron, though they were unable to establish permanent settlements there. In all these expeditions they were aided by the tribe of Simeon (Judg. i.) In fact, it would seem that both Dan and Simeon, being closely connected with Judah by geographical position, and being to a great extent dependent upon it for aid in times of pressing danger, ranged themselves under Judah's banner, and in the end became to a large extent amalgamated with that tribe. Judah thus began gradually to assume the headship of a southern confederacy, which interfered little, if at all, with the affairs of the more distant tribes, but acted independently in the management of its own. The only case in which Judah appears in its natural place during a period of nearly 400 years, is in the war against Benjamin, when it was divinely appointed to lead the van (Judg. xx. 18). Strongly established amid the fastnesses of its own mountains, and having its frontiers defended by Dan and Simeon, Judah remained at rest, gradually acquiring that power, wealth, and influence which in the end gave it a decided supremacy. When David was banished from the court of Saul he found an asylum in the dominions of his own tribe; and the manner in which he was able to evade the troops of the enraged monarch was probably as much owing to the sympathy of his brethren as to the nature of the country. On the death of Saul David removed to Hebron: 'And the men of Judah came, and there they anointed David king over the house of Judah' (2 Sam. ii. 1-4). They had no consultation with the other tribes; and this was the first step toward the establishment of an independent kingdom. Ephraim was the rival of Judah, and was the only tribe which shewed any disposition to dispute its supremacy. The existence of the sacerdotal establishment at Shiloh may have tended to encourage the claims of Ephraim. But when Judah placed David on the throne, and when the priests and tabernacle were removed to Jerusalem, Judah exulted, and Ephraim was proportionably dissatisfied. Probably the division of Israel into two kingdoms may thus be traced to the rivalry of these powerful tribes. When the kingdom was divided under Rehoboam and Jeroboam, the history of Judah as a tribe lapsed into that of *Judah as a kingdom*.—J. L. P.

JUDAH, KINGDOM OF. When the territory of all the rest of Israel, except Judah and Benjamin, was lost to the kingdom of Rehoboam, a special single name was needed to denote that which remained to him; and almost of necessity the word *Judah* received an extended meaning, according to which it comprised not Benjamin only, but the priests and Levites, who were ejected in great numbers from Israel, and rallied round the house of David. At a still later time, when the nationality of the ten tribes had been dissolved, and every practical distinction between the ten and the two had vanished during the captivity, the scattered body had no visible head, except in Jerusalem, which had been re-occupied by a portion of *Judah's* exiles. In consequence the name Judah (or *Jew*) attached itself to the entire nation from about the epoch of the restoration. [JEW.] But in this article Judah is understood of the people

over which David's successors reigned, from Rehoboam to Zedekiah. [For the dates, see article CHRONOLOGY.]

When the kingdom of Solomon became rent with intestine war, it might have been foreseen that the Edomites, Moabites, and other surrounding nations would at once refuse their accustomed tribute, and become again practically independent; and some irregular invasion of these tribes might have been dreaded. It was a mark of conscious weakness, and not a result of strength, that Rehoboam fortified fifteen cities (2 Chron. xi. 5-11), in which his people might find defence against the irregular armies of his roving neighbours. But a more formidable enemy came in Shishak, king of Egypt, against whom the fortresses were of no avail (xii. 4), and to whom Jerusalem was forced to open its gates; and, from the despoiling of his treasures, Rehoboam probably sustained a still greater shock in its moral effect on the Moabites and Edomites, than in the direct loss; nor is it easy to conceive that he any longer retained the commerce of the Red Sea, or any very lucrative trade. Judged of by the number of soldiers recounted in the Chronicles, the strength of the early kings of Judah must have been not only great, but rapidly increasing. The following are the armies there given:—

Rehoboam gathered 180,000 chosen men (2 Chron. xi. 1). (Shishak attacked him with 60,000 horse, 1200 chariots, besides infantry.) Abijah set in array 400,000 valiant men (xiii. 3, 17), and slew 500,000 of Jeroboam's 800,000 in one battle. Asa had 300,000 heavy armed, and 280,000 light armed men (xiv. 8). (Zerah invaded him with 1,000,000 men and 300 chariots.) Jehoshaphat kept up:—

300,000 under Adnah,
280,000 under Jehohanan,
200,000 under Amasiah,
200,000 (light armed) under Eliadah,
180,000 under Jehozabad (xvii. 14-19).

Total 1,160,000 for field service.

'These waited on the king;' *besides* the garrisons 'in the fenced cities.'

After Jehoshaphat followed the calamitous affinity with the house of Ahab, and the massacres of both families. Under Jehoiada the priest, and Jehoash his pupil, no martial efforts were made; but Amaziah son of Jehoash, after hiring 100,000 Israelites to no purpose, made war on the Edomites, slew 10,000, and threw 10,000 more down from the top of their rock (xxv. 5, 6, 11, 12). His own force in Judah, from twenty years old and upwards, was numbered at only 300,000 choice men, able to handle spear and shield. His son Uzziah had 2600 military officers, and 307,500 men of war (xxvi. 12, 13). Ahaz lost, in a single battle with Pekah, 120,000 valiant men (xxviii. 6), after the severe slaughter he had received from Rezin king of Syria; after which no further military strength is ascribed to the kings of Judah. As to all these numbers the Vatican Sept. agrees with the received Hebrew text.

These figures have caused no small perplexity, and have suggested to some the need of conjectural emendation. But if they have been corrupted, it is by system, and on purpose; for there is far too great uniformity in them to be the result of acci-

dent. It perhaps deserves remark, that in the book of Kings no numbers of such startling magnitude are found. The army ascribed to Rehoboam (1 Kings xii. 21) is, indeed, as in Chronicles, 180,000 men; but if we explain it of those *able* to fight, the number, though certainly large, may be dealt with historically. See the article on DAVID, vol. i. page 641.

As the most important external relations of Israel were with Damascus, so were those of Judah with Edom and Egypt. Some revolution in the state of Egypt appears to have followed the reign of Shishak. Apparently the country must have fallen under the power of an Ethiopian dynasty; for the name of the *Lubim*, who accompanied Zerah in his attack on Asa, is generally regarded as proving that Zerah was from Sennaar, the ancient Meroë. But as this invasion was signally repulsed, the attempt was not repeated; and Judah enjoyed entire tranquillity from that quarter until the invasion of Pharaoh-necho. In fact, it may seem that this success assisted the reaction, favourable to the power of Judah, which was already begun, in consequence of a change in the policy of Damascus. Whether Abijah had been in league with the father of Benhadad I. (as is generally inferred from 1 Kings xv. 19) may be doubted; for the address cannot be rendered, '*Let there be a league between me and thee, as there was between my father and thine*;' and it possibly is only a hyperbolical phrase of friendship for, 'Let us be in close alliance; *let us count our fathers to have been allies*.' However this may be, Asa bought, by a costly sacrifice, the serviceable aid of the Damascene king. Israel was soon distressed, and Judah became once more formidable to her southern neighbours. Jehoshaphat appears to have reasserted the Jewish authority over the Edomites without war, and to have set his own viceroy over them (1 Kings xxii. 47). Intending to resume the distant commerce which had been so profitable to Solomon, he built ships suitable for long voyages ('ships of Tarshish' as they are rightly called in 1 Kings xxii. 48—a phrase which the Chronicler has misunderstood, and translated into 'ships to go to Tarshish,' 2 Chron. xx. 36); but not having the advantage of Tyrian sailors, as Solomon had, he lost the vessels by violent weather before they had sailed. Upon this Ahaziah, king of Judah, offered the service of his own mariners, probably from the tribe of Asher, and others accustomed to the Mediterranean; but Jehoshaphat was too discouraged to accept his offer, and the experiment was never renewed by any Hebrew king. The Edomites, who paid only a forced allegiance, soon after revolted from Jehoram, and elected their own king (2 Kings viii. 20, 22). At a later time they were severely defeated by Amaziah (2 Kings xiv. 7), whose son, Uzziah, fortified the town of Elath, intending, probably, to resume maritime enterprise; but it remained a barren possession, and was finally taken from them by Rezin, in the reign of Ahaz (2 Kings xvi. 6). The Philistines, in these times, seem to have fallen from their former greatness, their league having been so long dissolved. The most remarkable event in which they are concerned is the assault on Jerusalem, in the reign of Jehoram (2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17).

It is strikingly indicative of the stormy scenes through which the line of David passed, that the treasures of the king and of the Temple were so

often plundered or bargained away. First, under Rehoboam, all the hoards of Solomon, consecrated and common alike, were carried off by Shishak (1 Kings xiv. 26). Two generations later, Asa emptied out to Benhadad all that had since accumulated 'in the house of Jehovah or in the king's house.' A third time, when Hazael had taken Gath, and was preparing to march on Jerusalem, Jehoash, king of Judah, turned him away by sending to him all 'that Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Ahaziah, and Jehoash himself had dedicated, and all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of Jehovah and in the king's house' (2 Kings xii. 18). In the very next reign, Jehoash, king of Israel, defeated and captured Amaziah, took Jerusalem, broke down the walls, carried off hostages, and plundered the gold and silver deposited in the Temple and in the royal palace (2 Kings xiv. 11-14). A fifth sacrifice of the sacred and of the royal treasure was made by Ahaz to Tiglath-pileser (2 Kings xvi. 8). The act was repeated by his son Hezekiah to Sennacherib, who had demanded '300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold.' It is added, 'Hezekiah cut off the gold which he had overlaid, from the doors of the temple and from the pillars' (2 Kings xviii. 14-16). In the days of Josiah, as in those of Jehoash, the Temple appears to have been greatly out of repair (xii. and xxii.); and when Pharaoh-necho, having slain Josiah, had reduced Judah to submission, the utmost tribute that could be exacted was 100 talents of silver and one talent of gold. Even this sum was obtained by direct taxation, and no allusion is made to any treasure at all, either in the temple or in the king's house. It is the more extraordinary to find expressions used when Nebuchadnezzar took the city, which at first sight imply that Solomon's far-famed stores were still untouched. 'Nebuchadnezzar carried out all the treasures of the house of Jehovah and of the king's house, and cut in pieces all the vessels of gold which Solomon had made in the temple of Jehovah' (2 Kings xxiv. 13). They must evidently have been few in number, for in 1 Kings xiv. 26, 'all' must, at least, mean 'nearly all.' 'Shishak took away the treasures of the house of Jehovah, and of the king's house; he *even* took away *all*.' Yet the vessels of gold and silver taken away by Nebuchadnezzar, and restored by Cyrus, are reckoned 5400 in number (Ezra i. 11).

The severest shock which the house of David received was the double massacre which it endured from Jehu and from Athaliah. After a long minority, a youthful king, the sole surviving male descendant of his great-grandfather, and reared under the paternal rule of the priest Jehoiada, to whom he was indebted not only for his throne, but even for his recognition as a son of Ahaziah, was not in a situation to uphold the royal authority. That Jehoash conceived the priests to have abused the power which they had gained, sufficiently appears in 2 Kings xii., where he complains that they had for twenty-three years appropriated the money, which they ought to have spent on the repairs of the Temple. Jehoiada gave way; but we see here the beginning of a feud (hitherto unknown in the house of David) between the crown and the priestly order; which, after Jehoiada's death, led to the murder of his son Zachariah. The massacre of the priests of Baal, and of Athaliah, grand-daughter of a king of Sidon, must also have destroyed cordiality between the Phœnicians and the kingdom of Judah.

and when the victorious Hazeel had subjugated all Israel and shewed himself near Jerusalem, Jehoash could look for no help from without, and had neither the faith of Hezekiah nor a prophet like Isaiah to support him. The assassination of Jehoash in his bed by 'his own servants' is described in the Chronicles as a revenge taken upon him by the priestly party for his murder of 'the sons' of Jehoiada; and the same fate, from the same influence, fell upon his son Amaziah, if we may so interpret the words in 2 Chron. xxv. 27: 'From the time that Amaziah turned away from following Jehovah they made a conspiracy against him,' etc. Thus the house of David appeared to be committing itself, like that of Saul, to permanent enmity with the priests. The wisdom of Uzziah, during a long reign, averted this collision, though a symptom of it returned towards its close. No further mischief from this cause followed, until the reign of his grandson, the weak and unfortunate Ahaz: after which the power of the kingdom rapidly mouldered away. On the whole, it would appear that, from Jehoiada downward, the authority of the priests was growing stronger, and that of the crown weaker; for the king could not rule successfully, except by submitting to (what we might call) 'the constitutional check' of the priests; and although it is reasonable to believe that the priests became less simple-minded, more worldly, and less religious, as their order advanced in authority (whence the keen rebukes of them by the prophets), it is not the less certain that it was desirable for Judah, both in a temporal and a spiritual sense, to have the despotic power of the king subjected to a strong priestly pressure.

The struggle of the crown against this control was perhaps the most immediate cause of the ruin of Judah. Ahaz was probably less guided by policy than by superstition, or by architectural taste, in erecting his Damascene altar (2 Kings xvi. 10-18). But the far more outrageous proceedings of Manasseh seem to have been a systematic attempt to extirpate the national religion because of its supporting the priestly power; and the 'innocent blood very much,' which he is stigmatized for shedding (2 Kings xxi. 16), was undoubtedly a sanguinary attack on the party opposed to his impious and despotic innovations. The storm which he had raised did not burst in his lifetime; but, two years after, it fell on the head of his son Amon; and the disorganization of the kingdom which his madness had wrought is commemorated as the cause of the Babylonish captivity (2 Kings xxiii. 26; xxiv. 3, 4). It is also credible that the long-continued despotism had greatly lessened patriotic spirit; and that the Jewish people of the declining kingdom were less brave against foreign invaders than against kindred and neighbour tribes or civil opponents. Faction had become very fierce within Jerusalem itself (Ezek. xxii.), and civil bloodshed was common. Wealth, where it existed, was generally a source of corruption, by introducing foreign luxury, tastes, manners, superstitions, immorality, or idolatry; and when consecrated to pious purposes, as by Hezekiah and Josiah, produced little more than a formal and exterior religion.

Thoroughly to understand the political working of the monarchy, we ought to know, 1. What control the king exercised over ecclesiastical appointments; 2. How the Levites were supported when

ejected from Israel; 3. What proportion of them acted as judges, lawyers, and scribes, and how far they were independent of the king. The nature of the case, and the precedent of David, may satisfy us that the king appointed the high-priest at his own pleasure out of the Aaronites; but (as Henry II. of England and hundreds of monarchs besides have found) ecclesiastics once in office often disappoint the hopes of their patron, and to eject them again is a most dangerous exertion of the prerogative. The Jewish king would naturally avoid following the law of descent, in order to preserve his right of election unimpaired; and it may be suspected that the line of Zadok was rather kept in the background by royal jealousy. Hilkiyah belonged to that line; and if any inference can be drawn from his genealogy, as given in 1 Chron. vi. 8-15, it is, that none of his ancestors between the reigns of Solomon and Josiah held the high-priesthood. Even Azariah, who is named in 2 Chron. xxxi. 10 as of the line of Zadok, is not found among Hilkiyah's progenitors. Jehoiada, the celebrated priest, and Urijah, who was so complaisant to the innovating Ahaz (2 Kings xvi.), were of a different family. It would seem that too many high-priests gained a reputation for subservience (for it often happens in history that the ecclesiastical heads are more subservient to royalty than the mass of their order); so that, after Hilkiyah, the race of Zadok became celebrated for uprightness, in invidious contrast to the rest of the priests; and even the Levites were regarded as more zealous than the generality of the Aaronites (2 Chron. xxix. 34). Hence in Ezekiel and other late writers, the phrase 'the priests the sons of Zadok,' or even 'the priests the Levites,' is a more honourable title than 'the priests the sons of Aaron.' Hilkiyah's name seems to mark the era at which (by a reaction after the atrocities of Manasseh and Amon) the purer priestly sentiment obtained its triumph over the crown. But the victory came too late. Society was corrupt and convulsed within, and the two great powers of Egypt and Babylon menaced it from without. True lovers of their God and of their country, like Jeremiah, saw that it was a time rather for weeping than for action; and that the faithful must resign themselves to the bitter lot which the sins of their nation had earned. —F. W. N.

JUDAS is merely the Greek form of the Hebrew name JUDAH. The Septuagint, however, represents Judah by *Ἰούδα*, *Juda*, and this we find also in the N. T. [JUDA].

1. The son of Mattathias [MACCABEES].

2. The son of Calphi, a Jewish officer under Jonathan (1 Maccab. xi. 70).

3. A Jew high in office at the time when the letter was sent by the Jews in Jerusalem to Aristobulus and to their brethren in Egypt (2 Maccab. i. 10). Some identify this Judas with Judas the Essene mentioned by Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 11. 2; *Bell. Jud.* i. 3. 5), but Josephus speaks of the letter as *Ἰούδας* *ῥίς*, phraseology which he would hardly have applied to one holding so eminent a position as the Judas before us. Grotius makes him a relation of John Hyrcanus and his lieutenant, referring to Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 17; but there is no such passage, nor does Josephus anywhere mention such a person. De Wette concludes that this Judas is otherwise unknown, while a large number

of interpreters identify him with Judas Maccabæus. Calovius objects to this that the chronology is against it, Judas Maccabæus having died in 152, that is, thirty-six years before the writing of this letter. This of course would be a fatal objection were it well founded; but no precise date is borne by the letter itself, and from the statement in ver. 11 it seems probable that it was written soon after tidings had come of the death of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. But this occurred in the year 164 B.C., so that Judas was alive at the time the letter was written. Calovius was betrayed into mistake by taking the date in ver. 9 as the date of the second epistle, whereas it belongs to the first (Grimm, *Exeg. Handb.*, in loc.)

4. A son of Simon and brother of John Hyrcanus, who was murdered along with his father, or, according to Josephus, soon afterwards (1 Maccab. xvi. 2, 15, ff.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 8. 1).

5. One of the twelve apostles, called also LEB-BÆUS or THADDÆUS (Matt. x. 4; Mark iii. 18), and commonly named Jude. We are not informed as to the time of the vocation of the Apostle Jude to that dignity. Indeed, the only circumstance relating to him which is recorded in the Gospels consists in the question put by him to our Lord (John xiv. 22). 'Judas saith unto him (not Iscariot), Lord, how is it that thou wilt manifest thyself to us, and not unto the world?' Nor have we any account given of his proceedings after our Lord's resurrection, for the traditionary notices which have been preserved of him rest on no very certain foundation. It has been asserted that he was sent to Edessa, to Abgarus, king of Osroene (Jerome, *Annot. in Matt.*), and that he preached in Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia; in which latter country he suffered martyrdom (Lardner's *Hist. of the Apostles*). Jude the apostle is commemorated in the Western church, together with the Apostle Simon (the name, also, of one of our Lord's brethren), on the 8th of October.

6. THE LORD'S BROTHER.—It has been disputed whether the person so named is distinct from the Apostle Jude, or the same with him. The question is involved in considerable obscurity, but the balance of evidence seems to be in favour of their being different. [JAMES; JUDE, EP. OF.]

7. Another of the twelve apostles, the son of Simon (John vi. 71; xiii. 2, 26), called also ISCARIOT (Ἰσκαριώτης), probably from Keriōth (Iscariot = קְרִיּוֹת; comp. Ἰσραήλ = אִשְׂרָאֵל, a man

of Tob, ap. Joseph. *Antiq.* vii. 6. 1). According to the reading of John vi. 71; xiii. 26, approved by Lachmann and Tischendorf, his father Simon bore the same designation. In the list of the apostles given by the Synoptists, Judas stands last (Matt. x. 4; Mark iii. 19; Luke vi. 16); and the evangelists usually fix on him the mark of his great crime by the addition of the words 'the traitor,' or 'who also betrayed him.' According to John (xii. 4-6), he had the charge of the common fund out of which the wants of Christ and his immediate followers were supplied, a trust which he abused for selfish ends. But all his other iniquities are lost in the enormous crime which has affixed a perpetual infamy to his name, the betrayal of his Master to his enemies for thirty ἀργύρια, or shekels of silver—not quite £4 sterling. This money he, shaken with remorse when he saw the result of his treason in the condemnation of his Master, re-

turned to the Sanhedrim; by whom it was expended in the purchase of a piece of land formerly called 'the potters' field,' but after that 'the field of blood' [ACELDAMA]. This name it received from the tragic circumstances connected with the purchase of it, especially the death of Judas himself, who, harassed by remorse, went and hanged himself, and falling headlong (probably from the breaking of the rope by which he was suspended), burst asunder and his bowels gushed out (Acts i. 18).

The extraordinary nature of Judas's crime in betraying his Master, has prompted inquiry as to the motives by which he was actuated to commit it. On this subject the following observations are retained from the first edition of this work:— 'The only conceivable motives for the conduct of Judas are, a sense of duty in bringing his Master to justice, resentment, avarice, dissatisfaction with the procedure of Jesus, and a consequent scheme for the accomplishment of his own views. With regard to the first of these motives, if Judas had been actuated by a sense of duty in bringing his Master to justice for anything censurable in his intentions, words, or actions, he would certainly have alleged some charge against him in his first interview with the chief-priests, and they would have brought him forward as a witness against Jesus, especially when they were at so great a loss for evidence; or they would have reminded him of his accusations when he appealed to them after our Lord's condemnation, saying, 'I have sinned in that I have betrayed innocent blood'—a confession which amounts to an avowal that he had never seen anything to blame in his Master, but everything to approve. Moreover, the knowledge of the slightest fault in Jesus would have served, at least for the present, to tranquillise his own feelings, and prevent his immediate despair. The chief-priests would also most certainly have alleged any charge he had made against Jesus as a justification of their conduct, when they afterwards endeavoured to prevent his apostles from preaching in his name (Acts iv. 15-23; v. 27, 28-40). The second motive supposed, namely, that of resentment, is rather more plausible. Jesus had certainly rebuked him for blaming the woman who had anointed him in the house of Simon the leper, at Bethany (comp. Matt. xxvi. 8-17; John xii. 4, 5); and Matthew's narrative seems to connect his going to the chief-priests with that rebuke (ver. 14). 'Then one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief-priests;' but closer inspection will convince the reader that those words are more properly connected with ver. 3. Besides, the rebuke was general, 'Why trouble ye the woman?' Nor was it nearly so harsh as that received by Peter, 'Get thee behind me, Satan' (Matt. xvi. 23), and certainly not so public (Mark viii. 32, 33). Even if Judas had felt ever so much resentment, it could scarcely have been his sole motive; and as nearly two days elapse between his contract with the chief-priests and its completion, it would have subsided during the interval, and have yielded to that covetousness which we have every reason to believe was his ruling passion. St. John expressly declares that Judas 'was a thief, and had the bag, and bare (that is, conveyed away from it, stole, ἐβόσκειν) what was put therein' (xii. 6; comp. xx. 15 in the original, and see a similar use of the word in Apollod. ii. 6. 2; iii. 3. 3; Joseph. p. 402. 39, ed. Huds.) This rebuke, or

rather certain circumstances attending it, might have determined him to act as he did, but is insufficient, of itself, to account entirely for his conduct, by which he endangered all his expectations of worldly advancement from Jesus, at the very moment when they seemed upon the verge of being fulfilled. It is, indeed, a most important feature in the case, that the hopes entertained by Judas, and all the apostles, from their Master's expected elevation, as the Messiah, to the throne of Judæa, and, as they believed, to the empire of the whole world, were never more steadfast than at the time when he covenanted with the chief-priests to deliver him into their hands. Nor does the theory of mere resentment agree with the terms of censure in which the conduct and character of Judas are spoken of by our Lord and the evangelists. Since, then, this supposition is insufficient, we may consider another motive to which his conduct is more commonly ascribed, namely, covetousness. But if by covetousness be meant the eager desire to obtain 'the thirty pieces of silver,' with which the chief priests 'covenanted with him' (Matt. xxvi. 15), it presents scarcely a less inadequate motive. Can it be conceived that Judas would deliberately forego the prospect of immense wealth from his Master, by delivering him up for about four pounds ten shillings of our money, upon the highest computation, and not more than double in value, a sum which he might easily have purloined from the bag? Is it likely that he would have made such a sacrifice for any further sum, however large, which we may suppose 'they promised him' (Mark xiv. 11), and of which the thirty pieces of silver might have been the mere earnest (Luke xxii. 5)? Had covetousness been his motive, he would have ultimately applied to the chief-priests, not to bring again the thirty pieces of silver with the confession, 'I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood' (Matt. xxvii. 4), but to demand the completion of their agreement with him. We are now at liberty to consider the only remaining motive for the conduct of Judas, namely, dissatisfaction with the procedure of his Master, and a consequent scheme for the furtherance of his own views. It seems to us likely, that the impatience of Judas for the accomplishment of his worldly views, which we conceive to have ever actuated him in following Jesus, could no longer be restrained, and that our Lord's observations at Bethany served to mature a stratagem he had meditated long before. He had no doubt been greatly disappointed at seeing his Master avoid being made a king, after feeding the five thousand in Galilee. Many a favourable crisis had he seemed to lose, or had not dared to embrace, and now while at Bethany he talks of his burial (John xii. 7); and though none of his apostles, so firm were their worldly expectations from their Master, could clearly understand such 'sayings' (Luke xviii. 34); yet they had been made 'exceeding sorry' by them (Matt. xvii. 23). At the same time, Judas had long been convinced by the miracles he had seen his Master perform that he was the Messiah (John vii. 31). He had even heard him accept this title from his apostles in private (Matt. xvi. 16). He had promised them that when he should 'sit upon the throne of his glory, they should sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel' (Matt. xix. 28). Yet now, when everything seemed most favourable to

the assumption of empire, he hesitates and desponds. In his daily public conferences, too, with the chief-priests and Pharisees, he appears to offend them by his reproofs, rather than to conciliate their favour. Within a few days, the people, who had lately given him a triumphal entry into the city, having kept the passover, would be dispersed to their homes, and Judas and his fellow-apostles be, perhaps, required to attend their Master on another tedious expedition through the country. Hence it seems most probable that Judas resolved upon the plan of delivering up his Master to the Jewish authorities, when he would be compelled, in self-defence, to prove his claims, by giving them the sign from heaven they had so often demanded; they would, he believed, elect him in due form as the King Messiah, and thus enable him to reward his followers. He did, indeed, receive from Jesus many alarming admonitions against his design; but the plainest warnings are lost upon a mind totally absorbed by a purpose, and agitated by many violent passions. The worst he could permit himself to expect, was a temporary displeasure for placing his master in this dilemma; but as he most likely believed, judging from himself, that Jesus anticipated worldly aggrandizement, he might calculate upon his forgiveness when the emergency should have been triumphantly surmounted. Nor was this calculation wholly unreasonable. Many an ambitious man would gladly be spared the responsibility of grasping at an empire, which he would willingly find forced upon him. Judas could not doubt his Master's ability to extricate himself from his enemies by miracle. He had known him do so more than once (Luke iv. 30; John viii. 59; x. 39). Hence his directions to the officers to 'hold him fast,' when he was apprehended (Matt. xxvi. 48). With other Jews he believed the Messiah would never die (John xii. 34); accordingly, we regard his pecuniary stipulation with the priests as a mere artful cover to his deeper and more comprehensive design; and so that he served their purpose in causing the apprehension of Jesus, they would little care to scrutinize his motive. All they felt was being 'glad' at his proposal (Mark xiv. 11), and the plan appeared to hold good up to the very moment of our Lord's condemnation; for after his apprehension his miraculous power seemed unabated, from his healing Malchus. Judas heard him declare that he could even then 'ask, and his father would give him twelve legions of angels' for his rescue. But when Judas, who awaited the issue of the trial with such different expectations, saw that though Jesus had avowed himself to be the Messiah, he had not convinced the Sanhedrim; and, instead of extricating himself from their power by miracle, had submitted to be 'condemned, buffeted, and spit upon' by his judges and accusers; then, it should seem, he awoke to a full view of all the consequences of his conduct. The prophecies of the O. T., 'that Christ should suffer,' and of Jesus, concerning his own rejection and death, flashed on his mind in their true sense and full force, and he found himself the wretched instrument of their fulfilment. He made a last desperate effort to stay proceedings. He presented himself to the chief-priests, offered to return the money, confessed that he had sinned in that he had betrayed the innocent blood, and upon receiving their heartless answer, was wrought into a phrenzy of despair,

during which he committed suicide. There is much significance in these words of Matt. xxvii. 3, 'Then Judas, *when he saw he was condemned,*' not expiring on the cross, 'repented himself,' etc. If such be the true hypothesis of his conduct, then, however culpable it may have been, as originating in the most inordinate covetousness, impatience of the procedure of Providence, crooked policy, or any other bad quality, he is certainly absolved from the direct *intention* of procuring his Master's death. 'The difference,' says Archbishop Whately, 'between Iscariot and his fellow-apostles was, that though they all had the same expectations and conjectures, *he dared to act* on his conjectures, departing from the plain course of his known duty to follow the calculations of his worldly wisdom, and the schemes of his worldly ambition' (*Discourse on the Treason of Judas Iscariot, and Notes, annexed to Essays on some of the Dangers to Christian Faith*, Lond. 1839; comp. *Lectures on the Characters of the Apostles*, by the same; see also Whitby on Matt. xxvii. 3, for the opinions of Theophylact, and some of the Fathers; Bishop Bull's *Sermons*, ii. and iii., *On some Important Points*, vol. i., Lond. 1713; Hales's *New Analysis of Chronology*, vol. ii. b. ii. pp. 877, 878; Macknight's *Harmony of the Gospels*, vol. ii. pp. 427-30, Lond. 1822; Rosenmüller, Kuinoel, *in loc.*)—[J. F. D.]

8. A Jew of Damascus with whom Paul lodged in a street called 'Straight.' This street has been identified with the 'Street of Bazaars,' the principal street in the modern Damascus, and one of the busiest scenes of commerce within that city (Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 351; Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, i. 43; Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* 412). Robinson seems to speak doubtfully on this point (*Lat. Bib. Res.*, p. 455).

9. Surnamed BARsabAS (Acts xv. 22, 27-35), a disciple who, along with Silas, was appointed to accompany Paul and Barnabas in their tour among the churches, to deliver the decrees of the apostles and elders. He and Silas are described as chosen men of the apostles' own company, as chief men among the brethren, and as prophets. Beyond this notice, nothing is known of Judas, son of Barsabas. Grotius suggests that he may have been a brother of Joseph Barsabas (Acts i. 23), which seems not improbable. Schott supposes that Sabas or Zabas is an abridged form of Zebedee, and that Barsabas, or Son of Zabas, was the designation of Jude, a brother of the elder James and John. The occurrence of the same name, however, in the case of Joseph Barsabas throws doubt on this hypothesis.

10. THE GALILEAN (ὁ Γαλιλαῖος, Acts v. 35; Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 6; xx. 5. 2; *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 1), called also by Josephus The Gaulonite (Γαυλωνίτης ὄντις, *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1); the former designation being derived from the place of his education or usual residence, the latter from the place of his birth, which, Josephus says (*l.c.*), was the town of Gamala (cf. Krebs, *Obs.* in *N. T. ex Joseph.* p. 181). When the property census was ordered by Augustus (A.D. 6) during the prefecture of Pub. Sulp. Quirinus, Judas, in conjunction with one Sadok or Saduk, a Pharisee, headed a revolt against the Roman supremacy, calling upon his countrymen, as the people of God, not ignobly to submit to human despotism. He aimed at nothing short of a complete restoration of the theocratic polity and order of the nation as laid down in the Law of Moses (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 6). A

large body of ardent adherents flocked to his standard; but they were easily dispersed by Quirinus, and Judas himself was destroyed (Acts v. 37). His spirit descended, however, on his children, two of whom were crucified under Tiberius Alexander, and a third, who gave himself out as the Messiah, was also put to death (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 5. 2; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 17. 8, 9). In Judas, also, may be recognised the first outburst of the spirit which afterwards showed itself in the Zealots and the Sicarii; in fact, from his time forward to the destruction of Jerusalem and the scattering of the Jewish race, the outer history of the Jews is chiefly a record of the struggle of those who were zealous for the law against the encroachments of Roman power and Hellenic culture.—W. L. A.

JUDE, EPISTLE OF. The last in order in the Canon of the Catholic epistles.

1. *Canonicity.*—This epistle is not cited by any of the apostolic Fathers; the passages which have been adduced as containing allusions to it (Herm., *Past. Vis.*, iv. 3; Clem. Rom., *Ep. ad Cor.*, ch. xi.; Polycarp, *Ep. ad Phil.*, ch. iii.) presenting no certain evidence of being such. It is, however, formally quoted by Clement of Alexandria (*Pedag.*, iii., p. 239, ed. Sylburg; *Strom.* iii. p. 431), and Eusebius testifies (*H. E.*, vi. 14) that he treated it in his *Hypotyposes*; it is also treated in the *Adumbrationes*, ascribed to Clement, and preserved in a Latin version. Tertullian refers to the epistle as that of Jude the Apostle (*De Habit. Mulieb.*, ch. iii.). It appears in the Muratori Fragment among the Canonical books. Origen repeatedly refers to it, and occasionally as the work of the Apostle Jude (*Hom. in Matt.*, xiii. 55, *Opp.*, ed. De la Rue, iii. p. 403; *Comm. in Ep. ad Rom.*, *Opp.* iv. p. 519; *Hom. in Jos.*, *Opp.* ii. p. 411; *De Princip.*, *Opp.* i. p. 138, etc.); though in one place he speaks as if doubts were entertained by some as to its genuineness (*in Matt.* xxii. 23; *Opp.* iii. p. 814). It is not in the Peshito, and does not appear to have been known to the Syrian churches before the 4th century, near the close of which it is quoted by Ephraem Syrus (*Opp. Syr.*, i. p. 136). Eusebius ranks it among the Antilegomena, but this rather because it was not universally known than because where known it was by any regarded with suspicion (*Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 23; iii. 25). By Jerome it is referred to as the work of an apostle (*in Tit.* i.; *Ep. ad Paulin.*, iii.), and he states that, though suspected by some, in consequence of containing a quotation from the Apocryphal book of Enoch, it had obtained such authority as to be reckoned part of the canonical Scriptures (*Catal. Script. Eccl.*). From the 4th century onwards, the place thus conceded to it remained unquestioned (Jessen, *De αὐθεντία Ἐπ. Judæ Comm. Crit.*, Lips. 1821; Arnaud, *Recherches Critiques sur l'Ép. de Jude*, etc., Strab. 1851).

There is nothing in the epistle itself to cast suspicion on its genuineness; on the contrary, it rather impresses one with the conviction that it must have proceeded from the writer whose name it bears. Another, forging a work in his name, would have hardly omitted to make prominent the personality of Judas, and his relation to our Lord, neither of which comes before us in this epistle (Bleek, *Einh. in d. N. T.*, p. 557).

2. *Author.*—The writer designates himself Judas,

'the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James.' The former of these designations affords no help in determining whether the writer was the Apostle Jude or another person of the same name; for the phrase *δοῦλος* 'I. X. is neither peculiar to an apostle, nor does it exclude the supposition that the party to whom it is applied was an apostle. It is to the other designation that we must look for the decision of this question. Now, were we sure that 'Jude the brother of James' is the same person who is designated 'Jude of James' ('*Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου*') by Luke (vi. 16; Acts i. 13), the evidence that the writer of this epistle was the Apostle Jude would be conclusive. But there are difficulties in the way of this conclusion. For one thing, the words '*Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου*' are more naturally in accordance with the usage of the language, translated 'Jude, the son of James,' than 'Jude, the brother of James.' It is, moreover, extremely improbable that an apostle of the Lord would, in writing an epistle of warning and reproof to Christians, designate himself by his family relationship to a fellow-creature, instead of assuming the authority which his divine commission as an apostle would have at once expressed and claimed. To this it may be added that, in ver. 17th, the writer seems to speak of the apostles of the Lord as a class to which he himself did not belong; for though one of their number *might* have expressed himself as the writer does here, the probability is on the other side. If on these grounds we conclude that the writer of this epistle was not the Apostle Jude, we are led to inquire whether he may not be the other Jude mentioned in the gospels as among 'the brethren of Jesus' (Matt. xiii. 55), and as a younger brother of James. This would remove all difficulty, were it not that it remains in dispute whether the two brothers, James and Judas, who were apostles, are not identical with the James and Judas who were among the brethren of our Lord. Into this question we cannot enter minutely here, but must refer for details to other articles in this book where both sides of the question are advocated [JAMES, 3; JAMES, EPISTLE OF; JESUS CHRIST]. Our own opinion inclines to the view that the brethren of our Lord were really sons of Joseph and Mary, and consequently, that James the son of Cleophas, and Judas [the son] of James, who were apostles, are not to be identified with the persons bearing the same names among the brethren of our Lord. We incline also to think, that the James who presided over the church at Jerusalem was not the surviving apostle of that name, but the other James, 'the Lord's brother,' as he is expressly termed (Gal. i. 19). The question may be thus briefly stated. Discounting James the son of Zebedee, respecting whom there is no dispute, the other Jameses and the Judes (omitting Judas Iscariot) may be placed thus:—

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| I. James, son of Alphaeus | } Apostles. |
| Jude of James | |
| II. James, President of the church at Jerusalem | } Brethren of the Lord. |
| Jude, the brother of James | |

The question is, Are the persons in No. I. the same as, or different from, the persons in No. II.? Two objections occur to their being identified:—

1. That for this purpose we must render '*Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου*' in an unusual way, supplying *ἀδελφός*, and not *υἱός*; and 2. That we must understand the phrase 'brethren of the Lord,' as meaning his 'cousins,' or 'near relations.' The former of these objections is not of serious weight, because instances can be produced in which other terms of relationship besides that of *son* were left to be supplied in similar ellipses; and in such a case as that before us, the principle which Winer lays down may be held to operate, 'that where acquaintance with the family circumstances of any is presupposed, the relationship of father, brother, servant, may be so expressed, as well as that of son' (*Gramm.*, sec. 66). The latter of the above objections is of more weight; for though the Hebrew usage admits of a liberal construction of terms of relationship, yet when we find that the *brethren* of Jesus are associated with his *mother* and his *sisters* (Matt. xiii. 55, 56), and when it is expressly mentioned that his brethren believed not on him (John vii. 5), a statement which cannot be meant to apply to persons who were actually of the number of his select disciples; the strong probability is, that the persons so designated were really the sons of Joseph and Mary, and so uterine brothers of Jesus. On the other side, it is objected that James the Lord's brother is called an apostle (Gal. i. 19), and that several of the Fathers speak of Jude, the author of this epistle, as an apostle. On this, however, much cannot be built, for the term 'apostle' is used occasionally in the N. T. in a lax way, as applicable to persons who were associated with the apostles in their work (Acts xiv. 14; Rom. xvi. 7); and persons who sustained the honourable position of being the Lord's brothers, would be especially likely to be regarded by a later age as standing on a par with the apostles, and worthy of receiving that designation. On the whole, we conclude that the writer of this epistle was not Jude the apostle (properly so called), but Jude the Lord's brother, the son of Joseph, as he is expressly designated by Clement of Alexandria (*Adumbr.*, sub init.). His reason for describing himself as 'the brother of James,' was probably that James, from his peculiar position, was more extensively and influentially known than Jude himself was. If any should ask, Why did Jude, if he was indeed the Lord's brother, not present this his higher relationship, rather than that which he bore to James, as a claim upon the regard of those to whom he wrote? the answer may be given in the words of Clement of Alexandria:—'*Judas qui catholicam scripsit epistolam frater filiorum Joseph exstans, valde religiosus, cum sciret propinquitatem Domini, non tamen dixit se ipsum fratrem ejus esse, sed quid dixit? Judas servus Jesu Christi, utpote domini; frater autem Jacobi*' (Loc. cit.) The Lord Himself had taught his followers that relationship to him according to the flesh was of very inferior importance to spiritual relationship to him (Matt. xii. 48-50; Luke xi. 27, 28); and we may believe that none of those who had imbibed the spirit of his teaching would have so much as thought of resting on their earthly affinity to him for any portion of that authority which they sought to attach to their teaching. So utterly foreign is this from the spirit of the apostolic writers, that, as has been justly remarked, 'had such a designation as *ἀδελφός τοῦ κυρίου* been found in the address to an epistle, it would have formed a

strong *à priori* objection to its authenticity' (Alford, *Gr. Test.*, iv. 2; Prolegg. 190). Whilst, however, we ascribe the authorship of this epistle to one who was not an apostle, there is nothing in the epistle unworthy of an apostle's pen.

3. *Contents and Design.*—The epistle commences with an assertion of the necessity of zeal for, and steadfastness in, the faith once delivered to the saints; the writer then warns his readers against some who had crept in unawares, and were insinuating doctrines of an unwholesome kind; instances are adduced of the danger of apostasy, rebellion, and laxity of moral principle; a contrast is instituted between the dogmatism and audacity of the teachers he has in view, and the gentleness and modesty with which the highest of God-fearing beings speak; these wicked persons are then strongly denounced, and their evil end predicted; the believers are exhorted to continue in the faith of the gospel, in humble dependence on promised grace, and in pious efforts to preserve others from the snares of the false teachers; and the whole concludes with a solemn doxology to the only wise God our Saviour. The design of such a train of thought is obviously to put the believers to whom the epistle was addressed on their guard against the misleading efforts of certain persons to whose influence they were exposed. Who these persons were, or to what class of errorists they belonged, can only be matter of conjecture. Some, indeed (De Wette, Schwegler, Bleek), think the persons alluded to held no peculiar opinions, and were simply men of lax morals; but, from the manner in which the writer refers to them, it is evident that they were, to use the words of Dörner (*Entwicklungsgesch.*, i. 104, E. T. i. 72), 'not merely practically corrupt, but teachers of error as well.' Their opinions seem to have been of an antinomian character (vers. 4, 18, 19), but there is nothing to connect them, except in a very vague and distant way, with any of the later gnostic systems. The writer formally charges them with 'denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ,' language which De Wette admits usually applies to error of doctrine, but which here he, without any reason, would understand of feeling and conduct. The licentious courses in which they indulged led Clement of Alexandria to think that they were the prototypes of the Carpocratians and such like: 'Of these, and such as these,' he says, 'I think that Jude spoke prophetically in his epistle' (*Strom.* iii. p. 431, Sylb.); but this does not imply that they had formed a system like that of the Carpocratians, but only that the notions and usages of the one adumbrated those of the other. Perhaps there have been in all ages persons who have sought by perverted doctrine to gain a sanction for sensual indulgence; and such undoubtedly were found disturbing the peace and corrupting the purity of the churches of Christ in different places as early as the second half of the 1st century. The persons against whom Jude writes were apparently of this class; but in their immorality, the practical element was more prominent than the speculative.

4. *The Parties to whom the Epistle is addressed* are described by the writer as 'the called who are sanctified' in God the Father, and kept for Jesus

Christ.' Beyond this general intimation that they were Christians, however, nothing more is said to guide us to an acquaintance with them. From the resemblance of some parts of this epistle to the Second of Peter, it has been inferred that it was sent to the same parties in Asia Minor, and with a view of enforcing the apostle's admonitions; whilst others, from the strongly Jewish character of the writing, infer that it was addressed to some body of Jewish Christians in Palestine. But neither of these inferences rests on a strong basis; for one might as well conclude from the resemblances between this epistle and that of Peter, that they were *not* addressed to the same parties (which would seem to be superfluous), as that they were; and the Jewish colouring of the epistle may be due to the author, and have no relation to his readers. From the fact that the parties addressed seem to have been surrounded by a large and wicked population, some have supposed they may have dwelt in Corinth; while others suggest one of the commercial cities of Syria. But all this, as well as the supposition that they dwelt in Egypt, is mere conjecture.

5. *The time when and the place at which the epistle was written*, cannot be exactly determined. From the allusion, however, to the preaching of the apostles, we may infer that it was among the later productions of the apostolic age; for it was written whilst persons were still alive who had heard apostles preach, but when this preaching was beginning to become a thing of the past (ver. 17). 'It is not credible,' says Huther (in Meyer's *Krit.-Exeg. Commentar.*, 12th Abt., p. 188), 'that Judas would refer to the preaching of the apostles as already past, if these were still at the height of their apostolic working.' As the writer, in speaking of the divine judgments, makes no allusion to the destruction of Jerusalem, it has been inferred that this catastrophe had not occurred when he wrote; but on this much stress cannot be laid, because the destruction of Jerusalem was not traceable to the divine wrath against the particular class of sins which Jude seeks to expose, and therefore might be passed over by him as not a case exactly in point. Attempts have been made to prove a late date for the epistle, from an alleged quotation in it from the Apocryphal book of Enoch (ver. 13); but it is by no means certain that the passage is a quotation from the book of Enoch, and scholars have yet to settle when the book of Enoch was written; so that from this nothing can be inferred as to the date of this epistle. As to the place where it was written, there is not ground for even a plausible conjecture.

6. *Commentaries.*—Besides those of Jacques Le Fevre d'Estaples (Antw. 1540), Calvin, and Estius, may be mentioned those of Junius, Leyd. 1599; Perkins, Lond. 1606; Jenkyn, Lond. 1652, new edition by Sherman; Martin, Lips. 1694; Schmidt, Lips. 1768; Semler, 1784; Hase, Jena 1786; Carpov, Hal. 1790; Hartmann, Cöthen 1793; Haenlein, Erl. 1799, 1804; Laurmann, Groning. 1818; Stier, Ber. 1850; Rampf, Sulzb. 1854; and the expositions in the general works of De Wette, Meyer, Alford, and Lange.—W. L. A.

* The reading *ἡγαπημένους* for that of the T. R. *ἡγιασμένους*, has been adopted on diplomatic evi-

dence by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford; but the difficulty of giving any just meaning to the clause with this reading has led De Wette and others to reject it.

JUDGES. This name is applied to fifteen persons who at intervals presided over the affairs of the Israelites during the 450 years which elapsed from the death of Joshua to the accession of Saul. The term *Judges*, used in the English Bibles, does not exactly represent the original שופטים *shophetim*, i. e., 'rulers of the people,' from שפט, which is not synonymous with דן *judicare*, but signifies, in its general acceptation, *causam alicujus agere, tueri* (see Bertholdt, *Theolog. Litt. Blatt.*, vii. 1, sq.; comp. Gesenius, s. v. שפט). The station and office of these *shophetim* are involved in great obscurity, partly from the want of clear intimations in the history in which their exploits and government are recorded, and partly from the absence of parallels in the history of other nations, by which our notions might be assisted. In fact, the government of the judges forms the most singular part of the Hebrew institutions, and that which appears most difficult to comprehend. The kings, the priests, the generals, the heads of tribes—all these offer some points of comparison with the same functionaries in other nations; but the judges stand alone in the history of the world: and when we think that we have found officers resembling them in other nations, the comparison soon breaks down in some point of importance, and we still find that nothing remains but to collect and arrange the concise intimations of the sacred text, and draw our conclusions from the facts which it records.

The splendid administrations of Moses and of Joshua so fill the mind of the reader of Scripture, that after their death a sense of vacancy is experienced, and we wonder how it happens that no successor to them was appointed, and how the machinery of the government was to be carried on without some similar leaders. But when we come to examine the matter more closely, we perceive that the offices filled by Moses and Joshua, whose presence was so essential for the time and the occasion, were not at all involved in the general machinery of the Hebrew government. These persons formed no part of the system: they were specially appointed for particular services, for the performance of which they were invested with extraordinary powers; but when their mission was accomplished, society reverted to its permanent institutions and its established forms of government. It is, therefore, in the working of these institutions, after the functions of the legislator and the military leader had ceased, that we must look for the circumstances that gave rise to the extraordinary leaders which engage our present attention. Now we shall find that, apart from such offices as those of Moses and Joshua, a very excellent provision existed for the government of the chosen people, both as regarded the interests of the nation generally, as well as of the several tribes.

To this latter branch of the government it is important to draw particular attention, because, as it existed before the law, and is assumed throughout as the basis of the theocratical constitution, we hear but little of it in the books of Moses, and are apt to lose sight of it altogether. This part of the subject belongs, however, to the art. **TRIBE**; and it suffices to mention in this place that every tribe had its own hereditary chief or 'prince,' who presided over its affairs, administered justice in all ordinary cases, and led the troops in time of war.

His station resembled that of the Arabian emirs, or rather, perhaps, of the Khans of the Tartar tribes inhabiting Persia and the countries further east. He was assisted in these important duties by the subordinate officers, the chiefs of families, who formed his council in such matters of policy as affected their particular district, supported his decisions in civil or criminal inquiries, and commanded under him in the field of battle (Num. xxvi., xxvii.; Josh. vii. 16-18). This was, in fact, the old patriarchal government, to which the Hebrews were greatly attached. It seems to have been sufficient for all the purposes of the separate government of the tribes; but, as we find in similar cases, it was deficient in force of cohesion among the tribes, or in forming them into a compacted nation. In fact, it was an institution suited to the wants of men who live dispersed in loosely connected tribes, and not to the wants and exigencies of a nation. It was in principle segregative, not aggregative; and although there are traces of united agreement through a congress of delegates, or rather of national chiefs and elders of the tribes, this was an inefficient instrument of general government, seeing that it was only applicable or applied to great occasions, and could have no bearing on the numerous questions of an administrative nature which arise from day to day in every state, and which there should somewhere exist the power to arrange and determine. This defect of the general government it was one of the objects of the theocratical institutions to remedy.

Jehovah had taken upon himself the function of king of the chosen people, and he dwelt among them in his palace-tabernacle. Here he was always ready, through his priest, to counsel them in matters of general interest, as well as in those having reference only to particular tribes; and to his court they were all required by the law to repair three times every year. Here, then, was the principle of a general administration, calculated and designed to unite the tribes into a nation, by giving them a common government in all the higher and more general branches of administration, and a common centre of interest for all the political and ecclesiastical relations of the community.

It was on this footing that the law destined the government of the Hebrews to proceed, after the peculiar functions of the legislator and the conqueror had been fulfilled.

The fact is, however, that, through the perversity of the people, this settlement of the general government on theocratical principles was not carried out in its proper form and extent; and it is in this neglect we are to seek the necessity for those officers called Judges, who were from time to time raised up to correct some of the evils which resulted from it. It is very evident, from the whole history of the judges, that after the death of Joshua the Israelites threw themselves back upon the segregative principles of their government by tribes, and all but utterly neglected, and for long periods did utterly neglect, the rules and usages on which the general government was established. There was, in fact, no human power adequate to enforce them. They were good in themselves, they were gracious, they conferred high privileges; but they were enforced by no sufficient authority. No one was amenable to any tribunal for neglecting the annual feasts, or for not referring the direc-

tion of public affairs to the Divine King. Omissions on these points involved the absence of the divine protection and blessing, and were left to be punished by their consequences. The man who obeyed in this and other things, was blessed; the man who did not, was not blessed; and general obedience was rewarded with national blessing, and general disobedience with national punishment. The enormities and transgressions into which the people fell in consequence of such neglect, which left them an easy prey to idolatrous influences, are fully recorded in the book of Judges. The people could not grasp the idea of a Divine and Invisible King: they could not bring themselves to recur to him in all those cases in which the judgment of a human king would have determined the course of action, or in which his arm would have worked for their deliverance. Therefore it was that God allowed them judges, in the persons of faithful men, who acted for the most part as agents of the divine will, regents for the Invisible King; and who, holding their commission directly from him, or with his sanction, would be more inclined to act as dependent vassals of Jehovah than kings, who, as members of royal dynasties, would come to reign with notions of independent rights and royal privileges, which would draw away their attention from their true place in the theocracy. In this greater dependence of the judges upon the Divine King we see the secret of their institution. The Israelites were disposed to rest upon their separate interests as tribes; and having thus allowed the standing general government to remain inoperative through disuse, they would in cases of emergency have been disposed 'to make themselves a king like the nations,' had their attention not been directed to the appointment of officers whose authority could rest on no tangible *right* apart from character and services; which, with the temporary nature of their power, rendered their functions more accordant with the principles of the theocracy than those of any other public officers could be. And it is probably in this adaptation to the peculiar circumstances of the Hebrew theocracy that we shall discover the reason of our inability to find any similar office among other nations. In being thus peculiar it resembled the Dictatorship among the Romans; to which office indeed that of the judges has been compared; and perhaps this parallel is the nearest that can be found. But there is this great difference, that the dictator laid down his power as soon as the crisis which had called for its exercise had passed away, and in no case could this unwonted supremacy be retained beyond a limited time (I.iv. ix. 34); but the Hebrew judge remained invested with his high authority during the whole period of his life; and is therefore usually described by the sacred historian as presiding to the end of his days over the tribes of Israel, amid the peace and security which his military skill and counsels had, under the divine blessing, restored to the land.

Having thus traced the origin of the office to the circumstances of the times and the condition of the people, it only remains to inquire into the nature of the office itself, and the powers and privileges which were connected with it. This is by no means an easy task, as the nature of the record enables us to perceive better what they were not than what they were, what they could not than what they could accomplish.

It is usual to consider them as commencing their career with military exploits to deliver Israel from foreign oppression; but this is by no means invariably the case. Eli and Samuel were not military men; Deborah judged Israel before she planned the war against Jabin; and of Jair, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon, it is at least uncertain whether they ever held any military command. The command of the army can therefore be scarcely considered the distinguishing characteristic of these men, or military exploits the necessary introduction to the office. In many cases it is true that military achievements were the means by which they elevated themselves to the rank of judges; but in general the appointment may be said to have varied with the exigencies of the times, and with the particular circumstances which, in times of trouble, would draw the public attention to persons who appeared suited, by their gifts or influence, to advise in matters of general concernment, to decide in questions arising between tribe and tribe, to administer public affairs, and to appear as their recognised head in their intercourse with their neighbours and oppressors. As we find that many of these judges arose *during* times of oppression, it seems to us that this last circumstance, which has never been taken into account, must have had a remarkable influence in the appointment of the judge. Foreigners could not be expected to enter into the peculiarities of the Hebrew constitution, and would expect to receive the proposals, remonstrances, or complaints of the people through some person representing the whole nation, or that part of it to which their intercourse applied. The law provided no such officer except in the high-priest; but as the Hebrews themselves did not recognise the true operation of their theocracy, much less were strangers likely to do so. On the officer they appointed to represent the body of the people, under circumstances which compelled them to deal with foreigners mightier than themselves, would naturally devolve the command of the army in war, and the administration of justice in peace. This last was among ancient nations, as it is still in the East, regarded as the first and most important duty of a ruler, and the interference of the judges was probably confined to the cases arising between different tribes, for which the ordinary magistrates would find it difficult to secure due authority to their decisions.

In nearly all the instances recorded, the appointment seems to have been by the free unsolicited choice of the people. The election of Jephthah, who was nominated as the fittest man for the existing emergency, probably resembled that which was usually followed on such occasions; and probably, as in his case, the judge, in accepting the office, took care to make such stipulations as he deemed necessary. The only cases of direct divine appointment are those of Gideon and Samson, and the last stood in the peculiar position of having been from before his birth ordained 'to begin to deliver Israel.' Deborah was called to deliver Israel, but was already a judge. Samuel was called by the Lord to be a prophet, but not a judge, which ensued from the high gifts which the people recognised as dwelling in him; and as to Eli, the office of judge seems to have devolved naturally, or rather *ex officio*, upon him; and his case seems to be the only one in which the high-priest appears in the character which the theocratical institutions designed for him.

The following clear summary of their duties and privileges is from Jahn (*Biblisches Archæologie*, th. ii. bd. 1, sec. 22; Stowe's translation, ii. 86):— 'The office of judges or regents was held during life, but it was not hereditary, neither could they appoint their successors. Their authority was limited by the law alone; and in doubtful cases they were directed to consult the Divine King through the priest by Urim and Thummim (Num. xxvii. 21). They were not obliged in common cases to ask advice of the ordinary rulers; it was sufficient if these did not remonstrate against the measures of the judge. In important emergencies, however, they convoked a general assembly of the rulers, over which they presided and exerted a powerful influence. They could issue orders, but not enact laws; they could neither levy taxes nor appoint officers, except perhaps in the army. Their authority extended only over those tribes by whom they had been elected or acknowledged; for it is clear that several of the judges presided over separate tribes. There was no income attached to their office, nor was there any income appropriated to them, unless it might be a larger share in the spoils, and those presents which were made them as testimonials of respect (Judges viii. 24). They bore no external marks of dignity, and maintained no retinue of courtiers, though some of them were very opulent. They were not only simple in their manners, moderate in their desires, and free from avarice and ambition, but noble and magnanimous men, who felt that whatever they did for their country was above all reward, and could not be recompensed; who desired merely to promote the public good, and who chose rather to deserve well of their country than to be enriched by its wealth. This exalted patriotism, like everything else connected with politics in the theocratical state of the Hebrews, was partly of a religious character, and those regents always conducted themselves as the officers of God; in all their enterprises they relied upon Him, and their only care was, that their countrymen should acknowledge the authority of Jehovah, their invisible king (Judges viii. 22, *sq.*; comp. Heb. xi.) Still they were not without faults, neither are they so represented by their historians; they relate, on the contrary, with the utmost frankness, the great sins of which some of them were guilty. They were not merely deliverers of the state from a foreign yoke, but destroyers of idolatry, foes of pagan vices, promoters of the knowledge of God, of religion, and of morality; restorers of theocracy in the minds of the Hebrews, and powerful instruments of Divine Providence in the promotion of the great design of preserving the Hebrew constitution, and, by that means, of rescuing the true religion from destruction.'

The same writer, in the ensuing section, gives a clear view of the general condition of the Hebrews in the time of the judges. 'By comparing the periods during which the Hebrews were oppressed by their enemies, with those in which they were independent and governed by their own constitution, it is apparent that the nation in general experienced much more prosperity than adversity in the time of the judges. Their dominion continued four hundred and fifty years; but the whole time of foreign oppression amounts only to one hundred and eleven years, scarcely a fourth part of that period. Even during these one hundred and eleven years, the whole nation was seldom under the yoke

at the same time, but for the most part separate tribes only were held in servitude; nor were their oppressions always very severe; and all the calamities terminated in the advantage and glory of the people, so soon as they abolished idolatry and returned to their King, Jehovah. Neither was the nation in such a state of anarchy at this time as had been generally supposed. There were regular judicial tribunals at which justice could be obtained; and when there was no supreme regent, the public welfare was provided for by the ordinary rulers' (Ruth iv. 1-11; Judges viii. 22; x. 17, 18; xi. 1-11; 1 Sam. iv. 1; vii. 1-2).

'These times would certainly not be considered so turbulent and barbarous, much less would they be taken, contrary to the clearest evidence and to the analogy of all history, for a heroic age, if they were viewed without the prejudices of a preconceived hypothesis. It must never be forgotten that the book of Judges is by no means a complete history. This no impartial inquirer can ever deny. It is, in a manner, a mere register of diseases, from which, however, we have no right to conclude that there were no healthy men, much less that there were no healthy seasons; since the book itself, for the most part, mentions only a few tribes in which the epidemic prevailed, and notices long periods during which it had universally ceased. Whatever may be the result of more accurate investigation, it remains undeniable that the condition of the Hebrews during this period perfectly corresponds throughout to the sanctions of the law; and they were always prosperous when they complied with the conditions on which prosperity was promised them; it remains undeniable that the government of God was clearly manifested, not only to the Hebrews, but to their heathen neighbours; that the fulfilling of the promises and threatenings of the law were so many sensible proofs of the universal dominion of the Divine King of the Hebrews; and, consequently, that all the various fortunes of that nation were so many means of preserving the knowledge of God on the earth. The Hebrews had no sufficient reason to desire a change in their constitution; all required was, that they should observe the conditions on which national prosperity was promised them.'

The chronology of the period in which the judges ruled is beset with great and perhaps insuperable difficulties. There are intervals of time the extent of which is not specified; as, for instance, that from Joshua's death to the yoke of Cushan Rishathaim (ii. 8); that of the rule of Shamgar (iii. 31); that between Gideon's death and Abimelech's accession (viii. 31, 32); and that of Israel's renewal of idolatry previous to their oppression by the Ammonites (x. 6, 7). Sometimes round numbers seem to have been given, as forty years for the rule of Othniel, forty years for that of Gideon, and forty years also for the duration of the oppression by the Philistines. Twenty years are given for the subjection to Jabin, and twenty years for the government of Samson; yet the latter never completely conquered the Philistines, who, on the contrary, succeeded in capturing him. Some judges, who are commonly considered to have been successive, were in all probability contemporaneous, and ruled over different districts. Under these circumstances, it is impossible to fix the date of each particular event in the book of Judges; but attempts have been made to settle its general chronology,

of which we must in this place mention the most successful.

The whole period of the judges, from Joshua to Eli, is usually estimated at 299 years, in order to meet the 480 years which (1 Kings vi. 1) are said to have elapsed from the departure of the Israelites from Egypt to the foundation of the temple by Solomon. But St. Paul says (Acts xiii. 20), 'God gave unto the people of Israel judges about the space of 450 years until Samuel, the prophet.' Again, if the number of years specified by the author of our book, in stating facts, is summed up, we have 410 years, exclusive of those years not specified for certain intervals of time above mentioned. In order to reduce these 410 years and upwards to 299, events and reigns must, in computing their years of duration, either be entirely passed over, or, in a most arbitrary way, included in other periods preceding or subsequent. This has been done by Archbishop Usher, whose peculiarly faulty system has been adopted in the Authorized Version of the Scriptures. He excludes the repeated intervals during which the Hebrews were in subjection to their enemies, and reckons only the years of peace and rest which were assigned to the successive judges. For example, he passes over the eight years of servitude inflicted upon the Hebrews by Cushan-rishathaim, and, without any interruption, connects the peace obtained by the victories of Othniel with that which had been conferred on the land by the government of Joshua; and although the sacred historian relates in the plainest terms possible that the children of Israel served the king of Mesopotamia eight years, and were afterwards delivered by Othniel, who gave the land rest forty years, the archbishop maintains that the forty years now mentioned began, not after the successes of this judge, but immediately after the demise of Joshua. Nothing certainly can be more obvious than that in this case the years of tranquillity and the years of oppression ought to be reckoned separately. Again, we are informed by the sacred writer, that after the death of Ehud the children of Israel were under the oppression of Jabin king of Hazor for twenty years, and that afterwards, when their deliverance was effected by Deborah and Barak, the land had rest forty years. Nothing can be clearer than this; yet Usher's system leads him to include the twenty years of oppression in the forty of peace, making both but forty years. All this arises from the obligation which Usher unfortunately conceived himself under of following the scheme adopted by the Masoretic Jews, who, as Dr. Hales remarks, have by a curious invention included the four first servitudes in the years of the judges who put an end to them, contrary to the express declarations of Scripture, which represents the administrations of the judges, not as synchronising with the servitudes, but as succeeding them. The Rabbins were indeed forced to allow the fifth servitude to have been distinct from the administration of Jephthah, because it was too long to be included in that administration; but they deducted a year from the Scripture account of the servitude, making it only six instead of seven years. They sank entirely the sixth servitude of forty years under the Philistines, because it was too long to be contained in Samson's administration; and, to crown all, they reduced Saul's reign of forty years to two years only.

The necessity for all these tortuous operations

has arisen from a desire to produce a conformity with the date in 1 Kings vi. 1, which, as already cited, gives a period of only 480 years from the exode to the foundation of Solomon's temple. As this date is incompatible with the sum of the different numbers given in the book of Judges, and as it differs from the computation of Josephus and of all the ancient writers on the subject, whether Jewish or Christian, it is not unsatisfactory to find grounds which leave this text open to much doubt and suspicion. We cannot here enter into any lengthened proof; but that the text did not exist in the Hebrew and Greek copies of the Scripture till nearly three centuries after Christ, is evident from the absence of all reference to it in the works of the learned men who composed histories of the Jews from the materials supplied to them in the sacred books. This may be shewn by reference to various authors, who, if the number specified in it had existed, could not fail to have adduced it. In particular, it is certain that it did not exist in the Hebrew or Greek Bibles in the days of Josephus; for he alludes to the verse in which it is contained without making the slightest observation in regard to it, although the period which he, *at the same time*, states as having elapsed between the exode and the foundation of the temple, is directly at variance with it to the extent of not less than 112 years (*Antiq.* viii. 3). If the number '480 years' had then existed in the text, he could not, while referring to the passage where it is now inserted, have dared to state a number so very different. Then we have the testimony of St. Paul (Acts xiii. 20), who makes the rule of 'the judges until Samuel' extend over 450 years, which, with the addition of ascertained numbers, raises the amount for the whole period to 592 years. This evidence seems so conclusive that it is scarcely necessary to add any other; but it may be mentioned that Origen, in his *Commentary on St. John*, cites 1 Kings vi. 1, and even mentions the year of Solomon's reign, and the month in which he began to build the temple, without the slightest notice of the number of years (as now stated in the text) which intervened between that event and the exode. It has consequently been inferred, with good reason, that in A.D. 230, when Origen wrote, the interpolation of the date in question had not yet taken place. Eusebius, however, in his *Chronicon*, written about A.D. 325, does use the date as the basis of a chronological hypothesis; whence it is inferred that the date was inserted about the beginning of the 4th century, and probably under the direction of the Masoretic doctors of Tiberias. It is also to be remarked that Eusebius, in the *Præp. Evangelica*, a work written some years after the *Chronicon*, and in all his other works, uses the more common and ancient system of dates.

It may also be remarked that even the ancient versions, as they at present exist, do not agree in the number. The present copies of the Septuagint, for instance, have 440, not 480 years; on which and other grounds some scholars, who have hesitated to regard the text as an interpolation, have deemed themselves authorized to alter it to 592 years instead of 480, producing in this way the same result which would be obtained if the text had no existence. This, it has been already remarked, is the number given by Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 3. 1), and is in agreement with the statement of St. Paul. The computation of the Jews in

China has also been produced in support of it (see Isaac Voss, *Dissert. de LXX. Interp. eorumque translatione et chronologia*, Hagæ Comit. 1664. 4; Michaelis, *Orientalische Bibliothek*, v. 81). There would then be for the period from Moses's death to Saul's accession 468 years, and the whole period of the judges from the death of Joshua to that of Samuel might be estimated at 450 years, agreeably to Acts xiii. 20. If we add to these 450 years forty years for the march in the desert, eighty-four years for the reign of Saul, David, and Solomon, until the foundation of the temple, the amount would be 574 years. For the time when Joshua acted as an independent chieftain, eighteen years may be counted, which added to 574 would make up the above number of 592 years (comp. Michaelis, *Orientalische Bibliothek*, v. 228, whose arrangement of years differs in some points from the above). It must, however, be observed that the number of 450 years represents only the sum total of all chronologically specified facts of our book down to the death of Eli, and does not include the

intervals of time of which the years are not given. The statement of Josephus above referred to rests only on his own individual computation, and is contrary to another statement of the same author (*Antiq. xx. 10; Cont. Apion.*, ii. 2).

One of the latest attempts towards settling the chronology of the Judges is that of Dr. Keil, in his work *Dörptsche Beiträge zu den Theologischen Wissenschaften*, or, 'Contributions towards the furtherance of the theological sciences,' by professors of the university of Dorpat. He supports the number of 480 years in 1 Kings vi. 1, and from the invasion of Cushan-rishathaim to Jair (Judg. iii. x.) retains the chronological statements of our book for events which he considers successive. But the period of the domination of the Philistines over the (western) Israelites until the death of Saul, a space of seventy-nine years, he considers contemporaneous with the time of oppression and deliverance of the eastern and northern tribes, for which (Judg. x. 12) are reckoned forty years. He next estimates the period from the distribution of

	Hales.		Jackson.		Russell.	Josephus.	Theophilus.	Eusebius.	Usher.	
	Yrs.	B.C.	Years.	B.C.	Years.	Years.	Yrs.	Years.	Years.	B.C.
Exode to death of Moses.	40	1648	40	1593	40	40	40	40	40	1491
Joshua (and the)	26	1608	...	...	25	25	27	27	...	1451
Elders	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
First Division of Lands	...	1602	27	1553	...	...	...	...	6 4 m	1444
Second Division of Lands	...	1596	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Anarchy or Interregnum.	10	1582	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
I. Servitude, Mesopotam.	8	1572	8	1526	8	18	8	8	...	1413
1. Othniel	40	1564	40	1518	40	40	40	40	40	1405
II. Servitude, Moabit.	18	1524	18	1478	...	...	18	18	...	1343
2. Ehud (and)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3. Shamgar	80	1506	80	1460	80	80	80	80	80	1323
III. Servitude, Canaanit.	20	1426	20	1380	20	20	20	20	...	1285
4. Deborah and Barak	40	1406	40	1360	40	40	40	40	40	1265
IV. Servitude, Midian.	7	1368	7	1320	7	7	7	7	...	1252
5. Gideon	40	1359	40	1313	40	40	40	40	40	1245
6. Abimelech.	3	1319	3	1273	3	3	3	3	9 2 m	1236
7. Tola	23	1316	22	1270	22	22	22	23	48	1232
8. Jair	22	1293	22	1248	22	22	22	22	...	1210
V. Servitude, Ammon.	18	1271	18	1226	18	18	18	18	6	1206
9. Jephthah	6	1253	6	1208	6	6	6	6	...	1188
10. Ibzan	7	1247	7	1202	7	7	7	7	...	1182
11. Elon	10	1240	10	1195	10	10	10	10	25	1175
12. Abdon	8	1230	8	1185	8	10	8	8	...	1165
VI. Servitude, Philist.	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13. Samson	40	1222	40	1177	40	40	40	40	40	...
Interregnum	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14. Eli	30	1182	20*	1137	20†	40	20	40	...	1157
Samuel called as a prophet	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
VII. Servitude or Anarchy	20	1142	20	1117	20‡	...	...	...	...	...
15. Samuel	12	1122	20	1097	12	12	...	...	21	1116
Samuel and Saul	18	...	...	...	...	18	...	...	...	...
Saul	22	1110	20	1077	...	2	20	40	40	1095
David	40	1070	40	1057	40	40	40	40	43	1055
Solomon to Found. of the Temple	3	1030	3	1017	3	3	3	3	...	1014
Exode to Found. of Temple	621	1027	579	1014	591‡	592	612	600	478‡	1012

* Samson and Eli are supposed to have been judges simultaneously during 20 years of this period.

† Besides the 20 years under the sixth servitude.

the land under Joshua to the invasion by the king of Mesopotamia at ten years, and the period from the time when the Philistines were conquered until the death of Saul at thirty-nine years, thus making up the above number of 480 years. In this attempt at settling the chronology of the book of Judges Dr. Keil evinces great ingenuity and learning; but it appears that his computations rest on historical and chronological assumptions which can never be fully established. In order satisfactorily to settle the chronology we lack sufficient data, and the task has therefore been abandoned by the ablest modern critics, as Eichhorn, De Wette, and others. Nothing beyond general views is attainable on this subject.

Having explained this matter, it only remains to arrange the different systems of the chronology of this period so as to exhibit them in one view to the eye of the reader. It has been deemed right, for the better apprehension of the differences, to make the table embrace the whole period from the exode to the building of Solomon's temple. The headings are taken from Hales, simply because, from being the most copious, they afford a framework within which all the explanations may be inserted.

The authorities for this table are: Joseph. *Antiq.* v. 1.-10; Theophilus, Bp. of Antioch, A.D. 330, *Epist. ad Autolyicum*, iii.; Eusebius, A.D. 330, *Præparatio Evangelica*, x. 14; Usher, 1650, *Chronologia Sacra*, p. 71; Jackson, 1752, *Chronological Antiquities*, p. 145; Hales, 1811, *Analysis of Chronology*, i. 101; Russell, 1827, *Connection of Sacred and Profane History*, i. 147. In the last work the full tables, with others, are given; and we have here combined them for the sake of comparison. Other authorities on the subject of this article are: Herzfeld, *Chronologia Judicum*, Berol. 1836; Moldenhauer, *Gedanken über die Zeitrechnung im Buch der Richter*, p. 15, sq.; Dittmar, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, p. 91; Hug, in the *Freiburger Zeitschrift*, i. p. 129, sq.; Carpov, *Introduct. V. T.*, i. 169; Simon, *Hist. Crit. du V. Test.*; Jahn, *Bibl. Archæolog.* ii. 1. 85; De Wette, *Lehrbuch*, p. 30. [CHRONOLOGY.]—J. K.

JUDGES, BOOK OF, the third in the list of the historical compositions of the O. T. It consists of two divisions, the first comprising chaps. i.-xvii.; the second, being an appendix, chaps. xvii.-xxi.

1. *Plan of the Book.*—That the author, in composing this work, had a certain design in view, is evident from ch. ii. 11-23, where he states the leading features of his narrative. † He introduces it by relating (ch. i.) the extent to which the wars against the Canaanites were continued after the death of Joshua, and what tribes had spared them in consideration of a tribute imposed; also by alluding (ch. ii. 1-10) to the benefits which Jehovah had conferred on them, and the distinguished protection with which he had honoured them. † Next he states his leading object, namely, to prove that the calamities to which the Hebrews had been exposed since the death of Joshua were owing to their apostasy from Jehovah, and to their idolatry. † 'They forsook the Lord, and served Baal and Ashtaroth' (ch. ii. 13); for which crimes they were deservedly punished and greatly distressed (ch. ii. 15). Nevertheless, when they repented and obeyed again the commandments of the Lord, he delivered them out of the hand of their enemies by the Sho-

phetim whom he raised up, and made them prosper (ch. ii. 16-23). To illustrate this theme, the author collected several fragments of the Hebrew history during the period between Joshua and Eli. Some episodes occur; but in arguing his subject he never loses sight of his leading theme, to which, on the contrary, he frequently recurs while stating facts, and shows how it applied to them; the moral evidently being, that the only way to happiness was to shun idolatry and obey the commandments of the Lord. The design of the author was not to give a connected and complete history of the Hebrews in the period between Joshua and the kings; for if he had intended a plan of that kind, he would also have described the state of the domestic affairs and of the government in the several tribes, the relation in which they stood to each other, and the extent of power exercised by a judge; he would have further stated the number of tribes over whom a judge ruled, and the number of years during which the tribes were not oppressed by their heathen neighbours, but enjoyed rest and peace. The appendix, containing two narratives, further illustrates the lawlessness and anarchy prevailing in Israel after Joshua's death. In the first narrative (chaps. xvii.-xviii.), a rather wealthy man, Micah, dwelling in Mount Ephraim, is introduced. He had a 'house of gods,' and molten and graven images in it, which he worshipped. After having, at an annual salary, engaged an itinerant Levite to act as his priest and to settle in his family, the Danites, not having as yet an inheritance to dwell in, turn in thither, seize the images, and take the priest along with them. They then establish idolatry at Leshem, or Laish, in Cœle-Syria, which they conquered, smiting the quiet and secure inhabitants with the edge of the sword. † The second narrative (chaps. xix.-xxi.) first gives an account of the brutal and criminal outrage committed by the Benjamites of Gibeah against the family of a Levite dwelling, in the age immediately subsequent to Joshua's death, on the side of Mount Ephraim; and next relates its consequence, a bloody civil war, in which all the tribes joined against the tribe of Benjamin and nearly destroyed it. The appendix then does not continue the history of the first sixteen chapters, and may have an author different from him who composed the first division of the book, to which inquiry we now turn.

2. *Author.*—If the first and second divisions had been by the same author, the chronological indications would also have been the same. Now the author of the second division always describes the period of which he speaks thus: 'In those days there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes' (ch. xvii. 6; xviii. 1; xix. 1; xxi. 25); but this expression never once occurs in the first division. If one author had composed both divisions, instead of this chronological formula, we should rather have expected, 'In the days of the Shophetim,' 'At a time when there was no Shophet,' etc., which would be consonant with the tenor of the first sixteen chapters. The style also in the two divisions is different, and it will be shewn that the appendix was written much later than the first part. All modern critics, then, agree in this, that the author of the first sixteen chapters of our book is different from him who composed the appendix (see L. Bertholdt, *Historisch-Kritische Einleitung in die sämtlichen Schriften des A. und N. T.*, p. 876; Eichhorn's

Einleitung in das A. T., iii. sec. 457). The authorship of the first sixteen chapters has been assigned to Joshua, Samuel, and Ezra. That they were not written by Joshua appears from the difference of the method of relating subjects, as well as from the difference of the style. In the book of Joshua there is a continual reference to the law of Moses, which is much less frequent in the book of Judges; and in Joshua, again, there are no such inferences from history as are common in Judges (ch. iii. 1, 4; viii. 27; ix. 56). The style of the book of Joshua is neater than that of Judges; the narration is more clear, and the arrangement is better (comp. ch. i. 10, 11, 20, with Josh. xiv. 6-15, and xv. 13-19; also ch. ii. 7-10, with Josh. xxiv. 29-31). That the book of Judges was composed by Samuel is an invention of the Talmudists, unsupported by any evidence; nor will the opinion that it was written by Ezra be entertained by any who attentively peruses the original. For it has a phraseology of its own, and certain favourite ideas, to which it constantly reverts, but of which there is not a trace in Ezra. If Ezra had intended to continue the history of the Hebrews from Joshua down to Eli in a separate work, he would not have given a selection of incidents to prove a particular theme, but a complete history. The orthography of the book of Ezra, with many phases characteristic of his age, do not appear in the book of Judges. The prefix *ו* occurs, indeed (ch. v. 7; vi. 17; vii. 12; viii. 26); but this cannot be referred to in proof that the language is of the time of Ezra, for it belonged to the dialect of North Palestine, as Ewald and others have proved. *ו*, instead of *אשר*, is found also in Deut. xxiii. 3. Forms like *עממים*, ver. 14, and *יבב*, ver. 28, *סדן*, ver. 10, *תנה*, ver. 11, resemble Chaldaisms, but may be accounted for by the poetical style of the song of Deborah. The forms *אח* (ch. xvii. 2),

and *פלנש* (ch. xix. 1), belonging to a late age of the Hebrew language, may be considered as changes introduced by copyists (see Ottmar, in *Heike's Magazin*, vol. iv.; W. M. L. de Wette, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in die Bibel*, Berlin 1833-39, 2 vols. 8vo).

But though we cannot determine the authorship of the book of Judges, still its age may be determined from internal evidence. The first sixteen chapters must have been written under Saul, whom the Israelites made their king in the hope of improving their condition. Phrases used in the period of the Judges may be traced in them, and the author must consequently have lived near the time when they were yet current. He says that in his time 'the Jebusites dwelt with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem' (ch. i. 21); now this was the case only before David, who conquered the town and drove out the Jebusites. Consequently, the author of the first division of the book of Judges must have lived and written before David, and under king Saul. If he had lived under David, he would have mentioned the capture of Jerusalem by that monarch, as the nature of his subject did not allow him to pass it over in silence. The omission, moreover, of the history, not only of Samuel but also of Eli, indicates an author who, living in an age very near that of Eli, considered his history as generally known, because so recent. The exact time when the appendix was added to the book of Judges cannot indeed be de-

termined, but its author certainly lived in an age much later than that of the recorded events. In his time the period of the events which he relates had been long forgotten: which may be inferred from the frequent chronological formula, 'in those days there was no king in Israel' (ch. xvii. 6); and certain particulars of his narrative could no longer be ascertained, which caused him to omit the name of the Levite whose history is given in ch. xix. In his time also the house of God was no longer in Shiloh (ch. xviii. 31); and it will be recollected that it was David who brought the ark to Jerusalem. The author knew also that the posterity of Jonathan were priests of the graven image in Dan, or Laish, 'until the day of the captivity of the land,' *על יום גלות הארץ* (ch. xviii. 30). This latter circumstance proves, as already observed by Le Clerc and others, that the appendix was not published until after the Babylonian captivity, or at least until after that of Israel by Shalmaneser and Esar-haddon. It cannot be understood of the domination of the Philistines over the Israelites, which would very improperly be called *גלות הארץ*, this expression always implying the deportation of the inhabitants of a country. The circumstance that the author in mentioning Shiloh, adds, 'which is in the land of Canaan' (ch. xxi. 12), and that the topographical description of the site of Shiloh is given (ch. xxi. 19), has led some interpreters to assert that the author of the appendix must have been a foreigner, as to an Israelite such remarks would have appeared trivial (see *Briefe einiger Holländischen Gottesgelehrten über R. Simon's kritische Geschichte des A. T.*, edited by Le Clerc at Zurich, p. 490). The inference is certainly specious, but to judge of it duly we must look at the context. The first passage runs thus: 'And they found among the inhabitants of *Jabesh-gilead* four hundred young virgins that had known no man, and they brought them unto the camp to *Shiloh*, which is in the land of Canaan.' The second passage is: 'There is a feast of the Lord in Shiloh yearly, in a place which is on the north side of Bethel, on the east side of the highway that goes up from Bethel to Shechem, and on the south of Lebonah.' It appears that in the first passage Shiloh is opposed to Jabesh in Gilead, a town without the land of Canaan, and that this led the author to add to Shiloh that it was in Canaan. The second passage describes not the site of Shiloh, but of a place in its neighbourhood, where an annual feast was celebrated, when the daughters of Shiloh came out to dance, to sing, and to play on instruments of music. The author thus enabled his readers, and all those who had never been at Shiloh, to form a distinct idea of the festival, and to find its scene without the employment of a guide; his topographical observation was calculated to raise the interest of his narrative, and was consequently very proper and judicious. It cannot, therefore, authorize us to infer that he was a foreigner.

3. *Character of the Book.*—Parts of the work are undoubtedly taken from ancient records and genealogies, others from traditions and oral information. From ancient authentic documents are probably copied the song of Deborah (ch. v.), the beautiful parable of Jotham (ch. ix. 8-15), and the beginning of Samson's epic, or triumphal poem (ch. xv. 16). In their genealogies the

Hebrews usually inserted also some historical accounts, and from this source may have been derived the narrative of the circumstances that preceded the conception of Samson, which were given as the parents related them to others (ch. xiii.). These genealogies were sometimes further illustrated by tradition, and several incidents in the history of Samson appear to have been derived from this kind of information. But on many points tradition offered nothing, or the author rejected its information as not genuine, and unworthy of belief. Thus it is that of Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon, the author gives only the number of years that they governed and the number of their children, but relates none of their transactions (ch. x. 1-5; xii. 8, 9, 11, 13). In some instances the very words of the ancient documents which the author used seem to have been preserved; and this proves the care with which he composed. Thus in the first division of our book, but nowhere else, rich and powerful men are described as men riding on ass-colts רִכְבִּים עַל עֲצִירִים (ch. x. 4; xii. 14, etc.) It is remark-

able that this phrase occurs also in the song of Deborah, which is supposed to have been written out in her time (ch. v. 9, 10): 'My heart is towards the governors of Israel, that offered themselves willingly among the people. Speak ye that ride on white asses, ye that sit in judgment.' In the appendix also of this book, but nowhere else, a priest has the honorary title of father given him (ch. xvii. 10; xviii. 19). But though the author sometimes retained the words of his sources, still the whole of the composition is written in a particular style, distinguishing it from all other books of the O. T. The idea of the Israelites being overcome by their enemies, he expresses often in this way: 'The anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he sold them into the hands of their enemies,' יָחַר אֵי יְהוָה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּמְכְּרֵם בְּיַד אוֹיְבֵיהֶם (ch. ii. 14; iii. 8; iv. 2; x. 7). A courageous and valiant warrior is described as a person upon whom rests the spirit of Jehovah, רָחַץ יְהוָה אֶת זְרַעוֹ or as a person whom the spirit of Jehovah clothed, רָחַץ יְהוָה לְבָשָׁה אֶת זְרַעוֹ (ch. vi. 34; xi. 29; xiv. 6, 19; xv. 14, etc.)

4. *Authority of the Book.*—It was published at a time when the events related were generally known, and when the veracity of the author could be ascertained by a reference to the original documents. Several of its narratives are confirmed by the books of Samuel (comp. Judg. iv. 2; vi. 14; xi., with 1 Sam. xii. 9-12; Judg. ix. 53 with 2 Sam. xi. 21). The Psalms not only allude to the book of Judges (comp. Ps. lxxxiii. 11 with Judg. vii. 25), but copy from it entire verses (comp. Ps. lxxviii. 8, 9; xcvi. 5 with Judg. v. 4, 5). Philo and Josephus knew the book, and made use of it in their own compositions. The N. T. alludes to it in several places (comp. Matt. ii. 13-23 with Judg. xiii. 5; xvi. 17; Acts xiii. 20; Heb. xi. 32). This external evidence in support of the authority of the book of Judges is corroborated by many internal proofs of its authenticity. All its narratives are in character with the age to which they belong, and agree with the natural order of things. We find here that shortly after the death

of Joshua the Hebrew nation had, by several victories, gained courage and become valorous (ch. i. and xix.); but that it afterwards turned to agriculture, preferred a quiet life, and allowed the Canaanites to reside in its territory in consideration of a tribute imposed on them, when the original plan was that they should be expelled. This changed their character entirely; they became effeminate and indolent—a result which we find in the case of all nations who, from a nomadic and warlike life, turn to agriculture. The intercourse with their heathen neighbours frequently led the uncultivated Hebrews to idolatry; and this, again, further prepared them for servitude. They were consequently overpowered and oppressed by their heathen neighbours. The first subjugation, indeed, by a king of Mesopotamia, they endured but eight years; but the second, more severe, by Eglon, lasted longer: it was the natural consequence of the public spirit having gradually more and more declined, and of Eglon having removed his residence to Jericho with a view of closely watching all their movements (Joseph. *Antiq.* v. 4). When Ehud sounded the trumpet of revolt, the whole nation no longer rose in arms, but only the inhabitants of Mount Ephraim (ch. iii. 27); and when Barak called to arms against Sisera, many tribes remained quietly with their herds (ch. v. 14, 15, 26, 28). Of the 32,000 men who offered to follow Gideon, he could make use of no more than 300, this small number only being, as it would seem, filled with true patriotism and courage. Thus the people had sunk gradually, and deserved for forty years to bear the yoke of the Philistines, to whom they had the meanness to deliver Samson, who, however, loosed the cords with which he was tied, and killed a large number of them (ch. xv.) It is impossible to consider such an historical work, which perfectly agrees with the natural course of things, as a fiction: at that early period of authorship, no writer could have, from fancy, depicted the character of the Hebrews so conformably with nature and established facts. All in this book breathes the spirit of the ancient world. Martial law we find in it, as could not but be expected, hard and wild. The conquered people are subjected to rough treatment, as is the case in the wars of all uncivilized people; the inhabitants of cities are destroyed wholesale (ch. viii. 16, 17; xx.). Hospitality and the protection of strangers received as guests is considered the highest virtue: a father will rather resign his daughter than allow violence to be done to a stranger who stops in his house for the night (ch. xix.; comp. Gen. xix.).

In the state of oppression in which the Hebrews often found themselves during the period from Joshua to Eli, it was to be expected that men, filled with heroism, should now and then rise up and call the people to arms in order to deliver them from their enemies. Such valiant men are introduced by our author, and he extols them indeed, highly; but, on the other hand, he is not silent respecting their faults, as may be seen in the instances of Ehud, whom he reports to have murdered a king to recover liberty for his country (ch. iii. 16, *sq.*); of Gideon, who is recorded to have punished the inhabitants of Succoth and Peniel cruelly, for having refused bread to his weary troops (ch. viii. 16, 17); and of Jephthah, who vows a vow that if he should return home as a conqueror of the Ammonites, he would offer as

a burnt-offering whatever should first come out of the door of his house to meet him: in consequence of this inconsiderate vow, his only daughter is sacrificed by a savage father, who thus becomes a gross offender against the Mosaic law, which expressly forbids human immolations (ch. xi. 34). This cannot be a fiction; it is no paenegyric on Israel to describe them in the manner the author has done. And this frank, impartial tone pervades the whole work. It begins with displaying the Israelites as a refractory and obstinate people, and the appendix ends with the statement of a crime committed by the Benjamites, which had the most disastrous consequences. At the same time due praise is bestowed on acts of generosity and justice, and valiant feats are carefully recorded.

But are not the exploits of its heroes exaggerated in our book, like those of Sesostrius, Semiramis, and Hercules? Their deeds are, no doubt, often splendid; but they do not surpass belief, provided we do not add to the narrative anything which the original text does not sanction, nor give to particular words and phrases a meaning which does not belong to them. Thus, when we read that 'Shamgar slew of the Philistines 600 men' (ch. iii. 31), it would have been more correct if the Hebrew שָׁמְגָר had been rendered by 'put to flight'; and it should be further recollected, that Shamgar is not stated to have been alone and unassisted in repelling the enemy: he did it, no doubt, supported by those brave men whose leader he was. It frequently happens that to the leader is attributed what has been performed by his followers. We find (1 Sam. xiii. 3) that Jonathan repulsed the Philistines, and no one doubts that it was done by the 1000 men mentioned in the beginning of the chapter. We read also (1 Sam. xviii. 7) that 'Saul has slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands,' but of course with the assistance of troops; and many more passages of the O. T. are to be interpreted on the same principle, as 1 Sam. xviii. 27; 2 Sam. viii. 2. Nor can it offend when, in the passage quoted above, it is said that Shamgar repulsed the Philistines with an ox-goad; for this was exactly the weapon which an uncultivated Oriental warrior, who had been brought up to husbandry, would choose in preference to other instruments of offence. From the description which travellers give of it, it appears to have been well suited to such a purpose [AGRICULTURE]. It is, however, chiefly the prodigious strength of Samson which to very many readers seems exaggerated, and surpassing all belief. He is, *e. g.*, reported to have, unarmed, slain a lion (ch. xiv. 5, 6); to have caught 300 jackals

(שָׁחַלִּים), bound their tails to one another, put a firebrand between two tails, and let them go into the standing corn of the Philistines, which was thus burnt up (ch. xv. 4, 5, 8); to have broken, with perfect ease, the new cords with which his arms were bound, etc. (ch. xv. 14; xvi. 7-9, 11). Now, there is in these and other recorded feats of Samson nothing which ought to create difficulty, for history affords many instances of men of extraordinary strength, of whom Goliath among the Philistines is not the least remarkable; and for others we refer to T. Ludolf, *Historia Æthiopiae*, i. 10; to the *Acta Dei per Francos*, i. 75, 314; and to Schillinger, *Missionsbericht*, iv. 79. Lions were also slain by other persons unassisted, as by

David (1 Sam. xvii. 36) and Benaiah (2 Sam. xxiii. 20). The explanation of Samson's other great exploits will be found under his name [SAMSON]. It will be easy to show that, when properly understood, they do not necessarily exceed the limits of human power. Extraordinary indeed they were; but they are not alleged by the Scripture itself to have been supernatural. Those, however, who do hold them to have been supernatural cannot reasonably take exception to them on the ground of their extraordinary character. A cautious reader may, perhaps, resolve on abstaining entirely from giving his views of Samson's feats; but, at all events, he will not presume to say that they exceed human power, and are fabulous. He may say that they do not necessarily exceed human power, and are therefore neither supernatural on the one hand, nor fabulous on the other; or if he believes them above human power, he must admit that they are supernatural, and will have no right to conclude that they are fabulous. Considering the very remote period at which our book was written—considering also the manner of viewing and describing events and persons which prevailed with the ancient Hebrews, and which very much differs from that of our age—taking, moreover, into account the brevity of the narratives, which consist of historical fragments, we may well wonder that there do not occur in it more difficulties, and that not more doubts have been raised as to its historical authority (see Herder, *Geist der Hebräischen Poesie*, ii. 250, 59; Eichhorn, *Repertorium der Biblischen und Morgenländischen Literatur*, vii. 78).—J. v. H.

[*Commentaries*.—Bucer, 1554; P. Martyr, 1567; Strigel, 1586; Chytraeus, 1589; Serrarius, 1609; Osiander, 1682; Schmidt, 1684, 3d ed. 1706; Le Clerc, 1708; Rosenmüller, 1835; Studer, 1835, 2d ed. 1842; Bush, 1838, Lond. 1840; Bertheau, 1845. Selections from the Rabbinical commentary of Tanchum have been published by Schnurrer, Tüb. 1791, and Haarbrücker, Hal. 1842. For notes on Deborah's Song (v. 1-31), see Schnurrer, *Dissert.*, Tüb. 1775; reprinted in his *Dissert. Phil.*, Gotha 1790; Köhler in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, vi. p. 163; Holmann, *Com. in Car. Deb.*, Lips. 1818; Kalkar, *De Cant. Deb.*, Alt. 1833; Lowth, *Prælect. xiii.*, xxviii., *et. al.*; Herder, *Geist der Heb. Poes.*, Th. 2; Robinson in the *Bibl. Repertory*, No. iii., etc.]

JUDGMENT-HALL. ΠΡΑΤΩΡΙΟΝ occurs Matt. xxvii. 27; Mark xv. 16; John xviii. 28, 33; xix. 9; Acts xxiii. 35; Phil. i. 13; in all which places the Vulgate has *prætorium*. The English version, however, uses *prætorium* but once only, and then unavoidably, Mark xv. 16, 'The hall called Prætorium.' In all the other instances it gives an explanation of the word rather than a translation: thus, Matt. xxvii. 27, 'the common hall;' margin, 'or governor's house;' John xviii. 28, 33, 'the judgment-hall;' margin, 'or Pilate's house;' Philip. i. 13, 'the palace;' margin, 'or Cæsar's court.' The object of the translators, probably, was to make their version intelligible to the mere English reader, and to exhibit the various senses in which they considered the word to be used in the several passages. It is plainly one of the many Latin words to be found in the N. T. [LATINISMS], being the word *prætorium* in a Greek dress, a derivative from *prætor*; which latter, from *præto*, 'to go before,' was originally applied by the

Romans to a military officer—the general. But because the Romans subdued many countries and reduced them to provinces, and governed them afterwards, at first by the generals who had subdued them, or by some other military commanders, the word *prætor* came ultimately to be used for any civil governor of a province, whether he had been engaged in war or not; and who acted in the capacity of Chief Justice, having a council associated with him (Acts xxv. 12). Accordingly the word *prætorium*, also, which originally signified the general's tent in a camp, came at length to be applied to the residence of the civil governor in provinces and cities (Cic. *Verr.* ii. v. 12); and being properly an adjective, as is also its Greek representative, it was used to signify *whatever* appertained to the prætor or governor; for instance, his residence, either the whole or any part of it, as his dwelling-house, or the place where he administered justice, or even the large enclosed court at the entrance to the prætorian residence (Bynæus, *De Morte Jes. Christ.*, ii. 407, Amst. 1696).

These observations serve to elucidate the several uses of the word in the N. T., which have, however, much exercised the ingenuity and research of many eminent scholars, as may be seen upon referring to Pitisci, *Lex. Antig. Roman.*, s. v. 'Prætorium.' Upon comparing the instances in which the evangelists mention the prætorium, it will be seen, first, that it was the residence of Pilate; for that which John relates in ch. xviii. 28, 'Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas into the prætorium,' etc., is most certainly the same incident which Luke relates in ch. xxiii. 1, 'And the whole multitude arose and led him to Pilate,' etc. A collation of the subsequent verses in each passage will place this point beyond doubt. Nonnus says, that leaving the house of Caiaphas, they took Jesus *εἰς δῶμον ἡγεμόνος*, 'to the governor's house.' This residence of Pilate seems to have been the magnificent palace built by Herod, situated in the north part of the upper city, west of the temple (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 9. 3), and overlooking the temple (xx. 8. 11). The reasons for this opinion are, that the Roman procurators, whose ordinary residence was at Cæsarea (Acts xxiii. 23, etc.; xxv. 1, etc.), took up their residence in this palace when they visited Jerusalem, their tribunal being erected in the open court or area before it. Thus Josephus states that Florus took up his quarters at the palace (*ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνέστηται*); and on the next day he had his tribunal set up before it, and sat upon it (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 14. 8). Philo expressly says that the palace, which had hitherto been Herod's, was now called *τῆς οἰκίας τῶν ἐκτελεστών*, 'the house of the prætors' (*Legat. ad Caium*, p. 1033, ed. Franc.) Secondly, the word is applied in the N. T., by synecdoche, to a particular part of the prætorian residence. Thus, Matt. xxvii. 27, and Mark xv. 16, 'And the soldiers led Jesus away into the hall called Prætorium, and gathered unto them the whole band, and they clothed him with purple,' etc.; where the word rather refers to the court or area in front of the prætorium, or some other court where the procurator's guards were stationed. In John xix. 9, the word seems applied, when all the circumstances are considered, to Pilate's private examination room. In like manner, when Felix 'commanded Paul to be kept in Herod's prætorium' (Acts xxiii. 35), the words apply not only to the whole palace originally built at Cæsarea by Herod, and now most likely

inhabited by the prætor, but also to the *keep* or *donjon*, a prison for confining offenders, such as existed in our ancient royal palaces, and grand baronial castles. Thirdly, in the remaining instance of the word, Phil. 13, 'So that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the prætorium,' 'palace,' it is, in the opinion of the best commentators, used by hypallage to signify the *prætorian camp* at Rome, a select body of troops constituted by Augustus to guard his person and to have charge of the city, the 'cohortes prætorianæ' (Suet. *Tib.* 37; *Claud.* 10; *Ner.* 8; Tacitus, *Annal.* xii. 69); so that the words of the apostle really mean, 'My bonds in Christ are manifest to all the prætorians, and by their means to the public at large' (Bloomfield's *Recensio Synopt.*, in loc.) The præfect of this camp was the *στρατοπεδάρχης* to whose charge Paul was committed (Acts xxviii. 16), as the younger Agrippa was once imprisoned by this officer at the express command of the emperor Tiberius (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 6; Olshausen, *Topogr. des alt. Jerusalem*, sec. iii. 9; Perizonius, *De Origine et Significatione et usu vocum Prætoris et Prætorii*, Frank. 1690; Perizonius, *Disquisitio cum Ulrico Hubero*, Lugdun. Bat. 1696; Shorzius, *De Prætorio Pilati in Exercit.* Phil., Hag. Com. 1774; Zornius, *Opuscula Sacra*, ii. 699; Winer, *Bibl. Real-Wörterbuch*, art. 'Richthaus.'—J. F. D.

JUDITH (יִדְיָהּ; 'Ioudib, 'Ioudibh = JEWESS, the feminine of יִדְיָהּ, comp. Jer. xxxvi.

14. 21), the widow of Manasses of Bethulia, and heroine of the apocryphal book which bears her name and describes her as a lineal descendant of Simeon the second son of Jacob (viii. 1, 2; ix. 2). Like her progenitor, Judith, who is so celebrated for piety (viii. 6), beauty (xi. 21), chastity, and valour (xvi. 22, etc.), made no scruple whatever of employing unworthy means to avenge the honour of the Jewish nation. This, however, did not deter St. Jerome and others from regarding her victory as a type of the church overcoming the devil (cf. Ep. xxii. 21, p. 105; lxxix. 11, p. 508). According to the Vulg., Judith was the daughter of *Merari*, or more properly *Beeri* (מְעָרִי), as the Hebrew recension has it; the latter also places her in the days of Maccabæus, which is undoubtedly correct [JUDITH, BOOK OF].—C. D. G.

JUDITH, THE BOOK OF, is one of the most interesting of the Apocryphal books, and has called forth a greater variety of opinions amongst interpreters since the days of the Reformation, than almost any other of the Deutero-canonical productions.

1. *Title and position of the Book.*—The book is called *Judith*, 'Ioudib, or *Judeth*, 'Ioudibh, after its heroine, whose name is described as יִדְיָהּ = *Jewess*. St. Jerome's opinion, that it is so called because Judith was the authoress of it (*Comment. in Agg.*, i. 6), is rightly rejected by every scholar. In the MSS. of the Alexandrine version, the Vulgate, and in Wycliff's translation, Judith is placed between Tobit and Esther. This is followed by Coverdale, the Geneva version, the Bishops' Bible, and the A. V., where, from the nature of the division, it is put between Tobit and the Apocryphal Esther. In the Vatican copies it is placed between Tobit and the Wisdom of Solomon; in

the Zurich Bible, between Baruch and the Apocryphal Esther; whilst Luther puts it at the head of the Apocryphal books.

2. *Design and contents of the Book.*—The design of this book is to shew that as long as God's people walk in his commandments blamelessly, no matter how distressing the circumstances in which they may temporarily be placed, the Lord will not suffer the enemy to triumph over them, but will in due time appear for their deliverance, and cause even those who are not Jews to acknowledge that the God of Israel is the only true God. To see the development of this design, as well as to enable the reader to enter into the difficulties of the book, we give the following analysis of its contents:—

In the twelfth year of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Assyria in Nineveh, assisted by the nations who dwelled in the hill-country, by Euphrates, Tigris, Hydaspes, and by the plain of Arioch, king of the Elymeans, made war against Arphaxad, king of Media, who had fortified himself in Ecbatana (i. 1-7); and, despite the inhabitants of the countries of the west, Persia, Libanus, Anti-libanus, Carmel, Galaad, Galilee, Esdrælon, Samaria, etc., refusing their aid (8-12), conquered Arphaxad, and returned home to Nineveh in the seventeenth year of his reign (13-16). The following year, determined to carry out his resolution to wreak his vengeance on those nations who refused their aid, he dispatched his chief general Holofernes, at the head of 120,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry (ii. 1-22), who soon subdued Mesopotamia, Syria, Libya, Cilicia, and Idumæa (ii. 23; iii. 8), and marched on Judæa (9, 10). But the children of Israel, who had newly returned from the captivity, having heard of Holofernes' atrocities, and being afraid of his despoiling the temple, determined to resist the enemy. They at once took possession of the high mountains, and fortified villages (iv. 1-5), whilst the inhabitants of Bethulia and Betomestham, according to the command of the high-priest Joachim, guarded the passes of the mountains near Dothaim (6-8); and, having made all the necessary preparations, held a solemn fast and prayed to God for protection (9-15). Enraged at their audacity in preparing to fight against him, Holofernes made inquiries of the chiefs of Ammon and Moab who this people was (v. 1-4). Achior, the leader of the Ammonites, then gives him the history of the Jews, and tells him that no power could vanquish them unless they sin against their God (5-21). The proud army, however, becomes exceedingly angry with this statement (vi. 1-9), and Holofernes orders Achior to be thrown into the Jewish camp, in order that he may be destroyed in the general destruction which was impending over the people whom he described as invincible (10-13). The Jews pick him up, and lead him to the governor of Bethulia, to whom he relates this, and who comforts him (14-21). The next day Holofernes marches against Bethulia, takes the mountain passes, seizes all the supplies of water (vii. 1-7), and lays siege to the city (8-19), which lasts forty days, when the famishing people urge upon the governor Ozias to surrender it, and he decides to do so unless relieved within five days (20-32). The pious widow Judith, however, denounces this decision as tempting the Almighty (viii. 1-31), and conceives a plan for delivering the people (32-36). Having prayed to the God of her fathers for the

overthrow of the enemy (ix. 1-14), she arrays herself in rich attire, and, accompanied by her maid, who carries a bag of provision, goes to the camp of Holofernes (x. 1-11). The guards, seeing this beautiful woman, and hearing her story, conduct her to the general (12-23), whom she tells that the Jews would now be vanquished, because they had sinned against God in eating the victuals consecrated to the Temple (xi. 1-15); that she had fled from the impending destruction, and would shew him the access to the city, only requesting that she should be permitted to go out of the camp to pray in the night (16-19). Holofernes, smitten with her charms, gives her a sumptuous entertainment, and invites her to remain within the tent that night (xii. 1-20). When heavily asleep in consequence of having drunk too freely, Judith seizes his falchion, strikes off his head, gives it to her maid outside, who puts it in the bag which contained the provisions; they both leave the camp as usual under the pretence of devotion, and return to Bethulia, displaying the head of Holofernes, amidst the rejoicings and thanksgivings of the people (xiii. 1-20). Achior, hearing of this wonderful deliverance, is at once converted to Judaism, whilst Judith counsels the Israelites to surprise the enemy next morning (xiv. 1-10), who, being panic-stricken at the loss of their general, are soon discomfited, leaving immense spoil in the hands of the Jews (xiv. 11-xv. 11). The women of Israel then express their gratitude to their sister (12-13), whilst Judith bursts forth in a sublime song of praise to the God of their salvation (xvi. 1-17), whereupon all of them go up to Jerusalem to worship the Lord with sacrifices and feastings (18-20). Judith afterwards returns to her native place, Bethulia, manumits her maid, and dies at the advanced age of 105 years, greatly lamented by all the nation, whose peace no enemy dared to disturb for a long time (21-25).

3. *Original language, versions, condition of the texts, &c.*—That this book was originally written in Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic, is distinctly declared by St. Jerome, who says that 'Judith is read by the Jews among the Hagiographa . . . and, being written in Chaldee (Chaldeo sermone conscriptus), is reckoned among the histories,' and that he had used a Chaldee codex to correct thereby the vitiated readings of the MSS. (*Præf. ad Jud.*) This is, moreover, corroborated by the Byzantine historian John Malalas (fl. circa A.D. 880), who, having embodied the contents of Judith in his *Chronographia*, remarks, *Ταῖς δὲ ἐν ταῖς Ἑβραϊκαῖς ἐπιφύεται γραφαῖς* (tom. i., p. 203, ed. Oxon., 1691). Besides, the Greek contains unmistakable indications that it was made from a Hebrew or Aramæan original, *e.g.*, giving the Hebrew use of the relative *ἐν ᾧ διέτριβεν ἐν αὐτῷ* (x. 2), *ὡν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν* (xvi. 4), the literal rendering of *בְּנִיכְבָּד*, *ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ* (xii. 7), which has occasioned so much difficulty to interpreters, but which is easy enough when it is borne in mind that the Hebrew preposition *ב* signifies *at, by, near*; the many Hebraisms (i. 7, 16; ii. 5, 7, 18, 23; iii. 3, 10; iv. 2, 6, 11, 13; v. 9, 12, 14, 16, 18; vii. 15, 18; ix. 8; x. 7, 23; xi. 5, 16; xii. 13, 20; xiv. 19); and the mistranslations of the Hebrew (i. 8; ii. 2; iii. 1, 9, 10; v. 15, 18; viii. 27; xv. 11). Origen was therefore misinformed when he was told that Judith did not exist in Hebrew (*περὶ Τωβία καὶ Ἑχρήν ἐγγινέσθαι οὐκ ἐν Τωβία οὐ χρώνται οὐδὲ*

τῆς Ἰουδαίας οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ ἐν Ἀποκρύφους Ἑβραϊστικαί, ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μαθόντες ἐγγυκαμεν, *Ep. ad Afric.*, sec. 13). The *Old Latin* and the Syriac versions were made from the Sept., which, however, does not represent a *fixed* Hebrew or Aramaean original text, as may be seen from the various recensions of it differing greatly from each other. This is moreover corroborated by the fact that the *Old Latin*, the MSS. of which also deviated greatly from each other, and which St. Jerome corrected according to an Aramaean codex, differs materially from the Sept., sometimes having more than the latter (comp. Vulg. iv. 8-15 with Sept. iv. 10; Vulg. v. 11, 12 with Sept. v. 11-16; Vulg. v. 26-29 with Sept. v. 23-25; Vulg. vi. 15-19 with Sept. vi. 19; Vulg. vii. 18-20 with Sept. vii. 29): sometimes less (comp. Vulg. vii. 9, ff., with Sept. vii. 8-15; Vulg. v. 11, ff., with Sept. v. 17-22; Vulg. ix. 5-7, 11, ff., with Sept. ix. 7, 10). Sometimes the names are different (comp. i. 6, 8, 9; iv. 5; viii. 1); and sometimes the numbers (i. 2; ii. 1; vii. 2, etc.)* There are also extant several Hebrew recensions of Judith. Three of these have been published by Jellinek in his *Beth Ha-Midrash*, vols. i. and ii., Leipzig 1853, and the one which comes nearest to the Greek and Latin versions certainly removes all the difficulties against the historical character of the book contained in those versions.† Coverdale and the Bishops' Bible, following Luther and the Zurich Bible, have translated from the Vulgate, whilst the Geneva version, which is followed by the A. V., has a translation of the Greek text. The analysis in this article is also of the Greek text.

4. *Historical character of the Book.*—There are three theories about the nature of this book—*a.* That it records *actual history*; *b.* That it is *pure fiction*; and *c.* That it is a *mixture of history and fiction*.

a. Up to the time of the Reformation the view that this book records actual history was universally entertained. The difference of opinion which obtained during those fifteen centuries, and which still exists among the defenders of its historical character, is about the precise time when these events occurred, involving as a necessary consequence the identification of the principal characters, etc. etc. The limits of the range of time within which they have been alternately placed are 784 B.C.—117 A.D. The most ancient opinion, however, is, that the circumstances here described occurred *after* the Babylonish captivity, which is supported by the book itself (comp. iv. 3; v. 18, 19, Sept.; v. 22, 23, Vulg.) Still, as it does not tell who this Nebuchadnezzar was, the advocates of this view have tried to identify him with every Persian monarch in succession. Thus, St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 16), and others, take him to be *Cambyses*; Julius Africanus and Georgius Syncellus regard him as *Xerxes*; Mercator, Estius, etc.,

make him to be *Darius Hystaspes*; whilst Sulpi-cius, Severus, and others, identify him with *Artaxerxes Ochus* (comp. Suidas, s. v. JUDITH; Bellarm., *de Verb. Dei*, i. 12; Scholz, *Einleitung; in die Heiligen Schriften*, ii. 588, ff.) Against this view, however, is to be urged, that, 1. All these monarchs *inherited* the provinces which are described in this book as having been *conquered for them* by Holofernes, thus precluding the identity of any one of them with Nebuchadnezzar. 2. Nineveh, which is here mentioned as the capital of Nebuchadnezzar's, or the Assyrian empire, was destroyed before the Babylonish captivity, and no Assyrian or Median kingdom existed during the post-exile period. 3. The Persians, Syrians, Phœnicians, Cilicians, and Egyptians, are described as subject to the Assyrians, which could not have been after the captivity of Judah, when the Assyrian empire was wholly extinguished, and the Persians, instead of being subject to the Assyrians, had made themselves lords over them, and all the other nations of the East, from the Hellespont to the river Indus. 4. There is no point of time except the Maccabæan period when the events here recorded could possibly have occurred, since the Jews were subject to the Persians for 207 years, then were under the dominion of Alexander the Great, and finally under the Ptolemies and the kings of Syria till they obtained their independence through Judas Maccabæus, B.C. 164. To escape these difficulties, and more especially to obtain a point of time suitable for these events, Usher, Lloyd, Calmet, Montfaucon, Prideaux, Whiston, Wolff, etc., maintain that they occurred *before the exile*, either in the reign of Zedekiah, Manasseh, Amon, Josiah, or Jehoiakim. The general opinion, however, is, that the story is to be placed under Manasseh, and as Calmet, Montfaucon, Prideaux, Whiston, and others, will have it, after this monarch's return from Babylon. Accordingly, the events recorded in the book of Judith, and the collateral circumstances, occurred in the following order of time:—

	A.M.	B.C.
Birth of Judith	3285	719
Manasseh begins to reign	3306	698
He is taken prisoner to Babylon and sent back to Judæa	3328	676
War between Nebuchadnezzar and Arphaxad	3347	657
Victory of Nebuchadnezzar over Arphaxad	3347	657
Expedition of Holofernes and siege of Bethulia	3348	656
Death of Manasseh	3361	643
Amon his son begins to reign . . .	3361	643
Amon is murdered for his wickedness	3363	641
Josiah his son succeeds him, being eight years old	3363	641
Death of Judith, aged 105 years .	3390	614
Battle of Megiddo and death of King Josiah	3394	610
The last siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar	3414	590
Destruction of Jerusalem and captivity of the Jews	3416	558

* A very minute collation of the variations between the Vulgate and the Sept. is given by Capellus, *Commentarii et Notæ Criticæ in V. T.*, Amstel. 1689, p. 574, etc.; and Eichhorn, *Einleitung in die apokryphischen Schriften*, p. 318, etc.

† They are called מדרש לחנוכה יהודית (Beth Ha-Midrash, i. p. 130-136), and מעשה יהודית (vol. ii. p. 12-22).

The Nebuchadnezzar of this book is, according to this theory, Saosduchinus, who succeeded his father Esarhaddon in the kingdom of Assyria and

Babylon in the 31st year of Manasseh's reign, and Arphaxad is Deioeces king of Media. But this *pre-exile* view again incurs the following objections:

1. It makes Judith to be *sixty-three* years old at the time when she is described as '*a fair damsel*' (*ἡ καιρομένη ἡ καλή*) captivating Holofernes (xii. 13) and ravishing the hearts of many who desired to marry her (xvi. 22). 2. It is absolutely inconsistent with chap. xvi. 23, where we are expressly told that 'there was none that made the children of Israel afraid in the days of Judith, nor a long time after her death.' For even if we take the words '*a long time after her death*' to mean no more than twenty years, this would bring Judith's death to *twenty years before* the disastrous battle of Megiddo, wherein Josiah was mortally wounded, whereas this hypothesis places her death *only four years* before this calamitous event. This inconsistency is still more glaring according to the calculations of Prideaux, who maintains that Judith could not have been more than forty-five years of age when she captivated Holofernes, as this carries down her death to the 4th year of Zedekiah, when the state of the Jews had been exceedingly disturbed for several years by the Babylonians, and actually brings the period involved in the '*long time after her death*' beyond the total subversion of the Jewish state. 3. Judith affirms that there was no Jew to be found in any city who worshipped idolatry (viii. 17, 18), which is incompatible with the reign of Manasseh, Amon, and the first eight years of Josiah (comp. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14-17); 4. Holofernes, the chief officer of the Assyrian army, who had only recently invaded Judæa and taken Manasseh prisoner, must surely have known something about the Jews, yet he is described as being utterly ignorant of the very name of this Jewish monarch, as not knowing the people and the city of Jerusalem, and being obliged to ask for some information about them from the Amorite chief (v. 1-3); 5. The Jewish state is represented as being under the government of a high-priest and a kind of Sanhedrim (vi. 6-14; xv. 8), which is only compatible with the *post-exile* period, when the Jews had no king; and, 6. The book itself distinctly tells us in chap. iv. 3, and v. 18, that the events transpired *after* the captivity, as is rightly interpreted by the compilers of the marginal references of the A. V., who, on this passage, refer to 2 Kings xxv. 9-11, and Ezra i. 1-3.

b. The difficulty of taking the book to record, either *pre-exile* or *post-exile* history, made Luther view it as '*a religious fiction or poem*, written by a holy and ingenious man, who depicts therein the victory of the Jewish people over all their enemies, which God at all times most wonderfully vouchsafes. . . . Judith is the Jewish people, represented as a chaste and holy widow, which is always the character of God's people. Holofernes is the heathen, the goddess or unchristian lord of all ages, whilst the city of Bethulia denotes a virgin, indicating that the believing Jews of those days were the pure virgins' (*Vorrede aufs Buch Judith*). Grotius, elaborating upon this idea, regards it as a parabolic description of Antiochus Epiphanes' assault on Judæa—'*Judith is the Jewish people* (יהודית) ; Bethulia is the temple (בית אליה), the sword which went out of it, the prayers of the saints; Nebuchadnezzar signifies the devil; Assyria is pride, the devil's kingdom; Holofernes is the devil's instrument (הלפר נחש, *lictor serpentis, minister diaboli*);

the widow is the helplessness of the Jewish people under the tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes; Joachim or Eliakim signifies God will arise (יוחם) or אל יקום) to defend Judæa and cut off the instrument of the devil who would have her corrupted.' Many of the modern writers who regard it as containing pure fiction call it either drama (Buddeus), epopee (Artropæus, Moreus, von Niebuhr, etc.), apologue (Babor), didactic poem (Jahn), moral fiction (Bauer), or romance (Berthold).

c. As the book itself, however, gives no intimation whatever that it is a *fiction* or an *allegory*, but, on the contrary, purports to be real history, as is evident from its minute geographical (i. 7; ii. 21, ff.; iii. 9, ff.; iv. 4, 6, ff.), historical (i. 5, ff.), and chronological (i. 13, 16; viii. 4; xvi. 23) descriptions, Gutmann, Herzfeld, Keil, and others, take it to contain a substance of truth embellished with fiction. And this view is supported by the fact that, 1. Notwithstanding the arbitrary and uncritical manner in which the Deutero-canonical historians dispose of their materials, they have always a certain amount of truth, around which they cluster the traditional embellishments; 2. A summary of the contents of Judith is given in the ancient Jewish prayers for the first and second Sabbaths of the Feast of Dedication—beginning with אוד כי

אין משה ונאל—and amongst the events which occurred in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and it cannot be supposed that the Jews would make it the basis of thanksgiving when the deliverance was never wrought, and the whole of it was nothing but a fiction; and, 3. There are ancient Midrashim which record the facts independently of the book of Judith. There is one in particular which gives a better recension of this book than either the Sept. or the Vulg., bears as much resemblance to the Sept. and Vulg. as these two versions bear to each other, and removes many of the difficulties against its historical truthfulness, inasmuch as it begins with chap. v. 5, and thus shews that the Sept., from which the other versions were made, has put together two different records.

5. *Author and Date.*—The difference of opinion upon this subject is as great as it is upon the character of the book. Whilst Wolff and others ascribe the authorship to Achior, B.C. 636-629; Huetius (in *Præp. Evang.* p. 217), Calmet (*Dissert. Prelim.* p. 142), etc., to Joshua, the son of Josedech, the companion of Zerubbabel, B.C. 536-515; St. Jerome, etc., to Judith herself; Ewald, Vaihinger, etc., to the time of John Hyrcanus, B.C. 130-128; Volkmar, who takes it to be an allegorical description of the victory of Judæas over Quietus, the delegate of Trajan, maintains that it was written for the twelfth of Adar A.D. 117-118 to commemorate this day (יום טווייניס). The fact, however, that there are several records or recensions of the events contained in the book of Judith proceeding from different authors, and deviating materially from each other, precludes the possibility of ascertaining whose productions they are. All that can be said with certainty is, that they all emanate from a Palestinian source. As the circumstances recorded are most plainly declared by the more trustworthy Hebrew copies, and in the Jewish prayers, to have occurred in the Maccabæan struggles for independency (circa 170-160 B.C.), the first and shortest record of them which was used for liturgi-

cal purposes must be contemporary with the events themselves. The poetical genius of the nation, however, soon embellished the facts in various ways, and hence the different recensions. The Greek version contained in the Sept. must have been made at a much later period, since the author of it was already ignorant of the time when these circumstances occurred, and, as we have seen, mixed up two totally different records narrating events of different periods of the Jewish history.

6. *Canonicity of the Book.*—Though the events recorded in Judith are incorporated in the hymnal service of the Jews called יְצִירָה, yet the book itself was never in the Jewish canon. The distinction, however, which the Jewish synagogue kept up between treating the book with respect and putting it into the canon, could not be preserved in the Christian church. Hence Judith, which was at first quoted with approbation by Clemens Romanus (*Ep.* c. 55), was gradually cited on an equality with other Scripture by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* iv.), Tertullian (*De Monog.* c. 17), Ambrose (*De Offi. Minist.* iii. 13), and Augustine (*De Doctrina Christiana*, ii. 8), and finally was canonised, in the councils of Carthage, by Innocent I. of Rome, under Gelasius, and of Trent. Some will have it that this book is quoted in the N. T. (comp. Judith viii. 4, ff., with I Cor. ii. 10, ff.; Judith ix. 12 with Acts iv. 24; Judith xvi. 17 with Matt. xii. 42, 50).

7. *Literature.*—The three Midrashim in Jellinek's *Beth Ha-Midrash*, vols. i. and ii., Leipzig 1853; Montfaucon, *La Vérité de L'Histoire de Judith*, Paris 1690; Capellus, *Comment. et Notae Crit. in V. T.*, p. 459; Arnald, *the Apocrypha in Patrick Louth and Whitby's Comment.*; Du Pin, *History of the Canon*, vol. i., London 1699, pp. 10, ff. 90, ff.; Eichhorn, *Einleitung in die Apocryphischen Schriften des Alten Testaments*, Leipzig 1795, p. 291, ff.; Prideaux, *The Old and New Testaments connected*, ed. 1815, vol. i., p. 60, ff.; Whiston, *Sacred History of the Old and New Testament*, vol. i., p. 202; Reuss, in *Ersch und Gruber's Encyclopädie*, sec. ii., vol. xxviii., p. 98, ff.; Fritzsche, *Kurzfassstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des A. T.*, Leipzig 1853, vol. ii., p. 113, ff.; *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, 1856, p. 342, ff.; Vaihinger, in *Herzog Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. vii., p. 135, ff.; Keil, *Einleitung in d. A. T.*, ed. 1859, p. 698; Volkmar, *Das Buch Judith*, Tübingen 1860; Wolff, *Das Buch Judith*, Leipzig 1861.—C. D. G.

JULIA (Ἰουλίᾱ, a name common among the Romans), a Christian woman of Rome, to whom St. Paul sent his salutations (Rom. xvi. 15); she is named with Philologus, and is supposed to have been his wife or sister. Some have supposed this to be the name of a man, but the analogy of the following words, 'Nereus and his sister,' is against this.

JULIUS (Ἰούλιος), the centurion who had the charge of conducting Paul as a prisoner to Rome, and who treated him with much consideration and kindness on the way (Acts xxvii. 1, 3). [AUGUSTUS' BAND.]

JUNIAS (Ἰουνίας), a person who is joined with Andronicus in Rom. xvi. 7. It is disputed whether Ἰουνίας here is the name of a woman (*Junia*), or of a man (*Junius* or *Junianus*). Both names were common, and there is nothing in the passage

to determine which should be preferred here. Grotius follows Chrysostom in adopting the former, but the majority of interpreters prefer the latter. The apostle describes the party named as, with Andronicus, a relation of his own, and as held in esteem among the apostles. They also shared with the apostle in one of his imprisonments, but which is unknown.—W. L. A.

JUNIPER. [ROTHEM.]

JUNIUS, FRANÇOIS DU JON, a French scholar and theologian, was born at Bourges, May 1st, 1545. Having studied jurisprudence in his native town, he repaired to Lyons, hoping to join there the ambassador whom the king sent to Constantinople. But he was too late. Having remained some time in the place, he returned to Bourges. He then repaired to Geneva, with the intention of devoting himself to the study of theology. In 1565 he became minister of the Walloon Church at Antwerp; and was afterwards Protestant pastor at Limbourg, whence he went to Heidelberg, and superintended a small church in the neighbourhood. In 1568 he went to the Low Countries, and officiated as chaplain to the Prince of Orange. Returning to his church in the Palatinate, he remained there till 1573, when the elector Palatine Frederick III. called him to Heidelberg to work upon a Latin version of the O. T. along with Tremellius. In 1578 he was sent to Neustadt, where he taught in the college newly established by the elector, for sixteen months. Repairing thence to Otterbourg, in order to found a Reformed Church, he returned to Neustadt, whence he was called to the chair of theology at Heidelberg. Having been taken to France by the Duke de Bouillon, he was charged by Henry IV. with a mission to Germany. Returning to his native country with the purpose of settling at Bourges, he was requested by the magistrates of Leyden, as he passed through their city, to accept the chair of theology. He died there of the plague, October 13th, 1602.

Junius was a man of extensive erudition. He was well acquainted with the ancient languages; and as a theologian, was distinguished by good judgment, moderation, and tolerance. His disposition was kindly and benevolent. The number and character of his works shew vast industry and multifarious learning.

His principal work, which he executed in conjunction with Tremellius, was his Latin translation of the O. T. It appeared in five parts, the first containing the five books of Moses, Frankfurt 1575, folio; the second, embracing the historical books, 1576; the third, the poetical books, 1579; the fourth, the prophets, 1579; and the fifth, the Apocryphal books, 1579. After the death of Tremellius, the translation was revised by his colleague and printed at London, 1584, 8vo. In the course of twenty years it passed through twenty editions, and was printed for the last time at Zurich, 1764, 8vo. Junius lived to superintend a third edition, 1596, folio; but the best is that called the *seventh*, published in 1624, folio, containing a good index by Paul Tossanus. The index was published in a volume by itself at Frankfurt, 1687, folio, and repeatedly after. The translation cannot be called elegant. It is too literal, and is sometimes obscure on that account. It is also disfigured with useless glosses and rabbinical

traditions. He wrote besides, *Apocalypses Analysis*, 1592; *Grammatica Linguae Hebraeae*, 1593, 3d edition; *Acta Apostolorum et epistola 2 S. Pauli ad Corinth. ex Arabica translatione Latine reddita*; *Procataclema ad V. T. interpretationem*; *Prælectiones in 3 priora capita Geneseos*; *Explicatio 4 priorum psalmorum*; *Psalms 101, seu principis Christiani institutio*; *Comment. in Ezechielem*; *Expositio Danidis*; *Lectiones in Jonam*; *Sacra Parallela*; *Nota in epistolam S. Jude*. His *Opera theologica* appeared at Geneva, 1613, 2 vols. folio, containing an autobiography written about 1592, with curious particulars of his life.—S. D.

JUNIUS, FRANCIS, son of the preceding, was born at Heidelberg, 1589. In early life he studied mathematics with a view to the military profession; but the peace of 1609 caused him to turn his attention to literature and theology. After finishing his studies he went to France to visit his parents. In 1620 he came over to England, and was received into the house of the Earl of Arundel, where he lived as his librarian for thirty years. In 1650 he returned to the Continent, in order to pass some time in the bosom of his family. For two years he lived in Friesland, in a district where the ancient Saxon tongue was preserved, that he might study the language. In 1675 he returned to England, and in 1676 went to Oxford, whence he retired to Windsor, to his nephew Isaac Vossius, and died there, November 19, 1677.

Junius the younger was a very learned philologist, simple and pure in his manners, without ambition. He is said to have studied fourteen hours a day, and to have suffered no inconvenience from so sedentary a life. He wrote *De pictura Veterum*, libri iii., Amsterdam 1637, 4to; *Observationes in Willeramii Paraphrasim Francicam Cantici Canticorum*, 1655, Amsterdam, 8vo; *Annotationes in harmoniam latino-francicam quatuor evangelistarum latine a Tatiano confectam*, Amsterdam 1655, 8vo; *Quatuor D. N. J. C. Evangeliorum Versiones perantiquæ duæ, gothica scilicet et anglo-saxonica*, etc.; *Accedit et glossarium gothicum: cui præmittitur alphabetum gothicum runicum, anglo-saxonicum*, etc., Dordrecht 1655, 4to; *Cædemonis Paraphrasis poetica Geneseos*, Amsterdam 1655, 4to. His *Etymologicum Anglicanum* was edited by Edward Lye, Oxford 1743, folio.—S. D.

JUPITER (Ζεύς, LXX.), the father and king of gods and men, and the supreme ruler of the Hellenic race, to whom the Jews, under Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, were to be compelled to do honour. It is stated in 2 Maccab. vi. 1, 2, 'that the king sent an old man of Athens' (Ἀθηναῖον, LXX.; *Antiochenum*, Vulg.) to compel the Jews to depart from the laws of their fathers, and not to live after the laws of God; and to pollute also the Temple in Jerusalem, and to call it the temple of Jupiter Olympius (Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου), and that in Gerizim, of Jupiter the defender of strangers (Διὸς Ξενίου, LXX.; *hospitator*, Vulg.), as they did desire that dwell in the place. Olympius was a very common epithet of Zeus, and he is sometimes simply called Ὀλύμπιος (Hom. *Il.*, xix. 108).

* Some say 'an old man, Athenæus' (cf. Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. JERUSALEM, vol. i., p. 1000); but Grotius, following the Latin, suggests instead of Ἀθηναῖον to read Ἀντιόχειον.

Olympia was the name of the temple and sacred grove of Zeus Olympius, and it was here that the famous statue of gold and ivory, the work of Pheidias, was erected. Caligula attempted to have this statue transferred to Rome, and it was only preserved in its place by the assurance that it would not bear removal (Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 1. 1). Antiochus Epiphanes, as related by Athenæus, surpassed all other kings in his worship and veneration of the gods, so that it was impossible to count the number of the statues he erected. His especial favourite was Zeus. He commenced, in B.C. 174, the completion of the temple of Zeus Olympius at Athens (Polyb. *Reliq.* xxvi. 10; Livy, *Hist.* xli. 20), and associated the worship of Jupiter with that of Apollo at Daphne, erecting a statue to the former god resembling that of Pheidias at Olympia (Amm. Marcell., xxii. 13. 1). Games were celebrated at Daphne by Antiochus, of which there is a long account in Polybius (*Reliq.* xxxi. 3) and Athenæus (v. 5). Coins also were struck referring to the god and the games (Mionnet, vol. v., p. 215; Müller, *Antiq. Antioch.*, pp. 62-64). On the coins of Elis the wreath of wild olive (κόρυμβος) distinguishes Zeus Olympius from the Dodonæan Zeus, who has an oak wreath.

Antiochus, after compelling the Jews to call the temple of Jerusalem the temple of Jupiter Olympius, built an idol altar upon the altar of God. Upon this altar swine were offered every day, and the broth of their flesh was sprinkled about the temple (1 Maccab. i. 47; 2 Maccab. vi. 5; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 5. 4; xiii. 8. 2; *Bell. Jud.* i. 1. 2). The idol altar which was upon the altar of God (τὸν βωμὸν δὲ ἡν ἐπὶ τοῦ θνατοῦστος) was considered by the Jews to be the 'abomination of desolation' (βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, 1 Maccab. i. 54) foretold by Daniel (xi. 31; xii. 11) and mentioned by our Lord (Matt. xxiv. 15). Many interpretations of the meaning of this prophecy have been given. [ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION.]

The grove of Daphne was not far from Antioch (Ἀδφνη ἡ πρὸς Ἀντιόχειαν, 2 Maccab. iv. 33; Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* i. 12. 15), and at this city Antiochus Epiphanes erected a temple for the worship of Jupiter Capitolinus [DAPHNE]. It is described by Livy as having its walls entirely adorned with gold (xli. 20). To Jupiter Capitolinus the Jews, after the taking of Jerusalem, in whatever country they might be, were compelled by Vespasian to pay two drachmæ [DRACHM], as they used to pay to the temple at Jerusalem (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vii. 6. 6; Dion Cass. lxxvi. 7). Hadrian, after the second revolt of the Jews, erected a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus in the place where the temple of God formerly stood (Dion Cass. lxxix. 12). There is, probably, reference made to Jupiter Capitolinus in Dan. xi. 38, alluding to Antiochus Epiphanes. 'But in his estate shall he worship the god of forces' (fortresses, מְצֻדָּה, cf. Gesen. *s. v.* מְצֻדָּה, p. 1011), for under this name Jupiter was

worshipped by the victorious general on his return from a campaign, and it was in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus that he celebrated his triumph. Other conjectures have been made relative to this passage, but the opinion of Gesenius seems most probable. [MAUZZIM.]

In the passage from 2 Maccab. above quoted a temple was also ordered to be set up to Zeus Xenius

on Mount Gerizim. Josephus gives a different account. He relates that the Samaritans, who, when it pleased them, denied that they were of the kindred of the Jews, wrote to Antiochus the god (*θεός* on coins) Epiphanes, begging him to allow the temple on Mount Gerizim, which had no name (*ἀνώνυμος ἱερόν*; cf. 'Ye worship ye know not what,' John iv. 22), to be called the temple of Jupiter Hellenius (*Antiq.* xii. 5. 5). This petition is said to have been granted. The epithet *ἑλληνος* is given to Zeus as the supporter of hospitality and the friend of strangers (Plutarch, *Amator.* 20; Xen. *Anab.* iii. 2. 4; Virg. *Æn.* i. 735, etc.), and it is explained in 2 Maccab. by the clause 'as they did desire (A. V.; *καθὼς ἐθύσαντο*, as they were; *prout erant hi*, Vulg. [as they were]) who dwelt in the place.' Ewald supposes that Jupiter was so called on account of the hospitable disposition of the Samaritans (*Geschichte*, iv. p. 339, note), whilst Jahn suggests that it was because the Samaritans in their letter to Antiochus Epiphanes said that they were strangers in that country (*Hebrew Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 319). Grotius says because the dwellers of the place were pilgrims from the regions of Mysia and Mesopotamia, specially referring to their idolatrous practices (2 Kings xvii. 24, *sq.*)

The appearance of the gods upon earth was very commonly believed among the ancients. Accordingly we find that Jupiter and Mercury are said to have wandered in Phrygia, and to have been entertained by Baucis and Philemon (*Ov. Met.* viii. 611, *sq.*) Hence the people of Lyconia, as recorded in the Acts (xiv. 11), cried out 'The gods have come down to us in the likeness of men; and they called Barnabas, Jupiter, and Paul, Mercurius, because he was the chief speaker.' Barnabas was probably identified with Jupiter, not only because Jupiter and Mercury were companions (*Ov. Fast.* v. 495), but because his personal appearance was majestic (Chrysostom, *Hom.* xxx.; Alford, Acts xiv. 12). Paul was identified with Mercury as the speaker, for this god was the god of eloquence (*Horat. lib. i. od. x. 5*, etc.) [MERCURIUS]. The temple of Jupiter at Lystra appears to have been outside the gates (*τοῦ ἁδὸς τοῦ ὄρους πρὸ τῆς πόλεως*, Acts xiv. 13), as was frequently the custom (Strab. xiv. 4; Herod. i. 26), and the priest being summoned, oxen and garlands were brought, in order to do sacrifice with the people to Paul and Barnabas, who, filled with horror, restrained the people with great difficulty. It is well known that oxen were wont to be sacrificed to Jupiter (*Il.* ii. 402; Virg. *Æn.* iii. 21; ix. 627; Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 3, 11, etc.)

The word *εὐδία* (fair or fine weather) is derived from *εὖ* and *Δία*. Jupiter, as lord of heaven, had power over all the changes of the weather. The Latins even used his name to signify the air—sub Dio (*Hor. lib. ii. od. iii. 23*), sub Jove frigido (*Hor. lib. i. od. i. 25*, etc.; comp. 'the image which fell down from Jupiter,' A. V.; *καὶ τοῦ διωκερός*, Acts xix. 35). The word *εὐδία* occurs in Matt. xvi. 2, and in Ecclus. iii. 15. (For a full account of Jupiter and Zeus, see Smith's *Dict. of Biography*, s. vv.; and for a list of the epithets applied to this god, see Rawlinson, *Herod.* vol. i., appendix, p. 680.)—F. W. M.

JURIEU, PIERRE, was born at Mer, near Blois, December 24, 1637, of which place his father was Protestant minister. He commenced

his studies at Saumur, where he became M.A. when barely nineteen, and continued them in Holland and England, in which latter country, according to Moréri, he received Episcopal ordination, but on being recalled to succeed his father in the pastorate at Mer, was reordained according to the Genevan form. He was already known as a distinguished scholar, and was chosen professor of theology in the university of Sedan in 1674, where he shortly afterwards obtained the chair of philosophy for the famous Bayle, whose correspondence with his favourite pupil Basnage had caused him to entertain a high opinion of his abilities. The university of Sedan having been suppressed by Louis XIV. in 1681, Jurieu followed his colleague Bayle to Rotterdam, where he became pastor of the Walloon Church, and then, by Bayle's influence, professor of theology in the newly established academy. While resident in France he had made himself known as one of the ablest and most zealous defenders of the reformed faith, though the ardour with which he maintained the necessity of baptism for salvation had displeased the leaders of the Protestant Church, by whom his thesis was condemned at the synod of Saintonge. His natural irritability was much exasperated by the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685, which deprived him of all hope of returning to France, and his life was thenceforward one perpetual scene of varying controversy, in which friend or foe, Protestant or Catholic, received the same severe handling, and were denounced with a rancorous hostility very unbecoming a Christian minister. His suspicious irritability at last amounted to a disease, under which both his mental and bodily powers gradually gave way, and after a languishing illness of some years, he died at Rotterdam, January 11, 1713, at the age of seventy-five. His private life was characterised by many virtues. His beneficence exceeded his means, and he employed his considerable influence with foreign courts for the relief of the sufferings of his exiled Protestant brethren.

As an author, his fame rests chiefly on his controversial writings, which, apart from their undue harshness, sometimes amounting to rancour towards his adversaries, merit much commendation. His learning was profound; his quotations exact; and his acuteness in discovering the weak points in the writings of his antagonists very considerable. None of his works deal with Scripture definitely, but they are held in esteem by theologians of every school as a storehouse of exact learning to be used with advantage in illustration and exposition of Holy Writ. The principal of them are—(1.) *Préservatif contre le changement de religion*, Rouen 1680, in reply to Bossuet's *Exposition de la Foi*; (2.) *Politique du clergé de France pour détruire la religion protestante*, Amst. 1681; and its sequel (3.) *Les derniers efforts de l'innocence affligée*, Rott. 1682; (4.) *Histoire de Calvinisme et du Papisme mise en parallèle*, a reply to Maimbourg, Rott. 1682; (5.) *L'Esprit de M. Arnauld*, Rott. 1684; and (6.) *Justification de la morale des Réformés*, Hag. 1685; (7.) *L'accomplissement des prophéties*, Rott. 1686, a commentary on the Apocalypse, fixing the downfall of the Papacy in less than three years and a half; followed in 1688 by (8.) *Lettres Pastorales aux fidèles de France*; (9.) *Le Tableau du Socinianisme*, Hague 1691, answered by Jaquelot; (10.) *La religion du Latitudinaire*, Rott. 1696.

a violent attack on Saurin for supposed antitrinitarian views; (11.) *Examen de l'Eucharistie de l'Eglise Romain*, Rott. 1683; (12.) *Traité de morale*, Hague 1687; (13.) *Traité de l'amour de Dieu*, Rott. 1700; (14.) *Histoire critique des dogmes et des cultes*, Amst. 1704, perhaps his most valuable work, which has been translated into English. Jurieu also condensed Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, which was published at Geneva in 1682.—E. V.

JUSHAB-HESED (יֵשׁוּב־הֶסֶד, *Mercy is returned*; LXX. 'Ασσηδ; Alex. 'Ασσηδωδ; Vulg. *Josab-hesed*), usually regarded as the proper name of one of the returned captives, son of Zerubbabel (1 Chron. iii. 20); and if so, given most probably in anticipation of the return of the captivity, and expressive, therefore, of faith in the divine promise and prophecy, as well as designed to mark and commemorate the mercy of God returned to Israel to restore them to their own land.

Why the five children of this verse should be reckoned separately from the three named in the 19th has been considered a great difficulty; and it has been suggested that these five were sons of Zerubbabel by a different wife, or that they were born after the return from captivity. A more likely conjecture is, that the text in this place is corrupt, which derives confirmation from the circumstance that the conjunction *and*, is omitted before Jushab-Hesed, although occurring before every other name in the two verses. Dathe makes two names of Jushab-Hesed. It is probably not a proper name at all, but a phrase expressive of gratitude. And we hazard the additional conjecture, that יֵשׁוּב־הֶסֶד, *five*, of ver. 20, has, by a blunder of the scribe, changed places with יֵשׁוּב־שֶׁשׁ, *six*, of ver. 22; for Shemaiah has in reality only five sons, while, if we take Jushab-Hesed as just proposed, Zerubbabel has six.—L. J.

JUSTI, KARL WILHELM, a Protestant theologian, was born at Marburg, 14th January 1767. After studying for some years in his native place and at Jena, he became a private tutor at Metzlar, whence he removed to Marburg as a preacher in one of the churches there, 1790. In 1793 he was chosen professor of philosophy in the university. In 1801 he was appointed archdeacon; soon after Superintendent and Consistorialrath. In 1814 he was made Oberpfarrer; and in 1822 professor of theology. He died 7th August 1846. Justi devoted himself to the explanation of the O. and N. T., after the method of Eichhorn and Herder, to whom he was by no means equal in genius. He was a man of erudition, taste, and liberality, superficial rather than profound. The prophets of the O. T. occupied his chief attention. He published *Nationalgesänge der Hebräer*, 1803-1818, 3 vols.; an enlarged edition of Herder's *Geist der Hebräischen poesie*, 1829, 2 vols.; *Blumen althebräischer Dichtkunst*, 1809, 2 vols.; and *Sionitischen Harfenklänge*, 1829.—S. D.

JUSTUS (Ἰούστος). 1. Surnamed Barsabas. [JOSEPH.] 2. A Christian at Corinth, with whom Paul lodged (Acts xviii. 7). 3. Called also **JESUS**, a believing Jew, who was with Paul at Rome when he wrote the Colossians (Col. iv. 11). The apostle names him and Marcus as being at that time his only fellow-labourers.

JUTTAH (יֻטָּה; 'Irāy; Alex. *Ierrā*; *Jota* in Josh. xxi. 16, יֻטָּה; *Tav*; *Jeta*—perhaps 'inclined' from יָנַח, an ancient town of Judah, mentioned in the group with Maon and Carmel (Josh. xv. 55). It was allotted to the priests (xxi. 16). Reland suggests that this may be the πόλις Ἰούδα of Luke, the native place of John the Baptist (i. 39). Reland would translate the phrase 'city of Jutah,' the Greek δ taking the place of the Hebrew ב, or perhaps Ἰούδα being adopted as a softer form than Ἰούρα (Reland, *Pal.*, p. 870). Jutta was a sacerdotal city, and Zacharias was of the priestly line. Joshua says that Jutta was in the 'mountains' of Judah (xv. 48); and Luke states that Mary went into 'the hill country' (ἐς τὴν ὄρειν). So far Reland's view appears probable. But it is only a hypothesis; and it seems more natural to render ἐς πόλιν Ἰούδα, 'to a city of Judah,' than 'to the city of Jutah' (cf. Matt. ii. 6), especially as no place of residence is mentioned for Zacharias in ver. 23 (Alford, *in loc.*). In the time of Eusebius and Jerome, Jutta (called by them 'Ierrāy, and *Jetan*; *Onomast.*, s. v.) was a very large village, eighteen miles from Eleuthropolis southward, on the road to Darom. There can be no doubt of its identity with the modern

Yutta (يُطَّا), a large village situated on the declivity of a hill about five miles south of Hebron (Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 494, note; ii. 206, note).—J. L. P.

K.

KAB. [CAB; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

KABBALAH (קַבָּלָה), the celebrated system of religious philosophy, or more properly theosophy, which has played so important a part in the theological and exegetical literature of both Jews and Christians ever since the middle ages.

1. *Name and its signification.*—The term קַבָּלָה (from קָבַל, *to receive*), properly denotes *reception*, then a *doctrine received by oral tradition*. The difference between it and the word מַסּוּרָה (from מָסַר, *to deliver*) is, that the former expresses the *act of receiving*, whilst the latter denotes the *act of giving over, surrendering, transmitting*. The *Kabbalah* is also called by some נִסְתָּרָה, *secret wisdom*, because it pretends to be a very ancient and secret tradition, and יָדוּעַ, *grace*, from the initials of these two words.

2. *The fundamental doctrines of the Kabbalah.*—The cardinal doctrines of the Kabbalah are as follows:—God is above everything, even above being and thinking. It cannot, therefore, be said of him that he has either a will, intention, desire, thought, language, or action, since these properties, which adorn man, have limits, whereas God is in every way boundless, because he is perfect. Owing to this boundlessness of his nature, which necessarily implies absolute unity and immutability, and that there is nothing without him, *i. e.*, that the *רוּחַ* is in him, he is called EN SOPH = *without end, boundless*, and can neither be comprehended by the intellect nor described with words, for there is nothing which can grasp and depict him to us. In this incomprehensibility or boundlessness, God,

or the *En Soph* (אֵן סוֹפִי), is in a certain sense not existent (אֵין); since, as far as our mind is concerned, that which is incomprehensible does not exist. Hence, without making himself comprehensible, his existence could never have been known. He had, therefore, to become active and creative in order that his existence might become perceptible.

But since, on the one hand, the will to create, which implies limit, and the circumscribed and imperfect nature of this world, preclude the idea of taking it as the direct creation of him who can have no will, nor produce anything but what is like himself, boundless and perfect; and since, on the other hand, the beautiful design and order displayed in the world, which plainly indicate an intelligent and active will, forbid us to regard it as the offspring of chance, the *En Soph* must be viewed as the Creator of the world in an indirect manner, through the medium of ten *Sephiroth* (סְפִירוֹת) * or intelligences, which emanated from the *En Soph* in the following manner.

From his infinite fulness of light the *En Soph* sent forth at first one spiritual substance or intelligence; this intelligence, which existed in the *En Soph* from all eternity, and which became a reality by a mere act, contained the nine other intelligences or *Sephiroth*. Great stress is laid upon the fact that the first *Sephira* was not created, but was simply an emanation (אֵצִיּוּלָה); and the difference between creation and emanation is thus defined, that in the former a diminution of strength takes place, whilst in the latter this is not the case. From the first *Sephira* emanated the second, from the second the third, from the third the fourth, and so on, one proceeding from the other, till the number ten. These ten *Sephiroth* form among themselves, and with the *En Soph*, a strict unity, and simply represent different aspects of one and the same Being, just as the flame and sparks which proceed from the fire, and which appear different things to the eye, form only different manifestations of one and the same fire. Differing thus from each other simply as different colours of the same light, all the ten emanations alike partake of the perfections of the *En Soph*. They are boundless, and yet constitute the first finite things, so that they are both infinite and finite. They are infinite and perfect like the *En Soph* when he imparts his fullness to them, and finite and imperfect when that fullness is withdrawn from them. The finite side in the emanation of the *Sephiroth* is absolutely necessary, for thereby the incomprehensible *En Soph* makes his existence known to the human intellect, which can only grasp that which has measure, limit, and relation. From their finite

side the *Sephiroth* may even be called bodily, and this renders it possible for the *En Soph*, who is immanent in them, to assume a bodily form.

The ten *Sephiroth*, every one of which has its own name, are divided into three groups of three *Sephiroth* each, respectively operating upon the three worlds, viz., the world of intellect (עוֹלָם הַשֵּׁל), the world of souls (עוֹלָם הַנְּפֹשׁ), and the world of matter (עוֹלָם הַמַּבְע). The first group operates upon the intellectual world, and consists

of *Sephiroth* 1, denominated כְּתֹרֶת מְעֻלָּה, the inscrutable height or the crown; 2, called חֲכָמָה, the creative wisdom; and 3, called בִּינָה, the conceiving intellect. From the first *Sephira* the divine power proceeds, from the second the angelic beings, as well as the Jewish revelation (תּוֹרָה), and from the third the prophetic inspiration. The second group exercises its power upon the moral world, and consists of *Sephiroth* 4, called חֶסֶד, infinite love; 5, called נְבוֹרָה, divine justice, or judicial power; and 6, which is called תְּפָאֶרֶת, beauty, and is the connecting link between the opposite *Sephiroth* 4 and 5. The third group exercises its power upon the material world, and consists of *Sephiroth* 7, called נִצְחָה, firmness; 8, called רִדְּהָ, splendour; and 9, which is called יְסוֹד, the primary foundation, and is the connecting link between the two opposite *Sephiroth*, 7 and 8. *Sephira* 10 is

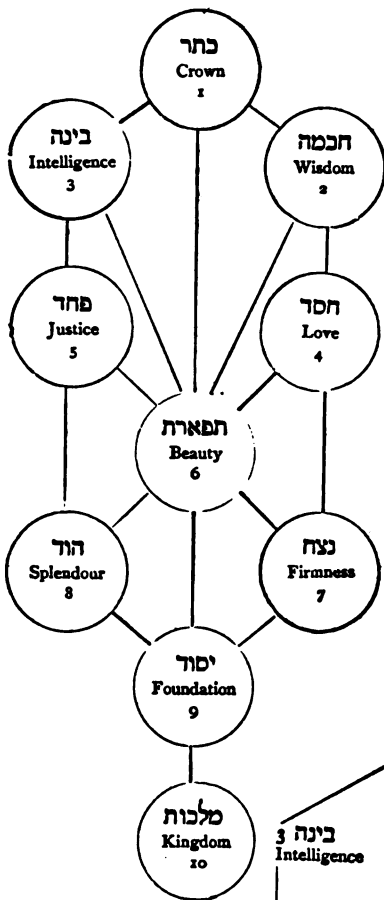
called מַלְכוּת, kingdom, and denotes Providence or the revealed Deity (שְׂכִינָה) which dwells in the midst of the Jewish people, goes with them and protects them in all their wanderings and captivities. The first triad is placed above, and the second and third triads, with the unit, are put below, in such a manner that the four *Sephiroth* called crown, beauty, foundation, and kingdom, form a central perpendicular line denominated the middle pillar (עֶמֶד אֲמֻנָּה). This division yields three different forms in which the ten *Sephiroth* are represented by the Kabbalists, and which we subjoin in order to make the description more intelligible.

The first represents an inverted tree called עֵץ חַיִּים, the tree of life, whilst the second and third are human figures called אָדָם קֶדְמֹן, the primeval man. Yet, notwithstanding the different appearance of these three forms, the *Sephiroth* are so arranged that the three triads and the middle pillar are to be distinguished in each one of them.

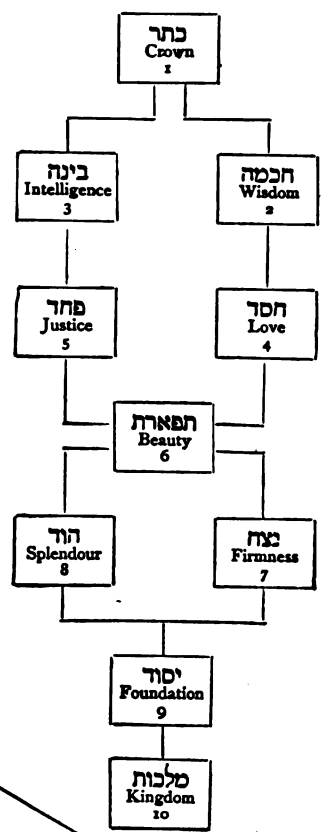
These *Sephiroth*, or God through them, created the lower and visible world, of which everything has its prototype in the upper world. 'The whole world is like a gigantic tree full of branches and leaves, the root of which is the spiritual world of the *Sephiroth*; or it is like a firmly united chain, the last link of which is attached to the upper world; or like an immense sea, which is being constantly filled by a spring everlastingly gushing forth its streams.' The *Sephiroth*, through the divine power immanent in them, uphold the world which they have created, and transmit to it the divine mercies by means of twelve channels (צְנֻרוֹת). This transmission of the divine mercies can be accelerated by prayer, sacrifices, and religious observances; and the Jewish people, by virtue of the revelation, and the 613 commandments given to them [EDUCATION], have especially been ordained to obtain these blessings (שְׂפָעָה) for the whole world. Hence the great mysteries of the Jewish ritual

* Both the etymology and the exact meaning of the word סְפִירוֹת (plur. סְפִירוֹת) are matter of dispute. R. Asariel, the first Kabbalist, derives it from סָפַר, to number, whilst later Kabbalists derive it in turn from סָפִיר, *Saphir*, from השָׁמַיִם אֱלֹהִים (Ps. xix. 1), and from the Greek σφαῖραι, and are not at all certain whether to regard the *Sephiroth* as principles (ἀρχαί), or as substances (ὕποστασις), or as potencies, powers (δυνάμεις), or as intelligent worlds (κόσμοι νοητικοί), or as attributes, or as entities (οὐσιότητες), or as organs of the Deity (כלים).

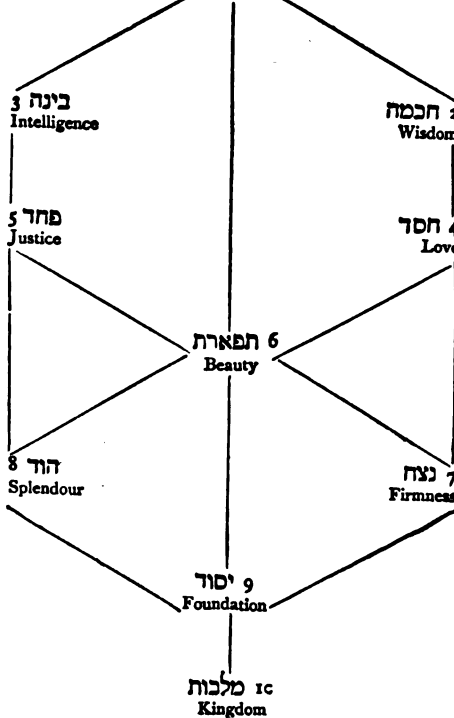
II.
אין סוף
THE ENDLESS



I.
אין סוף
THE ENDLESS



III.
כתר 1
Crown



NOTE.—The first Sephira is also called *מַעֲלָם*, the *inscrutable height*; the fourth *גְּדוּלָּה*, *greatness*; the fifth *גְּבוּרָה*, *judicial power*; and the tenth *שְׁכִינָה*, *Shechinah*.

(סוד התפילה); hence the profound secrets contained in every word and syllable of the formulary of prayers; and hence the declaration that 'the pious constitute the foundation of the world' (צדיקים יסוד עולם). Not only does the *En Soph* reveal himself through the *Sephiroth*, but he also becomes incarnate in them, which accounts for the anthropomorphisms of Scripture and the Hagada. Thus, when it is said that 'God spake, descended upon earth, ascended into heaven, smelled the sweet smell of sacrifices, repented in his heart, was angry,' etc., or when the Hagadic works describe the body and the mansions of God, etc., all this does not refer to the *En Soph*, but to these intermediate beings. These *Sephiroth* again became incarnate in the patriarchs, *ex. gr.*, *Sephira 4*, love was incarnate in Abraham; 5, power in Isaac; 6, beauty in Jacob; 7, firmness in Moses; 8, splendour in Aaron; 9, foundation in Joseph; 10, kingdom in David; and constitute the chariot throne (מרכבה). Hence the remark of the Hagada, 'the fathers form the chariot-throne of the Lord.'

The psychology of the Kabbalah is one of its most important features. All human souls are pre-existent in the world of the *Sephiroth*, and are, without an exception, destined to inhabit human bodies, and pursue their course upon earth for a certain period of probation. If, notwithstanding its union with the body, the soul resists all earthly trammels, and remains pure, it ascends after death into the spiritual kingdom, and has a share in the world of *Sephiroth*. But if, on the contrary, it becomes contaminated by that which is earthly, the soul must inhabit the body again and again (נילוול, עיבור) till it is able to ascend in a purified state, through repeated trial.* The apparently undeserved sufferings which the pious have sometimes to endure here below are simply designed to purify their souls. Hence God's justice is not to be impugned when the righteous are afflicted and the wicked prosper. This doctrine of the transmigration of souls is supported by an appeal to the injunction in the Bible, that a man must marry the widow of his brother if he died without issue, inasmuch as by this is designed, say the Kabbalists, that the soul of the departed one might be born again, and finish its earthly course. Very few new souls enter into the world, because many of the old souls which have already inhabited bodies have to re-enter those who are born, in consequence of their having polluted themselves in their previous bodily existence. This retards the great redemption of Israel, which cannot take place till all the pre-existent souls have been born upon earth, because the soul of the Messiah, which, like all other souls, has its pre-existence in the world of the spirits of the *Sephiroth*, is to be the last born one at the end of days, which is supported by an appeal to the Talmud (אין בן דוד בא עד שיכלו כל הנשמות) שבת 63, a. Then the great jubilee year (יובל הנדול) will commence, when the whole pleroma of souls (אוצד הנשמות), cleansed and

purified and released from earth, shall ascend, in glorious company, into heaven.

3. *Origin, date, and design of the Kabbalah, and its relation to Platonic and Neo-Platonic philosophy.*—The origin and date of this theosophy have been greatly obscured by modern writers, who, in their description of the Kabbalah, confound its doctrines with the Jewish mysticism propounded in the works called the *Alphabet of R. Akiba*

(אותיות דר עקיבא or אלפא ביתא דר עקיבא), the description of the body of God (שיעור קומה), and the delineation of the heavenly temples (היכלות). Even the book *Yetzira* (צורה) * does not contain the doctrines of the Kabbalah. All these productions, and others of a similar nature so frequently quoted by writers who give an analysis of the Kabbalah, know nothing of the *Sephiroth*, and of the speculations about the *En Soph*, or the being of God, which constitute the essence of the Kabbalah. Nevertheless, these works are unquestionably to be regarded as having called the *Kabbalah* into existence, by the difficulty in which they placed the Jews in the south of France, and in Catalonia, who believed in them almost as much as in the Bible, and who were driven to contrive this system whereby they could explain to themselves, as well as to their assailants, the gross descriptions of the Deity, and of the plains of heaven, given in these Hagadic productions. Being unable to go to the extreme of the rigid literalism of the north of France and Germany, who, without looking for any higher import, implicitly accepted the difficulties and anthropomorphisms of the Bible and Hagada in their most literal sense; or to adopt the other extreme of the followers of Maimonides, who rejected altogether the Hagadic and mystical writings, and rationalized the Scriptures, Isaac the

blind contrived (רעצקא סני נהור אבי הקבלה), and his two disciples, Ezra and Azariel of Lerona, developed, the *Kabbalah* (about 1200-1230), which steers between these two extremes. By means of the *Sephiroth* all the anthropomorphisms in the Bible, in the Hagada, and even in the *Shiur Koma*, are at once taken from the Deity, and yet literally explained; whilst the sacrificial institutions, the precepts, and the ritual of the Bible and Talmud, receive at the same time a profound spiritual import. The *Kabbalah* is therefore a hermeneutical system, which originated about 1200-1230 to oppose the philosophical school of Maimonides.

The relationship between the *Kabbalah* and Neo-Platonism is apparent. The *Kabbalah* elevates

* The *Othijoth of R. Akiba* and *He-Chaloth* have been published by Jellinek, *Beth Ha-Midrash*, vol. ii., Leipzig 1853, p. 40-47; vol. iii., Leipzig 1855, p. 12-64, 83-108; *Shiur Koma* is contained in the *Sepher Rasiel*, published in Amsterdam 1701. A masterly dissertation on these works, and on Jewish mysticism in general, written by Graetz, has been published in Frankel's *Monatschrift*, vol. viii., Leipzig 1859, p. 67, ff.; 103, ff.; 140, ff. The book *Yetzira* has been published, with five commentaries, in Mantua 1562; with a Latin translation and notes by Rittangelius, Amsterdam 1642; and with a German translation and notes by Meyer, Leipzig 1830. Comp. also Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodliciana Col.*, 335-337, 552, 639-641.

* Nachmanides (on Job xxxviii. 29) and later Kabbalists restrict the transmigration of the soul into another body to three times, and appeal to the words הן כל אלה יפעל אל פעמים שלוש עם נבר (Job xxxviii. 29) in support of this restriction.

God above being and thinking; so Neo-Platonism (*ἐπεκείνα οὐσίας, ἐνεργείας, τοῦ καὶ νοήσεως*). The *Kabbalah* denies all divine attributes; so Neo-Platonism. The *Kabbalah*, like Neo-Platonism, places intelligent principles or substances between the Deity and the world. The *Kabbalah* teaches that the *Sephiroth* which emanated from God are not equal to God. Neo-Platonism teaches that the substances *νοῦς, ψύχη, and φύσις*, which proceeded from one being, are not equal to their origin (*οὐκ ἴσων δὲ τὸ προϊόν τῷ μελλαντι*). In classifying the *Sephiroth*, the *Kabbalah* has adopted the division into three great world spheres, *νοῦς, ψύχη, and φύσις* (עולם הנפש, עולם החכמה, and עולם השכל), and employs the forms מורנש, מוטבע, and מושכל. The comparison between the emanation of the *Sephiroth* from the *En Soph*, and the rays proceeding from light to describe immanency and perfect unity, is the same as the Neo-Platonic figure employed to illustrate the emanations from the one Being (*ὅλον ἐκ φωτός τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ περιλαμψῶν*). The doctrine of the *Kabbalah*, that most of the souls which enter the world have occupied bodies upon this earth before, is Neo-Platonic (comp. Zeller, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 944).

4. *Literature*.—Asariel, *Commentary on the doctrine of the Sephiroth* (פירוש עשר ספירות) in *questions and answers*, Warsaw 1798, and Berlin 1850; and by the same author, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, Altona 1763, falsely ascribed to Nachmanides. These works are most essential to a proper understanding of the *Kabbalah*, inasmuch as Asariel was the first Kabbalist. The celebrated *Sohar*, Mantua 1558-1560, Lublin 1623-1624, Sulzbach 1684, Amsterdam 1715, and 1728; Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin 1832, p. 402, ff.; Landauer, in *Literaturblatt des Orients*, vol. vii., 1845; vol. viii., p. 812, ff.; Franck, *La Kabbale, ou la philosophie religieuse des Juifs*, Par. 1842; *Übersetzt von Jellinek*, Leipzig 1844; Joel, *Die Religionsphilosophie des Sohars*, Leipzig 1849; Jellinek, *Moses ben Schem-Tob de Leon*, Leipzig 1851; *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kabbala*, Leipzig 1852; *Auswahl Kabbalischer Mystik*, Leipzig 1853; and *Philosophie und Kabbalah*, Leipzig 1854; Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, London 1857, p. 104-115, 299-309; Munk, *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, Paris 1859, p. 190, ff.; and especially the masterly analysis of the *Sohar* by Ignaz Stern, *Ben Chananja*, vols. i.-v.; the lucid treatise of Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. vii., 442-459; and the able review of it by Dr. Löw, *Ben Chananja*, vi. p. 325, ff., Leipzig 1863, p. 73-85.—C. D. G.

KABZEEL (קַבְזֵאֵל, 'God gathers; Baṣselel and Καβσεήλ; Alex. Κασθεήλ; *Cabseel*), a town on the south-eastern frontier of Judah, near the border of Edom (Josh. xv. 21). It could not have been far distant from Kadesh. It is probably the same town which is mentioned as the native place of Benaiah, one of David's 'mighty men' (2 Sam. xliii. 20; 1 Chron. ii. 22). There is a *Jekabzeel*

(קַבְזֵאֵל), omitted in the Vat. text of the Sept.; Alex. Καβσεήλ; *Cabseel*) mentioned by Nehemiah among the villages of Judah reoccupied after the captivity, which seems to be identical with the Kabzeel of Joshua (Neh. xi. 25). The name does not again appear in history, and the site has not

been identified. It was apparently one of those shepherd settlements which the Israelites held on the borders of the desert; and the name may have indicated the 'gathering' of the flocks.—J. L. P.

KADES (Κάδης; Syr. ܟܕܝܫ), a place mentioned, Judith i. 9, among those to which Nebuchadnezzar sent a summons to the people to join him against Arphaxad, king of the Medes. It was probably the Kadesh mentioned Josh. xv. 23 [KADESH 1].—W. L. A.

KADESH and KADESH-BARNEA (קַדֵּשׁ, 'Holy' or 'Holy-places; קַדֵּשׁ בַּרְנֵא; Κάδης, Κάδης Βαρνή; *Cades, Cades-barne*). This ancient place has given rise to much controversy. Some maintain that Kadesh and Kadesh-barnea are different places, and that even the single name Kadesh is not always applied in Scripture to the same place. One Kadesh, they say, was situated in the wilderness of Paran, and is mentioned in Num. xii. 26; another in the wilderness of Zin, mentioned in Num. xx. 1, and xxxiii. 36; and the former is identical with Kadesh-Barnea (Num. xxxii. 8), from which the spies were sent out (Wells's *Geography of the O. T.*, i. 274; Reland, *Pal.* p. 115). The site of Kadesh, too, has been disputed by those who admit that there is only one place of that name. Mr. Rowlands, who is followed by Williams (*Holy City*, i. 465, seq., 2d ed.) and Professor Tuch (*Zeitschr. der Morgenl. Gesellsch.* i. 179), locates it in the midst of the desert of Tih, about forty-five miles south of Beersheba. He was evidently misled, however, by a fancied resemblance in names (see *Bibliotheca Sacra* for May 1849, p. 377, seq.). Raumer places it at Ain Hasb, in the Arabah, twenty miles south of the Dead Sea (see Keil on Josh. x. 41); Robinson at Ain el-Weibeh (*B. R.* ii. 195); and Stanley at Petra (*S. and P.*, p. 95; *Jewish Church*, p. 180). The points at issue will be best solved by a careful examination of the topographical notices of Kadesh given in the Bible. The identification of Kadesh is highly important in a geographical point of view, as it enables us to trace with considerable exactness the routes of the Israelites. Next to Sinai it was unquestionably the most important stage in their journeyings, and the scene of some of the most remarkable events. At Kadesh the spies were sent out; there the first expedition against the Canaanites was marshalled, which resulted in such calamities; there the Israelites turned back disheartened to the desert again. To Kadesh they again returned after an interval of thirty-eight years' wandering; there Miriam died; and there, after a long residence, the people turned back a second time, being refused a passage through Moab (Num. xiii. 26; xx. 1, seq.).

The first notice of Kadesh occurs in the story of the capture of Sodom by the eastern kings (Gen. xiv.) The 'four kings' first invaded Bashan, taking Ashteroth-Karnaim; then they marched southward through Moab to Mount Seir, or Edom, and having overrun the whole of that country, they turned back 'and came to *En-Mishpat*, which is *Kadesh*;' and then they continued northward up the Arabah to the plain of Sodom. *En-Mishpat*, 'spring of judgment' (עֵין מִשְׁפָּט; τὴν πηγὴν τῆς κρίσεως; *fontem Misphat*), was doubtless a noted gathering-place of the southern nomads, where

they perhaps had an oracle, and where they assembled to consult the deity and to pay their vows; hence it came to be called *Kadesh*, 'the Holy Place.' Its position is indicated in the sacred narrative. Having traversed all Mount Seir 'unto Paran,' which lay on the west side of the Arabah, the kings evidently turned northward toward So-dom, and would thus naturally follow the course of the Arabah; in it, therefore, Kadesh appears to have been situated. It continued to be a place of note during the whole period of the patriarchs (Gen. xvi. 14; xx. 1).

There is some difficulty in connection with the next notice we find of Kadesh. We read, in Num. xii. 16, that 'the people removed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran.' From thence the twelve spies were sent out (xiii. 3); 'and they returned from searching the land after forty days. And they went and came to Moses, and to all the congregation of the children of Israel, unto the wilderness of Paran, to Kadesh' (vers. 25, 26). From this it might seem that Kadesh was only a single journey from Hazeroth, which we know was only four days' march from Sinai [HAZEROOTH]. But an examination of Deut. i. 19-21, and Num. xxxiii. 18-36, shows that between Hazeroth and Kadesh there were a great many intervening stations. These the historian, in Num. xii., passes over, in order to group together the leading events. The principal stations he groups together in chap. xxxiii.

Kadesh lay on the southern border of Canaan. After the return of the spies, who made their search during the vintage (August) of the second year of the Exodus [WANDERING], and after the defeat of the sinful people by the Canaanites (Num. xiv. 45), they were ordered to turn back from Kadesh 'into the wilderness, by the way of the Red Sea' (Deut. i. 40). This incidental notice affords also a slight indication of the situation of Kadesh. 'The way of the Red Sea' is doubtless the valley of Arabah, and this is the natural road to the wilderness of Sinai from Kadesh-Mishpat, situated as it was on the borders of Edom. Again, in the list of the journeys contained in Num. xxxiii., which seems to fill up the blank left in chap. xii., we find that in going from Ezion-gaber towards Canaan they came to Kadesh (ver. 36); and this Kadesh, we know, was on the borders of Edom, not far from Mount Hor (cf. ch. xx. 16). Thus it will be seen that in going from the wilderness of Sinai to Kadesh the Israelites passed up the Arabah, at the southern end of which Ezion-gaber stood; and in going back from Kadesh to the wilderness they passed down it. And this leads to the conclusion that En-Mishpat Kadesh, whence the spies were sent, and Kadesh-Barnea, were both in or very close to the Arabah, near the borders of Moab, and therefore most probably identical.

There is one objection to this view. The Kadesh from which the spies were sent was in the wilderness of Paran (Num. xiii. 26); Kadesh-Barnea was in the wilderness of Zin (xx. 1). This is easily removed. Paran was the general name for the whole desert west of the Arabah, extending from Palestine to Sinai (Gen. xxi. 21; Num. x. 12; xii. 16; 1 Sam. xxv. 1). It even seems to have included the Arabah, reaching to the very base of Mount Seir (Gen. xiv. 6). Zin was a specific name for that part of the Arabah which bordered on Edom and Palestine (Num. xiii. 21; xxxiv. 3, 4; Josh. xv. 1-3). If Kadesh was situated on the western side of the Arabah, then it

might be reckoned either to Paran or to Zin; or, if we agree with Keil, Delitzsch, and others (Keil on Josh. x.), that Paran was the general name for the whole, and Zin the specific name of a portion, the objection is removed at once.

One or two other topographical notices tend to fix the position still more definitely. Moses says, in his message to the Edomites, 'Behold, we are in Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of thy border' (עִיר קֶדֶשׁ בְּקֶצֶת גְּבוּלְךָ), literally, 'a city of the extremity of thy border,' Num. xx. 16). It must thus have stood upon, not, however, within, the border of Edom; but the Arabah, or wilderness of Zin, was the border of Edom; and hence Kadesh must be looked for in it. Again, it was one of the chief landmarks, at the wilderness of Zin, of the south-eastern border of the Israelitish territory (Num. xxxiv. 4), and of the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 3), which reached 'to the border of Edom' (אֶל-גְּבוּל עֲדוֹם; Josh. xv. 1). It was, besides, within a short distance of Mount Hor, whose position is well known [HOR]. All these facts and notices tend to fix the site of Kadesh in the valley of Arabah, to the west of Mount Hor, or Petra; and they are fatal to the theories of Rowlands and Stanley.

There was a fountain (מַעְיָן), and a very noted one, at Kadesh. Fountains are permanent landmarks, and in this region they are very rare. Now, there is one spot, and apparently only one, to which all these notices point as the site of Kadesh; and that is *Ain d-Weibeh*. Here is a copious fountain, to this day one of the most important watering-places in the great valley. It is situated on the western border of the Arabah, north-west of Petra. From it Mount Hor is seen to fine advantage, towering in lone majesty at the distance of about twenty miles. 'We were much struck,' says Dr. Robinson, 'while at Weibeh, with the entire adaptedness of its position to the scriptural account of the proceedings of the Israelites on their second arrival at Kadesh. There was at Kadesh a fountain, called also En-Mishpat; this was then either partially dried up, or exhausted by the multitude, so that there was no water for the congregation. By a miracle water was brought forth abundantly out of the rock. Moses now sent messengers to the king of Edom, informing him that they were 'in Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of his border;' and asking leave to pass through his country, so as to continue their course around Moab and approach Palestine from the east. This Edom refused; and the Israelites accordingly marched to Mount Hor, where Aaron died; and then along the Arabah to the Red Sea. Here all these scenes were before our eyes. Here was the fountain, even to this day the most frequented watering-place in all the Arabah. On the north-west is the mountain, by which the Israelites had formerly assayed to ascend to the land of Palestine, and were driven back. Over against us lay the land of Edom; we were in its uttermost border; and the great Wady el-Ghuweir, affording a direct and easy passage through the mountains to the table-land above, was directly before us; while farther in the south, Mount Hor formed a prominent and striking object' (B. R. ii. 174, 79.)

The traditions preserved by Josephus, the Talmudists, Eusebius, and Jerome, which Professor Stanley adduces as tending to prove the identity of Petra and Kadesh, certainly show that the two

places were *near each other*, and closely linked together by the facts of Israelitish history; but farther than this they do not go (*S. and P.*, 95). Kadesh appears to have been known to Eusebius and Jerome, and they clearly distinguish it from Petra. The former says, *Βαρη, αὐτὴ ἐστὶ τῇ Κάδης Βαρη ἐν ὁρησὶ τῇ παρασκευαστῇ Πέτρα πῶλει*; and Jerome translating 'BARNE, haec ipsa est, quae et Cades Barne in deserto, quod extenditur usque ad urbem Petram' (*Onomast.*, s.v. *Barne*). In his Commentary on Gen. xiv. 7, Jerome writes 'Significat autem locum apud Petram, qui fons iudicii nominatur; quia ibi Deus populum iudicavit;' and again he says, 'Cades, ubi fons est iudicii, et Cadesbarne in deserto quae conjungitur civitati Petrae in Arabia' (*Onomast.*, s.v. *Cades*). The local traditions which now linger round Petra are far too obscure to have any influence on a question of topography. One fact alone is final against the identification of Petra and Kadesh. The former is ten miles within the border of Edom, and in the very heart of Mount Seir; whereas Kadesh was on the border of the territory of Judah, and became apparently one of the cities of that tribe (*Josh.* xv. 3, 23. See, however, Stanley, *S. and P.*, pp. 94-97).

Kadesh is called a city (*Num.* x. 16, עִיר); and it is the only station of the Israelites so called. The houses were probably constructed rudely and slightly, like those of the semi-nomad tribes of the Sinai Peninsula; and we have no notice whatever of the inhabitants. There are no ruins round or near the fountain of El-Weibeh. The Israelites were unquestionably twice at Kadesh, and remained there on each occasion for a considerable time. They came here about July of the *second* year of the Exodus, and again about the same time of the *fortieth* year (*Num.* xii. 16; xiii. 26; xx. 1, etc.). During the intervening thirty-eight years they wandered through the desert; and of the journeyings during that period, no account is given. Moses, in summing up the principal journeys (*Num.* xxxiii.), enumerates the stations as far as Kadesh, to which they proceeded after the giving of the Law on Sinai; then he passes over the whole interval of the thirty-eight years, during which the curse was upon them, and takes up the narrative again when they visit Kadesh the second time, and leads them on to Canaan. During this second visit Miriam dies, and Jerome speaks of her tomb as still shown there in his day (*Onomast.*, s.v. *Cades*); Moses and Aaron bring water from the rock, and in doing so sinned so heinously that the Lord would not permit them to enter Canaan. The fountain opened was appropriately named *Meribah*, 'strife.' After this sad event, and the refusal of Edom to grant them a passage, 'the whole congregation journeyed from Kadesh and came unto Mount Hor' (*Num.* xx. 1-22); and we hear of Kadesh no more except as a mark of the boundary of Palestine.—J. L. P.

KADKOD (כַּדְכֹד). This word occurs *Is.* liv. 12, and *Ezek.* xxvii. 16; in both of which places it is rendered in the A. V. by *agate*, with the marginal note on the latter passage, 'Heb. chrysoprase.' The LXX. has in the former passage *ιασπυρ*, *jasper*, whilst in the latter the translator has retained the original word, which he seems to have read כַּדְכֹד; Gr. *Χορχόρ*, and to have taken for the name of a place. The Vulg. also retains the original word here, reading it *Chodchod*, but

in the other passage it follows the LXX., and gives *jaspidem*. The Targ. gives in both places מַרְנִלִין, *pearls*; the Syr. in *Is.* has ܡܪܢܠܝܢ,

of jaspers, and in *Ezek.* ܡܪܢܠܝܢ, which is rendered in the London Polyglott, *acupidium*. It is evident that great uncertainty prevailed as to the real meaning of the original word; and, indeed, Jerome confesses that he has not been able to find what the word means ('quid significat usque in praesentiam invenire non potui'). Rosenmuller argues that, from its being used by Isaiah as material for *windows*, it must be a stone of a chrysaline character; but the force of this is greatly destroyed by the uncertainty attaching to the meaning of the word שֶׁמַשְׁתֹּת, *Shemashoth*, used by Isaiah, and which the more recent interpreters generally prefer to take in the sense of *battlements* (*Sept.* *ἑωλέξεις*) to that of *windows*. The prevailing opinion is, that the Kadkod was a species of *ruby*; but this rests solely on the resemblance to the

Arabic word كَدْكَدَة, *Kadkadzat*, which signifies,

according to the *Kamus*, *vivid redness*, and cannot be accepted as conclusive. The Hebrew root from which כַּדְכֹד is said to be derived is the obsolete כָּדַד, signifying, it is said, *to strike fire*, so that

Kadkod would convey the idea of a sparkling gem; but this tells us nothing as to the kind of gem it denoted, and besides, like various other such etymologies in Hebrew lexicons, the reasoning is wholly in a circle, the meaning assigned to the verb being derived from the noun, and that assigned to the noun being derived from the verb. The Targ. Jon. on *Exod.* xxxix. 11, gives כַּדְכֹדִין,

Kadkudin, as the equivalent of the Hebrew יָהֳלִים, *Yahalom*, and as this was a stone of the flint family, and as the *agate* belongs to the same family, the A. V. is probably not far wrong in its rendering.—W. L. A.

KADMIEL (קַדְמִיֵּאל; *Sept.* *Καδμυήλ*). Whether this is the name of a person or of a class among the Levites is uncertain. From the passages in which it first occurs (*Ezra* ii. 40; *Neh.* vii. 43), it might be concluded that it is the proper name of the Levite who was president of one of the classes of the Levites in the time of Zerubbabel; but in *Neh.* ix. 4, 5, and x. 9, it appears rather as the designation of a class than of a person. In *Neh.* xii. 24 it is undoubtedly, as the text stands, the name of a person; but a comparison of this passage with *Neh.* x. 9, xii. 8, and *Ezra* ii. 40, leads to the conclusion that כַּדְמִי here should probably be omitted. Probably this name, as well as the others with which it is joined, was originally the name of the person presiding over one of the Levitical classes, and came subsequently to denote the class over which he presided.—W. L. A.

KADMONITES (קַדְמוֹנִי, 'Eastern'; *Κεδμωνῆται*; *Cedmonæi*), one of the tribes which inhabited the country given in covenant promise to Abraham. The word *Kadmoni* occurs only in *Gen.* xv. 19. The Jerusalem Targum has in this passage, 'All the children of the East' (*Reland*, p. 141); and some of the Talmudists suppose the Nabatheans are meant (*Id.*, p. 94); but this is impossible, since the Nabatheans were Ishmaelites, and the Kad-

monites are mentioned as living in the time of Abraham. The country included in the promise extended from 'the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates' (Gen. xv. 18). Of the tribes mentioned it would seem probable that the Kadmonites lived beyond the bounds of Canaan proper, that is, in Arabia or towards the Euphrates; because, though the tribes of Canaan are often enumerated afterwards, the Kadmonites are never alluded to. (See Exod. iii. 17; xiii. 5; xxiii. 23; Deut. vii. 1; Josh. iii. 10, etc.) Perhaps, therefore, the Kadmonites, as the name would seem to imply, were a tribe, or number of tribes, living to the 'east' of Canaan; and the name would thus be equivalent to *Bene Kedem*, which occurs frequently in Bible history (A. V., 'people' or 'children of the east:' Gen. xxix. 1; Judg. vi. 3. See *BENEI-KEDEM*). This is the opinion of Wells (*Geog.* i, p. 170), Kalisch (*Gen.*, ad loc.), Ritter (*Pal. and Syr.*, ii. 138), and Lightfoot, who quotes the traditions of the Talmudists (*Opera*, ii. 429). Bochart advances a theory more curious than credible. The Kadmonites were the same as the Hivites, and were so called because they dwelt under mount Hermon, which is the most easterly part of Canaan. *Cadmonite* is thus identical with *Hermonite*; and hence he concludes that *Cadmus* was a Cadmonite, and that his wife *Hermione* derived her name from her native place *Hermon* (*Opera*, i. 447).—J. L. P.

KALAMOS (καλαμος). [KANEH.]

KALI (כָּלִי, כָּלִי). This word occurs in several passages of the O. T., in all of which, in the A. V., it is translated *parched corn*. The correctness of this translation has not, however, been assented to by all commentators. The Syr. Targ. Onk. and Jon. use the Hebrew word, Lev. xxiii. 14; 1 Sam. xvii. 17; xxv. 18; 2 Sam. xvii. 28. Arias Montanus and others render *kali* by the word *tostum*, considering it to be derived from כָּלָה, which in the Hebrew signifies *torere*, 'to toast' or 'parch.' So in the Arabic قَلِي, *kali*, signifies anything cooked in a frying-pan, and is applied to the common Indian dish which by Europeans is called currie or curry. قَالِي *kalee*, and قَالَا *kalla*, signify one that fries, or a cook.

From the same root is supposed to be derived the word *kali* or *al-kali*, now so familiarly known as alkali, which is obtained from the ashes of burnt vegetables. But as in the various passages of Scripture where it occurs, *kali* is without any adjunct, different opinions have been entertained respecting the substance which is to be understood as having been toasted or parched. By some it is supposed to have been corn in general; by others, only wheat. Some Hebrew writers maintain that flour or meal, and others, that *parched meal*, is intended, as in the passage of Ruth ii. 14, where the Septuagint translates *kali* by ἀφρον, and the Vulgate by *polenta*. A difficulty, however, occurs in the case of 2 Sam. xvii. 28, where the word occurs twice in the same verse. We are told that Shobi and others, on David's arrival at Mahanaim, in the further limit of the tribe of Gad, 'brought beds, and basins, and earthen vessels, and wheat, and barley, and flour, and *parched corn* (*kali*),

and beans, and lentils, and *parched pulse* (*kali*), and honey, and butter, and sheep, and cheese of kine, for David and for the people that were with him to eat.' This is a striking representation of what may be seen every day in the East: when a traveller arrives at a village, the common light beds of the country are brought him, as well as earthen pots, with food of different kinds. The meaning of the above passage is explained by the statement of Hebrew writers, that there are two kinds of *kali*—one made of *parched corn*, the other of *parched pulse*; see R. Salomon, *ex Avoda Zarah*, fol. xxxviii. 2, as quoted by Celsius (ii. 233).

There is no doubt that in the East a little meal, either parched or not, mixed with a little water, often constitutes the dinner of the natives, especially of those engaged in laborious occupations, as boatmen while dragging their vessels up rivers, and unable to make any long delay. Another principal preparation, much and constantly in use in Western Asia, is *burgoul*, that is, corn first boiled, then bruised in the mill to take the husk off, and afterwards dried or parched in the sun. In this state it is preserved for use, and employed for the same purposes as rice (Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 394). The meal of parched corn is also much used, particularly by travellers, who mix it with honey, butter, and spices, and so eat it; or else mix it with water only, and drink it as a draught, the refrigerating and satisfying qualities of which they justly extol (*Pictorial Bible*, ii. p. 537). Parched grain is also, no doubt, very common. Thus, in the bazaars of India, not only may rice be obtained in a parched state, but also the seeds of the *Nymphaea*, and of the *Nelumbium Speciosum*, or bean of Pythagoras, and most abundantly the pulse called *gram* by the English, on which their cattle are chiefly fed. This is the *Cicer Aritinum* of botanists, or chick-pea, which is common even in Egypt and the south of Europe, and may be obtained everywhere in India in a parched state, under the name of *chebenne*. We know not whether it be the same pulse that is mentioned in the article DOVE'S DUNG, a sort of pulse or pea, which appears to have been very common in Judea. Belon (*Observat.*, ii. 53) informs us that large quantities of it are parched and dried, and stored in magazines at Cairo and Damascus. It is much used during journeys, and particularly by the great pilgrim caravans to Mecca.

Considering all these points, it does not appear to us by any means certain that *kali* is correctly translated 'parched corn' in all the passages of Scripture. Bochart says (*Hieroz.* part ii. lib. i. c. 7), 'Kali ab Hieronymo redditur *frictum cicer*;' and to show that it was the practice among the ancients to parch the cicer, he quotes Plautus (*Bacch.* iv. 5. 7): 'Tam frictum ego illum reddam, quam frictum est cicer;' also Horace (*De Arte Poetica*, l. 249) and others; and shows from the writings of the Rabbins that *kali* was also applied to some kind of pulse. The name *kali* seems, moreover, to have been widely spread through Asiatic countries. Thus in Shakspeare's *Hindoe Dictionary*, काली *kalee*, from the Sanscrit

कलाय translated *pulse*—leguminous seeds

in general. The present writer found it applied in the Himalayas to the common field-pea, and

has thus mentioned it elsewhere: '*Pisum arvense*. Cultivated in the Himalayas, also in the plains of north-west India, found wild in the Khadie of the Jumna, near Delhi; the *corra multior* of the natives, called *Kullae* in the hills' (*Illustr. of Himalayan Botany*, p. 200). Hence we are disposed to consider the pea, or the chick-pea, as more correct than parched corn in some of the above passages of Scripture.—J. F. R.

KANAH (קנה), 'a reed'; *Χελκάρη*, in Josh. xvi. 8, is formed by connecting the two last letters of קנה ['river'] to the proper name; Alex. *Kavd*; in Josh. xvii. 9, *Kapard*; Alex. *Kavd*; in *vallem arundinatis*, a river running into the Mediterranean, and forming part of the boundary line between the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh (Josh. xvi. 8; xvii. 9). It is not again mentioned in Scripture. Eusebius and Jerome merely notice it as '*Cana* in the tribe of Ephraim,' and '*Cane* in the tribe of Manasseh' (*Onomast.*, s.v.). There is a *Wady Kanah* which takes its rise in the plain of Mukhna, south of Nabulus, and runs south-west till it joins Nahr-el-Aujeh, and falls into the sea about four miles north of Joppa. This Dr. Robinson would identify with the river *Kanah* (*B. R.* iii. 135); but it is evidently much too far south. The river Kanah was on the northern border of Ephraim; Wady Kanah runs through the centre of that territory. Schwartz and Van de Velde suppose that a streamlet called *Kasab* (קסב, 'reeds')

is the Kanah of Scripture; but though the name seems to favour the identity, the situation is too far south, running as it does through Wady Shafr, in the parallel of Samaria (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 327, and see his map). The Nahr el-Akhdar, a small stream which rises in the mountains south of Megiddo, flows across the plain of Sharon, and falls into the Mediterranean about two miles south of the ruins of Caesarea, would answer better to the position of Kanah. Its banks are low, marshy, and covered with jungles of 'reeds,' from which it may have taken its ancient name; and this appears to be the stream which Bohadin in his *Life of Saladin* calls Nahr el-Kasab (نهر القصب, 'the river of reeds'; p. 191, ed. Schultens).

2. A town of Asher (Josh. xix. 28, *Kavdar*; Alex. *Kavd*; *Cana*) on its northern border. Eusebius confounds it with Cana of Galilee; but it must have been much farther north, as it is mentioned in connection with Sidon (*Onomast.*, s.v. *Cana*). There can be no doubt that it is identical with the village of Kana, situated on the side of the mountain range about three hours east by south of Tyre. It is a modern village, containing about 300 families, with no traces of ruins. About a mile north of it is a very ancient site, strewn with ruins, some of them of colossal proportions; and in the side of a ravine not far distant are some singular figures of men, women, and children, cut on the side of a cliff (Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 200; *Handbook for S. and P.*, pp. 395, 442; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 455; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 327).

KANEH (קנה) occurs in several places of the O. T., in all of which, in the A. V., it is translated *reed*; as in 1 Kings xiv. 15; 2 Kings xviii.

21; Job xl. 21; Is. xix. 6; xxxv. 7; xxxvi. 6; xlii. 3; Ezek. xxix. 6. The Hebrew *Kaneh* would seem to be the original of the Greek *kána*, the Latin *canna*, and the modern *canna*, *canne*, *cane*, etc., signifying a 'reed' or 'cane,' also a fence or mat made of reeds or rushes: the Latin word also denotes the sugar-cane, a pipe, etc. Hence the term appears to have been used in a general sense in ancient as well as in modern times. Thus we find in Hakluyt, 'Then they pricke him (the elephant) with sharp *canes*;' (Milton (*Par. Lost*, iii. 439) describes the Tatars as driving—

'With sails and wind their cany waggons light;'

Grainger also, when referring to the Indians, as described by Lucan, says, 'That sucke sweete liquor from their sugar-canes.' In later times the term cane has been applied more particularly to the stems of the *Calamus Rotang*, and other species of rattan canes, which we have good grounds for believing were unknown to the ancients, notwithstanding the opinion of Sprengel (*Hist. Rei Herb.* i. 171), 'Ctesias duo genera *καλαμων* facit, marem sine medulla et feminam ea præditam, hanc sine dubio *Calamum Rotang*, illam *Bambusam* nostram. Repetit ea Plinius (xvi. 36).'

The Greek word *καλαμος* appears to have been considered the proper equivalent for the Hebrew *Kaneh*, being the term used by St. Matthew (xii. 20), when quoting the words of Isaiah (xlii. 3), 'A bruised *reed* (Kaneh) shall he not break.' The Greek word Latinized is well known in the forms of *calamus* and *culmus*. Both seem to stand related to the Arabic *قلم* *kalm*, signifying a

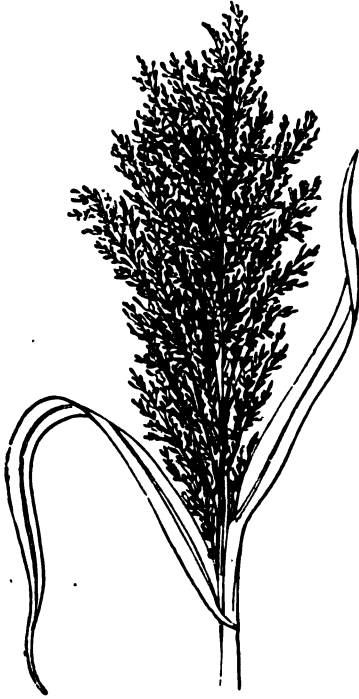
'reed' or 'pen,' also a weaver's reed, and even cutting of trees for planting or grafting; comp. the Sanscrit कलम *kalm*, having the same signification.

The German *halm*, and the English *haulm*, usually applied to the straw or stems of grasses, would seem to have the same origin. The Greek *καλαμος*, and the Latin *calamus*, were used with as wide a signification as the Oriental *kalm*, and denoted a reed, the stalk or stem of corn, or anything made therefrom, as a pen, an arrow, a reed-pipe. *Kάλαμος* is also applied to any plant which is neither shrub, bush (*βύλη*), nor tree (*δένδρον*) (see Liddell and Scott's *Greek Lex.*) So *calamus* means any twig, sprig, or scion; comp. Pliny xvi. 14. 24; xxiv. 14. 75; and in India we every day hear the expression, '*kalm* lugana,' i. e., 'to apply' or 'fix' a graft.

Such references to the meaning of these words in different languages may appear to have little relation to our present subject; but *καλαμος* occurs very frequently in the N. T., and apparently with the same latitude of meaning: thus, in the sense of a reed or culm of a grass, Matt. xi. 7; Luke vii. 24, 'A reed shaken by the wind;' of a pen, in 3 John 13, 'But I will not write with *pen* (*καλαμος*) and ink write unto thee;' Matt. xxvii. 29, 'Put a reed in his right hand;' ver. 30, 'took the reed and smote him on the head; and in Mark xv. 19, it may mean a reed or twig of any kind. So also in Matt. xxvii. 48, and Mark xv. 36, where it is said that they filled a sponge with vinegar, and put it on a *reed*, while in the parallel passage, John xix. 29, it is said that they filled a sponge with vinegar, and put it upon *hyssop*, and put it to his mouth.

From which it is probable that the term *κάλανος* was applied by both the Evangelists to the stem of the plant named hyssop, whatever this may have been, in like manner as Pliny applied the term *Calamus* to the stem of a bramble.

In most of the passages of the O. T. the word *Kaneh* seems to be applied strictly to reeds of different kinds growing in water, that is, to the hollow stems or culms of grasses, which are usually weak, easily shaken about by wind or by water, fragile, and breaking into sharp-pointed splinters. Comp. 1 Kings xiv. 15; Job. xl. 21; Is. xix. 6; xxxv. 7; 2 Kings xviii. 21; Is. xxxvi. 6; and Ezek. xxix. 7, etc.



293. *Arundo donax*.

In order to determine what particular kinds of reed-like plants are intended in these several passages, the preferable mode is probably first to ascertain the plants to which the above names were applied by the Greeks and Romans, and particularly those which are indigenous in Syria and Egypt. Dioscorides describes the different kinds in his chapter *περὶ καλάνου* (i. 114). 1. *Κάλανος ὁ ναστός*, or the *Arundo farcta*, of which arrows are made (*Arundo arenaria*?). 2. The female, of which reed pipes were made (*A. donax*?). 3. Hollow, with frequent knots, fitted for writing, probably a species of *Saccharum*. 4. Thick and hollow, growing in rivers, which is called *donax*, and also *Cypria* (*Arundo donax*). 5. *Phragmites* (*Arundo Phragmites*), slender, light-coloured, and well-known. 6. The reed called *Phleas* (*Arundo ampelodesmos Cyrillii*). (*Flora Næpol.* t. xii.) These are all described (*l.c.*) immediately before the Papyrus, while *κάλανος ἀρωματικός* is described in a different part of the book,

namely, in ch. 17, along with spices and perfumes. The Arabs describe the different kinds of reed under the head of *قصب* *Kusb*, or *Kussub*, of

which they give *Kalamus* as the synonymous Greek term. Under the head of *Kussub*, both the Bamboo and the Arundo are included as varieties, while *Kusb-al-Sukr* is the sugar-cane, or *Saccharum officinarum*, and *Kusb-el-Zurreh* appears to be the *Calamus aromaticus* [KANEH-BOSEM]. All these were, no doubt, partially known to the ancients. Pliny mentions what must have been the Bamboo, as to be seen of a large size in temples.

From the context of the several passages of Scripture in which *Kaneh* is mentioned, it is evident that it was a plant growing in water; and we have seen from the meaning of the word in other languages that it must have been applied to one of the true reeds; as, for instance, *Arundo Ægyptiaca* (perhaps only a variety of *A. donax*), mentioned by M. Bové as growing on the banks of the Nile; or it may have been the *Arundo isiacæ* of Delile, which is closely allied to *A. Phragmites*, the *Canna* and *Canne* of the south of Europe, which has been already mentioned under AGMON.

In the N. T. *κάλανος* seems to be applied chiefly to plants growing in dry and even barren situations, as in Luke vii. 24. To such passages, some of the species of reed-like grasses, with slender stems and light flocculent inflorescence, formerly referred to *Saccharum*, but now separated as distinct genera, are well suited; as, for instance, *Imperata cylindrica* (*Arundo epigeios*, Forsk.), the *kulfeh* of the Arabs; which is found in such situations, as by Desfontaines in the north of Africa, by Delile in Lower Egypt, by Forskal near Cairo and Rosetta. Bové mentions that near Mount Sinai, 'Dans les déserts qui environnent ces montagnes, j'ai trouvé plusieurs *Saccharum*,' etc. In India, the natives employ the culm of different species of this genus for making their reed-pens and arrows.

Hence, as has already been suggested by Rosenmüller, the noun *Kaneh* ought to be restricted to reeds, or reed-like grasses, while *Agmon* may indicate the more slender and delicate grasses or sedges growing in wet situations, but which are still tough enough to be made into ropes.—J. F. R.

KANEH BOSEM (קנה בושם, 'reed of fragrance') and KANEH HATTOB (קנה חטוב, *calamus bonus*, 'good' or 'fragrant reed') appear to have reference to the same substance. It is mentioned under the name of *kaneh bosem* in Exod. xxx. 23, and under that of *kaneh hallob* in Jer. vi. 20. It is probably intended also by *kaneh* ('reed') simply in Cant. iv. 14; Is. xliii. 24; and Ezek. xxvii. 19; as it is enumerated with other fragrant and aromatic substances. From the passages in which it is mentioned we learn that it was fragrant and reed-like, and that it was brought from a far country (Jer. vi. 20; Ezek. xxvii. 19).

In Dioscorides, bk. i. c. 17, a *κάλανος ἀρωματικός* is described among the *aromata*, immediately after *Σχοῖνος*. It is stated to be a produce of India, of a tawny colour, much jointed, breaking into splinters, and having the hollow stem filled with pith, like the web of a spider; also that it is mixed with ointments and fumigations on account of its

odour. Hippocrates was acquainted with apparently the same substance, which he calls *κάλανος εὐώδης* and *σχοῖνος εὐσμος*, also *κάλανος σχοῖνος*: though it is impossible to say that the *σχοῖνος* of Dioscorides, or *schœnanthus*, is not intended by some of these names. Theophrastus describes both the *calamus* and *schœnus* as natives of Syria,



294. *Andropogon calamus aromaticus*.

or more precisely, of a valley between Mount Lebanon and a small mountain, where there is a plain and a lake, in parts of which there is a marsh, where they are produced, the smell being perceived by any one entering the place. This account is virtually followed by Pliny, though he also mentions the sweet *calamus* as a produce of Arabia. Polybius also (v. 45) says that in the valley between the Libanus and Anti-Libanus the narrowest part is covered by a lake with marshy ground, from whence are gathered aromatic reeds, *ἐξ ὧν ὁ μυρεψικὸς κέλεται κάλαμος*. Strabo mentions that the *calamus* grows in the country of the Sabæi (xvi. 4); but speaking of Cœle-Syria and its mountains, Libanus and Anti-Libanus, he says (xvi. 2), 'It is intersected by rivers, irrigating a rich country, abounding in all things. It also contains a lake, which produces the aromatic rush (*σχοῖνος*) and reed (*κάλανος*). There are also marshes. The lake is called Gennesaritis. The balsam also grows here.' But how little dependence is to be placed upon the statements of those who do not pay special attention to the localities of plants, might be made evident by quotations from several modern authors, who often mistake the last place of export for the native country of a plant, and sometimes even place in the Old World plants which are only found in America.

That there may be some moderately sweet-scented grass, or rush-like plant, such as the *Acorus Calamus* of botanists (long used as a substitute for the true *calamus*), in the flat country between Libanus and Anti-Libanus, is quite possible; but we have no proof of the fact. Burckhardt, in that situation, could find only ordinary rushes and reeds. Though Theophrastus, Polybius, and Strabo, mention this locality as that producing the *calamus*, yet Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and others, even including Pliny, give Arabia, or the country of the Sabæans, as that which produced the aromatic reed; while Dioscorides, the only author who writes expressly of the drugs known to the ancients, mentions it being the produce of India. Bochart argues against India being the sole country producing *calamus*, because he supposes that it could not have been open to commerce in those early times (*Hieroz.*, pars. ii. lib. v. c. 6). Dr. Vincent, on the contrary (*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, ii. 365), says, 'So far as a private opinion is of weight, I am fully persuaded that this line of communication with the East is the oldest in the world—older than Moses or Abraham.' Indeed, it is now generally acknowledged that India and Egypt must have had commercial intercourse during the flourishing state of the kingdom of the Pharaohs. For in this way only can we account for numerous Indian products being mentioned in the Bible, and for their being known to the early Greek writers. Many of these substances are treated of under their respective heads in this work.

The author of the present article, in his *Essay on the Antiquity of Hindoo Medicine*, p. 33, remarks, 'With this (that is, the true Spikenard or NARD) has often been confounded another far-famed aromatic of Eastern climes, that is, the true *calamus aromaticus*, *κάλανος ἀρωματικός* of Dioscorides, said by him to grow in India. This he describes immediately after *σχοῖνος*, translated *juncus odoratus*, a produce of Africa and Arabia, and generally acknowledged by botanists to be the *andropogon schœnanthus*, or lemon-grass, a native both of Arabia and India, perhaps also of Africa. The *calamus aromaticus*, immediately following this, stated to be also a native of India, and among other uses being mixed with ointments on account of its odour, appears to me to have been a plant allied to the former. There is no plant which more closely coincides with every thing that is required—that is, correspondence in description, analogy to *σχοῖνος*, the possession of remarkable fragrance and stimulant properties, being costly, and the produce of a far country—than the plant which yields the fragrant grass-oil of Namur (*Calcutta Med. Trans.*, vol. i. p. 367). This oil has been already described by Mr. Hatchett (*On the Spikenard of the Ancients*), who refers it to *andropogon Iwarancusa*. It is derived, however, as appears by specimens in my possession, from a different plant; to which, believing it to be a new species, I have given the name of *andropogon calamus aromaticus*' (p. 34). 'This species is found in Central India, extends north as far as Delhi, and south to between the Godavery and Nagpore, where, according to Dr. Malcolmson, it is called spear-grass. The specimens which Mr. H. obtained from Mr. Swinton, I have had an opportunity of examining: they are identical with my own from the same part of India' (Royle, *Illustr. Himal. Bot.*, p. 425).

As this plant is a true grass, it has necessarily reed-like stems (the *σπύγγα* of Dioscorides). They are remarkable for their agreeable odour: so are the leaves when bruised, and also the delightfully fragrant oil distilled from them. Hence it appears more fully entitled to the commendations which the *calamus aromaticus* or sweet-cane has received, than any other plant that has been described, even the attar of roses hardly excepted. That a grass similar to the fragrant *andropogon*, or at least one growing in the same kind of soil and climate, was employed by the ancients, we have evidence in the fact of the Phœnicians who accompanied Alexander in his march across the arid country of Gedrosia having recognised and loaded their cattle with it, as one of the perfumes of commerce. It is in a similar country, that is, the arid plains of Central India, that the above *andropogon calamus aromaticus* is found, and where the fragrant essential oil is distilled from its leaves, culms, and roots (*Essay on Hindoo Medicine*, p. 142).

If we compare the foregoing statement with the different passages of Scripture, we shall find that this fragrant grass answers to all that is required. Thus, in Exod. xxx. 23, the fragrant reed, along with the principal spices, such as myrrh, sweet cinnamon, and cassia, is directed to be made into an oil of holy ointment. So the *calamus aromaticus* may be found mentioned as an ingredient in numerous fragrant oils and ointments, from the time of Theophrastus to that of the Arabs. Its essential oil is now sold in the shops, but under the erroneous name of oil of spikenard, which is a very different substance. [NARD.] In Cant. iv. 14 it is mentioned along with spikenard, saffron, cinnamon, trees of frankincense, myrrh, and aloes. Again, its value is indicated in Is. (xlii. 24), 'thou hast bought me no sweet cane with money;' and that it was obtained from a distant land is indicated in Jer. vi. 20, 'to what purpose cometh there to me incense from Sheba, and the sweet cane from a far country?'—while the route of the commerce is pointed out in Ezek. xxvii. 19, 'Dan also and Javan going to and fro occupied in thy fairs: bright iron, cassia, and calamus were in thy market.' To the Scripture notices, then, as well as to the description of Dioscorides, the tall grass which yields the fragrant grass-oil of Central India answers in every respect: the author of this article consequently named and figured it as the *Kaneh bosem* in his *Illustr. of Himal. Botany*, p. 425, t. 97.—J. F. R.

KARCOM (כַּרְכֹּם; Sept. *κάρκος*) occurs only once in the O. T., viz., in Cant. iv. 14, where it is mentioned along with several fragrant and stimulant substances, such as spikenard, calamus, and cinnamon, trees of frankincense, myrrh, and aloes (ahalim); we may, therefore, suppose that it was some substance possessed of similar properties. The name, however, is so similar to the Persian کَرَم *karkam*, and both to the Greek *κάρκος*, that we have no difficulty in tracing the Hebrew *karcom* to the modern crocus or saffron; but, in fact, the most ancient Greek translators of the O. T. considered *κάρκος* as the synonym for *karcom*. It is also probable that all three names had one common origin, saffron having from the earliest times been cultivated in Asiatic countries, as it still is in Persia and Cashmere. Crocus is mentioned by Homer,

Hippocrates, and Theophrastus. Dioscorides describes the different kinds of it, and Pliny states that the benches of the public theatres were strewed with saffron; indeed 'the ancients frequently made use of this flower in perfumes. Not only saloons, theatres, and places which were to be filled with a pleasant fragrance, were strewed with this substance, but all sorts of vinous tinctures retaining the scent were made of it, and this costly perfume was poured into small fountains, which diffused the odour which was so highly esteemed. Even fruit and confitures placed before guests, and the ornaments of the rooms, were spread over with it. It was used for the same purposes as the modern pot-pourri' (Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Bot.*, p. 138). In the present day a very high price is given in India for saffron imported from Cashmere; native dishes are often coloured and flavoured with it, and it is in high esteem as a stimulant medicine. The common name, saffron, is no doubt derived from the Arabic زعفران, *zafran*, as are the corresponding terms in most of the languages of Europe.



295. *Crocus sativus*.

Nothing, therefore, was more likely than that saffron should be associated with the foregoing fragrant substances in the passage of Canticles, as it still continues to be esteemed by Asiatic nations, and, as we have seen, to be cultivated by them. Hasselquist also, in reference to this Biblical plant, describes the ground between Smyrna and Magnesia as in some places covered with saffron, and Rauwolf mentions gardens and fields of crocus in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, and particularizes a fragrant variety in Syria.

The name *saffron*, as usually applied, does not denote the whole plant, nor even the whole flower of *crocus sativus*, but only the stigmas, with part of the style, which, being plucked out, are carefully dried. These, when prepared, are dry, narrow, thread-like, and twisted together, of an orange-yellow colour, having a peculiar aromatic and penetrating odour, with a bitterish and somewhat aromatic taste, tinging the mouth and saliva of a yellow colour. Sometimes the stigmas are prepared by being submitted to pressure, and thus made into what is called *cake saffron*, a form in

which it is still imported from Persia into India. Hay saffron is obtained in this country chiefly from France and Spain, though it is also sometimes prepared from the native crocus cultivated for this purpose. Saffron was formerly highly esteemed as a stimulant medicine, and still enjoys high repute in Eastern countries, both as a medicine and as a condiment.—J. F. R.

KAREM (קָרֵם). In the Septuagint version a group of eleven towns is inserted between vers. 59 and 60 of Josh. xv., and among these is Karem. This is not the place to discuss the question of the genuineness of that passage. It is enough to say that it does not occur in any Hebrew MS.; that Jerome affirms that it does not exist in the Hebrew, nor in any version besides the LXX.; that it does exist now, and always has existed, in the various codices of the LXX. Jerome thinks the passage genuine, but willfully omitted by Jewish copyists (*Comment. in Mich.* v. 2); Clericus and Capellus also think it genuine, but omitted by *Homoioteuton* (*Crit. Sac.* iv. 5. 3); Buxtorf, Rosenmüller, and others, pronounce it spurious. There can be no doubt that these towns are all situated in the district lying between Bethzur and Jerusalem, and none of the other groups contain any town in that district. Karem is doubtless identical with the modern *Ain Kārem*, a little village situated on the left bank of Wady Beit Hanfna, three and a half miles west of Jerusalem. It is the reputed birth-place of John the Baptist. It contains a convent and church; the latter is said to occupy the site of the house of Zacharias. A grotto beneath the church has the following legend inscribed on a slab in the floor:—‘Hic Præcursor Domini natus est’ (Quaresmius, ii. 709, seq.; *Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 233; Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 272; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 266).—J. L. P.

KARKAA (קָרְקָא), with the art. and ה local, ‘floor,’ and perhaps ‘flat,’ Καδής; *Carcaa*, a place on the southern border of Judah, situated on the high table-land west of Kadesh-barnea (Josh. xv. 3). It is not again mentioned, and the site is unknown.—J. L. P.

KARKOR (קָרְקֹר), ‘level ground’= قَرَقَر; *Karkp*; Alex. *Karkd*; omitted in the Vulgate), a place on the east side of the Jordan to which Zeba and Zalmunna fled with their army when defeated by Gideon (Judg. viii. 10). Its situation is not described, but we read that when Gideon pursued them, he ‘went up (from the ford at Succoth) by the way of them that dwell in tents, on the east of Nobah and Jogbehah’ (ver. 11). It must therefore have been somewhere on the level plateau of Mishor, near the eastern border of Moab [JOGBEHAH]. Eusebius and Jerome mention it as in their day a castle (φρούριον) a day’s journey distant from Petra (*Onomast.*, s.v. *Carcar*). The site is now unknown; but that assigned to it by Eusebius seems too far south.—J. L. P.

KARPAS (כָּרְפַס) occurs in the book of Esther (i. 6), in the description of the hangings ‘in the court of the garden of the king’s palace,’ at the time of the great feast given in the city Shushan, or Susan, by Ahasuerus, who ‘reigned from India even unto Ethiopia.’ We are told that there were

white, green (*karpas*), and blue hangings fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble. *Karpas* is translated *green* in our version, on the authority, it is said, ‘of the Chaldee paraphrase,’ where it is interpreted *lek-green*. Rosenmüller and others derive the Hebrew

word from the Arabic كَرْفَس, *kurufs*, which signifies ‘garden-parsley,’ *apium petroselinum*, as if it alluded to the green colour of this plant; at the same time arguing that as ‘the word *karpas* is placed between two other words which undoubtedly denote colours, viz., the *white* and the *purple-blue*, it probably also does the same.’ But if two of the words denote colours, it would appear a good reason why the third should refer to the substance which was coloured. This, there is little doubt, is what was intended. If we consider that the occurrences related took place at the Persian court at a time when it held sway even unto India, and that the account is by some supposed to have been originally written in the ancient language of Persia, we may suppose that some foreign words may have been introduced to indicate even an already well-known substance: but more especially so if the substance itself was then first made known to the Hebrews.

The Hebrew *karpas* is very similar to the Sanscrit *karpasum*, *karpasa*, or *karpase*, signifying the cotton-plant. Celsius (*Hierobot.* i. 159) states that the Arabs and Persians have *karpas* and *kirbas* as names for cotton. These must no doubt be derived from the Sanscrit, while the word *kapas* is now applied throughout India to cotton with the seed, and may even be seen in English prices-current. *Karpasos* occurs in the Periplus of Arrian, who states that the region about the Gulf of Barygaze, in India, was productive of *carpasus*, and of the fine Indian muslins made of it. The word is no doubt derived from the Sanscrit *karpasa*, and though it has been translated *fine muslin* by Dr. Vincent, it may mean cotton cloths, or calico in general. Mr. Yates, in his valuable work, *Texturinum Antiquorum*, states that the earliest notice of this Oriental name in any classical author which he has met with, is the line ‘*Carbasina*, molochina, ampelina’ of Cæcilius Statius, who died B.C. 169. Mr. Yates infers that as this poet translated from the Greek, so the Greeks must have made use of muslins or calicoes, etc., which were brought from India as early as 200 years B.C. See his work, as well as that of Celsius, for numerous quotations from classical authors, where *carbasus* occurs; proving that not only the word, but the substance which it indicated, was known to the ancients subsequent to this period. It might, indeed, must, have been known long before to the Persians, as constant communication took place by caravans between the north of India and Persia, as has been clearly shewn by Heeren. Cotton was known to Ctesias, who lived so long at the Persian court.

Nothing can be more suitable than cotton, white and blue, in the above passage of Esther, as the writer of this article long since (1837) remarked in a note in his *Essay on the Antiquity of Hindoo Medicine*, p. 145: ‘Hanging curtains made with calico, usually in stripes of different colours and padded with cotton, called purdahs, are employed throughout India as a substitute for doors.’ They may be seen used for the very purposes mentioned in the text in

the court of the King of Delhi's palace, where, on a paved mosaic terrace, rows of splendid pillars support a light roof, from which hang by rings immense padded and striped curtains, which may be rolled up or removed at pleasure. These either increase light or ventilation, and form, in fact, a kind of movable wall to the building, which is used as one of the halls of audience. This kind of structure was probably introduced by the Persian conquerors of India, and therefore may serve to explain the object of the colonnade in front of the palace in the ruins of Persepolis [COTTON].—J. F. R.

KARTAH (קֶרְתָּה, 'city'; Káðḥ; Alex. Káðḥa; *Cartha*), a city of Zebulun, assigned to the Levites together with Jokneam (Josh. xxi. 34). It is not again mentioned in Scripture. The parallel passage in 1 Chron. vi. 77, has Rimmon and Tabor instead of Jokneam and Kartah; but the Alex. Codex of the LXX. reads as in Joshua. The town does not seem to have been known to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.*, s.v. *Cartha*). Van de Velde suggests that it may be identical with *el-Harti*, a village with traces of antiquity on the banks of the Kishon at the base of Carmel, and only a few miles north-west of the site of Jokneam (*Memoir*, p. 327). The names, however, are radically different.—J. L. P.

KARTAN (קֶרְתָּן, an ancient dual form, 'two towns'; Θεμμῶν; Alex. Νοεμμῶν; *Carthan*), one of the three cities assigned to the Levites out of the tribe of Naphtali (Josh. xxi. 32). The parallel passage in 1 Chron. vi. 76 (61) reads *Kirjathaim*, which is just the same word differently inflected (קֶרְתָּיִם, 'two towns'; Kariathaim). Nothing is known of its history or site. Eusebius and Jerome only mention it as a Levitical city of Naphtali (*Onomast.*, s.v. *Cartham*).—J. L. P.

KATTATH (קַטְתָּ, 'small'; Kattath; Alex. Kattath; *Catath*), a town of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 15). Gesenius and Rosenmuller suggest that Kattath is the same as *Kitron* (קִטְרוֹן), which is mentioned in Judg. i. 30; but there is no evidence for this. Kattath has not been identified, and we have no data to fix its site.—J. L. P.

KEACH, BENJAMIN, a distinguished divine of the Baptist denomination, was born in Buckinghamshire, Feb. 29, 1640, and died in Southwark, July 18, 1704. His parents, too poor to give him a liberal education, intended him for business, but his aspirations were after literature, and he eagerly devoted himself to the study of the Scriptures. At the age of fifteen he joined the Baptist church in Winslow, and three years afterwards was chosen by the members of the same church as their pastor. After the restoration, in common with multitudes, he suffered persecution. Finding no rest from informers in the country, he sought refuge in London, where, with his wife and family, he arrived penniless, having been robbed on the way. Soon after he was ordained pastor of a small society which met in a private house in Tooley Street. His congregation, however, increased, and erected a commodious house of worship in Horsely Down, Southwark, where Dr. Gill afterwards preached. He was very popular; and his congregation at

length averaged one thousand persons. His pen was ever active. He published forty-three works, of which sixteen were controversial, nine poetical, and eighteen practical and expository. The works by which he is usually known are:—*Tropeologia*; or *a Key to Open the Scripture Metaphors and Types*, London 1682, best ed. 1779, reprinted in Ireland 1856, 1 vol. imp. 8vo; 2. *Gospel Mysteries Revealed*; or *an Exposition of all the Parables, and many express Similitudes, contained in the Four Evangelists*, 1701, folio; 1815, 4 vols. 8vo; 1856, 1 vol. royal 8vo. Mingled with unquestioned reverence for the divine word, and much good material of which the judicious student may avail himself with advantage, there is a large amount of fanciful exposition and of unwise spiritualising in these volumes.—I. J.

KEDAR (קֶדָר, 'black'; Kēḏār; *Cedar*), the second son of Ishmael and founder of one of the most distinguished tribes of Arabia (Gen. xxv. 13-16). The word Kedar signifies 'black,' and the tents of the tribe, like all those of the Bedawin of the present day, were black (Cant. i. 5); hence some have supposed that the name was given to the tribe because of the colour of their tents. Others think that the name originated in the darkness of their complexion (Bochart, *Opera*, i. 216). This is all mere conjecture. The name was first borne by the son of Ishmael; but whether it originated, like that of Esau, in any peculiarity in the child, or in any event in his after life, we cannot tell. The tents of all the nomad tribes of Arabia are black, and the colour of their skin is uniformly of a light bronze hue, so that the name Kedar was in these respects no more applicable to one tribe than another.

The 'children of Kedar' (בְּנֵי קֶדָר, Is. xxi. 17) were well known to the Israelites, and are more frequently spoken of in Scripture than any of the other Arab tribes. Several particulars are mentioned calculated to illustrate their mode of life, and to indicate their place of abode. They dwelt chiefly in tents (Ps. cxx. 5), though some of them occupied cities and villages (עָרִים וְדִבְרִים; Is. xlii. 11) in the midst of the wilderness of Arabia, apparently in a mountainous and rocky district. They were rich in flocks: 'All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered together unto thee' (Is. lx. 7); in camels and cattle: 'Their camels shall be a booty and the multitude of their cattle a spoil' (Jer. xlix. 32); and with these they supplied the marts of Tyre during the period of its glory and power (Ezek. xxvii. 21). The children of Kedar were also celebrated as warriors. Isaiah, when foretelling their fall, says, 'All the glory of Kedar shall fail, and the residue of the number of archers, the mighty men of the children of Kedar' (xxi. 16, 17).

Guided by these notices, we infer that the tribe of Kedar had its nucleus in the hill country, north of Medina, where there are still villages and fortresses, and that their pasture-grounds extended to the eastern borders of Syria on the one side, and on the other to the shore of the Red Sea, some of the islands in which they appear to have occupied (Is. xlii. 11, 12; Forster's *Geography of Arabia*, i. 242, sq.). Pliny speaks of an Arab tribe called *Catrei*, as dwelling in this region, and adjoining the Nabatheans (*H. N.* v. 12); there can be no doubt of their identity with the children of Kedar.

Ptolemy calls them *Darrae* (*Geog.* vi. 7), evidently a corruption of the ancient Hebrew; and Forster supposes that it is the same people Arrian refers to as the Kanraitae, which he thinks should be read Kadratae (*Geog. of Arabia*, i. 247). A very ancient Arab tradition states that Kedar settled in the Hedjaz, the country round Mecca and Medina, and that his descendants have ever since ruled there (*Abulfedae Hist. Antislamica*, ed. Fleischer, p. 192). From Kedar sprung the distinguished tribe of Koreish, to which Mohammed belonged.

The Ishmaelites are well known to be an unchanging people. Their customs and national characteristics they have retained unchanged from the earliest ages. Every tribe also clings with a wonderful tenacity to the homes, fountains, and pasture lands of their ancestors. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the tradition is true that the Hedjaz is still peopled by Kedarite tribes, though the name has disappeared. The Kedarites were distinguished among all the Ishmaelites for the fierceness of their character, and their skill in arms. 'Woe is me,' writes the Psalmist, 'that I dwell in the tents of Kedar. My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace. I am for peace; but, when I speak, they are for war' (cxv. 5). Isaiah, too, celebrates the glory of Kedar, namely, 'its archers,' and its 'mighty men' (xxi. 17). It is a remarkable fact, that at the present time the inhabitants of the Hedjaz are composed of the powerful and warlike tribe called *Beni Harb*, 'children of war'; some of whom live in villages and towns, but most of them in tents. Burckhardt says they can muster about 40,000 matchlocks, and, next to the Anezes, they 'constitute the most formidable association of Bedawin in Arabia' (*Notes on the Bedouin and Wahabys*, p. 234). They are still rich in flocks and herds; and they dwell in safety among their native hills, just as their forefathers did in the time of Jeremiah, who says of them, 'Get you up unto the wealthy nation that dwelleth without care, which have neither gates nor bars, which dwell alone. And their camels shall be a booty, and the multitude of their cattle a spoil' (xlix. 31, 32). Thus we find the descendants of Kedar, the son of Ishmael, retaining through nearly four thousand years the very possessions originally occupied by their founder; and retaining also their national characteristics, habits, and even property. This is just another proof of the literal fulfilment of the prophetic promise regarding Ishmael—'He will be a wild man; his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren' (Gen. xvi. 12). In addition to the valuable works of Forster and Burckhardt already referred to, the student may consult Reland, *Palæst.*, p. 96, *seq.*; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii. 231, *seq.*; Wallin's Journey through Arabia, in *Journal of R. Geog. Soc.*, vols. xx. and xxiv.; Bochart, *Opera*, i. pp. 142, 214—J. L. P.

KEDEMOTH (קֶדְמוֹת, 'beginnings,' or perhaps 'eastern'; קֶדְמוֹת, Βαρεδμοῦς, and Καδ-μοῦς; Alex. Κεδωῶς, Κεδημοῦς, and Καμηδῶς; *Cademoth*), a town on the eastern side of Moab, near the river Arnon, with a 'wilderness' or 'pasture land' (מִדְבָּר) encircling it, called by the same name (Deut. ii. 24-26). It was assigned to the tribe of Reuben (Josh. xiii. 18), and was one of

the cities given out of that tribe to the Levites (1 Chron. vi. 79). The name may probably have originated in the situation of the Kedemoth, on the 'eastern' border of Canaan. The site is not known, nor has the district around it been explored.—J. L. P.

KEDESH (קֶדֶשׁ, 'sanctuary'; Κἄδης, Κἄδες; Alex. Κἄδες; *Cades*). 1. A town on the south-eastern border of Judah, near the confines of Edom (Josh. xv. 23). In Josh. xv. 3, Kadesh-barnea is mentioned as a border city of Judah towards Edom; and then in ver. 23 the writer says 'the uttermost cities of the tribe of the children of Judah, toward the coast of Edom southward, were,'—and among them is *Kadesh*. The words are identical in Hebrew, though differently pointed, and it may, therefore, be safely concluded that *Kadesh* and *Kadesh-barnea* are identical. [KADESH-BARNEA.]

2. (Κἄδες; Alex. Κἄδες; *Cedes*), a town of Issachar allotted to the Levites (1 Chron. vi. 72 (57)). The parallel passage in Josh. xxi. 28 has Kishon (קִישׁוֹן; Κ῰ωῶν; Alex. Κ῰ωῶν). Keil remarks that the reading *Kadesh* in Chronicles is probably an error; it is much more probable that for some reason or other the original name was changed, or that the city, like many others, had two names. [KISHON.]

3. KEDESH-NAPHTALI (קֶדֶשׁ נַפְתָּלִי; Κἄδης Νεφθαλί); also called *Kadesh in Galilee* (Josh. xxi. 32) and simply *Kadesh* (Josh. xix. 37), an ancient Canaanitish town allotted to the tribe of Naphtali (i. c.), and subsequently assigned to the Levites, and made one of the three cities of refuge west of the Jordan (Josh. xxi. 32). It seems to have been a 'sanctuary' of the old Canaanites; and the Israelites, while they retained the name denoting its character, made it in some respect their 'sanctuary' also. It was emphatically *Kadesh Naphtali*, 'the holy place of Naphtali,' and the asylum of all northern Palestine. Kadesh was principally celebrated as the home of Barak, and the gathering-place of that noble band of patriots who, on the banks of the Kishon, freed Israel from the power of the king of Hazor and his general Sisera (Judg. iv.). Kadesh lay on the northern frontier of Palestine, and had to bear the brunt of the first incursion of the Assyrians. With other cities round it—Dan, Ijon, Abel, etc.—it was captured by Tiglath-pileser, and its inhabitants carried away to Assyria (2 Kings xv. 29). The city appears no more in sacred history; but until this day it has never been wholly destroyed or desolated. We read of it during the wars of the Maccabees (1 Maccab. xi. 63), when it was reckoned a town of Galilee. Josephus calls it ἡ Κἄδεσσα (*Antiq.* v. 1. 18), and describes it as situated on the confines of the country of Tyre in Upper Galilee (xiii. 5. 6). In his time it appears to have passed into the hands of the Tyrians (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 18. 1); though Reland supposes, without any real grounds, that there was another Kadesh near Tyre (*Pal.*, p. 697). Eusebius tells us that it is called Κνδοσσός, and is situated eight miles from Tyre, near Paneas (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Cedes*). In the 12th century Benjamin of Tudela visited Kadesh, and found there the tomb of Barak and several Jewish saints (*Early Travels in Pal.*, 89).

Kedesh still retains its ancient name under the

Arabic form *Kedes* (كَدَس). The site is beautiful.

High up among the mountains of Naphtali is a little green plain, embosomed in wooded hill tops. On its western side is a rounded *tell*, on which the modern village stands. From the tell a low narrow ridge projects into the plain, with flat top and steep sides, covered with rank vegetation. Both ridge and tell are strewn with ruins; a large column stands in the centre of the village, and two others lie beside it. On the eastern slope are heaps of hewn stones, large sarcophagi, broken pillars, and other remnants of former grandeur—here lying on piles in tobacco gardens, and there strewn thickly over the surface, half covered with rubbish and rank weeds. In the plain, at the northern base of the ridge, round a little fountain, lie the most interesting remains of Kedesh. A number of sarcophagi serve the purpose of water-troughs. Near these are the ruins of two beautiful buildings, but whether mausoleums, temples, or synagogues, it is difficult to determine. Between them is a very remarkable group of sarcophagi standing on a massive platform of solid masonry. They were profusely ornamented with sculptures, now so much defaced that the writer, who visited Kedes in 1858, could not make out the subjects. These are doubtless the tombs of which Benjamin of Tudela and Brocardus speak (chap. vii., p. 173); and they shew that down to a comparatively late period the Jews still regarded Kedesh as a sanctuary. (See *Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 443; Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. pp. 367-369; Stanley, *S. and P.*, 332, 382; *Lectures on Jewish Church*, 317.) Kedes is now a small and miserable village, but the situation is delightful, the air pure and bracing, and the view, especially towards the north-east, where Hermon rises over the wooded height, rich and grand. The plain beside Kedes and the surrounding hills are thinly covered with terebinth and oak forests, among which the writer saw at several places the black tents of a nomad tribe which frequents this region. In the narrative of Barak's triumph we read that 'Heber the Kenite . . . had severed himself from the Kenites (who were settled in the south of Palestine, Judg. i. 16), and pitched his tent at the terebinths of Zaanaïm (or 'of the wanderers,' E. V. 'the plain of Zaanaïm,' עֲרֵאֵלָן בְּצִעְעֵינִים; ἔως δρυὸς πλεονεκτούντων; Alex. πρὸς δρὺν ἀναπανομένων), 'which is by Kedesh' (Judg. iv. 11). The features of the country, and the state of the people, do not seem to be much changed since the days of Barak.—J. L. P.

KEDRON. [KIDRON.]

KEEPER. Five Hebrew words are thus translated in the A. V.

1. נָטַר, from נָטַר, *custodivit, servavit*; only employed for a keeper of a vineyard, Cant. i. 6; viii. 11. Akin to this is—

2. נָצַר, from נָצַר, Job xxvii. 18:—'As a booth that the keeper maketh;' cf. Prov. xxvii. 18; Is. xxvii. 3. The word is elsewhere rendered 'watchman,' 2 Kings xvii. 9; Jer. xxxi. 6; or 'watcher,' Jer. iv. 16.

3. רָעָה, 'a shepherd,' from רָעָה, 'pavit,' of Abel, Gen. iv. 2; Moses, Exod. iii. 1; David, 1 Sam. xvi. 11; xvii. 34. The word is almost always translated 'shepherd,' either actual, Exod. ii. 17; 1 Sam. xxv. 7; or metaphorical, as of Cyrus, Is. xlv. 28; and of Jehovah, Ps. xxiii. 1; lxxx. 1 (2); but sometimes 'pastor' (only in Jer.), Jer. iii. 15; x. 21; or 'herdman,' Gen. xiii. 7, 8; xxvi. 20.

4. שָׁמַר, from שָׁמַר, *custodivit, servavit*; used frequently in such phrases as, 'keeper of the door or gate,' 2 Kings xxii. 4; Neh. xiii. 22; Esther vi. 2; Jer. lii. 24; 'of the wardrobe,' 2 Kings xxii. 14; 2 Chron. xxiv. 22; 'of the watch,' 2 Kings xi. 5; 'of the women,' Esther ii. 3, 8, 14. It is often translated 'watchman,' Is. xxi. 11, 12; Ps. cxvii. 1; and is used of Jehovah, Ps. cxxi. 3, 4, 5, etc.

5. שָׂר, 'a prince,' or 'captain,' only in Gen. xxxix. 21, 22, 23, as 'keeper of the prison': the same word being used of Potiphar, 'captain of the guard,' Gen. xxxix. 1; xl. 3; and of the 'chief of the butlers and chief of the bakers,' Gen. xl. 2.—E. V.

KEHELATHAH (קְהֵלָתָה, *i.g.*, קְהֵלָה, 'assembly,' Μακελλάς; Alex. Μακελάς; *Cedatha*), one of the stations of the Israelites between Sinai and Kadesh. It is only mentioned in Num. xxxiii. 22. There are no data by which to determine the site. The name may have originated in some extraordinary assembly of the people.—J. L. P.

KEIL, KARL AUG. GOTTIL, was born at Grossenhain, 23d April 1754, and died at Leipsic, where he was professor of theology, 22d April 1818. His writings are chiefly Hermeneutical. In 1810 he published *Lehrbuch d. Hermeneutik*, which was translated into Latin by Emmerling, *Elementa Her. Novi Test.*, Lips. 1811. After his death, his occasional writings were collected and published under the title of *Opuscula Academica*, by J. D. Goldhorn, Lips. 1821. Besides treatises on topics of Hermeneutical interest, this volume contains several exegetical essays, and an elaborate dissertation, *De Platonica philosophia ad theol. Christ. apud vet. eccles. scriptores ratione*. Keil is a perspicuous writer, and his works, though cold and formal, are full of good sense and solid learning.—W. L. A.

KEILAH (קַעֲלָה, perhaps *i.g.*, קַעֲלָה, 'fortress,'

Κεῖλδα and Κεῖλδ; Alex. Keelad; *Ceila*), a city of Judah, situated in the Shephelah or plain of Philistia, near Mareshah and Nezeb (Josh. xv. 33, 44). When David was a refugee from the Israelitish court, Keilah was attacked, and its threshing-floors plundered by the Philistines. The inhabitants appear to have taken refuge within their walls. News was brought to David; he 'went down' from the mountains of Judah, defeated the Philistines, took away their cattle, and relieved Keilah (1 Sam. xxiii. 1-5). David and his 600 followers settled for a time in the town; but when an attack was threatened by Saul he discovered that the ungrateful inhabitants were resolved to betray him; and so 'David and his men . . . arose: and departed out of Keilah, and went whitherso-

ever they could go' (vers. 6-13). Keilah was one of the places reoccupied after the captivity (Neh. iii. 17, 18). Josephus calls the city *Καίλα*; and Eusebius describes it as still a village called *Κηλα*, seventeen miles east of Eleutheropolis toward Hebron; but Jerome makes it only eight miles (*Onomast.*, s.v. *Cela*). They both state that it contained the tomb of the prophet Habakkuk (see also s.v. *Echela*). The city and tomb are mentioned by Sozomen (*Hist.* vii. 29; Reland, *Pal.*, p. 698). Eight Roman miles from Beit Jibrin, the ancient Eleutheropolis, on the way to Hebron, is a large ruined tower or castle called *Kela*. It stands on a projecting cliff on the right bank of Wady el-Feranj (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 328; cf. Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 71). There can be little doubt that this is the long-lost Keilah. The situation corresponds exactly to the incidental notices in the Bible, and the statements of Jerome.—J. L. P.

KELEB (כֶּלֶב; Sept. *κύων, κυνέριον*). This word probably is onomatopoeic, and is applied to the canine species from the peculiar sound of their cry; comp. Germ. *Klaffen*, and Eng. *Yelp*. Bochart compares it with the Arab. *كلوب, Kelub*, a hook or trident, and *كلاباث, cullabath, longs* (more properly *الكلباتي, elkulbatni*); and says, 'Canis ididem כֶּלֶב dictus a firmitate dentium quibus morsus tenacitas tanta est ut harpaginum et forcipum instar videri queat' (*Hieroz.*, part I. bk. i. c. 9); but it is more likely that these words are derived themselves from the Arabic *كلب, kelb*, a ravenous animal, applied to both the lion and the dog. The dog was used by the Hebrews for the purpose of watching houses (Is. lvi. 10) and flocks (Joh xxx. 1 [HERDS AND FLOCKS]). At a later period we find dogs also accompanying their masters in their journeys (Tob. v. 16; xi. 4). There were, however, then as now, throughout the East, large numbers of unappropriated dogs, which wandered in troops through the cities and villages seeking food (1 Kings xiv. 11; xvi. 4; 2 Kings ix. 10). 'There is,' says Col. Hamilton Smith, 'in Asia, still extant one, perhaps more than



296. Wild Dog.

one, species, that never have been the companions of man, and there are races of uncertain origin, that may have been formerly domesticated, but which are now feral, and as fierce as wolves; while, from the particular opinions of Oriental nations, there are others, exceedingly numerous, neither wild nor domesticated, but existing in all the cities and towns of the Levant, without owners; feeding on carrion and offals, and still having the true instinct

of protecting property, guarding the inhabitants of the district or quarter where they are tolerated; and so far cherished, that water and some food are not unusually placed within their reach.

'The true wild species of Upper and Eastern Asia is a low, sharp-nosed reddish cur-dog, not unlike a fox, but with less tail. In Persia and Turkey there exists a larger dog, resembling a wolf, exceedingly savage. Both are gregarious, hunt in packs, but are occasionally seen alone. They are readily distinguished from a wolf by their shorter unfurnished tails.

'The street-dog, without master, apparently derived from the rufous-cur, and in Egypt partaking of the mongrel greyhound, often more or less hare, with a mangy unctuous skin, frequently with several teeth wanting, was, as it now is, considered a defiling animal. It is to animals of this class, which no doubt followed the camp of Israel, and hung on its skirts, that allusion is more particularly made in Exod. xxii. 31; for the same custom exists at this day, and the race of street-dogs still retain their ancient habits. A portion of the Cairo packs annually become *hadgis*, and go and return with the caravan to Mecca, while others come from Damascus, acting in the same manner; and it is known that the pilgrims from the banks of the Indus are similarly attended to Kerbela: indeed, every caravan is so, more or less, by these poor animals. But with regard to the dogs that devoured Jezebel, and licked up Ahab's blood (1 Kings xxi. 23), they may have been of the wild races, a species of which is reported to have particularly infested the banks of the Kishon and the district of Jezreel' (comp. Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.*, 350). The dog among the Hebrews was despised and held unclean (Is. lxvi. 3); and hence the name was used as a term of reproach and contempt (2 Kings viii. 13), just as it is still in the East among the Mohammedans, who apply this name to Christians. It was also applied to men of fierce and audacious character (1 Sam. xxiv. 14; 2 Sam. xvi. 9; Ps. xxii. 16, etc.) From the impudicity of the dog, the name was applied to male prostitutes (Deut. xxiii. 18 [19]; see Rosenmüller, *in loc.*; comp. *κύες*, Rev. xxii. 15). 'In Egypt, anterior to the Christian era, domestic dogs were venerated; they continued to be cherished till the Arabian conquest, when they, like the unowned street-dogs, fell under the imprecation of Mohammed, who with reluctance, though with good policy, modified his denunciations and sentence of destruction in favour of hunting-dogs, and even permitted game killed by them to be eaten under certain conditions (Jardine's *Naturalist's Library*, vols. ix. and x., which contain the Canidæ). We figure a specimen of Feral, or wild dog, copied from a large Persian picture in the library of the Hon. East India Company. In this picture the Shah and his sons are seen killing game, and among the rest the dogs in question' (C. H. S.)—W. L. A.

KEMUEL (כֶּמֶל, congregation of God; Sept. *Καμουηλ*). 1. The third son of Nahor, Abraham's brother, by Milcah, Gen. xxii. 21, 'the father of Aram,' who is erroneously identified by the LXX. and Vulgate with the progenitor of the Syrian people, *πατέρα Σύρων*, 'patrem Syrorum.' The name Aram, however, was of much earlier date, Gen. x. 22, 23; and we should rather look

for Kemuel's progeny in the tribe of Ram, to 'the kindred' of which Elihu, the son of Barachel, the descendant of Kemuel's brother Buz, belonged, Job xxxii. 2.

2. The son of Shiphtan, 'prince (נָשִׁיטָן) of the tribe of Ephraim,' one of the ten chiefs chosen to allot the land of Canaan among the tribes, Num. xxxiv. 24.

3. The father of Hashabiah, 'ruler (נָשִׁיטָן) of the tribe of Levi,' in the time of David, 1 Chron. xxvii. 17. If this Hashabiah is the same with the one mentioned in the preceding chapter, 1 Chron. xxvi. 30, who, with 1700 of his kinsmen, had oversight of secular and religious matters under David in the western part of the trans-Jordanic district, Kemuel must have been a descendant of Hebron the son of Kohath.—E. V.

KENATH (נֶנֶת), 'possession;' *Kadā* and *Kavāḏ*; Alex. *Kaavḏ*; *Chanath*, a strong city of Bashan, situated in the province of Argob (Num. xxxii. 42; 1 Chron. ii. 23; cf. Deut. iii. 14). It appears to have been one of the 'three-score great cities, fenced with high walls, gates, and bars' (Deut. iii. 3, 4), which Jair captured. Nobah, a Manassite, headed a separate expedition against Kenath, took it, and called it *Nobah* (Num. i. c.). The new name it retained for at least two hundred years, for when Gideon passed 'by the way of them that dwell in tents,' in pursuit of the kings of Midian, he went east of Nobah (Judg. viii. 11); but we hear no more of it in Scripture. It lay on the eastern border of Manasseh, among mountains, on the confines of a wild province, and exposed to the incursions of the desert tribes; the Jews, therefore, probably either abandoned or were driven out of it at an early period. Josephus calls the city *Canatha*, and locates it in Coelesyria (*Kavaḏā*, *Bell. Jud.* i. 19. 2). In his time it was inhabited by Arabians, who defeated the troops led against them by Herod the Great. Ptolemy also places it in Coelesyria (*Geog.*, v. 13), and Pliny makes it one of the cities of Decapolis (*Hist. Nat.*, v. 15). Eusebius' notice of it is important as tending to define its exact position, and to identify the Kenath of the Hebrews, the Canatha of the Greeks, and the modern Kunawāt. He thus writes:—'Canath, a village of Arabia, now called *Canatha* (*Kavaḏā*), to which Nobah gave his own name; it belonged to the tribe of Manasseh. It is now situated in the province of Trachonitis, near Bostra' (*Onomast.*, s.v. *Canath*). In the Pentinger Tables it is placed on the road leading from Damascus to Bostra, twenty miles from the latter (Reland, *Pal.* p. 421). It became the seat of a bishopric in the fifth century (*Id.*, p. 682).

The above data clearly prove that the modern *Kunawāt* is the Kenath of the Bible. It is beautifully situated in the midst of oak forests, on the western declivities of the mountains of Bashan, twenty miles north of Bozrah. The ruins, which cover a space a mile long and half a mile wide, are among the finest and most interesting east of the Jordan. They consist of temples, palaces, theatres, towers, and a hippodrome of the Roman age; or one or two churches of early Christian times, and a great number of massive private houses, with stone roofs and stone doors, which were probably built by the ancient Rephaim. The city walls are in some places nearly perfect. In front of one of the most beauti-

ful of the temples the writer discovered a colossal head of Ashteroth, a deity which seems to have been worshipped here before the time of Abraham, as one of the chief cities of Bashan was then called Ashteroth-Carnaim (Gen. xiv. 5). Kunawat is now occupied by a few families of Druses, who find a home in the old houses. (Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, pp. 82, seq.; Porter's *Damascus*, ii. pp. 87-115; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, ii. pp. 931-939; Buckingham, *Travels among the Arab Tribes*, p. 240.)—J. L. P.

KENAZ (כְּנָז), perhaps 'hunting' = *قَنْص*; *Kenē*; Alex., in 1 Chron. i. 36, *Kenē*; *Cenez*, a grandson of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 11), and the founder of a family or tribe among the Edomites. Kenaz is styled one of the *Dukes* (שְׂרָפִים, literally 'leaders,' probably equivalent to the modern Arabic *Shiekh*) of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 15, 42). The descendants of Esau did not all settle within the limits of Edom. The Itureans migrated northward to the borders of Damascus; Amalek settled in the desert between Egypt and Palestine; Teman went eastward into Arabia. We are justified, therefore, in inferring that Kenaz also may have led his family and followers to a distance from Mount Seir. Dr. Wells suggests that the Kenezites mentioned in Gen. xv. 19 were the descendants of Kenaz (*Geogr.* i. 169). Mr. Forster adopts this view; but it is clearly at variance with the scope of the Mosaic narrative. The words of the covenant made with Abraham were: 'Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates, the Kenites, and the *Kenizzites*,' etc., plainly implying that these tribes then occupied the land, whereas Kenaz, the grandson of Esau, was not born for a century and a half after the Kenizzites were thus noticed. Forster's idea that the promise to Abraham was proleptical cannot be entertained.

Forster maintains that the tribe of Kenaz, or Al-Kenaz with the Arabic article prefixed, are identical with the *Laekeni* or *Laeni* of Ptolemy, a tribe dwelling near the shores of the Persian Gulf (*Geog.* vi. 7); and these he would further identify with the

Aenezes (properly *Anesh*, *عنزة*), the largest and most powerful tribe of Bedawīn in Arabia. It is possible that the Hebrew *Qoph* (ק) may have been changed into the Arabic *Ain* (ع); in other re-

spects the names are identical. The Aenezes cover the desert from the Euphrates to Syria, and from Aleppo on the north to the mountains of Nejd on the south. It is said that they can bring into the field 10,000 horsemen, and 90,000 camel-riders, and they are lords of a district some 40,000 square miles in area (Forster, *Geography of Arabia*, ii. 43; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, i. sq.; *Handbook for S. and P.*, pp. 536, sq.)—J. L. P.

KENITE (כְּנִיזִי and כְּנִי in 1 Sam. xxvii. 10; *Kenai*; *Cinai*), a tribe of people who originally inhabited the rocky and desert region lying between Southern Palestine and the mountains of Sinai adjoining—and even partly intermingling with—the Amalekites (Num. xxiv. 21; 1 Sam. xv. 6). In the time of Abraham they possessed a part of that

country which the Lord promised to him (Gen. xv. 19), and which extended from Egypt to the Euphrates (ver. 18). At the Exodus the Kenites pastured their flocks round Sinai and Horeb. Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, was a Kenite (Judg. i. 16); and it was when Moses kept his flocks on the heights of Horeb, that the Lord appeared to him in the burning bush (Exod. iii. 1, 2). Now Jethro is said to have been 'priest of Midian' (ver. 1), and a 'Midianite' (Num. x. 29); hence we conclude that the Midianites and Kenites were identical. It seems, however, that there were two distinct tribes of Midianites, one descended from Abraham's son by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2), and the other an older Arabian tribe [MIDIANITES]. If this be so, then the Kenites were the older tribe. They were nomads, and roamed over the country on the northern border of the Sinai peninsula, and along the eastern shores of the Gulf of Akabah. This region agrees well with the prophetic description of Balaam:—'And he looked on the Kenites, and said, Strong is thy dwelling-place, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock' (Num. xxiv. 21). The wild and rocky mountains along the west side of the valley of Arabah, and on both shores of the gulf of Akabah, were the home of the Kenites.

The connection of Moses with the Kenites, and the friendship shewn by that tribe to the Israelites in their journey through the wilderness, had an important influence upon their after history. Moses invited Jethro to accompany him to Palestine; he declined (Num. x. 29-32); but a portion of the tribe afterwards joined the Israelites, and had assigned to them a region on the southern border of Judah, such as fitted a nomad people (Judg. i. 16). There they had the Israelites on the one side, and the Amalekites on the other. One family of them, separating themselves from their brethren in the south, migrated away to northern Palestine, and pitched their tents beneath the oak trees on the upland grassy plains of Kedesh-Naphtali (Judg. iv. 11). And it was here that Jael, the wife of Heber their chief, slew Sisera, who had sought refuge in her tent (vers. 17-21). It would appear from the narrative that while the Kenites preserved their old friendly intercourse with the Israelites, they were also at peace with the enemies of Israel, —with the Canaanites in the north and the Amalekites in the south. When Saul marched against the Amalekites, he warned the Kenites to separate themselves from them, for, he said, 'Ye shewed kindness to all the children of Israel when they came up out of Egypt' (1 Sam. xv. 6). The Kenites still retained their possessions in the south of Judah during the time of David; but we hear no more of them in Scripture history. In the Targums, instead of Kenites we find *Shalmi*

(שַׁלְמִי), and the Talmudists generally represent them as an Arabian tribe (Lightfoot, *Opera*, ii. 429; Reland, *Pal.* 140). Procopius describes the Kenites as holding the country about Petra and Cades (Kadesh), and bordering on the Amalekites (ad Gen. xv.; see Reland, p. 81). The name has long since disappeared; but probably the old Kenites are represented by some of the nomad tribes that still pasture their flocks on the southern frontier of Palestine (See A. Murray, *Comm. de Kinacis*, Hamb. 1718; Winer, *Biblich. Real-Wörterbuch*, s. v. *Keniter*).—J. L. P.

KENEZITE OR KENIZZITE (כְּנִזִּי, 'hunter';

Kenēzaiot; Kenēzaiot). 1. One of the ancient tribes which inhabited the country given in covenant-promise to Abraham (Gen. xv. 19). The sacred writer gives no information as to what part of the country they inhabited; but as they are not mentioned among the tribes of Canaan who were actually dispossessed by the Israelites (Exod. iii. 8; Josh. iii. 10; Judg. iii. 5), we may infer that the Kenizzites dwelt beyond the borders of those tribes. The whole country from Egypt to the Euphrates was promised to Abraham (Gen. xv. 18); the country divided by lot among the twelve tribes extended only from Dan to Beersheba, and consequently by far the larger portion of the 'land of promise' did not then become 'the land of possession,' and indeed never was occupied by the Israelites, though the conquests of David probably extended over it. Bochart supposes that the Kenizzites had become extinct between the times of Abraham and Joshua. It is more probable that they inhabited some part of the Arabian desert on the confines of Syria to which the expeditions of Joshua did not reach (see Bochart, *Opera*, i. 307). This is the view of the Talmudists, as may be seen in the quotation from their writings given by Lightfoot (*Opera*, ii. 429). Forster's theory that the Kenizzites were descended from Kenaz, Esau's grandson, is altogether untenable (see, however, *Geography of Arabia*, ii. 43).

2. A patronymic of Caleb (Num. xxxii. 12; Josh. xiv. 6). In the A. V. this is written *Kenizite*, but it ought to be *Kenizzite* (כְּנִזִּי). Ewald maintains that Caleb really belonged to the tribe of the Kenizzites, and was an adopted Israelite (*Isr. Gesch.* i. 298). Prof. Stanley (*Lectures on Jewish Church*, p. 260) and Lord Arthur Hervey (*Smith's Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. Caleb) hold the same view, and regard Caleb as of *Idumean* origin, and descended from Kenaz, Esau's grandson. But a careful study of sacred history proves that the Edomites and Israelites had many names in common; and the patronymic Kenizzite is derived from an ancestor called *Kenaz*, whose name is mentioned in Judg. i. 13, and who was perhaps Caleb's grandfather. (See Art. CALEB).—J. L. P.

KENNICOTT, BENJAMIN, D.D., one of the most eminent Biblical scholars, English or foreign, was born at Totness in Devonshire, April 4, 1718. His father was parish clerk, and master of a charity school, in which latter situation Benjamin succeeded him at an early period, continuing to discharge the duties of his humble office till 1744, when, having previously given proof of possessing superior talents, he was, through the kindness of several gentlemen in the neighbourhood, who opened a subscription for the purpose, enabled to enter the university of Oxford. He entered at Wadham College, and applied himself to the study of divinity and Hebrew with diligence and success. While an undergraduate, he published—*Two Dissertations*: 1. *On the Tree of Life in Paradise, with some Observations on the Fall of Man*; 2. *On the Oblations of Cain and Abel*, 8vo, which came to a second edition in 1747, and procured him the distinguished honour of a Bachelor's degree before the statutable time, and without the usual fees. Shortly afterwards he was elected Fellow of Exeter

College, and in 1750 took his degree of M.A. He was appointed librarian of Radcliffe Library, and made D.D. in 1767. He was also canon of Christ Church, and rector of Culham in Oxfordshire, and was subsequently presented to the living of Mynhenyote, in Cornwall, which, however, as he was unable to visit it, he resigned two years before his death. He continued to reside at Oxford till the last, and died of a lingering illness, Sept. 18, 1783.

No man has done more than Kennicott to advance the cause of Biblical science in the department of the O. T., upon which all his labours were concentrated. His great work, to be immediately named, was preceded, and its way prepared, by his dissertations, entitled, *The State of the Printed Hebrew Text of the O. T. Considered*, Oxford 1753; 1759, 2 vols. 8vo. In these dissertations he evinces the necessity of the work upon which he had set his heart, by refuting the popular notion of the 'absolute integrity' of the Hebrew text. The first contains 'a comparison of 1 Chron. xi. with 2 Sam. v. and xxiii., and observations on seventy MSS., with an extract of mistakes and various readings.' The second vindicates the Samaritan Pentateuch, proves the printed copies of the Chaldee paraphrase (the accordance of which with the text of the O. T. was boasted of as evincing the purity of the latter) to be corrupt; ascertains the sentiments of the Jews on the Hebrew text; gives an account of the Hebrew MSS. known to be extant, and furnishes a catalogue of one hundred Hebrew MSS. preserved in the public libraries at Oxford, Cambridge, and the British Museum. 'This work, as might reasonably be expected, was examined with great severity at home and abroad.' In 1760 Dr. K. issued his proposals for collating all the Hebrew MSS. made before the invention of printing, which could be discovered in the British Isles or in foreign countries. Liberal subscriptions were raised for defraying the expenses which such a work necessarily involved. The name of King George III. headed the list. Dr. Secker, Bishop of Oxford, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was among his first subscribers. The subscriptions amounted in all to nearly £10,000. Dr. K., who published annually an account of the progress of collation, was assisted in his work by many learned men, especially by Professor Bruns, of the University of Helmstadt, who not only collated MSS. in Germany, but also travelled into Switzerland and Italy for the same purpose. More than 600 Hebrew MSS., and 16 MSS. of the Samaritan Pentateuch, were either wholly or partially collated. To the collation of MSS. was also added a collation of the most distinguished printed editions of the Hebrew Bible. Dr. K. also availed himself of quotations from the Hebrew Bible in the works of rabbinical writers, especially the Talmud. At length, sixteen years after the publication of his proposals, appeared the first, and four years subsequently, the second, vol. of his magnificent edition of the Hebrew Bible: *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis Lectionibus*, Oxonii 1776, 1780, 2 vols. folio. The text is that of Van der Hooght; 'but as variations in the points were disregarded in the collation, the points were not added to the text.' The various readings are printed at the foot of the page. In the Pentateuch the deviations of the Samaritan text were printed in a column parallel

to the Hebrew. To the second vol. Dr. K. annexed his *Dissertatio Generalis* (answering to Prolegomena in similar works, afterwards reprinted separately), containing an account of the MSS. and other authorities collated for this edition, and also a review of the Hebrew text, divided into periods, and beginning with the formation of the Hebrew canon after the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, 'a work of great interest to every Biblical scholar' (Horne's *Bib. Bibliog.*; Marsh's *Divinity Lectures*, part 2; *Encyc. Brit.*; Davidson's *Bib. Crit.*; *Eng. Cyc.*)

The faults attaching to this great work of Kennicott are thus summarised by Dr. Davidson:—'He neglected the Massorah as if it were wholly worthless. In specifying his sources, he is not always consistent or uniform in his method. Some MSS. are only partially examined. Neither was he very accurate in extracting various readings from his copies. Where several letters are wanting in MSS. there is no remark indicating *whether* the defect should be remedied, and *how*. The MSS. corrected by a different hand are rejected without reason. Old synagogue MSS. are neglected, though they would have contributed to the value of the various readings. Van der Hooght's text is not accurately given, since the marginal *Kris*, the vowel points, and the accents, have been left out. The Samaritan text should have been given in Samaritan letters, that readers might see the origin of many of the various readings. The edition wants extracts from ancient versions, which is a serious defect. His principles, or rules, for judging Hebrew MSS., and determining the age, quality, or value, are defective. In applying his copious materials he often errs. He proceeds too much on the assumption that the Massoretic text is corrupt where it differs from the Samaritan Pentateuch and ancient versions, and therefore sets about reforming it where it is authentic and genuine' (*Bib. Crit.*, 2d ed., p. 154-55). Yet Dr. D. asserts:—'There can be no doubt that Kennicott was a most laborious editor. To him belongs the great merit of bringing together a large mass of critical materials... The task of furnishing such an apparatus, drawn from so many sources, scattered through the libraries of many lands, was almost herculean; and the learned author is entitled to all the praise for its accomplishment' (*do.*)

It did not, however, realize the expectations which many had entertained respecting it; for the majority of the various readings were found to be trifling, of little or no value to amend the sacred text. But this was not the fault of the editor, but the praise of the Jewish transcribers, whose accuracy preserved them from many serious blunders in the performance of their task; but due specially to the influence of the Massorah, which has truly been a 'hedge' around the text of the sacred books.

To the preceding works of Dr. K. we add the following:—*Crítica Sacra, a short Introduction to Hebrew Criticism*, London 1774, 8vo; *Benjamin Kennicotti Epistola ad Joh. Dav. Michaelum de censura primi Tomi Bibliorum Hebraicorum nuper editi, in Bibliotheca ejus Orientali*, parte xi., Oxon. 1777, 8vo; *Editionis Veteris Testamenti Hebraici, cum Variis Lectionibus brevis Defensio contra Ephemeridum Goetgensium Criminationes*, Oxon. 1782, 8vo; and a posthumous work entitled, *Remarks on Select Passages in the Old Testament; to which*

are added *Eight Sermons*, Oxford 1787, 8vo. More than one hundred pages of this work are occupied with a translation of thirty-two psalms, and critical notes on the entire book. It is worthy of the author's reputation.—I. J.

KERACH (קֶרַח). This word, which properly means *frost* (Gen. xxxi. 40; Jer. xxxvi. 30), and thence *ice* (Job xxxvii. 10; xxxviii. 29), is used by Ezekiel (i. 22) to describe the appearance of the pavement on which stood the throne of God. Some interpreters would retain the meaning *ice* here as agreeing better with the epithet הַקֶּרַח, the

terrible, or awful; but there is nothing specially terrible in ice, for though it may cause to shudder, that is with *cold*, not with *fear*. All the ancient interpreters understand *crystal* to be the meaning here, and with this most modern expositors agree. This is confirmed by the parallel passage Rev. iv. 6; comp. Exod. xxiv. 10. Michaelis, in a dissertation, *Naturalia quædam et artificialia Cod. Sac. ex Alcorano illustrans*, published in Pott's *Sylloge Comment. Theol.*, vol. ii., adduces (p. 54) a passage from the Koran (xxvii. 41), in which the throne of Solomon is represented as placed on a floor of crystal so pure that the Queen of Sheba thought it was water, and prepared to wade through it (see Lane's *Selections from the Kurân*, p. 240).—W. L. A.

KERCHIEFS. This is the rendering in the A. V. of the Hebrew word כִּרְכַּפִּיּוֹת, which occurs only in Ezek. xiii. 18, 21; LXX. ἐπιβόλαια; Sym. ἐπαυχῆνια; Vulg. cervicalia; Chald. פתכורין, idola, imagines idololatrice, s. species velaminum

(Castell, s. v. פתך); Syr. ܟܪܚܝܬܐ, tecta, operimenta. There is difference of opinion as to what these *mispachoth* were. Kimchi, who is followed by Schroeder (*De vest. mulieb. Hebr.*, p. 266), and Hävernicks (*in loc.*), says they were long loose robes such as the goddesses are represented as wearing (*pepla*), and in which the women referred to by the prophet wrapped the whole person, from head to foot. With this the rendering of the LXX. and the Syr. accords. Rosenmüller, Gesenius, and others, understand by the word *cushions* or *mattresses* on which one might recline; Henderson, whilst rendering it by *cushions*, prefers, in his note, the meaning *coverlets* or *quilts*; while Hitzig thinks they were the Jewish טלית, *tallith*, the long white cloth with which the worshipper covered his head during prayer. In favour of our understanding the word of something flowing and flexible, like a veil, loose robe, or cloth, are the etymology of the word (from מִסַּפַּח, *to flow* or *spread out*), and the statement in ver. 21 that these *mispachoth* were to be *torn*. The affinity of the word with מִסְפָּחוֹת, which undoubtedly designates some such loose garment as that in which Oriental women wrap themselves from head to foot (Ruth iii. 15; Is. iii. 22), and the statement that these *mispachoth* were עַל רֹאשׁ, induce us to give the preference to the meaning given by Kimchi. These words can hardly be translated 'on the head of every height,' so as to mean 'on the head of men of every height,' they are better taken thus, 'robes of every length on the head,' i. e., these luxurious and licentious

women made use of elegant and well-fitting robes to effect their purpose.—W. L. A.

KEREN-HAPPUCH (קֶרֶן הַפּוּחַ), the name of the third daughter born to Job after his trial. In the Sept. the word is rendered by *képas amalthéas*, *Amalthæa's Horn*, or *Cornucopia*, alluding to the fable of Amalthea, to whom Zeus gave a horn endowed with the power of becoming filled with whatever the possessor desired. Recent interpreters have generally followed the Vulgate rendering *Cornu-Stibii*, '*Horn of Stibium*', used as a pigment to adorn the eye-brows of women in Arabia, and as a collyrium to give lustre to the eyes' (Lee, *Commentary*, p. 554). Ewald gives the inelegant rendering, *Schmink-büchsen*, *paint-box*, or *rouge-pot*, and Renan the no less inelegant one, *Botte de fard*. It is not easy for us to conceive how such a name should come to be bestowed on a beautiful girl. Rosenmüller says it was 'a præstantia formæ, quod naturali sua formæ æque venusta esset et ornata ac eac mulieres quæ stibio oculos fucant.' But this is surely very far-fetched. Does not קֶרֶן mean generally something ornamented or made artificially beautiful (comp. Is. liv. 11, where it is used of building *per ordinem*, Vulg., ἀνθρακα Sept.), and 1 Chron. xxix. 2, where it designates some kind of stone artificially beautified? and may not Job's daughter's name thus mean *Horn of adornment*, or *Horn of beauty*?—surely a better name for a damsel of surpassing loveliness than either Horn of Plenty or Horn of Stibium, to say nothing of Paint-box or Rouge-pot.—W. L. A.

KERI and **KETHIV** (קֶרִי וּכְתִיב, plural קִרְיִין וּכְתִיבִין), so frequently found in the margins and foot-notes of the Hebrew Bibles, exhibit the most ancient various readings, and constitute the most important portion of the critico-exegetical apparatus bequeathed to us by the Jews of olden times [MASSORAH].

1. *Signification, classification, and mode of indication of the Keri and Kethiv*.—The word קֶרִי may either be the *imperative* or *participle passive* of the Chaldee verb קָרָא, *to call out*, *to read*, and hence may signify *Read*, or *It is read*, i. e., the word in question: כְּתִיב, is *participle passive* of the Chaldee verb כָּתַב, *to write*, and signifies, *It is written*, i. e., the word in question in the text. Those who prefer taking the word קֶרִי as *participle*, do so on the ground that it is more consonant with its companion כְּתִיב, which is the *participle passive*. The Rabbins also call the *Keri* מִקְרָא, and the *Kethiv* מִכְתָּב. The different readings exhibited in the *Keri* and *Kethiv* may be divided into three general classes: i. Words read differently to what they are written, arising from the omission, insertion, exchanging, or transposition of a single letter (כְּתִיב וּכְתִיב, or *Variations*); ii. Words read but not written in the text (קֶרִי וְלֹא כְּתִיב), or *Insertions of entire words*; and iii. Words written in the text, but not read (כְּתִיב וְלֹא קֶרִי), or *Omissions of entire words*.

i. The first general class (קֶרִי וּכְתִיב) comprises the bulk of the various readings, and consists of—*a*, Corrections of errors arising from mistaking

homonyms, *e.g.*, **ל**, the negative particle, for the similarly sounding **ל**, the pronoun, of which we have fifteen instances (comp. Exod. xvi. 8; Lev. xi. 21; xxv. 30; 1 Sam. ii. 3; 2 Sam. xvi. 18; 2 Kings viii. 10; Ezra iv. 2; Job xiii. 15; xli. 4; Ps. c. 3; cxxxix. 16; Prov. xix. 7; xxvi. 2; Is. ix. 2; lxxiii. 9), and two instances in which the reverse is the case (1 Sam. ii. 16; xx. 2). Besides being noticed in their respective places, the Massorah also enumerates them all on Lev. xi. 15. The Talmud, Sopherim vi., gives three additional ones, viz., 1 Chron. xi. 21; Job vi. 21; Is. xlix. 5. **ל** for **ל**, of which we have four instances (1 Sam. xx. 24; 1 Kings i. 33; Job vii. 1; Is. lxxv. 7; Ezek. ix. 5).—**ב**. Errors arising from mistaking the letters which resemble each other, *e.g.*, **ב** for **כ** (comp. Prov. xxi. 29); **ב** for **פ** (Ezek. xxv. 7); **ב** for **ק** (1 Sam. iv. 13); **ב** for **ר**, of which the Massorah on Prov. xix. 19, and Jer. xli. 40, gives four instances (2 Sam. xiii. 37; 2 Kings xvi. 6; Jer. xxi. 40; Prov. xix. 19); **ב** for **ח** (Jer. xxviii. 1; xxxii. 1); **ב** for **ט** (2 Sam. xxiii. 13); **ב** for **ת**, of which the Massorah on Prov. xx. 21 gives four instances (2 Sam. xiii. 37; Prov. xx. 21; Song of Songs i. 17; Dan. ix. 24); **ב** for **ש** (1 Sam. xiv. 32); **ב** for **י** in innumerable instances; **ב** for **כ** in eleven cases (Josh. iv. 18; vi. 5, 15; 1 Sam. xi. 6, 9; 2 Sam. v. 24; 2 Kings iii. 24; Ezra viii. 14; Neh. iii. 20; Esth. iii. 4; Job xli. 13); **ב** for **ק** (Is. xxx. 32); **ב** for **ע** (2 Kings xx. 4); **ב** for **ר** twice (Jer. ii. 20; Ezra viii. 14); **ב** for **ת** (Eccl. xii. 6); **ב** for **ח** (2 Kings xxiv. 14; xxv. 17; Jer. lii. 21).—**ע**. Errors arising from exchanging letters which belong to the same organs of speech, *e.g.*, **ב** for **ט**, of which the *Keri* exhibits one instance (Josh. xxii. 7), and *vice versa*, of which the Great Massorah, under letter **ט**, gives six instances (Josh. iii. 16; xxiv. 15; 2 Kings v. 12; xii. 10; xxxiii. 33; Dan. xi. 18); **ט** for **כ** (2 Kings xvii. 21); **ע** for **א** (1 Sam. xx. 24; 1 Kings i. 33; Job vii. 1; Is. lxxv. 7; Ezek. ix. 5); **ט** for **ד** (Is. lxxv. 4).—**ד**. Errors arising from the transposition of letters, which the Massorah designates **מְסֻחָה** and **מְסֻחָה**, and of which it gives sixty-two cases, as, for instance, the textual reading or the *Kethiv* is **הָאֹהֶל**, the tent, and the marginal reading or the *Keri*, transposing the letters **ל** and **ה**, has **הָאֹהֶל** these (comp. Josh. vi. 13; xx. 8; xxi. 27; Judg. xvi. 26; 1 Sam. xiv. 27; xix. 18, 22, 23 (twice); xxvii. 8; 2 Sam. iii. 25; xiv. 30; xvii. 16; xviii. 8; xx. 14; xxiv. 16; 1 Kings vii. 45; 2 Kings xi. 2; xiv. 6; 1 Chron. i. 46; iii. 24; xxvii. 29; 2 Chron. xvii. 8; xxix. 8; Ezra ii. 46; iv. 4; viii. 17; Neh. iv. 7; xii. 14; Esther i. 5, 16; Job xxvi. 12; Ps. lxxiii. 2; cxxxix. 6; cxlv. 6; Prov. i. 27; xiii. 20; xix. 16; xxxiii. 5, 26; xxxi. 27; Eccl. ix. 4; Is. xxxvii. 30; Jer. ii. 25; viii. 6; ix. 7; xv. 4; xvii. 23; xxiv. 9; xxix. 18, 23; xxxii. 23; xlii. 20; l. 15; Ezek. xxxvi. 14; xl. 15; xlii. 16; xliii. 15, 16; Dan. iv. 9; v. 7, 16 (twice), 29).—**ע**. Errors arising from the small letter **י** being dropped before the pronominal **י** from plural nouns, and making them to be singular, of which there are a hundred and thirteen instances (Gen. xxxiii. 4; Exod. xxvii. 11; xxviii. 28; xxix. 19; xxxix. 4, 33; Lev. ix. 22; xvi. 21; Num. xii. 3; Deut. ii. 33; vii. 9; viii. 2; xxvii. 10; xxxiii. 9; Josh. iii. 4; viii. 11; xvi. 3; Ruth iii. 14; 1 Sam. ii. 9, 10 (twice); iii.

18; viii. 3; x. 21; xxii. 13; xxxiii. 5; xxxv. 7 (twice), 11, 16; xxix. 5 (twice); xxx. 6; 2 Sam. i. 11; ii. 23; iii. 12; xii. 9, 20; xiii. 34; xvi. 8; xviii. 7, 18; xix. 19; xx. 8; xxxiii. 9, 11; xxxiv. 14, 22; 1 Kings v. 17; x. 5; xviii. 42; 2 Kings iv. 34; v. 9; xi. 18; Ezra iv. 7; Job ix. 13; xiv. 5; xv. 15; xx. 11; xxi. 20; xxiv. i. 1; xxxi. 14; xxxi. 20; xxxvii. 12; xxxviii. 41; xxxix. 26, 30; xl. 17; Ps. x. 5; xxiv. 6; lviii. 8; cvi. 45; cxlvii. 19; cxlviii. 2; Prov. vi. 13 (twice); xxii. 24; xxvi. 24; Is. lii. 5; lvi. 10; Jer. xv. 8; xvii. 10, 11; xxii. 4; xxxii. 4; lii. 33; Lam. iii. 22, 32, 39; Ezek. iii. 20; xvii. 21; xviii. 23, 24; xxxi. 5; xxxiii. 13, 16; xxxvii. 16 (twice), 19; xl. 6, 22 (twice), 26; xliii. 11 (thrice), 26; xlv. 5; xlvii. 11; Dan. xi. 10; Amos ix. 6; Obad. v. 11; Hab. iii. 14*); as well as from the insertion of **י** before the pronominal **י** and before the pronominal **י** in singular nouns, and making them plural; the *Keri* exhibits seven instances of the former (1 Kings xvi. 26; Ps. cv. 18, 28; Prov. xvi. 27; xxi. 29; Eccl. iv. 17; Dan. ix. 12) and eight of the latter in the word **יָרֵךְ** (Judg. xiii. 17; 1 Kings viii. 26; xxii. 13; Ps. cxix. 147, 161; Jer. xv. 16 (twice); Ezra x. 12).—**פ**. Errors of a grammatical nature, arising from dropping the article **ה**, where it ought to be, of which the *Keri* exhibits fourteen instances (1 Sam. xiv. 32; 2 Sam. xxiii. 9; 1 Kings iv. 7; vii. 20; xv. 18; 2 Kings xi. 20; xv. 25; Is. xxxiii. 15; Jer. x. 13; xvii. 19; xl. 3; lii. 32; Lam. i. 18; Ezek. xviii. 20), or from the insertion of it where it ought not to be, of which there are ten instances (1 Sam. xxvi. 12; 1 Kings xxi. 8; 2 Kings vii. 12, 13; xv. 25; Eccl. vi. 10; x. 3, 20; Is. xxix. 11; Jer. xxxviii. 11); or from the dropping of the **ה** after **נָעַר**, or writing **נָעַר** instead of **נָעַר** when used as feminines or any other letter.—**ג**. Errors arising from the wrong division of words, *e.g.*, the first word having a letter which belongs to the second, exhibited by the *Keri* in three instances, and stated in the Massorah on 2 Sam. v. 2 (2 Sam. v. 2; Job. xxxviii. 12; Lam. iv. 16), or the second word having a letter which belongs to the first, of which there are two instances (1 Sam. xxi. 12; Ezra iv. 12); or one word being divided into two separate words, of which the Massorah on 2 Chron. xxxiv. mentions eight instances (Judg. xvi. 25; 1 Sam. ix. 1; xxiv. 8; 1 Kings xviii. 5; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 6; Is. ix. 6; Lam. i. 6; iv. 3), or two separate words being written as one, exhibited by the *Keri* in fifteen instances (Gen. xxx. 11; Exod. iv. 2; Deut. xxxiii. 2; 1 Chron. ix. 4; xxvii. 12; Neh. ii. 23; Job xxxviii. 1; xl. 6; Ps. x. 10; lv. 16; cxliii. 4; Is. iii. 15; Jer. vi. 29; xviii. 3; Ezek. viii. 6).—**א**. Exegetical *Keris* or marginal readings which substitute euphemisms for the cacophonous terms used in the text, in accordance with the injunction of the ancient sages, that 'all the verses wherein indecent expressions occur are to be replaced by decent words, *e.g.*, **יִשְׁכְּבָנָה** by **יִשְׁכְּבָנָה** [of which the *Keri* exhibits four instances, viz., Deut. xxviii. 30; Is. xiii. 16; Jer. iii. 2; Zech. xiv. 2], **עַפְרָיִם** by **מְטוֹרִים** [of which the *Keri* exhibits six instances, viz., Deut. xxviii. 27; 1 Sam. v. 6, 9; vi. 4, 5, 17; omitting, however, 1 Sam. v. 12]; **חֲרִיתִים** by **רִבְיוֹנִים** [of which the *Keri* exhibits one in-

* It is very strange that the Massorah Magna only enumerates fifty-six of these instances.

stances, viz., 2 Kings vi. 25]; **צואתם** by **חוריהם** [of which the Keri exhibits two instances, 2 Kings xviii. 27; Is. xxxvi. 12]; **מימי שיניהם** by **מימי** [of which the Keri exhibits two instances, 2 Kings xviii. 27; Is. xxxvi. 12]; **למחראות** by **למחאות** [of which there is one instance, 2 Kings x. 27, comp. Megilla 25, 6].

The manner in which this general class of various readings is indicated is as follows: The variations specified under *a* and *b*, not affecting the vowel points, are simply indicated by a small circle or asterisk placed over the word in the text (**כתב**), which directs to the marginal reading (**קרי**), where the emendation is given, as for instance the *Kethiv* in Exod. xxi. 8 is **לא**, in 1 Sam. xx. 24 **על**, and in Prov. xxi. 29 **יבין**, and the marginal gloss remarks

קרי, **אל** **ק**, **יבין** **ק**, the **ק** being an abbreviation for **קרי**. In the variations specified under *c* and *d*, where the different letters of the *Kethiv* and the *Keri* require different vowel points, the abnormal textual reading, or the *Kethiv*, has not only the small circle or asterisk, but also takes the vowel points which belong to the normal marginal reading, or the *Keri*, e.g., the appropriate pointing of the textual reading, or the *Kethiv* in 2 Kings xvii. 21 is **יורא**, but it is pointed **יורא**, because these

vowel signs belong to the marginal reading, or the *Keri* **יורא**, which it is intended should accompany the vowel points in the text. The same is the case with the textual reading in 2 Sam. xiv. 30, which, according to the marginal reading, exhibits a transposition of letters, and which can hardly be pronounced with its textual points **והציתיה**, be-

cause these vowel-signs belong to the *Keri* **והציתיה**. Whilst in the variations specified under *e*, *f*, *g*, and *h*, which involve an addition or diminution of letters, and which have therefore either more or fewer letters than are required by the vowel-points of the *Keri*, a vowel sign is sometimes given without any letter at all, or two vowel signs have to be attached to one letter, and sometimes a letter has to be without any vowel sign; the variation itself being either indicated in the margin by the exhibition of the entire word which constitutes the different reading, or by the simple remark that such and such a letter is wanting, or is redundant. Thus, for instance, Lam. v. 7, which, according to the Massorah, exhibits two of the twelve instances where the **ו** conjunctive has been dropped from the beginning of words (comp. also 2 Kings iv. 7; Job ii. 7; Prov. xxiii. 24; xxvii. 24; Is. lv. 13; Lam. ii. 2; iv. 16; v. 3, 5; Dan. ii. 43), the textual reading or the *Kethiv* is **אֲנָחְנוּ**, and the marginal

reading or the *Keri* **וְאֵינוּ** **ק**, **וְאֵינוּ** **ק**, the vowel sign of the conjunction from the margin is inserted in the text under the little circle, and consequently has no letter at all; in Jer. xlii. 6, again, where the textual reading is **אָנוּ**, and the marginal reading **אֲנָחְנוּ**, and the *Kethiv*, which has only three letters, takes the vowel signs of the *Keri*, which has five letters, it is pointed **אָנוּ**, with two different vowel points attached to the one **ו**; whilst in 2 Kings vii. 15, where the reverse is the case, the marginal reading having fewer letters, and hence fewer vowels than the textual reading, which takes

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the vowel signs of the former, the *Kethiv* is pointed **וְאֵינוּ**, and the **ו** has no vowel sign at all.

There is a peculiarity connected with the marginal indication of those words the variations of which consist in the diminution or addition of a single letter. When a letter is dropt from a word in the text (**כתב**), the whole word is given in the marginal reading (**קרי**), with the letter in question, and the remark '*Read so*;' as, for instance, 1 Sam. xiv. 32; Prov. xxiii. 24, where the **ו**, according to the Massorah, is dropt from **השלל**, and **ו** from **יורד**, as indicated by **יִשְׁלַל** and **יִיָּרַד**; the marginal glosses are '**קרי** **השלל** **ק**, **יורד** **ק**;' but when the reverse is the case, if a letter has crept into a word, the whole word is not given in the marginal gloss, but it is simply remarked that such and such a letter is redundant (**יתיר**), or is not to be read

(**לא קרי**), as, for instance, in Eccles. x. 20; Neh. ix. 17, where the **ו**, according to the Massorah, has crept in before **כנפים**, and **ו** before **חסד**, the marginal gloss simply remarks '**ו** **יתיר** **ו**, **יתיר** **ו**.' Upon this point, however, the greatest inconsistency is manifested in the Massoretic glosses; comp., for instance, the *Kethiv* **עֵינוּ** **ו** and **נלך** in Eccles. iv. 8, 17, both of which, according to the *Keri*, have a redundant **ו**, and are singular nouns, yet the Massoretic note upon the former is '**קרי** **עֵינוּ** **ו**, exhibiting the whole word, whilst on the latter it simply remarks '**יתיר** **ו**.'

ii. The second class (**קרי ולא כתב**), which comprises *entire words* omitted from the text, exhibits *ten* such instances which occur in the Hebrew Bible, as follows, Judg. xx. 13; Ruth iii. 5, 17; 2 Sam. viii. 3; xvi. 23; xviii. 20; 2 Kings xix. 31, 37; Jer. xxxi. 38; l. 29. Besides being noted in the marginal glosses on the respective passages, these omissions are also given in the Massorah on Deut. i. and Ruth iii. 16. They are also enumerated in the Talmud, Tract Sopherim, vi. 8, and in Nedarim 37, *b*. In Nedarim, however, the passage which refers to this subject is as follows,

'the insertion of words in the text (**קרי ולא כתב**) is exhibited in פרת [2 Sam. viii. 3]; ארז [ibid. xvi. 23]; באים [Jer. xxxi. 38]; לה [ibid. l. 29]; את [Ruth ii. 11]; אלי [ibid. iii. 5, 17];' thus omitting four instances—viz., Judg. xx. 13; 2 Sam. xviii. 20; 2 Kings xix. 31, 37; and adding one—viz., Ruth ii. 11, which is neither given by the Massorah nor in Sopherim.

This class of variations is indicated by a small circle or asterisk placed in the text with the vowel-signs of the word which is wanting, referring to the margin, where the word in question is given. Thus, for instance, in Judg. xx. 13, where, according to the *Keri*, the word **בני** is omitted, the *Kethiv* is **בנינו**, upon which the marginal gloss remarks **בני קרי ולא כתב**.

iii. Of the third class (**קרי ולא כתב**), exhibiting *entire words* which have crept into the text, there are *eight* instances, as follows, Ruth iii. 12; 2 Sam. xiii. 33; xv. 21; 2 Kings v. 18; Jer. xxxviii. 16; xxxix. 12; li. 3; Ezek. xlvi. 16. These variations are not only noted in the marginal glosses on the respective passages, but are also

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given in the Massorah on Ruth iii. 12. The passage in Nedarim 27, *b*, which speaks of this class of variations, remarking, 'words which are found in the text, but are not read (כתיב ולא קרי) are exhibited in נא [2 Kings v. 18]; ואח [Jer. xxxii. 11]; ירדך [ibid. li. 3]; חמש [Ezek. xlviii. 16]; אס [Ruth iii. 12], omits 2 Sam. xiii. 33; xv. 21; and Jer. xxxviii. 16; xxxix. 12; and adds Jer. xxxii. 11, which does not exist in the Massorah; whilst Sopherim vi. 9, which remarks אמתן כאשר במקום נואל ירדך חמש, referring to 2 Sam. xiii. 33; Jer. xxxix. 12; 2 Sam. xv. 21; Ruth iii. 12; Jer. li. 3; Ezek. xlviii. 16; omits 2 Kings v. 18 and Jer. xxxviii. 16.

This class of variations is not uniformly indicated in the different editions of the Bible. Generally the word in question has no vowel signs, but an asterisk or small circle is put over it, referring to the margin, where it is simply remarked כתיב

לא קרי, written in the text but not read; in one or two instances, however, the word itself is repeated in the margin, as in 2 Kings v. 18, where we have it נא כתיב ולא קרי, the word נא is written in the text but not read.

2. Number and position of the Keri and Kethiv.

—A great difference of opinion prevails about the number and position of these various readings. The Talmud, as we have shewn above, and the early Jewish commentators, mention variations which do not exist in the *Keris* and *Kethivs* of the *Massorah*. This, however, is beyond the aim of the present article, which is to investigate the *Keri* and *Kethiv* as exhibited in the *Massorah* and in the editions of the Hebrew Bible. From a careful perusal and collation of the *Massorah*, as printed in the Rabbinic Bibles, we find the following to be the number of the *Keris* and *Kethivs* in each book, according to the order of the Hebrew Bible:—

Genesis	24	2 Kings	80	Habbakuk	2	Lamentations	28
Exodus	12	Isaiah	55	Zephaniah	1	Ecclesiastes	11
Leviticus	5	Jeremiah	148	Haggai	1	Esther	14
Numbers	11	Ezekiel	143	Zechariah	7	Daniel	129
Deuteronomy	24	Hosea	6	Malachi	1	Ezra	33
Joshua	38	Joel	1	Psalms	74	Nehemiah	28
Judges	22	Amos	3	Proverbs	70	1 Chronicles	41
1 Samuel	73	Obadiah	1	Job	54	2 Chronicles	39
2 Samuel	99	Micah	4	Song of Songs	5		
1 Kings	49	Nahum	4	Ruth	13	Total	1353

The disparity between Abbravanel's calculations about the number of *Keris* and *Kethivs*, leading him to the conclusion that the Pentateuch has 65, Jeremiah 81, and 1 and 2 Samuel 138 (*Introduction to Jeremiah*), and the numbers which we have stated as existing in these books, is easily accounted for when it is remembered that this erudite commentator died fifteen years before the laborious Jacob b. Chajim collated and published the *Massorah* on the Hebrew Scriptures [ABRAVANEL; JACOB B. CHAJIM], and therefore had no opportunity of consulting them carefully. But we find it far more difficult to account for the serious difference in the calculations of later writers and our results, as may be seen from the following table. (See on p. 723.)

For the collation of Bomberg's Bible, the Plantin Bible, and the Antwerp Bible, we are indebted to the tables exhibited in Cappellus' *Critica Sacra*, p. 70, and Walton's *Prolegomena* (ed. Cantabrigiæ 1828, vol. i., p. 473); and though we have been able by our arrangement to correct their blunder in representing Elias Levita as separating the Five Megilloth from the Hagiographa, and giving the number of *Keris* to be 329 exclusive of the Megilloth; yet we were obliged to describe the Megilloth apart from the Hagiographa, to which they belong according to the Jewish order of the Canon. Elias Levita's own words on the numbers are as follows:—'I counted the *Keris* and *Kethivs* several times, and found that they were in all 848; of these, 65 are in the Pentateuch, 454 in the Prophets, and 329 in the Hagiographa. It is surprising that there should only be 65 in the Pentateuch, 22 of which refer to the single word נער, which is נער in the *Kethiv*, and נער in the *Keri*; that the book of Joshua, which in quantity is about a tenth part of the Pentateuch, should have 32; and that the books of Samuel, which

are merely about a fourth the size of the Pentateuch, should contain 133' (*Massoreth Ha-Massoreth*, ed. Sulzbach 1771, p. 8, seq.) It will be seen from this extract that Elias Levita not only gives six *Keris* less in Joshua than we have given, but also differs from Abbravanel in the number of *Keris* to be found in the books of Samuel.

3. Origin and date of the Keri and Kethiv:—

The Talmud traces the source of these variations to Moses himself, for we are distinctly told in Nedarim 37 *b*, that 'the pronunciation of certain words according to the scribes (מקרא סופרים), the emendations of the scribes (עטור סופרים), the not reading of words which are in the text (כתיב ולא קרי), and the reading of words which are not in

the text (קרי ולא כתיב), etc., are a law of Moses from Sinai.' Jacob b. Chajim defends this view in his elaborate introduction to the *Rabbinic Bible*. Elias Levita, who also exposes this Talmudic declaration, explains it as follows:—'The *Keri* and *Kethiv* of the Pentateuch only are a law of Moses from Mount Sinai, and the members of the Great Synagogue, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel, Hananiah, Mishaël, Azariah, Ezra, Nehemiah, Mordecai, and Zerubbabel, and other wise men from the craftsmen and artisans (סחרים) to the number of a hundred and twenty, wrote down the *Keri* and the *Kethiv* according to the tradition which they possessed, that our teacher Moses, peace be with him, read words differently to what they were written in the text for one of those mysteries which they knew, that Moses transmitted this mystery to Joshua, Joshua to the elders, the elders to the prophets, etc., and they put down in the margin as his readings, Ezra acting as a scribe. In the same manner they proceeded in the Prophets and Hagiographa with every word respecting which they had a tradition

BOMBERG'S SECOND EDITION OF THE BIBLE, 1524-1525.	THE PLANTIN BIBLE, 1566.	THE ANTWERP OR ROYAL BIBLE, 1572.	ELIAS LEVITA.	OUR RESULTS.
Pentateuch. 73 קרי' 1 יתירות	Pentateuch. 74 קרי' 1 יתירות 2 חסירות	Pentateuch. 69 קרי' 1 יתירות 1 חסירות	Pentateuch. 65 קרי'	Pentateuch. 76 קרי'
74	77	71	65	76
Earlier Prophets. 337 קרי' 11 יתירות 2 חסירות	Earlier Prophets. 239 קרי' 25 יתירות 5 חסירות	Earlier Prophets. 277 קרי' 18 יתירות 5 חסירות	Earlier Prophets.	Earlier Prophets. 361 קרי'
350	269	300		361
Later Prophets. 348 קרי' 2 יתירות	Later Prophets. 250 קרי' 25 יתירות 1 חסירות	Later Prophets. 347 קרי' 11 יתירות חסירות	Later Prophets.	Later Prophets. 377 קרי'
350	276	358	454	377
Five Megilloth. 51 קרי' 11 יתירות	Five Megilloth. 43 קרי' 14 יתירות	Five Megilloth. 48 קרי' 8 יתירות	Five Megilloth.	Five Megilloth. 71 קרי'
62	57	56		71
Hagiograph. 362 קרי' 60 יתירות 1 חסירות	Hagiograph. 187 קרי' 34 יתירות 1 חסירות	Hagiograph. 242 קרי' 20 יתירות 1 חסירות	Hagiograph.	Hagiograph. 468 קרי'
423	222	263	329	468
1259	901	1048	848	1353

orally transmitted from the prophets and the sages, that it was read differently to what it was in the text. But they required no tradition for the post-exile books, as the authors themselves were present with them; hence, whenever they met with a word which did not seem to harmonize with the context and the sense, the author stated to them the reason why he used such anomalous expressions, and they wrote down the word in the margin as it should be read' (*Massoreth Ha-Massoreth*, fol. 8 b, ff.) Mendelssohn in his valuable introduction to his translation of the Pentateuch, and most of the ancient Jewish writers, propounded the same view. It is in accordance with this recondite sense ascribed to the origin of the *Keri* and *Kethiv*, that Rashi remarks on Gen. viii. 16, הוצא כתיב,

הוצא קרי אמור להם שצאנו הוצא אם אינם רוצים הוצא, because he was first to tell them to go out; but if they should refuse to go, he was to make them go.' Kimchi, however, is of the opposite opinion. So far from believing that these variations proceeded from the sacred writers themselves, who designed to convey thereby various mysteries, he maintains that the *Keri* and *Kethiv* originated

after the Babylonish captivity, when the sacred books were collected by the members of the Great Synagogue. These editors of the long-lost and mutilated inspired writings 'found different readings in the volumes, and adopted those which the majority of copies had, because they, according to their opinion, exhibited the true readings. In some places they wrote down one word in the text without putting the vowel signs to it, or noted it in the margin without inserting it in the text; whilst in other places they inserted one reading in the margin and another in the text' (Introduction to his *Comment. on Joshua*). Ephodi (flor. 1391-1403), who maintains the same view, remarks that Ezra and his followers 'made the *Keri* and *Kethiv* on every passage in which they found some obliterations and confusion, as they were not sure what the precise reading was.' Abravanel, who will neither admit that the *Keris* and *Kethivs* proceeded from the sacred writers themselves, nor that they took their rise from the imperfect state of the codices, propounds a new theory. According to him, Ezra and his followers, who undertook the editing of the Scriptures, found the sacred books entire and perfect, but in perusing them these editors discovered that they contained irregular expressions, and loose and ungrammatical

phrases, arising from the carelessness and ignorance of the inspired writers. 'Ezra had therefore to explain these words in harmony with the connection, and this is the origin of the *Keri* which is found in the margin of the Bible, as this holy scribe feared to touch the words which were spoken or written by the Holy Ghost. These remarks he made on his own account to explain those anomalous letters and expressions, and put them in the margin to indicate that the gloss is his own. Now, if you examine the numerous *Keris* and *Kethivs* in Jeremiah, and look into their connection, you will find them all to be of this nature, viz., that they are to be traced to Jeremiah's careless and blundering writing. . . . From this you may learn that the books which have most *Keris* and *Kethivs* show that their authors did not know how to speak correctly or to write properly' (Introduction to his *Comment. on Jeremiah*). Though Abравanel's hypothesis has more truth in it than the other theories, yet it is only by a combination of the three views that the origin of the *Keri* and *Kethiv* can be traced and explained. For there can be no doubt that some of the variations, as the Talmud, Rashi, etc., declare, have been transmitted by tradition from time immemorial, and have their origin in some recondite meaning or mysteries attached to the passages in question; * that some again, as Kimchi, Ephodi, etc., rightly maintain, are due to the blunders and corruptions which have crept into the text in the course of time, and which the spiritual guides of the nation tried to rectify by a comparison of codices, as is also admitted by the Talmud (comp. *Jerusalem Megillah*, iv. 2; *Sopherim*, vi. 4); and that others, again, as Abравanel, remarks, are owing to the carelessness of style, ignorance of idioms and provincialisms, which the editors and successive interpreters of the Hebrew canon discovered in the different books, or more properly speaking, which were at variance with the grammatical rules and exegetical laws developed in aftertime by the Massorites. Such, however, was their reverence for the ancient text, that these Massorites who made the new additions to it, left the text itself untouched in the very places where they believed it necessary to follow another explanation or reading, but simply inserted the emendation in the margin. Hence the distinction between the ancient text as it was written, or *Kethiv* (כתב), and the more modern emended reading, or *Keri* (קרי); and hence, also, the fact that the *Keri* is not inserted in the syna-

gogal scrolls, though it is followed in the public reading of the Scriptures.

4. *Importance of the Keri and Kethiv, especially as relating to the English versions of the Hebrew Scriptures.*—Some idea of the importance of the *Keri* and *Kethiv* may be gathered from the following analysis of the seventy-six variations which occur in the Pentateuch. Of the seventy-six *Keris*, twenty-one give נָעַר instead of נָעָר (Gen. xxiv. 14, 16, 28, 55, 57; xxxiv. 3 [twice], 12; Deut. xxii. 15 [twice], 16, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26 [twice], 27, 28, 29), which was evidently epicene in earlier periods (comp. Gesenius, *Gramm.*, sec. 23, sec. 32, 6; Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, sec. 175, 6); fifteen have the plural termination יָ affixed to nouns instead of the singular י in the text (Gen. xxxiii. 4; Exod. xxvii. 11; xxviii. 28; xxxii. 19; xxxix. 4, 33; Lev. ix. 22; xvi. 21; Num. xii. 3; Deut. ii. 33; v. 10; vii. 9; viii. 2; xxvii. 10; xxxiii. 9), which some think is no real variation, since in earlier periods the termination י was both singular and plural, just as בָּנָי stands for both בָּנִי and בָּנֵי; seventeen give more current and uniform forms of words (Gen. viii. 17; x. 19; xiv. 8; xxv. 33 with l. 26; xxv. 23 with xxxv. 11; xxvii. 3 with 5, 7; xxvii. 29 with the same word in the next clause; xxxvi. 6, 14, with ver. 18; xxxix. 20, 22; xliii. 28 with xxvii. 29; Exod. xvi. 2; xvi. 7 with Num. xvi. 11; Num. xiv. 36 with xv. 24; Num. xxi. 32 with xxxii. 39; xxxii. 7 with xxx. 6; Deut. xxxii. 13 with Amos iv. 13); five substitute the termination third person singular, י for ה (Gen. xlix. 11 [twice]; Exod. xxii. 26; xxxii. 17; Num. x. 36), which is a less common pronominal suffix (comp. Gesenius, *Gramm.*, sec. 91; Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, sec. 247, a); two make two words of one (Gen. xxx. 11; Exod. iv. 2); two have שָׁלֵי instead of שָׁלֵי (Exod. xvi. 13; Num. xi. 32); three give plural verbs instead of singular (Lev. xxi. 5; Num. xxxiv. 4; Deut. xxxi. 7), which are no doubt an improvement, since Num. xxxiv. 4 is evidently a mistake, as may be seen from a comparison of this verse with verse 5; three substitute the relative pronoun הָ for the negative particle לֹא (Exod. xxi. 8; Lev. xi. 21; xxv. 30), which is very important; two substitute euphemisms for cacophonous expressions (Deut. xxviii. 27, 30); and two are purely traditional, viz., Num. i. 16; xxvi. 9, which are explained in the note of the preceding section. The Pentateuch, however, can hardly be regarded as giving an adequate idea of the importance of the *Keri* and *Kethiv*, inasmuch as the Jews, regarding the law as more sacred than any other inspired book, guarded it against being corrupted with greater vigilance than the rest of the canon. Hence the comparatively few and unimportant *Keris* when contrasted with those occurring in the other volumes. Still, the Pentateuch contains a few specimens of almost all the different *Keris*.

As to the question how far our English versions have been influenced by the *Keri* and *Kethiv*? this will best be answered by a comparison of the translations with the more striking variations which occur in the Prophets and Hagiographa.

In Josh. v. 1, the textual reading is, 'till we were passed over' (עָבְרָנוּ); the *Keri* has עָבְרָם, 'until they passed over;' and though the Sept.,

* As instances may be quoted, the (כתב) textual reading גִּימִים = גִּינֵי נָאִים, two princes, in Gen.

xxv. 23, which ancient tradition refers to the two friends, the emperor Antoninus and R. Jehudah the Prince (ר' יהודה הנשיא), who lived like magnates, and the (קרי) marginal reading גִּוִּים, nations (comp. Berachoth 57 b, which explains the otherwise unintelligible remarks of Rashi on Gen. xxv. 23), Num. i. 16, where קְרָאִי is substituted for קְרִיאַי, and Num. xxvi. 9, where, on the contrary, קְרִיאַי is substituted for קְרָאִי, to distinguish between the former, who were called to everything that was honourable in the community (הַקְרָאִים)

הַנְּכֹבָדִים, and the latter, who incited the children of Israel against Moses (comp. Rashi, *in loco*).

Vulg., Chaldee, Luther, the Zurich Bible, Coverdale, the Bishops' Bible, the Geneva Version, etc., adopt the *Keri*, the A. V., following Kimchi, adheres to the *Kethiv*; whilst in Josh. vi. 7, where the textual reading is, 'and they said (ויאמרו) unto the people,' and the marginal emendation is, 'and he said' (ויאמר), and where the Vulg., Chaldee, Luther, the Zurich Bible, Coverdale, the Bishops' Bible, and the Geneva Version, again adopt the *Keri*, as in the former instance, the A. V. abandons the textual reading, and espouses the emendation. In Josh. xv. 47, again, where the *Keri* is 'the

bordering sea (הים הנבל) and its territory;' and the *Kethiv* has, 'and the great sea (הים הגדול) and the territory,' which is again followed by the ancient versions and the translations of the Reformers, the A. V., without taking any notice of the textual reading in the margin, as in Josh. viii. 16, adopts the emendation; whereas in Josh. xv. 53 the A. V. follows the textual reading (יננס) *Janum*, noticing however the emendation (ינס) *Janus* in the margin. All the ten emendations of the second class, which propose the insertion of

entire words into the text (קרי ולא כתיב), are adopted in the A. V. without the slightest indication by the usual italics that they are not in the text. Of the eight omissions of entire words in the

third class (כתיב ולא קרי), nothing decisive can be said, inasmuch as six of them refer to simple particles, and they might either be recognised by the translators or not without its being discernible in the version. The only two instances, however, where there can be no mistake (Jer. xli. 3; Ezek. xlvi. 16) clearly shew that the A. V. follows the marginal gloss, and accordingly rejects the words which are in the text. Had the limits of this article allowed it, we could have shewn still more unquestionably, that though the A. V. generally adopts the marginal emendations, yet in many instances it proceeds most arbitrarily, and adheres to the textual reading; and that, with very few exceptions, it never indicates by italics, or in the margin, the difference between the textual and the marginal readings.

Inattention to the *Keri* and *Kethiv* has given rise to the most fanciful and absurd expositions, of which the following may serve both as a specimen and a warning. In looking at the text of the Hebrew Bibles, it will be seen that there is a final *Mem* (ם) in the middle of the word לסרבה, Is. ix. 6. We have already alluded to the fact that it exhibits one of the fifteen instances where the *Kethiv*, or the textual reading, is one word, and the *Keri*, or the emended reading, proposes two words (*vide supra*, sect. 3). Accordingly, לסרבה

stands for לָם רָבָה = לָהֶם, i.e., 'to them the dominion shall be great,' corresponding to the common abbreviation בָּם רָבָה. The question is not whether לָם may be considered as an abbreviation of להם, seeing there are no other examples of it; suffice it to say, that Jewish scribes and critics of ancient times took it as such, just as they regarded

אראלם (Is. xxxiii. 7) as a contraction of לָם = אראלם (comp. the Syriac, the Chaldee, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, Vulgate, Elias Levita, etc.); and that the Sept. read it as two words (i.e.,

לָה רָבָה). Subsequent scribes, however, found it either to be more in accordance with the primitive reading, or with their exegetical rules, as well as with the usage of the prophet himself (comp. Is. xxxiii. 23), to read it as one word; but their extreme reverence for the text prevented them from making this alteration without indicating that some codices have two words. Hence, though they joined the two words together as one, they yet left the final *Mem* to exhibit the variation. An example of the reverse occurs in Neh. ii. 13, where המפרתים has been divided into two words, הם פרתים, and where the same anxiety faithfully to exhibit the ancient reading has made the editors of the Hebrew canon retain the medial *Mem* at the end of the word. It was to be expected that those Jews who regard both readings as emanating from the Holy Ghost, and as designed to convey some recondite meaning, would find some mysteries in

this final *Mem* in the middle of לסרבה. Hence we find in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin* 94) the following remark upon it, 'Why is it that all the *Mems* in the middle of a word are open [i.e. מ] and this one is closed [i.e. ם]? The Holy One, blessed be he! wanted to make Hezekiah the Messiah, and Sennacherib Gog and Magog; whereupon Justice pleaded before the presence of the Holy One, blessed be he! Lord of the World, what David the king of Israel, who sang so many hymns and praises before thee, wilt thou not make him the Messiah, but Hezekiah, for whom thou hast performed all those miracles, and who has not uttered one song before thee, wilt thou make him the Messiah? Therefore has the *Mem* been closed.' Ibn Ezra again tells us that the scribes (not he himself, as Gill erroneously states) see in it an allusion to the recession of the shadow on the dial in Hezekiah's time; whilst Kimchi will have it that it refers to the 'stopping up of the breaches in the walls of Jerusalem, which are broken down during the captivity, and that this will take place in the days of salvation, when the kingdom which had been shut up till the coming of the Messiah will be opened.' But that Christian expositors should excel these mystical interpretations is surpassing strange. What are we to say to Galatinus, who submits that this *Mem*, being the cypher of 600, intimates that six hundred years after this prophecy the birth of Christ was to take place? or to the opinion which he quotes, that the name מרים שרה, *Maria Domina*, or that the perpetual virginity of Mary is thereby indicated (lib. vii. c. xlii.)? Or to Calvin, who thinks that it denotes the close and secret way whereby the Messiah should come to reign and set up his kingdom? or to the opinion which he mentions, that it indicates the exclusion of the Jews from the Messiah's kingdom for their unbelief? Or to the conjecture of Gill, that 'it may denote that the government of Christ, which would be for a time straitened, and kept in narrow bounds and limits, should hereafter be throughout the world, to the four corners of it, to be firm and stable, perfect and complete, which the figure of this letter, being shut, and four-square, may be an emblem of?'

It only remains to be added, that there are some words, which are always read differently (קרי) to what they are written in the text (כתיב), and which, from the frequency of their occurrence, have only the vowel signs of the proposed *Keri*, without

the latter being exhibited in the marginal gloss. These are, *a*, The name יְרִיּוֹת, which has always the vowel signs of יְרִיּוֹת, and is pronounced with these vowels, *i. e.*, יְרִיּוֹת, except when it precedes this name itself, in which case it has the vowel signs of יְרִיּוֹת, *i. e.*, יְרִיּוֹת; *b*, The name Jerusalem, when, as in the earlier books of Scripture, it is written with a *Yod* before the *Mem*, has never its own points, *i. e.*, יְרִיּוֹת, or יְרִיּוֹת, but has the vowel signs of יְרִיּוֹת, and is read so; *c*, The word הוּא, which was epicene in earlier periods, is always pointed הוּא in the Pentateuch, when it is used as feminine, to make it conformable to the later feminine form הִיא; and *d*, The name יִשְׁכָּן is always furnished with the vowels belonging to the *Keri* יִשְׁכָּן with one *Shin*.

5. *Literature*.—One of the earliest attempts freely to discourse upon the origin and value of the *Keri* and *Kethiv*, is that of Kimchi, in the Introduction to his *Commentary on Joshua*; Abravanel, too, has a lengthy disquisition on this subject, in the Introduction to his *Commentary on Jeremiah*. He was followed by the laborious Jacob B. Chajim, who fully discusses the *Keri* and *Kethiv* in his celebrated Introduction to the *Rabbinic Bible*, translated by Ginsburg in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for July 1863; and by the erudite and bold Elias Levita, who gives a very lucid account of the *Keri* and *Kethiv*, in his *Massoreth Ha-Massoreth*, ed. Sulzbach, 1771, pp. 8 *a*, ff., 21 *a*, ff. Of Christian writers are to be mentioned the masterly treatises by Cappellus, *Critica Sacra*, lib. iii. cap. ix., *seq.*; Buxtorf, *Tiberias*, cap. xiii.; Buxtorf the younger, *Anticritica*, Basileae 1653, cap. iv. p. 448-509; Hillier *De Arcano Kethib et Keri*, Tub. 1602; Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta, Proleg.*, Cantab. 1828, vol. i. p. 412, *seq.*; Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, ii. p. 507-533; Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, Leipzig 1841, p. 219, *seq.*—C. D. G.

KERIOTH, KIRIOTH (קְרִיּוֹת, 'cities'). 1.

A town on the southern border of Judah, towards Edom. It is only mentioned in Josh. xv. 25. The LXX. reads αἱ πόλεις (Alex. πόλεις) 'Aσερῶν, thus translating the clause, 'cities of Hezron.' The Syriac version follows the LXX.; but the whole scope of the Hebrew shews that *Kerioth* is a proper name, and, if connected with Hezron, as Reland thinks it ought to be, it would make *Kerioth-Hezron*, like Ilazar-Gadiah (ver. 27), the name of the place (but see Keil on *Joshua*, ad loc.) Jerome in the Vulgate translates the passage, '*Carioth, Hezron, hæc est Asor*;' but he does not mention it in the *Onomasticon*. Reland suggests that Judas *Iscariot* got his name from this place, deriving *Iscariot* from קְרִיּוֹת, 'a man of Kerioth' (*Pal.*, p. 700; see also Winer, *R. W.*, s. v. *Kerioth*). Robinson saw a ruined place called *Kuryetein*, about fifteen miles south of Hebron, which, he suggests, may occupy the site of Kerioth (*B. R.*, ii. 101). Though these ruins do not lie quite so far south as would seem to be indicated by the sacred writer, yet they may possibly be those of Kerioth. Moladah and Ain are mentioned in the same group (ver. 26, 32), and their

sites are not far distant from Kuryetein. *Kur-*

yetein is the Arabic dual of *Kuryah* (قَرْيَة), and signifies 'two towns'; it is thus nearly equivalent to the Hebrew *Kerioth*.

2. A town of Moab (קַרְיֹוֹת; *Carioth*), mentioned by Jeremiah in connection with Beth-gamul and Bozrah (xlvi. 24). It would also appear, from an incidental notice, that it was one of the strong cities of Moab:—'*Kerioth* is taken, and the strongholds are surprised,' etc. (ver. 41). Amos says, in pronouncing a prophetic curse:—'*I will send a fire upon Moab, and it shall devour the palaces of Kerioth*' (ii. 2). Though the A. V. has *Kerioth*, yet the Hebrew word is the same as in Jeremiah, קְרִיּוֹת; the only difference is, it has the article. The LXX. renders this clause τὰς πόλεις τῶν Ἀδωνίου; but the Vulgate has *ades Carioth*, which is doubtless the true rendering. Bozrah and Beth-gamul being identified with *Busrah* and *Um el-Jemal*, there can be no doubt as to the site of Kerioth. Six miles east of Busrah, at the foot of the mountain range of Bashan, stands *Kureiyeh*, whose name (قَرْيَة = קְרִיּוֹת, pl.

קְרִיּוֹת) at once suggests identity with the ancient Kerioth; and its proximity to two other cities of Moab appears to put the matter beyond doubt. Moab was a wide region, extending from the eastern shores of the Dead Sea away to the borders of Arabia. The land of *Mishor* (מִישׁוֹר, A. V., 'the plain country'), upon which Jeremiah pronounced the curse (xlvi. 21), was that great table-land running from the top of the mountain-ridge which shuts in the Dead Sea, to Arabia on the east, and Bashan on the north. Here stood the doomed cities—far apart, as would appear from the words, 'And upon all the cities of the land of Moab, *far and near*' (ver. 24). Kerioth was situated in the most remote part of the Mishor towards Bashan. *Kureiyeh* stands in a broad valley where the mountain-chain sinks down into the plain. The ruins are about three miles in circuit. There are no buildings of great size or beauty now standing; but in the streets and lanes are many broken columns; and beside a cistern in the centre of the town is a singular structure, consisting of a stone roof supported by a triple colonnade, underneath which are ranges of benches rising up like those of a theatre. A Greek inscription on one of the benches states that the cistern (κύμα) was made in the year 190 (A.D. 296). The private houses of *Kureiyeh* are singularly interesting. Their walls are from four to eight feet thick, built of massive squared blocks of basalt. The roofs are formed of stone slabs carefully hewn, reaching from wall to wall. The doors are also of stone, and hung upon pivots projecting above and below. These houses, simple, massive, and imperishable, bear the marks of the highest antiquity. Similar structures are found in all the old cities of Bashan; and the conclusion seems unavoidable that these are the very houses originally built and occupied by the giant Rephaim [see TRACHONITIS; KENATH; BOZRAH]. When the writer visited Kerioth in 1853, upwards of a hundred of these ancient houses were inhabited; and he estimated that at least as many more still stand, perfect and habitable, but now used as folds for flocks and stables for camels. Kerioth must

have been a strong city. The country around it is thickly covered with rugged rocks; the passes through them are intricate and easily defended; and the traces of massive ramparts are still visible (see Porter's *Damascus*, ii. pp. 191-98; Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, p. 103; Buckingham's *Arab Tribes*, p. 213).—J. L. P.

KESEPH (כֶּסֶף), the Hebrew word for *silver*, whether in the ore, in bars, or coined. Silver is commonly mentioned along with gold in the Bible, as, next to it, the most precious of metals. It is found native in veins ramifying through various kinds of stone; hence, perhaps, the allusion in Job xxviii. 1 (cf. Rosenmüller, *in loc.*) Silver is generally obtained mixed with dross, and is purified by fire, or drawn off by the lead in a crucible; allusions to this are in Ps. xii. 6; Prov. xvii. 3; xxvii. 21; Is. i. 25; Ezek. xxii. 22; Zech. xiii. 9; Mal. iii. 3. The separated silver was called כֶּסֶף טָהוֹר, *refined silver*, 1 Chron. xix. 4; 3; Ps. xii. 6; Prov. x. 20. Silver was brought to Tyre from Tarshish (Ezek. xxvii. 12), and mention is made of silver beat out into plates (כֶּסֶף מְרֻקָּע) as imported from the same locality (Jer. x. 9). Assuming that Tarshish was in Spain, this falls in with the notices we have in ancient authors of the abundance of silver in that country (Heeren, *Idem*, p. 64).

There is no mention of this metal in Scripture until the time of Abraham. Before that time brass and iron appear to have been the only metals in use (Gen. iv. 22). Abraham was rich in gold and silver, as well as in flocks and herds, and silver in his day was in general circulation as money, but it was uncoined, and estimated always by weight. Coined money was not in use among the Israelites until an advanced period of their history; indeed, as late as the time of Jeremiah, we find silver weighed in payment of a purchase (Jer. xxxii. 9, 10). The only mention of gold as a medium of exchange is in 1 Chron. xxi. 25. The Romans are said to have had only copper money until within five years of the first Punic war, when they began to coin silver (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 3, 13). Their coins were extensively introduced into Judæa after it became a Roman province.

Silver was largely used by the Jews in the manufacture of articles of ornament (comp. Gen. xxiv. 53; Prov. xxv. 11; Cant. i. 11; Zech. vi. 11), and of various vessels for domestic purposes, and also for the service of the temple (Gen. xlv. 2; Num. vii. 13; x. 2; 1 Chron. xviii. 15-17; Exod. xx. 23; Is. xl. 19; Hosea xiii. 2; Habak. ii. 19). Many of the idols and other objects belonging to the idolatrous nations are stated to have been of silver. This metal was so abundant as to be little thought of in the days of Solomon (1 Kings x. 21, 27).—W. L. A.

KESITAH (קֶסִיתָה). The meaning and derivation of this word, which only occurs thrice in the O. T., has been a subject of much controversy. The places where it is found—Gen. xxxiii. 19, recording Jacob's purchase of a piece of ground at Shechem; Josh. xxiv. 32, a verbal repetition from Genesis; and Job xlii. 11, where the presents made to Job by his friends are specified and it is joined with rings of gold—indicate either the name of a

coin, or of some article used in barter. The principal explanations of the word are—

1. That of the LXX., and all ancient versions, which render it 'a lamb,' either the animal itself, or a coin bearing its impress (Hottinger, *Dis. de Numm. Orient.*), a view which has been revived in modern times by the Danish Bishop Munter in a treatise published at Copenhagen 1824, and more recently still by Mr. James Yates, *Proc. of Numism. Soc.*, 1837-8, p. 141. The entire want of any etymological ground for this interpretation has led Bochart (*Hierozoic*, i. l. 2, c. 3) to imagine that there had been a confusion in the text of the LXX. between ἐκατὸν μῶν and ἐκατὸν δμῶν, and that this error has passed into all the ancient versions, which may be supported by the singular fact that in Gen. xxxi. 7, 41, we find עֶשְׂרֵת מִנִּים (A. V. 'ten times,' מִנָּה however more usually standing for a particular weight) translated by the LXX. δέκα δμῶν, which it is difficult to account for on any supposition save that of a mistake of the copyist for μῶν.

2. Others, adopting the rendering 'lamb,' have imagined a reference to a weight formed in the shape of that animal, such as we know to have been in use among the Egyptians and Assyrians, imitating bulls, antelopes, geese, etc. (see Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt*, ii. 10; Layard, *Ninev. and Babyl.*, pp. 600-602; Lepsius, *Denkm.* iii. plate 39, No. 3).

3. Faber, in the German edition of *Harmer's Obs.*, th. ii., pp. 15-19, quoted by Gesenius, connects it with the Syriac ܩܣܬܐ, Heb. קֶסֶת, 'a vessel,' an etymology accepted by Grotefend, *vide inf.*, and considers it to have been either a measure or a silver vessel used in barter, cf. Ælian, *V. H.*, i. 22.

4. The most probable view, however, is that supported by Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Jahn, Kalisch, and the majority of the soundest interpreters, that it was, in Grotefend's words (*Numism. Chron.*, vol. ii. p. 248), 'merely a silver weight of undetermined size, just as the most ancient shekel was nothing more than a piece of rough silver without any image or device.' The lost root was perhaps akin to the Arabic قَسَط, 'he divided equally.' Bochart, however (*u.s.*), is disposed to alter the punctuation of the *Shin*, and to connect the word with קֶסֶת, 'truth,' adding 'potuit ק id est vera dici moneta quæcunque habuit justum pondus, aut etiam moneta sincera et ἀκρίβητος.'

According to Rabbi Akiba, quoted by Bochart, a certain coin bore this name in comparatively modern times; so that he would render the word by קֶסֶת, δῶνakes.—E. V.

KETHEM (כֶּתֶם), a word occurring in the poetical portions of the O. T. and in the A. V., when standing by itself translated *fine gold* (Job xxxi. 24; Prov. xxv. 12). It is sometimes joined with אֹפִיר (Job xxviii. 16; Ps. xlv. 10 [9]; Is. xiii. 12), and sometimes with זָהָב (Job xxviii. 19; Cant. v. 11; Lam. iv. 1; Dan. x. 5). The Greek translators of Job and Proverbs seem to have regarded it as a precious stone, for in the one place they render it by λίθω πολυτελεί, and in the other by σάρδιω πολυτελής. Rosenmüller (*Bib. Mineral.*, p. 47)

derives it from an Arabic root signifying to *conceal* (كتم, *Kalam*), and with this Lee accords.

The latter says, 'I am inclined to think that the best, finest, most compact gold, or that usually brought from Ophir, is intended' (*Comment. on Job*, p. 403).—W. L. A.

KETTLE (קֶתֶל). The word only occurs once in the A. V. (1 Sam. ii. 14), where it is associated with other vessels of a similar purpose ('Quæ discrepabant vel materiâ vel figura vel usu,' Vatablus), between which it is probably hopeless now to distinguish.

The word קֶתֶל is rendered 'pot,' Job xli. 20; Ps. lxxxix. 6 (7); 'caldron,' 2 Chron. xxxv. 13; and 'basket,' 2 Kings x. 17; Jer. xxiv. 2.—E. V.

KETURAH (קֶטֶרֶת, *incense*; Sept. *Xet-roûpa*), the second wife, or, as she is called in 1 Chron. i. 32, the concubine of Abraham, by whom he had six sons, Zimran, Jokshan, Medan, Midian, Ishbak, and Shuah, whom he lived to see grow to man's estate, and whom he established 'in the East country,' that they might not interfere with Isaac (Gen. xxv. 1-6). As Abraham was 100 years old when Isaac was born, who was given to him by the special bounty of Providence when 'he was as good as dead' (Heb. xi. 12), as he was 140 years old when Sarah died; and as he himself died at the age of 175 years,—it has seemed improbable that these six sons should have been born to Abraham by one woman after he was 140 years old, and that he should have seen them all grow up to adult age, and have sent them forth to form independent settlements in that last and feeble period of his life. If Isaac was born to him out of the course of nature when he was 100 years old, how could six sons be born to him in the course of nature after he was 140? It has therefore been suggested by good commentators, that as Keturah is called Abraham's 'concubine' in Chronicles, and as she and Hagar are probably indicated as his 'concubines' in Gen. xxv. 6, Keturah had in fact been taken by Abraham as his secondary or concubine-wife before the death of Sarah, although the historian relates the incident after that event, that his leading narrative might not be interrupted. According to the standard of morality then acknowledged, Abraham might quite as properly have taken Keturah before as after Sarah's death; nor can any reason why he should not have done so, or why he should have waited till then, be conceived. This explanation obviates many difficulties, and does not itself contain any. [ABRAHAM.]—J. K.

Addendum.—From Keturah descended the progenitors of several of the Arab tribes (Muir, *Life of Mohammed* I., cxii.) M. Caussin de Perceval thinks that the Bani Katoora, an Arab tribe who settled at Mecca with the Jorhomites, are direct descendants of Keturah, but he has no ground for this except the similarity of the names. It is improbable that where so many tribes, descended from Keturah's sons, took the names of their respective progenitors, one should have been distinguished by the name of the one mother of the whole; and besides, the Bani Katoora came from the south, whereas the descendants of Keturah seem to have resided in the north of the peninsula. The Midianites, the Dedanites, the Shebnites, are the

descendants of Keturah connected with Arab associations.—W. L. A.

KETZACH (קֶצֶח; Sept. *μελάνθιον*), also written KEZACH and KETSAH, occurs only in Is. xxviii. 25, 27, and is translated *fitches*, that is, *vetches*, in the A. V. It is no doubt from the difficulty of proving the precise meaning of *ketzach*, that different plants have been assigned as its representative. But if we refer to the context, we learn some particulars which at least restrict it to a certain group, namely, to such as are cultivated. Thus, ver. 25, 'When he (the ploughman) hath made plain the face thereof, doth he not cast abroad the *fitches* (*ketzach*):' And again, ver. 27, 'For the *fitches* are not threshed with a threshing instrument, neither is a cart-wheel turned about upon the cummin; but *fitches* are beaten out with a staff, and the cummin with a rod.' From which we learn that the grain called *ketzach* was easily separated from its capsule, and therefore beaten out with a stick.

Although *ketzach*, in Chaldee *kischa*, is always acknowledged to denote some seed, yet interpreters have had great difficulty in determining the particular kind intended—some translating it *pear*, others, as Luther and the A. V., *vetches*, but without any proof. Meibomius considers it to be the *white poppy*, and others, a *black seed*. This last interpretation has the most numerous, as well as the oldest, authorities in its support. Of these a few are in favour of the black poppy-seed, but the majority, of a black seed common in Egypt, etc. (Celsius, *Hierobot.* ii. 70). The Sept. translates it *μελάνθιον*, the Vulg. *git*, and Tremellius *melanthium*, while the Arabic has *shoonex*. All these mean the same thing, namely, a very black-coloured and aromatic seed, still cultivated and in daily employment as a condiment in the East (Pliny, xx. 17, 71; Dioscor., iii. 93). The شونيز

shoonex, of the Arabs is, moreover, the same plant or seed which is usually called 'black cummin.' So one kind of cummin is said by Dioscorides to have seeds like those of *melanthion* or *nigella*. It was commonly cultivated in Egypt, and P. Alpinus mentions it as 'Suneg Ægyptiis.' The Arabs, besides *shoonex*, also call it *hub-alsouda*, and the Persians *seah dana*, both words signifying *black seed*. One species, named *N. Indica* by Dr. Roxburgh, is called *kala jeera* in India, that is, black zeera or cummin, of the family of Ranunculaceæ. 'Nigella sativa is alone cultivated in India, as in most eastern countries, and continues in the present day, as in the most ancient times, to be used both as a condiment and as a medicine' (*Himal. Bot.*, p. 46). If we consider that this appears to have been always one of the cultivated grains of the East, and compare the character of *nigella* with the passages in which *ketzach* is mentioned, we shall find that the former is applicable to them all. Indeed, Bartenora states, that the barbarous or vulgar name of the *kezach* was *nielle*, that is, *nigella*. The various species of *nigella* are herbaceous (several of them being indigenous in Europe, others cultivated in most parts of Asia), with their leaves deeply cut and linear, their flowers terminal, most of them having under the calyx leafy involucre which often half surround the flower. The fruit is composed of five or six capsules, which are compressed, oblong, pointed,

sometimes said to be hornlike, united below, and divided into several cells, and enclosing numerous, angular, scabrous, black-coloured seeds. From



977. *Nigella sativa*.

the nature of the capsules, it is evident, that when they are ripe, the seeds might easily be shaken out by moderate blows of a stick, as is related to have been the case with the *ketsach* of the text.—J. F. R.

KETZIOTH (קֶצִיּוֹת) is translated **CASSIA** in the A. V., and is said to be derived from קָצַץ, *to cut off*: it therefore denotes 'pieces cut off,' or 'fragments,' and hence is applicable to *cassia*. But many of these derivations have often been traced out in ignorance of the names and properties of the various substances known to the nations of antiquity. Cassia is mentioned in three places (Exod. xxx. 24; Ezek. xxvii. 19; and in Ps. xlv. 8), in conjunction with myrrh, cinnamon, sweet calamus, and ahalim, or eaglewood. All these are aromatic substances, and, with the exception of myrrh, which is obtained from Africa, are products of India and its islands. It is probable, therefore, that *ketsioth* is of a similar nature, and obtained from the same countries. Both cinnamon [KINNAMON] and cassia [KIDDAH] were no doubt known to the ancients, and this is one step of the investigation; but to prove that the Hebrew words are correctly translated is another, which must be proceeded with before we can infer that the *kiddah* of Exod. xxx. 24 and Ezek. xxvii. 19, and the *ketsioth* of Ps. xlv. 8, both signify the same thing. This has not been the opinion of several translators and commentators; the first having been variously rendered iris, stacte, *costus*, ginger, canna, fistula, amber, *ketsiah*, and cassia; while *ketsioth*, or *ketsiah*, has been rendered cassia, acacia, amber, ginger, and aloes. The Arabic

translator has considered it synonymous with the Arabic name *salicha*, which is no doubt applied to cassia.

Ketsioth occurs only once, in Ps. xlv. 8: 'All thy garments smell of myrrh, and aloes (*ahalim*), and cassia (*ketsioth*).' It has been observed, with reference to this passage, that 'The garments of princes are often embued with costly perfumes, those of the high-priests were anointed with holy ointment.' We have seen above that *ketsioth* has been variously translated, but no one seems to have noticed the resemblance of this word to the *kooth* and *koost* of the Arabs, of which *Kooshtia* is said to be the Syriac name, and from which there is little doubt that the *κόστος* of the Greeks, and *costus* of the Latins, are derived.

Kóστος is enumerated by Theophrastus (*Hist. Pl.* ix. 7) among the fragrant substances employed in making ointment. Three kinds of it are described by Dioscorides, among his *Aromata* (i. 15), of which the Arabian is said to be the best, the Indian to hold the second place, and the Syrian the third. Pliny mentions only two kinds (xv. 12), 'duo sunt ejus genera—nigrum, et quod melius, candicans.' The Persian writers on *Materia Medica* in use in India, in giving the above synonyms, evidently refer to two of the three kinds of *Costus* described by Dioscorides, one being called *Koost Hinder*, and the other *Koost Arabee*. The writer of this article obtained both these kinds in the bazaars of India, and found, moreover, that the *koot* or *koost* of the natives was often, by European merchants, called Indian orris, *i. e.*, Iris root, the odour of which it somewhat resembles. Subsequently he ascertained that this article was known in Calcutta as *Puchuk*, the name under which it is exported to China. The identity of the substance indicated by these various names was long ago ascertained, though not then known to the present writer. Thus Garcias ab Horto, 'Est ergo *Costus* dictus Arabibus *Cost* aut *Cast*.'—'In Malacca, ubi ejus plurimus est usus, *Pucho*, et inde vehitur in Sinarum regionem.' Having obtained the *koost* in the north-western provinces of India, the writer traced it afterwards as one of the substances brought across the Indus from Lahore (*Illust. Himal. Bot.*, p. 360). When Dr. Falconer proceeded on his journey to Cashmere, he was requested to make inquiries respecting this substance, and he discovered that it was exported from that valley in large quantities into the Punjab; whence it finds its way to Bombay (as in the time of Pliny to Patala) and Calcutta, for export to China, where it is highly valued as one of the ingredients in the incense which the Chinese burn in their temples and private houses. Finding the plant to belong to a new genus, he named it *Aucklandia*, in compliment to the Governor-General of India, and the species *Aucklandia Costus* (*Linm. Trans.* xix. 23). Considering, therefore, that *costus* was one of the articles of ancient commerce and is mentioned by Theophrastus as employed in the composition of perfumed unguents, and considering the similarity of the Syriac *kooshtia*, and the Arabic *kast*, to the *ketsioth* of Scripture, and from their correspondence in properties and uses, the latter appears more likely to be the *costus* of the ancients, than *cassia*, for which there is another name [KIDDAH].—J. F. R.

KEUCHENIUS, PETRUS, a learned Dutch

theologian, was born at Bois-le-Duc, 22d August 1654, and studied at Leyden and Utrecht, where he had Spanheim, Le Moynes, Witsius, and Leusden for his teachers; and was successively minister at Alem, Tiel, and Arnheim, at which last place he died 27th March 1689. He wrote *Annotata in omnes N. T. libros*, the second and only complete edition of which, superintended by Alberti, appeared at Leyden in 1755. The author's aim in these annotations is to throw light on the N. T. by determining the sense in which words and phrases were used at the time it was written, and among those with whom its writers were familiar. For this purpose he compares the language of the N. T. with that of the LXX., and calls in aid from the Chaldee and Syriac versions. His notes are characterised by sound learning and great good sense. Alberti commends in strong terms his erudition, his candour, solidity, and impartiality.—W. L. A.

KEY, מַפתֵּחַ. The only passage in which we read of a key being employed is Judg. iii. 25, where we find Eglon, after his assassination of Ehud, bolting and barring (נָעַל) the door, which could not be opened again until the servants brought 'the key' (the A. V. omits the article), and pushed back the bar. This corresponds with what we know of the construction of early Oriental locks, which consisted merely of a wooden slide, drawn into its place by a string, and fastened there by teeth or catches; the key being a bit of wood, crooked like a sickle, which lifted up the slide and extracted it from its catches, after which it was drawn back by the string. At a later period, when iron came into general use, keys were made of that metal, and Sir G. Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, ii. 109, ff., gives a drawing of one found at Thebes, about five inches long, with three teeth projecting from a bar at right angles to the shank. But even in the present day, as in Thevenot's time, both locks and keys are of wood, and the former are of so clumsy a construction that they can be easily opened without the key, as 'a little paste on the end of the finger will do the job as well.' An allusion to this has been seen in Cant. v. 4, 5 (Jahn, *Heb. Ant.*; Harmer, *Obs.*, vol. i. 394; Wilkinson, *u.s.*) The 'key on the shoulder' is used as the emblem of official dignity, corresponding to the chamberlain's keys of modern days, in the case of Eliakim, Is. xxii. 22, when he succeeded Shebna, on his degradation, as master of the king's household, Is. xxii. 15-20; xxxvi. 3. The expression is transferred in a mystical or spiritual sense to Christ, Rev. iii. 7; cf. i. 18.

The Rabbins say that God has reserved to himself four keys, entrusting them to none, no not to the angels—those of rain, the grave, fruitfulness, and barrenness.—E. V.

KEZIZ, VALLEY OF קֵצִיז, 'Valley of the End,' or, perhaps, 'of Destruction;' Sept. Ἀνεκασίς, by combining the two Hebrew words; Alex. Ἀνεκασείς; *vallis Casis*. After describing the boundaries of Benjamin, Joshua enumerates its chief cities:—'Now the cities of the tribe of the children of Benjamin were Jericho, and Beth-hoglah, and the Valley of Keziz,' etc. (xviii. 21). There can be no doubt that the A. V. is here wrong in translat-

ing, with the Vulgate, the word *Emek* (עֵמֶק); it is as much a part of the proper name as *Beth* (בֵּית, 'house') in the preceding word. The name of the town was *Emek-keziz*, as it is rendered in the Septuagint. It must have stood in the Jordan valley near Jericho; but the site is now unknown.—J. L. P.

KIBROTH-HATTA'AVAH (קִבְרוֹת הַתְּאָוָה)

'graves of lust;' *Μνημεῖα τῆς ἐκδυσίας; Sepulera concupiscentiæ*. The origin of this name was as follows:—After the giving of the law at Sinai, the Israelites marched three days, and then rested. The people murmured for some reason, and fire from heaven consumed a number of them; hence the station was called *Taberah*, 'burning.' Again murmuring arose among 'the mixed multitude,' who craved for flesh-meat; and the Israelites cried, weeping, 'Who shall give us flesh to eat?' 'And there went forth a wind from the Lord, and brought quails from the sea, and let them fall by the camp, as it were a day's journey on this side, and a day's journey on the other side,' etc. The people killed and ate, 'and while the flesh was yet between their teeth, ere it was chewed . . . the Lord smote the people with a very great plague. And he called the name of that place *Kibroth-hatta'avah*, because there they buried the people that lusted' (Num. xi. 1-35). The same encampment was thus called by two names (cf. Num. xxxiii. 16; Deut. ix. 22). It lay between Sinai and Hazereth; three days from the former, and one from the latter. If Hazereth be identified with Ain el-Hudherah [HAZEROTH], there can be little difficulty in fixing the site of Kibroth. The camp must have been situated amid those dreary sand-hills and parched naked valleys which extend for miles away to the south-west of el-Hudherah [WANDERING]. See also Robinson. *B. R.*, i. 150; *Handbook for S. and P.*, 37; Stanley, *S. and P.*, pp. 79, seq.—J. L. P.

KIBZAIM (קִבְצַיִם, 'two heaps,' omitted in the Vatican text of the LXX.; Alex. Καρβαίμ), a city of Ephraim assigned to the Levites (Josh. xxi. 22). The parallel passage in 1 Chron. vi. 68 has *Jokmeam*, which was probably another name for the same place [see *JOKMEAM*].—J. L. P.

KID. [GEDI; EZ.]

KIDDAH (קִדָּה), as well as **KETZIOTH,** is rendered **CASSIA** in our A. V.; but translators do not uniformly coincide in, though the great majority are in favour of, this interpretation. It is well known that the Greeks were acquainted with several varieties of cassia; and as one of these was called *kitto*, κίττω (Dioscor. i. 12), this has been thought to be the same word as the Hebrew קִדָּה, from קָדַד, in Arabic كَسَد, to split, *heav*, or *tear*

anything lengthwise, as must be done in separating cassia bark from the tree. But it does not follow that this is a correct interpretation of the origin of the name of an Eastern product. The word occurs first in Exod. xxx. 24, where cassia (*kiddah*) is mentioned in connection with olive oil, pure myrrh, sweet cinnamon, and sweet calamus; secondly, in Ezek. xxvii. 19, where Dan and Javan are described as bringing bright iron, cassia (*kiddah*), and calamus to the markets of Tyre. There is no reason

why the substance now called cassia might not have been imported from the shores of India into Egypt and Palestine. Considerable confusion has, however, been created by the same name having been applied by botanists to a genus containing the plants yielding senna, and to others, as the *cassia fistula*, which have nothing to do with the original cassia. Cassia-buds, again, though no doubt produced by a plant belonging to the same, or to some genus allied to that producing cinnamon and cassia, were probably not known in commerce at so early a period as the two latter substances. There is some difficulty also in determining what the ancient cassia was. The author of this article, in his *Antiquity of Hindoo Medicine*, p. 84, has already remarked, 'The cassia of the ancients it is not easy to determine; that of commerce, Mr. Marshall says, consists of only the inferior kinds of cinnamon. Some consider cassia to be distinguished from cinnamon by the outer cellular covering of the bark being scraped off the latter, but allowed to remain on the former. This is, however, the characteristic of the (Cochin-Chinese) *cinnamomum aromaticum*, as we are informed by Mr. Crawford (*Embassy to Siam*, p. 470) that it is not cured, like that of Ceylon, by freeing it from the epidermis.' There is, certainly, no doubt that some cassia is produced on the coast of Malabar. The name also would appear to be of Eastern origin, as *kasse koronde* is one kind of cinnamon, as mentioned by Burmann in his *Flora Zeylonica*; but it will be preferable to treat of the whole subject in connection with cinnamon [KINNAMON].—J. F. R.

KIDDER, RICHARD, D.D., successively prebend of Norwich, dean of Peterborough, and bishop of Bath and Wells. He was born about the year 1635, and, according to Anthony Wood (*Athen. Oxon.*, vol. ii., *Fasli* 123), at Brighton. He was admitted sizar of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in June 1649, took the degree of B.A. in 1652, and was elected fellow of his college in 1655. In 1662 he was ejected for nonconformity from the vicarage of Stanground, in Huntingdonshire, but conforming soon after, he was presented in 1664 to the rectory of Raine, in Essex. In 1674 the Merchant Taylors' Company gave him the rectory of St. Martin's Outwich. In 1681 he was made prebend of Norwich, and in 1689 dean of Peterborough; two years afterwards, on the deprivation of Ken, he was raised to the see of Bath and Wells. He died Nov. 26, 1703, at Wells, being killed in bed by the fall of a stack of chimneys occasioned by the great storm. His Biblical writings are—
1. *A Commentary on the Five Books of Moses; with a dissertation concerning the author or writer of the said books, and a general argument to each*, Lond. 1694, 2 vols. 8vo. The notes are exceedingly brief, and of no great value; the introductory dissertation is the most useful part of the work.
2. *A Demonstration of the Messiah; in which the truth of the Christian religion is proved against all the enemies thereof; but especially the Jews*, Lond. 1715, 3 vols. 8vo; 2d edition, 1726, fol. This work claims to be mentioned here because of the numerous, and oftentimes full, discussions of important and difficult scriptural passages which it contains.
3. *Critical remarks on some difficult passages of Scripture*, Lond. 1725, 8vo.—S. N.

KIDRON, in N. T. *Cedron* (קֶדְרוֹן, 'turbid'; LXX. and N. T., Κεδρών; *Cedron*). In every instance, except one, in which this name is mentioned in the O. T., the word *nakhal* (נַחַל, A. V. 'brook') is joined to it. This word appears to be exactly equivalent to the Arabic *wady* (وادي or واد), which signifies a 'valley' or 'ravine,' either with or without a river; the proper word for 'river' itself, both in Hebrew and Arabic, being *nahar* (נהר, نهر), which is never applied to the

Kidron. In 2 Kings xxiii. 4, the 'fields of Kidron' are mentioned, and reference is made to the cultivated ground in the bottom of the Kidron valley. The word *nakhal* is uniformly rendered *χειμαρρος* by the LXX., and in John xviii. 1, the only passage of the N. T. in which the Kidron is mentioned, it is called *χειμαρρος τῶν Κεδρών*. *Χειμαρρος* signifies a 'winter stream'—a stream formed or swollen by winter rain or snow, and in this respect it is applicable to the Kidron; but Josephus usually applies to it the still more appropriate name *φάραγξ*, 'chasm' or 'ravine' (*Antiq.* ix. 7. 3). In the Vulgate the uniform rendering is *torrens Cedron*, except in 2 Kings xxiii. 6, where it is *convallis*, which is much more appropriate. The term 'brook' in our A. V. is an unfortunate translation, for it must convey to ordinary readers a totally wrong idea of the Kidron.

The Kidron is a mountain ravine, in most places narrow, with precipitous banks of naked limestone; but here and there its banks have an easy slope, and along its bottom are strips of land capable of cultivation. It contains the bed of a streamlet, but during the whole summer, and most of the winter, it is perfectly dry; in fact, no water runs in it except when heavy rains are falling in the mountains round Jerusalem.

On the broad summit of the mountain-ridge of Judæa, a mile and a quarter north-west of Jerusalem, is a slight depression; this is the head of the Kidron. The sides of the depression, and the elevated ground around it, are whitened by the broad jagged tops of limestone rocks, and almost every rock is excavated, partly as a quarry, and partly to form the façade of a tomb. The valley, or depression, runs for about half a mile towards the city; it is shallow and broad, dotted with corn-fields, and sprinkled with a few old olives. It then bends eastward, and in another half mile is crossed by the great northern road coming down from the hill Scopus. On the east side of the road, and south bank of the Kidron, are the celebrated *Tombs of the Kings*. The bed of the valley is here about half a mile due north of the city gate. It continues in the same course about a quarter of a mile farther, and then, turning south, opens into a wide basin containing cultivated fields and olives. Here it is crossed diagonally by the road from Jerusalem to Anathoth. As it advances southward, the right bank, forming the side of the hill Bezetha, becomes higher and steeper, with occasional precipices of rock, on which may be seen a few fragments of the ancient city wall; while, on the left, the base of Olivet projects, greatly narrowing the valley. Opposite St. Stephen's gate the depth is fully 100 feet, and the breadth not more than 400 feet. The olive trees in the bottom are so thickly clus-

tered as to form a shady grove; and their massive trunks and gnarled boughs give evidence of great age. This spot is shut out from the city, from the view of public roads, and from the notice and interruptions of wayfarers. May not this be the site of Gethsemane, rather than the more public traditional site some distance farther down? [GETHSEMANE.] A zigzag path descends the steep bank from St. Stephen's gate, crosses the bed of the valley by an old bridge, and then branches. One branch leads direct over the top of Olivet. This path has a deep historical interest; it was by it that David went when he fled from Absalom:—'The king passed over the brook Kidron, and all the people passed over, toward the way of the wilderness' (2 Sam. xv. 23). [OLIVET.] Another branch runs round the southern shoulder of the hill to Bethany, and it has a deep sacred interest, for it is the road of Christ's triumphal entry (Matt. xxi. 1, *seq.*; Luke xix. 37). Below the bridge the Kidron becomes still narrower, and here traces of a torrent bed first begin to appear. Three hundred yards farther down, the hills on each side—Moriah on the right and Olivet on the left—rise precipitously from the torrent bed, which is spanned by a single arch. On the left bank is a singular group of tombs, comprising those of Absalom, Jehoshaphat, and St. James (now so called); while on the right, 150 feet overhead, towers the south-eastern angle of the temple wall, most probably the 'pinnacle' on which our Lord was placed (Matt. iv. 5). The ravine runs on, narrow and rocky, for 500 yards more; there, on its right bank, in a cave, is the fountain of the Virgin; and higher up on the left, perched on the side of naked cliffs, the ancient village of Siloam. A short distance farther down, the valley of the Tyrean falls in from the right, descending in terraced slopes, fresh and green, from the waters of the Pool of Siloam. The Kidron here expands, affording a level tract for cultivation, and now covered with beds of cucumbers, melons, and other vegetables. Here of old was the 'King's Garden' (Neh. iii. 15). The level tract extends down to the mouth of Hinnom, and is about 200 yards wide. A short distance below the junction of Hinnom and the Kidron is the fountain of EN-ROGEL, now called Bîr Ayûb, 'the Well of Job.' The length of the valley from its head to En-Rogel is 2½ miles, and here the historic Kidron may be said to terminate. Every reference to the Kidron in the Bible is made to this section. David crossed it at a point opposite the city (1 Sam. xv. 23); it was the boundary beyond which Solomon forbade Shimei to go on pain of death (1 Kings ii. 37); it was here, probably, near the mouth of Hinnom, that Asa destroyed the idol which Maachah his mother set up (xv. 13); and it seems to have been at the same spot, 'in the fields of Kidron,' that King Josiah ordered the vessels of Baal to be burned (2 Kings xxiii. 4). It would seem from 2 Kings xxiii. 6, that a portion of the Kidron, apparently near the mouth of Hinnom, was used as a burying-ground. The sides of the surrounding cliffs are filled with ancient rock tombs; and the greatest boon the dying Jew now asks is, that his bones be laid in the valley of Jehoshaphat. The whole of the left bank of the Kidron, opposite the temple area, far up the side of Olivet, is paved with the white tombstones of Jews. This singular longing is doubtless to be ascribed to the opinion which the Jews entertain that the Kidron

is the valley of *Jehoshaphat* mentioned by Joel (iii. 2). This opinion, which has given its modern name to the valley, has been considered in the article JEHOSEPHAT (Reland, *Pal.*, pp. 294-96; Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 268-73; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, ii. 598-610; *Handbook for S. and P.*, i. pp. 101-2).

Below En-Rogel the Kidron has little of historical or sacred interest. It runs in a winding course east by south, through the Wilderness of Judæa, to the Dead Sea. For about a mile below En-Rogel the bottom of the valley is cultivated and thickly covered with olive trees. Farther down a few fields of corn are met with at intervals, but these soon disappear, and the ravine assumes the bleak and desolate aspect of the surrounding hills. About seven miles from Jerusalem the features of the valley assume a much wilder and grander form. Hitherto the banks have been steep, with here and there a high precipice, and a jutting cliff, giving variety to the scene. Now they suddenly contract to precipices of naked rock nearly 300 feet in height, which look as if the mountain had been torn asunder by an earthquake. About a mile farther, on the side of this frightful chasm, stands the convent of St. Saba, one of the most remarkable buildings in Palestine, founded by the saint whose name it bears, in the year A. D. 439 (see *Handbook*, i. p. 204; Ritter, ii. 608, *seq.*). The sides of the chasm both above and below the convent are filled with caves and grottoes, once the abode of monks and hermits; and from these doubtless this section of the valley has got its modern name, *Wady er-Rahab*, 'Monk's Valley' (Wolcott, *Researches in Pal.*, in Biblical Cabinet, vol. xliii. p. 38). Below Mar Saba the valley is called *Wady en-Nar*, 'Valley of Fire'—a name descriptive of its aspect, for so bare and scorched is it, that it seems as if it had participated in the doom of Sodom. It runs on, a deep, narrow, wild chasm, until it breaks through the lofty line of cliffs at Ras el-Feshkhah on the shore of the Dead Sea (*Handbook*, i. 245; Robinson, *B. R.*, i. 531).

It will thus be seen that the head of the Kidron is just on the verge of the water-shed of the mountain-chain of Judah, about 2600 feet above the sea. Its length, as the crow flies, is only twenty miles, and yet in this short space it has a descent of no less than 3912 feet—the Dead Sea having a depression of 1312 feet (cf. Van de Velde, *Memoir*, pp. 179, 182; Ritter, *l.c.*).

Various opinions have been formed regarding the origin of the name *Kidron*. Some derive it from the root קדר, 'to be black' (Gesenius, *Thesaurus*; Stanley, *S. and P.*); but they are not agreed as to the cause of this name. It may arise from the gloominess of the glen, or from the 'turbid' stream; or from the blood and refuse of the temple sacrifices running into it (Reland, p. 294). Others think that it was so called from *Cedar* trees which grew in it. This is founded on the reading in the *Text. Rec.* of John xviii. 1, τῶν Κεδρῶν, which would seem to be the gen. pl. of ἡ Κέδρος, 'a cedar-tree' (Lightfoot, *Opera*, ii. 667). There can be no doubt, however, that Κεδρῶν is just the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew קדרון. It is not so easy to account for the τῶν if it be genuine. It is important to note, however, that some of the best MSS. have τοῦ, a reading which Lachmann adopts. *The Cod. Sinait.* has τοῦ κεδρῶν.

It was doubtless the Kidron valley which was in the mind of the prophet Ezekiel when he described

the vision of the holy and healing waters flowing from the temple through the desert into the sea (xlvii. 8; cf. Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 32; Stanley, *S. and P.*, 288).—J. L. P.

KIKAYON (כִּיקַיֹּן) occurs only in Jonah iv., where it is several times mentioned, as in ver. 6, 7, 9, 10. It is translated *gourd* in our A. V., probably from the *κολοκύνθη* of the Sept., often rendered *cucurbita*. In the margin of the English Bible, *Palmerist* is given. In the Vulg. *kikayon* is translated *hedera*, 'ivy.' Neither the gourd nor ivy is considered by modern writers to indicate the plant intended; which is remarkable for having given rise to some fierce controversies in the early ages of the Church. The difficulties here, however, do not appear to be so great as in many other instances. But before considering these, it is desirable to ascertain what are the characteristics of the plant as required by the text. We are told, 'The Lord God prepared a *gourd* (*kikayon*), and made it to come over Jonah, that it might be a shadow over his head,' etc. (ver. 6). 'But God prepared a worm when the morning rose the next day, and it smote the gourd that it withered' (ver. 7). And in ver. 10 it is said of the gourd that it 'came up in a night, and perished in a night.' Hence it appears that the growth of the *kikayon* was miraculous, but that it was probably a plant of the country, being named specifically; also that it was capable of affording shade, and might be easily destroyed. There does not appear anything in this account to warrant us in considering it to be the ivy, which is a plant of slow growth, cannot support itself, and is, moreover, not likely to be found in the hot and arid country of ancient Nineveh, though we have ourselves found it in more southern latitudes, but only in the temperate climate of the Himalayan Mountains. The ivy was adduced probably only from the resemblance of its Greek name, *κισσός*, to *kikayon*. That the *kikayon* was thought to be a gourd, seems to have arisen from the *kiki* of the Egyptians being the خروع,

kherwa, of the Arabs, often incorrectly written *kerwa*, that is, without the aspirate, which makes it very similar to قرة, *kura*, when written in Ro-

man characters; which last in the East is applied to the gourd or pumpkin (Avicenna, c. 622), and is probably the *Lagenaria vulgaris*. Many modern authors mistake the one for the other. To this plant, no doubt, the following passages refer: 'The Christians and Jews of Mosul (Nineveh) say it was not the *kerwa* whose shadow refreshed Jonah, but a sort of gourd, *el-kerwa*, which has very large leaves, very large fruit, and lasts but about four months' (Niebuhr, *Arabie*, as quoted by Dr. Harris). So Volney: 'Whoever has travelled to Cairo or Rosetta knows that the species of gourd called *kerwa* will, in twenty-four hours, send out shoots near four inches long' (*Trav.* i. 71).

The Hebrew name *kikayon* is so similar to the *kiki* of Dioscorides, that it was early thought to indicate the same plant. Dioscorides (iv. 164, *περὶ κικεύων*) states that the *kiki*, or *croton*, is called *wild sesamum* by some:—'Ricini autem nomen accepit a similitudine quæ est illius semini cum ricino animal. Arbustula est parvæ ficus altitudine, foliis platani, truncis ramisque cavis in calami modum,

semine in uvis asperis. Ex eo oleum *kikinum* exprimitur, cibus quidem ineptum; sed alias et ad lucernas et emplastra utile.' Thus giving in a few words a graphic description of *Ricinus communis*,



298. *Ricinus communis*.

or castor-oil plant, of which the seeds have some resemblance to the insect commonly called *tick* in English, and which is found on dogs and other animals. It has also been called *Pentadactylus* and *Palma Christi*, from the palmate division of its leaves. It was known at much earlier times, as Hippocrates employed it in medicine; and Herodotus mentions it by the name of *σαλκικύριον* (ii. 94) when speaking of Egypt. That it has been known there from the earliest times is evident from Caillaud having found castor-oil seeds in some very ancient sarcophagi. That the Arabs considered their خروع, *kherwa*, to be the same

plant, is evident from Avicenna on this article, or *khirwaa* of the translation of Plempius (p. 301):—'Plantum hoc, scribit Dioscorides, quidam *crotone* appellant, hoc est *ricinum*, a similitudine quæ est illius semini cum ricino animal.' So Serapion (iii. c. 79):—'Cherva sive *kerua*, sicuti ejus oleum, oleum *kichas*.' This oil was not only employed by the Greeks, but also by the Jews, being the כִּיק־אֵל, *kik*-oil of the Talmudists, prepared from the seeds of the *ricinus* (Rosenmüller, p. 127). Lady Calcott states that the modern Jews of London use this oil, by the name of oil of *kik*, for their Sabbath lamps, it being one of the five kinds of oil which their traditions allow them to employ.

Having ascertained that the *kiki* of the Greeks is what is now called *Ricinus communis*, we shall find that its characters correspond with everything that is required, except the rapidity of growth, which must be granted was miraculous. Dr. Harris indeed states that the passage means, 'Son of the night it was, and as a son of the night it died;' and that, therefore, we are not compelled to believe that it grew in a single night, but rather,

by a strong Oriental figure, that it was of rapid growth. This, there is no doubt, it is highly susceptible of in warm countries where there is some moisture. It attains a considerable size in one season; and though in Europe it is only known as a herb, in India it frequently may be seen, especially at the margins of fields, the size of a tree. So at Busra Niebuhr saw an *el-kerou* which had the form and appearance of a tree. The stems are erect, round, and hollow; the leaves broad, palmate, 5 to 8 or 10 lobed, peltate, supported on long foot-stalks. The flowers in terminal panicles; the lower, male; the upper, female. Capsule trilocular, covered with spines. The seeds are oblong, oval, externally of a greyish colour, but mottled with darker-coloured spots and stripes. From the erect habit, and the breadth of its foliage, this plant throws an ample shade, especially when young. From the softness and little substance of its stem, it may easily be destroyed by insects, which Rumphius describes as sometimes being the case. It would then necessarily dry up rapidly. As it is well suited to the country, and to the purpose indicated in the text, and as its name *kiki* is so similar to *kikayon*, it is doubtless the plant which the sacred penman had in view.—J. F. R.

KIMCHI, DAVID B. JOSEPH, commonly called by the Jews *Redak*, from the initial letters רד"ק = ר' דוד קמחי, *R. David Kimchi*, was born in Narbonne in 1160, and died about 1235. Very little is known of the private life of this celebrated commentator, grammarian, and lexicographer, who is justly regarded as the teacher of Hebrew of both Jews and Christians throughout Europe. He wrote—(1.) *A Commentary on the Pentateuch* (פרש

על התורה), of which, however, Genesis only has been published by A. Ginzburg, Pressburg 1842, cap. i. 1-10 being supplied by Kirchheim from the writings of Kimchi, as the MS. was defective; (2.)

A Commentary on the Earlier Prophets (פרש על נביאים ראשונים), i. e., Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, printed in the Rabbinical Bibles edited by Jacob b. Chajim, Venice 1525, 1548; Buxtorf 1619; and Frankfurter 1724-27; (3.)

A Commentary on the Later Prophets (פרש על נביאים אחרונים), i. e., Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the minor prophets, also given in the Rabbinical Bibles; (4.) *A Commentary on the Psalms* (פרש

על תהלים), first printed in 1477, reprinted several times, and also given in the Rabbinical Bibles of Jacob b. Chajim, but not in those edited by Buxtorf and Frankfurter; (5.)

A Commentary on Ruth (פרש על מגילת רות), published for the first time by Mercier, Paris 1563; (6.)

A Commentary on Chronicles (פרש על דברי הימים), given in the Rabbinical Bibles; (7.)

A Commentary on Job (פרש

על איוב), which has not yet been published; (8.)

The celebrated work called *Michlol* (מכלול), or *Perfection*, which consists of two parts—*a.* A Hebrew Grammar (חלק הדקדוק), usually bearing the name *Michlol*, edited with notes by Elias Levita, Venice 1545, and by M. Hechim, Furth 1793;

and (9.) *b.* A Hebrew Lexicon (חלק הענין), commonly called *The Book of Roots* (ספר השורשים), the best editions of which are by Elias Levita, Venice 1546, and Biesenthal and Lebrecht, Berlin

1847; (10.) *A Refutation of Christianity* (דעות לנצרות), in which he tries to explain away some Messianic Psalms, printed together with the celebrated *Nitzachon* (נצחון) of Lippmann, Amsterdam 1709, 1711; Königsberg 1847; and (11.) Another polemical work called *Ukha*, also printed with the *Nitzachon*.

Kimchi does not pretend to originality; he frankly says, in his introduction to the *Michlol*, that his aim is to exhibit the results of the manifold and extensive labours of his numerous predecessors. Hence his lexicon is, to a great extent, a translation of Ibn Ganach's *Book of Roots* (1888 GANACH), and hence his repeated quotations from Saadia, Ibn Koriish, Chajug, Ibn Ganach, Ibn Gebirol, Ibn Giath, Ibn Balaam, Gikatilla, and many others. But though his claims are modest, yet his merits are great. He was the first who discovered the distinction between the long and short vowels, whereby the understanding of the changing of vowels has been greatly facilitated. He moreover defended a simple, natural, and grammatical exegesis, at a time when most of his Jewish brethren were enamoured of Hagadic, Kabbalistical, and astrological interpretations. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that he became so eminent among his brethren, that they applied to him, by a play of words, the saying in the Mishna (*Aboth*. iii. 17), **אין קמח אין תורה**, *no Kimchi, no understanding of the Scriptures*. Equally great was his reputation amongst Christians after the revival of learning, and at the time of the Reformation, notwithstanding his hostility to Christianity, which is displayed throughout his commentaries,* and which arose from the persecutions the Jews had to endure from the Crusaders in the name of Christ. The first Hebrew lexicons or glossaries compiled by Christians, as well as the grammars and the notes accompanying the Latin Bibles of Munster and Stephen, are derived from Kimchi. Excerpts of his Commentary on Isaiah were translated into Latin by Munster, and a Latin version of the whole of it was published by Malanimeus, Florence 1774. Leusden published Latin versions of Joel (Utrecht 1656); and Jonah (Utrecht 1657). De Muis published a Latin translation of Malachi (Paris 1618). Vehe published a German translation of Amos, Col. 1581; and Dr. M'Caul translated the Commentary on Zechariah into English (London 1837). A Latin translation of the Commentary on the Psalms was made by Janvier (Constance 1544). The grammatical part of his work called the *Michlol* was translated into Latin by Guidacier, Paris 1540; and a Latin version of the roots was published in 1535. Comp. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Lib. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 868-875; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. p. 183, seq.; the masterly biography of Kimchi by Geiger in *Ozar Nechmad*, Vienna 1857, p. 157, seq.—C. D. G.

* Many of these passages have been struck out by the Inquisition, and do not exist in the present editions of Kimchi's Commentaries. Pococke has collected all the passages which have been omitted from the Prophets, some of which he found in the *Editio Pisarenensis* (Pesaro 1515), and some in two MSS. in the Bodleian Library, and given them in *Not. ad Portam Mosis*, in his *Theological Works*, ed. London, 1740, vol. i. p. 241, seq.

KIMCHI, JOSEPH B. ISAAC, also called *Mestre Petit*, the father of the preceding writer, was compelled to leave Spain on account of the persecutions to which the Jews were subject by the Mohammedans, settled in Narbonne, where he died about 1180. He devoted his whole life to the science of the Hebrew language and Biblical exegesis, and succeeded, by his clear and independent judgment, in creating a new epoch in the study of the Hebrew Scriptures among his brethren in southern France, by introducing there the learning of Spain, and continuing the labours of Ibn Ezra. He wrote—(1.) A Commentary on the Pentateuch, entitled **ספר תורה**, *The Book of the Law*, which is lost, except fragments of it extant in MS., De Rossi 166, and in the quotation of his son D. Kimchi. (2.) A Commentary on the Earlier Prophets called **המקנה**, *The Bill of Purchase*, in allusion to Jer. xxxii. 11. (3.) A Commentary on the Later Prophets, called

ספר הנלי, *The Unfolded Book*, in allusion to Jer. xxxii. 14. These works, too, have not as yet come to light, and we only know them through the numerous quotations from them dispersed through David Kimchi's Commentaries on the Prophets. (4.) A Commentary on Job, a defective MS. of which is both in the Bodleian Library and at Munich, 260. (5.) A Commentary on Proverbs, a perfect MS. of which exists in the Munich Library, No. 242. (6.) A Hebrew Grammar called **ספר זכרון**, *The Book of Remembrance*, which is the first written by a Jew in a Christian country, and is quoted by D. Kimchi in the Michlol, **ב קנא**. (7.) Another grammatical work, entitled **ספר תהור הלל**, also quoted in the Michlol **קלל a**. Both as a commentator and a grammarian Joseph Kimchi deserves the highest praise, and though his works still remain unpublished, his contributions to Biblical literature produced a most beneficial influence, inasmuch as they prepared the way in Christian countries for a literal and sound exegesis. His son, D. Kimchi, who constantly quotes him, both in his commentaries and under almost every root of his Hebrew Lexicon, has familiarised the Hebrew student with the grammatical and exegetical principles of this deservedly esteemed Hebraist. Comp. Biesenthal and Lebrecht's edition of D. Kimchi's *Radicum Liber*, Berlin 1847, col. xxiv. seq.; and Geiger's excellent Treatise in *Osar Nechmad*, I, Vienna 1856, p. 97-119.—C. D. G.

KIMCHI, MOSES B. JOSEPH, also called *Remak*, from the initial letters **רמ"ק**, *R. Moses Kimchi*, the eldest son of the preceding writer, flourished about 1160-1170. Though far below his father and brother, yet he has also distinguished himself as a commentator and grammarian. He wrote—(1.) A Commentary on Proverbs (**פרוש** **ספר משלי**), printed in the Rabbinic Bibles of Jacob b. Chajim, Venice 1526, 1548; Buxtorf, Basel 1619; and Frankfurter, Amsterdam 1724-27; which has been falsely ascribed to Ibn Ezra. Comp. Reifmann in *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1841, 750-751; *Zion*, vol. I, Frankfurt-on-the-Maine 1841, p. 76; Lippmann, in *Zion*, vol. II, Frankfurt-on-the-Maine 1842, p. 113-117; 129-133; 155-157; 171-174; 185-188. (2.) A Commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah, also printed in the Rabbinical Bibles, and erroneously attributed to Ibn Ezra. (3.) A grammatical work, entitled **מהך שבלי הדעת**, which became

a manual for both Jews and Christians who were anxious to acquire the rudiments of Hebrew grammar, through the recommendation of Elias Levita, who annotated and edited it in 1508. It was afterwards published, with a Latin translation, by Seb. Munster, Basel 1531, and was published at different times in various places, with diverse additions and modifications. The chief merit of this little volume consists in the fact, that M. Kimchi was the first to employ therein the word **פסק** as a paradigm of the regular verbs, instead of the less appropriate verb *medie gutturalis* **פעל**, which had been used by his predecessors in imitation of Arabic grammarians. (4.) A grammatical treatise on the anomalous expressions entitled **ספר תחבולות**, quoted by D. Kimchi in the Michlol. Comp. Biesenthal and Lebrecht's edition of D. Kimchi's *Radicum Liber*, Berlin 1847, col. xxxviii. seq.; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, II. 187, seq.; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodliana*, col. 1838-1844; by the same author, *Bibliographisches Handbuch*, Leipzig 1859, p. 74, ff.; and the excellent treatise of Geiger, *Osar Nechmad*, vol. II, Vienna 1857, p. 17, ff.—C. D. G.

KIMMOSH (קמוש) occurs Is. xxxiv. 13, Hos. ix. 6; and in the pl. **קמשינים**, Prov. xxv. 31, where it is mentioned along with *charul*, which we believe to indicate *charlock*. The field of the slothful is there described as being grown over with thorns (*charullim*), 'and nettles (*kimshon*) had covered the face thereof.' In Isaiah it is said, 'And thorns (*choach*) shall come up in the palaces, nettles (*kimosh*) and brambles in the fortresses thereof.' Hos. ix. 6, 'The pleasant places for their silver, nettles (*kimosh*) shall possess them; thorns (*choach*) shall be in their tabernacles.'

Though different interpretations have been given of this word, as thorns, thistles, wild chamomile, etc., the greatest number of authors have united in adopting nettles, chiefly in consequence of the authority of Jewish writers. Thus, Rosenmüller says, Rabbi Tanchum, on Hos. ix. 6, explains *kimosh* by the common nettle, **قرص** in Pococke's

Comment. on Hosea. So R. Ben Melech, as quoted and translated by Celsius (*Herobot*, II. p. 207), 'ex antiquioribus Ebræis, ad Proverb. xxiv. 31, *species est spinarum, et dicitur vulgo Urtica*.' Nettles no doubt spring up rapidly in deserted as in inhabited places, in fields, ditches, and road sides, but most frequently where there is some moisture in the soil or climate. Though they are found in tropical situations, as well as in temperate climes, yet the springing up of nettles in deserted places is rather an European than an Oriental idea. Though *kimosh* has not yet been proved to indicate the nettle, this plant has been received by the rabbins, and is as well suited to the passages in which it occurs as any other which has hitherto been suggested.—J. F. R.

KINAH (קִינָה), 'lamentation'; **ἰκνῆ**; Alex. **Kwd**; **Cina**, a place on the southern border of Judah, towards Edom (Josh. xv. 22). It is only once mentioned, and its site is unknown.—J. L. P.

KINDRED. Five Hebrew words are thus translated in the A. V. :—

1. **מִשְׁפָּחָה**. This word answers to the Latin *gens*, only that it more distinctly includes the idea of original affinity or derivation from a common stock; it corresponds exactly with our word *clan*. It is used of the different tribes of the Canaanites (Gen. x. 18); of the subdivisions of the Hebrew people (Exod. vi. 14; Num. i. 20, etc.); sometimes for one of the tribes (Josh. vii. 17; Judg. xiii. 2, etc.), and in the later books tropically for a people or nation (Jer. viii. 3; xxv. 9; Ezek. xx. 32; Micah ii. 3). The passages in which it is translated *kindred* in the A. V. are Gen. xxiv. 41; Josh. vi. 23; Ruth ii. 3; Job xxxii. 2; in all of which it refers to relationship by *consanguinity*, more or less remote.

2. **מוֹלֶדֶת**. This word, from **יָלַד**, conveys primarily the idea of *birth, nativity*; hence a *person born, a child* (Gen. xxviii. 9; Lev. xviii. 9, 11), and *persons of the same family or lineage* (Gen. xii. 1; xxiv. 4; xxxi. 3; xliii. 7; Num. x. 30; Esth. ii. 10; viii. 6, in all which passages it is translated *kindred* in the A. V.). In some of these instances, however, the kinship is only the remote one of common nationality arising out of common descent.

3. **מוֹרֶעֶת**, from **יָדַע**, *to know*, is used to express blood-relationship in Ruth iii. 2; comp. **מוֹרֵעַ** (Ruth ii. 1; Prov. vii. 4).

4. **נֶאֱלָה**. By this word is properly designated such near relationship by blood as would confer the rights and obligations of a **נָאֵל** or kinsman, avenger, and redeemer, on the party [KINSMAN]. As commonly used, however, it denotes either the thing redeemed (Ruth iv. 6), or the right of redeeming (Lev. xxv. 29, etc.), or the redemption price (Lev. xxv. 26, etc.). The only passage in which it is translated *kindred* in the A. V. is Ezek. xi. 15. Hengstenberg (*Christol.* iii. 9, E. T.) and Hävernick (*Comment.* in loc.) contend that **נֶאֱלָה** is to be taken here not in the sense of *relationship*, but in that of *suretyship* or *substitutionary action*, and they would translate the passage, 'Thy brethren are the men of thy suretyship,' or 'redemption,' *i.e.*, the men whom it lies on them to redeem or act for. The LXX. seem to have read **בְּרֵיךְ**, for they give *αἰχμαλωσίας* here.

5. **אָח**. This, which properly means *brother*, occurs only once with the rendering *kindred* in the A. V., in 1 Chron. xii. 29. It is frequently used elsewhere in a wide sense, and may be understood of nearly all collateral relationships whatever, whether by consanguinity, affinity, or simple association [BROTHER]. From this comes **אֶחָיוּת**, *brotherhood* (Zech. xi. 14).

Besides these terms, the Hebrews expressed consanguinity by such words and phrases as **בָּשָׂר**, *flesh* (Gen. xxxvii. 27; Is. lviii. 7); **עֲצָמִי וּבָשָׂרִי**, *my bone and my flesh* (Gen. xxix. 14; Judg. ix. 2; 2 Sam. v. 1, etc.); **שָׂאֵר**, *flesh* (Lev. xviii. 12, 13, etc.; Num. xxvii. 41), with **נִשְׁאָרָה**, coll. *kinswomen* (Lev. xviii. 17); and **שָׂאֵר בָּשָׂרִי**, *flesh of his flesh* (A. V., *near of kin*, Lev. xviii. 6; *nigh of kin*, xxv. 49).

For illustration of the special names of kindred

among the Hebrews, see articles FATHER, BROTHER, etc.; see also AFFINITY, KINSMAN, MARRIAGE.—W. L. A.

KINE. 1. **אֶלֶפִים** (Deut. vii. 13; xxviii. 4; Ps. viii. 8), found only in plural, common gender.

Derived from **אָלַף**, 'assuevit,' denoting cattle tamed and accustomed to the yoke.

2. **בָּקָר**, collective, common gender, the ordinary word throughout the Bible for a herd of oxen, without distinction of age or sex; the word for an individual being **שׁוֹר** (cf. Exod. xxi. 37 [xxii. 1]), so called from breaking up the ground in ploughing, or, according to Ewald, from dividing the hoof.

3. **פָּרוֹת**, the feminine plural of **פָּר**, a bullock, once only (Amos iv. 1), metaphorically for the luxurious hard-hearted ladies of Samaria.—E. V.

KING, a title applied in the Scriptures to men (Luke xxii. 25; 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2; 1 Pet. ii. 13, 17), to God (1 Tim. i. 17; vi. 15, 16), and to Christ (Matt. xxvii. 11; Luke xix. 38; John i. 49; vi. 15; xvii. 32-37)—to men, as invested with regal authority by their fellows; to God, as the sole proper sovereign and ruler of the universe; and to Christ, as the Messiah, the Son of God, the King of the Jews, the sole Head and Governor of his church. The kingdom of Christ, in Luke i. 32, 33, is declared to be without end; whereas, in 1 Cor. xv. 28, we are taught that it will have a period when God shall be all in all. The contradiction is only in form and appearance. The kingdom of the Messiah, considered as a mediatorial instrumentality for effecting the salvation of the world, will of course terminate when the purposes for which it was established shall have been accomplished; while the reign of the Son of God, associated with his Father in the empire of the world, will last as long as that empire itself, and never cease, so long as the effects endure which the redemption of the world shall produce alike in its remotest as in its nearer consequences.

Regal authority was altogether alien to the institutions of Moses in their original and unadulterated form. Their fundamental idea was that Jehovah was the sole king of the nation (1 Sam. viii. 7); to use the emphatic words in Is. xxxiii. 22, 'The Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our king.' This important fact, however, does not rest on the evidence of single texts, but is implied in the entire Pentateuch, not to say the whole of the O. T. The Scriptural statements or implications are as follows:—God is the creator of the world; he saved a remnant from the flood; towards the descendants of Noah he manifested his special favour; to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, he promised a land flowing with milk and honey. In the fulness of time he accomplished, by apparently the most unlikely and untoward means, the oath which he more than once swore to the fathers of Israel; so that eventually, having furnished his people with a complete code of laws, he put them in possession of the promised territory, assuming the government, and setting forth sanctions alike of ample good and terrible ill, in order to keep the people loyal to himself as to the only Creator and God of the universe, and specially as their supreme sovereign.

We consider it as a sign of that self-confidence and moral enterprise which are produced in great men by a consciousness of being what they profess, that Moses ventured, with his half-civilized hordes, on the bold experiment of founding a society without a king, and that in the solicitude which he must have felt for the success of his great undertaking, he forewent the advantages which a regal government would have afforded. Nor is such an attempt a little singular and novel at a period and in a part of the world in which royalty was not only general, but held in the greatest respect, and sometimes rose to the very height of pure despotism. Its novelty is an evidence of the divine original to which Moses referred all his polity. Equally honourable is the conduct of Moses in denying to his lower nature the gratifications which a crown would have imparted—we say denying himself, because it is beyond a question that the man who rescued the Jews from bondage and conducted them to the land of Canaan, might, had he chosen, have kept the dominion in his own hands, and transmitted a crown to his posterity. If Washington, at this late period of human history, after the accumulating experience of above three thousand years has added its sanctions to the great law of disinterested benevolence, is held deserving of high honour for having preferred to found a republic rather than attempt to build up a throne, surely very unequal justice is done to Moses, if, as is too generally the case, we pass in neglect the extraordinary fact that, with supreme power in his hands, and, to all appearance, scarcely any hindrance to the assumption of regal splendour, the great Hebrew patriot and legislator was content to die within sight of the land of promise, a simple, unrewarded, unhonoured individual, content to do God's work regardless of self. It is equally obvious that this self-denial on the part of Moses, this omission to create any human kingship, is in entire accordance with the import, aim, and spirit of the Mosaic institutions, as being divine in their origin, and designed to accomplish a special work of Providence for man; and therefore affords, by its consistency with the very essence of the system of which it forms a part, a very forcible argument in favour of the divine legation of Moses.

That great man, however, well knew what were the elements with which he had to deal in framing institutions for the rescued Israelites. Slaves they had been, and the spirit of slavery was not yet wholly eradicated from their souls. They had, too, witnessed in Egypt the more than ordinary pomp and splendour which environ a throne, dazzling the eyes and captivating the heart of the uncultured. Not improbably the prosperity and abundance which they had seen in Egypt, and in which they had been, in a measure, allowed to partake, might have been ascribed by them to the regal form of the Egyptian government. Moses may well, therefore, have apprehended a not very remote departure from the fundamental type of his institutions. Accordingly he makes a special provision for this contingency (Deut. xvii. 14), and labours, by anticipation, to guard against the abuses of royal power. Should a king be demanded by the people, then he was to be a native Israelite; he was not to be drawn away by the love of show, especially by a desire for that regal display in which horses have always borne so large a part, to send down to Egypt, still less to cause the people to

return to that land; he was to avoid the corrupting influence of a large harem, so common among Eastern monarchs; he was to abstain from amassing silver and gold; he was to have a copy of the law made expressly for his own study—a study which he was never to intermit till the end of his days; so that his heart might not be lifted up above his brethren, that he might not be turned aside from the living God, but observing the divine statutes, and thus acknowledging himself to be no more than the vicegerent of heaven, he might enjoy happiness, and transmit his authority to his descendants.

This passage has, indeed, been pronounced to stand apart from any connection in the Pentateuch, and to betray a much later hand than that of Moses. If our view is correct, it has a very obvious connection, and proceeds from the Hebrew legislator himself. Nor can it, we think, be denied that the reason is by no means an unlikely nor insufficient one, by which we have supposed Moses to have been prompted in promulgating the provisional and contingent arrangements which are found in the passage under consideration. Most emphatically is the act of taking a king ascribed by Moses to the people themselves, whom he represents as being influenced by considerations not dissimilar to those which we have assigned: 'When thou,' etc. 'and shalt say, *I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me.*' Winer, however, from whom (*Real-wörterb.*) we have taken this objection, argues in opposition to Stäudlin (Bertholdt's *Theol. Journ.*, iii. 259, 361, *sq.*), that if Moses had anticipated a demand for a king, he would have made provision for such a demand at an earlier period—a remark which rests on no evidence of verisimilitude whatever, the opposite of the supposed course being just as probable. Besides, it may be affirmed, without the possibility of receiving any contradiction but that of mere assertion, that he made the provision as soon as he foresaw the probable need. Less solid, if possible, is Winer's other argument, namely, that in the passage (1 Sam. viii.) in which are recorded the people's demand of a king, and the prophet Samuel's reply, no trace is found of a reference to the alleged Mosaic law on the point. A reference in form Winer could scarcely expect; a reference in substance we see very clearly. We have not room to go into particulars, but recommend the reader carefully to compare the two passages.

The Jewish polity, then, was a sort of sacerdotal republic—we say sacerdotal, because of the great influence which, from the first, the priestly order enjoyed, having no human head, but being under the special supervision, protection, and guidance of the Almighty. The nature of the consequences, however, of that divine influence avowedly depended on the degree of obedience and the general faithfulness of the nation. The good, therefore, of such a superintendence in its immediate results was not necessary, but contingent. The removal of Moses and of Joshua by death soon left the people to the natural results of their own condition and character. Anarchy ensued. Noble minds indeed, and stout hearts, appeared in those who were termed Judges; but the state of the country was not so satisfactory as to prevent an unenlightened people, having low and gross affections, from preferring the glare of a crown and the apparent protection of a sceptre, to the invi-

sible, and therefore mostly unrecognised, arm of Omnipotence. A king, accordingly, is requested. The misconduct of Samuel's sons, who had been made judges, was the immediate occasion of the demand being put forth. The request came with authority, for it emanated from all the elders of Israel, who, after holding a formal conference, proceeded to Samuel, in order to make him acquainted with their wish. Samuel was displeased; but having sought in prayer to learn the divine will, he is instructed to yield to the demand on a ground which we should not assuredly have found stated, had the book in which it appears been tampered with or fabricated for any courtly purposes or any personal ends, whether by Samuel himself, or by David, or any of his successors—'for they have not rejected thee (Samuel), but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them' (ver. 7, see also ver. 8). Samuel is, moreover, directed to 'protest solemnly unto them, and show them the manner of the king that shall reign over them.' Faithfully does the prophet depict the evils which a monarchy would inflict on the people. In vain: they said, 'Nay, but we will have a king over us.' Accordingly, Saul the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, was by divine direction selected, and privately anointed by Samuel 'to be captain over God's inheritance:' thus he was to hold only a delegated and subordinate authority. Under the guidance of Samuel, Saul is subsequently chosen by lot from among the assembled tribes; and though his personal appearance had no influence in the choice, yet when he was plainly pointed out to be the individual designed for the sceptre, Samuel called attention to those qualities which in less civilized nations have a preponderating influence, and are never without effect, at least, in supporting 'the divinity which doth hedge a king': 'See ye him whom the Lord hath chosen, that there is none like him among all the people,' for he was higher than any of the people from his shoulders and upward; 'and all the people shouted, God save the king.'

Emanating as the royal power did from the demand of the people and the permission of a prophet, it was not likely to be unlimited in its extent or arbitrary in its exercise. The government of God, indeed, remained, being rather concealed and complicated than disowned, much less superseded. The king ruled not in his own right, nor in virtue of the choice of the people, but by concession from on high, and partly as the servant and partly as the representative of the theocracy. How insecure, indeed, was the tenure of the kingly power, how restricted it was in its authority, appears clear from the comparative facility with which the crown was transferred from Saul to David; and the part which the prophet Samuel took in effecting that transference points out the quarter where lay the power which limited, if it did not primarily, at least, control the royal authority. It must, however, be added, that if religion narrowed this authority, it also invested it with a sacredness which could emanate from no other source. Liable as Israelite kings were to interference on the part of priest and prophet, they were, by the same divine power, shielded from the unholy hands of the profane vulgar; and it was at once impiety and rebellion to do injury to 'the Lord's anointed' (Ps. ii. 6, 7, *sq.*)

Instances are not wanting to corroborate and extend these general observations. When Saul was in an extremity before the Philistines (1 Sam. xxviii.), he resorted to the usual methods of obtaining counsel: 'Saul inquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets.' So David, when in need of advice in war (1 Sam. xxx. 7), resorted to Abiathar the priest, who, by means of the ephod, inquired of the Lord, and thereupon urged the king to take a certain course, which proved successful (see also 2 Sam. ii. 1). Sometimes, indeed, as appears from 1 Sam. xxviii., it was a prophet who acted the part of prime minister, or chief counsellor, to the king, and who, as bearing that sacred character, must have possessed very weighty influence in the royal divan (1 Kings xxii. 7, *sq.*) We must not, however, expect to find any definite and permanent distribution of power, any legal determination of the royal prerogatives as discriminated from the divine authority; circumstances, as they prompted certain deeds, restricted or enlarged the sphere of the monarch's action. Thus, in 1 Sam. xi. 4, *sq.*, we find Saul, in an emergency, assuming, without consultation or deliberation, the power of demanding something like a *levy en masse*, and of proclaiming instant war. With the king lay the administration of justice in the last resort (2 Sam. xv. 2; 1 Kings iii. 16, *sq.*) He also possessed the power of life and death (2 Sam. xiv.) To provide for and superintend the public worship was at once his duty and his highest honour (1 Kings viii.; 2 Kings xii. 7; xviii. 4; xxiii. 1). One reason why the people requested a king was, that they might have a recognised leader in war (1 Sam. viii. 20). The Mosaic law offered a powerful hindrance to royal despotism (1 Sam. x. 25). The people also, by means of their elders, formed an express compact, by which they stipulated for their rights (1 Kings xii. 4), and were from time to time appealed to, generally in cases of 'great pith and moment' (1 Chron. xxix. 1; 2 Kings xi. 17; Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 1. 2). Nor did the people fail to interpose their will, where they thought it necessary, in opposition to that of the monarch (1 Sam. xiv. 45). The part which Nathan took against David shews how effective, as well as bold, was the check exerted by the prophets; indeed, most of the prophetic history is the history of the noblest opposition ever made to the vices alike of royalty, priesthood, and people. If needful, the prophet hesitated not to demand an audience of the king, nor was he dazzled or deterred by royal power and pomp (1 Kings xx. 22, 38; 2 Kings i. 15). As, however, the monarch held the sword, the instrument of death was sometimes made to prevail over every restraining influence (1 Sam. xxii. 17).

After the transfer of the crown from Saul to David, the royal power was annexed to the house of the latter, passing from father to son, with preference to the eldest born, though he might be a minor. Jehoash was seven years old when he began to reign (2 Kings xi. 21). This rule was not, however, rigidly observed, for instances are not wanting in which nomination of a younger son gave him a preferable title to the crown (1 Kings i. 17; 2 Chron. xi. 21): the people, too, and even foreign powers, at a later period, interrupted the regular transmission of royal authority (2 Kings xxi. 24; xxiii. 30, 34; xxiv. 17). The

ceremony of anointing, which was observed at least in the case of Saul, David, and Solomon (1 Sam. x. 1; xv. 1; xvi. 1, 12, 13; 2 Sam. ii. 4; 1 Kings i. 34; 1 Chron. xxix. 22), and in which the prophet or high-priest who performed the rite acted as the representative of the theocracy and the expounder of the will of heaven, must have given to the spiritual power very considerable influence; and both in this particular and in the very nature of the observance directs the mind to Egypt, where the same custom prevailed, and where the power of the priestly caste was immense (Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, v. 279). Indeed, the ceremony seems to have been essential to constitute a legitimate monarch (2 Kings xi. 12; xxiii. 30); and thus the authorities of the Jewish church held in their hands, and had subject to their will, a most important power, which they could use either for their own purposes or the common good. In consequence of the general observance of this ceremony, the term 'anointed,' 'the Lord's anointed' (1 Sam. ii. 10; xvi. 6; xxiv. 6; 2 Sam. xix. 21; Ps. ii. 2; Lam. iv. 20), came to be employed in rhetorical and poetical diction as equivalent in meaning to the designation king. We have seen in the case of Saul that personal and even external qualities had their influence in procuring ready obedience to a sovereign; and further evidence to the same effect may be found in Ps. xiv. 3; Ezek. xxviii. 12; such qualities would naturally excite the enthusiasm of the people, who appear to have manifested their approval by acclamations (1 Sam. x. 24; 1 Kings i. 25; 2 Kings ix. 13; xi. 12; 2 Chron. xxiii. 11; see also Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.*, i. 33. 9). Jubilant music formed a part of the popular rejoicings (1 Kings i. 40); thank-offerings were made (1 Kings i. 25); the new sovereign rode in solemn procession on the royal mule of his predecessor (1 Kings i. 38), and took possession of the royal harem—an act which seems to have been scarcely less essential than other observances which appear to us to wear a higher character (1 Kings ii. 13, 22; 2 Sam. xvi. 22). A numerous harem, indeed, was among the most highly estimated of the royal luxuries (2 Sam. v. 13; 1 Kings x. 1; xx. 3). It was under the supervision and control of eunuchs, and passed from one monarch to another as a part of the crown property (2 Sam. xii. 8). The law (Deut. xvii. 17), foreseeing evils such as that by which Solomon, in his later years, was turned away from his fidelity to God, had strictly forbidden many wives; but Eastern passions and usages were too strong for a mere written prohibition, and a corrupted religion became a pander to royal lust, interpreting the divine command as sanctioning eighteen as the minimum of wives and concubines. In the original distribution of the land, no share, of course, was reserved for a merely possible monarch; yet the kings were not without several sources of income. In the earlier periods of the monarchy the simple manners which prevailed would render copious revenues unnecessary; and a throne which was the result of a spontaneous demand on the part of the people, would easily find support in free-will offerings, especially in a part of the world where the great are never approached without a present. There seems also reason to conclude that the amount of the contributions made by the people for the sustenance of the monarch depended, in a measure, on the de-

gree of popularity which, in any particular case, he enjoyed, or the degree of service which he obviously rendered to the state (1 Sam. x. 27; xvi. 20; 2 Sam. viii. 11; 1 Kings x. 10, 25, *sq.*) That presents of small value and humble nature were not despised or thought unfit for the acceptance of royalty, may be learnt from that which Jesse sent to Saul (1 Sam. xvi. 20), 'an ass, with bread and a bottle of wine, and a kid.' The indirect detail 'of the substance which was king David's,' found in 1 Chron. xxvii. 25, *sq.* (comp. 1 Sam. viii. 14; 2 Chron. xxvi. 10, *sq.*), shews at how early a period the Israelitish throne was in possession of very large property, both personal and real. The royal treasury was replenished by confiscation, as in the case of Naboth (1 Kings xxi. 16; comp. Ezek. xli. 16, *sq.*; 2 Sam. xvi. 4). Nor were taxes unknown. Samuel had predicted (1 Sam. viii. 15), 'He will take the tenth of your seed and of your vineyards,' etc.; and so in other passages (1 Kings v. 13; ix. 21) we find that levies both of men and money were made for the monarch's purposes; and, in cases of special need, these exactions were large and rigorously levied (2 Kings xxiii. 35), as when Jehoiakim 'taxed the land to give the money according to the commandment of Pharaoh; he exacted the silver and the gold of the people of the land, of every one according to his taxation.' So long, however, as the native vigour of a young monarchy made victory easy and frequent, large revenues came to the king from the spoils of war (2 Sam. viii. 2, *sq.*). Commerce also supplied abundant resources (1 Kings x. 15). In the 14th verse of the chapter last referred to, it is said that 'the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year was six hundred three score and six talents of gold.' In the same connection we find particulars which give a high idea of Solomon's opulence and splendour: 'Two hundred targets of beaten gold, each of six hundred shekels; three hundred shields of beaten gold, of three pounds of gold each; a great throne of ivory, overlaid with the best gold; drinking-vessels of gold: silver was accounted nothing of in Solomon's days.' A navy is also spoken of, which was at sea with the navy of Hiram, king of Tyre: this navy came once in every three years, bringing gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. 'So king Solomon exceeded all the kings of the earth for riches.'

According to Oriental custom, much ceremony and outward show of respect were observed. Those who were intended to be received with special honour were placed on the king's right hand (1 Kings ii. 19). The most profound homage was paid to the monarch, which was required not merely by common usage, but by the voice of religious wisdom (Prov. xxiv. 21)—a requirement which was not unnatural in regard to an office that was accounted of divine origin, and to have a sort of vice-divine authority. Those who presented themselves before the royal presence fell with their face towards the ground till their forehead touched it (1 Sam. xxv. 23; 2 Sam. ix. 6; xix. 18), thus worshipping or doing obeisance to the monarch, a ceremony from which even the royal spouse was not exempted (1 Kings i. 16). A kiss was among the established tokens of reverence (1 Sam. x. 1; Ps. ii. 12), as were also hyperbolical wishes of good (Dan. ii. 4; iii. 9). Serious offences against the king were punished with death (1 Kings xxi. 10).

Deriving their power originally from the wishes of the people, and being one of the same race, the Hebrew kings were naturally less despotic than other Oriental sovereigns, mingled more with their subjects, and were by no means difficult of access (2 Sam. xix. 8; 1 Kings xx. 39; Jer. xxxviii. 7; 1 Kings iii. 16; 2 Kings vi. 26; viii. 3). After death the monarchs were interred in the royal cemetery in Jerusalem: 'So David slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David' (1 Kings ii. 10; xi. 43; xiv. 31). But bad kings were excluded 'from the sepulchres of the kings of Israel' (2 Chron. xxviii. 27). In 1 Kings iv. will be found an enumeration of the high officers of state under the reign of Solomon (see also 1 Kings x. 5; xii. 18; xviii. 3; 2 Kings viii. 6; x. 22; xviii. 18; xix. 2; 1 Chron. xxvii. 25; Is. xxii. 15; Jer. lii. 25). The misdeeds of the Jewish crown, and the boldness with which they were reformed, may be seen exemplified in Jer. xxii.: 'Thus saith the Lord, Execute judgment and righteousness, and do no wrong; do no violence to the stranger, the fatherless, nor the widow; neither shed innocent blood. But if ye will not hear these words, this house shall become a desolation,' etc. Reference on the subject here treated of may be made to Schickard, *Jus Regium Hebraeor.*, Tübing. 1621; Carpov, *Appar. Crit.*, p. 52; Michaelis, *Mos. Recht*, i. 298; Othon., *Lex. Rabbin.*, p. 575.—J. R. B.

KINGS, BOOKS OF. The two books of Kings formed anciently but one book in the Jewish Scriptures. The present division, following the Septuagint and Latin versions, has been common in Hebrew Bibles since the Venetian editions of Bomberg. That the book was originally an unbroken treatise is affirmed by Origen and Jerome, Melito of Sardis, and Josephus. (Thus Origen, apud Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* vi. 25, Βασιλείων τριτὴ καὶ τετάρτη, ἐν ἐνὶ Οὐαμμέλῃ Δαβὶδ; Hieronym. *Prolog. Gal.*; Joseph. *Cont. Apion.* i. 8.) Great stress cannot always be laid on the Jewish forms of the sacred books, as they were arranged so as to correspond with the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. The old Jewish name was borrowed, as usual, from the

commencing words of the book, **והמלך דוד**, Græcized as in the quotation given from Eusebius. The Septuagint and Vulgate now number them as the third and fourth books of Kings, reckoning the two books of Samuel the first and second. The separation of Kings into two books is so awkwardly made, that it divides the lives of Ahaziah and Elijah, and carries over a portion of them into the second book. Their present title, **מלכים**, *Bašileiōw*, *Régum*, has, in the opinion of Hävernick, respect more to the formal than essential character of the composition (*Einführung*, sec. 168). Yet under such forms of government as those of Judah and Israel the royal person and name are intimately associated with all national acts and movements, legal decisions, warlike preparations, domestic legislation, and foreign policy. The reign of an Oriental prince is identified with the history of his nation during the period of his sovereignty. More especially in the theocratic constitution of the Jewish realm the character and personal influence of the monarch were an important element of national history, and, of necessity, had considerable influence on the fate and fortunes of the people.

The books of Kings contain the brief annals of a long period, from the accession of Solomon till the dissolution of the kingdom. The first chapters describe the reign of Solomon over the united kingdom, and the revolt under Rehoboam. The history of the rival states is next narrated in parallel sections till the period of Israel's downfall on the invasion of Shalmanezzer. Then the remaining years of the principality of Judah are recorded till the conquest of Nebuchadnezzar and the commencement of the Babylonish captivity. In the article ISRAEL, the period comprised has been exhibited under the name and reign of the kings who are mentioned in these books; and there also, and in the article JUDAH, the chronology of the books has been sufficiently considered. [See ISRAEL; JUDAH.]

The contents of the narrative exhibit many points of interest. The first book begins in sequel to those of Samuel, with the death of King David and the means taken to secure the succession of Solomon against the primogeniture of Adonijah. Then follow the erection and dedication of the Temple; the glories of the wise king; the visit of the Queen of Sheba; the disruption under Rehoboam; the invasion of Judah by Shishak; the idolatrous policy of Jeroboam as the head of the ten revolted tribes, and the doom of his house on account of his apostasy; the short and disturbed reigns of several of his successors; the wicked government of Ahab and his unscrupulous foreign queen; the grand episode of Elijah, and the alliances and fleet of Jehoshaphat. The second book opens with the translation of Elijah and the entrance on office of Elisha, second in greatness only to his predecessor, and records, among many other things, the siege of Samaria; the reforming zeal of Jehu; the energetic administration of Jeroboam II.; the invasion of Shalmanezzer; the treason of Athaliah; the restoration of the Temple under Jehoiada; the end of the kingdom of Israel under Hoshea; the lustre thrown by the good king Josiah over the last years of the kingdom of Judah; the fatal field of Megiddo, which led to a series of disasters; the interference of Pharaoh-Necho, and the ultimate overthrow and exile of the nation under Zedekiah. The kingdom of Israel lasted about 254 years, probably from 975 to 721 B.C., and that of Judah survived 135 years longer, lasting probably from 975 to 586 B.C. (Lepsius, *Königsb. d. Ägypt.*, p. 107; Bosanquet, *Transactions of the Chronological Institute*, vol. ii., pt. 4). The narrative of those books, therefore, extends over a period of more than 400 years. But it is not easy to work out a satisfactory chronology on all points, whether we hold or give up the formal date of the building of the Temple as given in 1 Kings vi. 1. Nor needs such difficulty create surprise. The coincidence of the year of the one sovereign's accession with a parallel year in the reign of the rival sovereign is usually given; but the epochs appear to be computed sometimes by current and sometimes by complete years. There are interregna and periods of anarchy, especially in Israel; and the letters used as numerical symbols are liable to be mistaken by transcribers. Thus, on the one hand, eleven years of anarchy are supposed by many to have happened after the reign of Jeroboam II., and nine years of a similar kind prior to the accession of Hoshea. To equalise the result, Ewald and Thénios, on the other hand, lengthen the reigns of Jeroboam and Pekah. Lepsius and Bunsen propose a somewhat similar solution. The

mention of several foreign princes in connection with the Hebrew sovereigns affords also some chronological data. Thus the fifth year of Rehoboam synchronises with some portion of the reign of Shishak; Hoshea sought alliance with So, king of Egypt; the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah brings into prominence both Sennacherib and Tirhakah; and Josiah is linked with Pharaoh-Necho. Yet, after all the labours of Bunsen, Lepsius, Hincks, and other scholars, there remains considerable doubt as to certain points, and only an approximation to accuracy can really be obtained. See CHRONOLOGY; Browne's *Ordo Scriptorum*, chap. iv., p. 221; Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii. 1, p. 261; Bunsen, *Ägyptens Stelle*, iv. p. 381; Ussher, *Annales Vd. Test.*, Works, vol. viii. p. 108, Dublin.

There are some peculiarities in this succinct history worthy of attention. It is very brief, but very suggestive. It is not a biography of the sovereigns, not a mere record of political occurrences, nor yet an ecclesiastical register. King, church, and state, are all comprised in their sacred relations. It is a theocratic history, a retrospective survey of the kingdoms as existing under a theocratic government. The character of the sovereign is tested by his fidelity to the religious obligations of his office, and this decision in reference to his conduct is generally added to the notice of his accession. The new king's religious character is generally portrayed by its similarity or opposition to the way of David, of his father, or of Jeroboam son of Nebat, 'who made Israel to sin.' Ecclesiastical affairs are noticed with a similar purpose, and in contrast with past or prevalent apostasy, especially as manifested in the popular superstitions, whose shrines were on the 'high places.' Political or national incidents are introduced in general for the sake of illustrating the influence of religion on civic prosperity; of showing how the theocracy maintained a vigilant and vengeful guardianship over its rights and privileges—adherence to its principles securing peace and plenty, disobedience to them bringing along with it sudden and severe retribution. The books of Kings are thus a verification of the Mosaic warnings, and the author of them has kept this steadily in view. He has given a brief history of his people, arranged under the various political chiefs in such a manner as to show that the government was essentially theocratic, that its spirit, as developed in the Mosaic writings, was never extinct, however modified or inactive it might sometimes appear. So that these books appear in a religious costume, quite different from the form they would have assumed either as a political or an ecclesiastical narrative. In the one case legislative enactments, royal edicts, and popular movements, would have occupied a prominent place; in the other, sacerdotal arrangements, Levitical service, music and pageantry, would have filled the leading sections of the treatise. In either view the points adduced would have had a restricted reference to the palace or the Temple, the sovereign or the pontiff, the court or the priesthood, the throne or the altar, the tribute or tithes, the nation on its farms or the tribes in the courts of the sacred edifice. But the theocracy conjoined both the political and religious elements, and the inspired annalist unites them as essential to his design. The hand of Jehovah is continually acknowledged. The chief organ of theocratic influence enjoys also peculiar

prominence. We refer to the incessant agency of the prophets, their great power and peculiar modes of action as detailed by the composer of the books of Kings. They interfered with the succession of Solomon, and their instrumentality was apparent in the great schism. They stirred up the people to a sense of duty, and they braved the sovereign when carrying out unconstitutional measures. The balance of power was in their hands; the regal dignity seemed to be sometimes at their disposal. In times of emergency they dispensed with usual modes of procedure, and assumed an authority with which no subject in an ordinary state can safely be intrusted, executing the law with a summary promptness which rendered opposition impossible, or at least unavailing. They felt their divine commission, and that they were the custodiers of the rights of Jehovah. At the same time they protected the interests of the nation, and, could we divest the term of its association with unprincipled turbulence and sedition, we would, like Winer, style them the demagogues of Israel (Winer, *Realwört.* art. *Prophet*). The divine prerogative was guarded by them with sacred jealousy, as well from royal usurpation as from popular invasion; and the interests of the people were as religiously protected against encroachments, too easily made under a form of government which had not the safeguard of popular representation or the check of aristocratic privilege. The priesthood became in many instances, though there are some illustrious exceptions, merely the creature of the crown, and therefore it became the *prophetenthum* to assert its dignity and stand forth as the majestic embassy of heaven.

The truth of these sentiments, as to the method, design, and composition of the books of Kings, is confirmed by ample evidence.

1. Large space is occupied with the building of the Temple—the palace of the Divine Protector—his throne in it being above the mercy-seat and between the cherubim (ch. v.-viii.) Care is taken to record the miraculous phenomenon of the descent of the Shekinah (ch. viii. 10). The prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the house is full of theocratic views and aspirations.

2. Reference is often made to the Mosaic Law with its provisions; and allusions to the earlier history of the people frequently occur (1 Kings ii. 3; iii. 14; vi. 11, 12; vii. 56, etc.; 2 Kings x. 31; xiv. 6; xvii. 13, 15, 37; xviii. 4-6; xxi. 1-8). Allusions to the Mosaic code are found more frequently toward the end of the second book, when the kingdom was drawing near its termination, as if to account for its decay and approaching fate.

3. Phrases expressive of Divine interference are frequently introduced (1 Kings xi. 31; xii. 15; xiii. 1, 2, 9; and xx. 13, etc.)

4. Prophetic interposition is a very prominent theme of record. It fills the vivid foreground of the historical picture. Nathan was occupied in the succession of Solomon (1 Kings i. 45); Ahijah was concerned in the revolt (xi. 29-40). Shemaiah disbanded the troops which Rehoboam had mustered (xii. 21-24). Ahijah predicted the ruin of Jeroboam, whose elevation he had promoted (xiv. 5-16). Jehu the prophet doomed the house of Baasha (xvi. 1). The reign of Ahab and Ahaziah is marked by the bold, rapid, mysterious movements of Elijah. Under Ahab occurs the prediction of Micaiah (xxii. 8). The actions and oracles

of Elisha form the marvellous topics of narration under several reigns. The agency of Isaiah is also recognised (2 Kings xix. 20; xx. 16). Besides 1 Kings xiii. presents another instance of prophetic operation; and in xx. 35, the oracle of an unknown prophet is also rehearsed. Huldah the prophetess was an important personage under the government of Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 14). Care is also taken to report the fulfilment of striking prophecies, often in the phrase, 'according to the word of the Lord' (1 Kings xii. 15; xv. 29; xvi. 12; 2 Kings ix. 36; xiii. 15-18; xxiv. 2). Thus, the Old Syriac version prefixes, 'Here follows the book of the kings who flourished among the ancient people; and in this is also exhibited the history of the prophets who flourished during their times.'

5. Theocratic influence is recognised both in the deposition and succession of kings (1 Kings xiii. 33; xv. 4, 5, 29, 30; 2 Kings xi. 17, etc.). Compare on the whole of this view Hävernick, *Einleit.*, sec. 168; Jahn, *Introduct.*, sec. 46; Gesenius, *Ueber Jes.*, vol. i. p. 934; Keil, *Einleit.*, sec. 56; Stähelin, *Spec. Einleit.*, p. 124. It is thus apparent that the object of the author of the books of Kings was to describe the history of the kingdoms, especially in connection with the theocratic element. This design accounts for what De Wette (*Einleit.*, sec. 185) characteristically terms *der steife prophetische Pragmatismus*, and for the frequent myths which this writer and others find in these books.

These truths are plainly developed in the annals of the royal succession of the northern and larger kingdom of Israel. One son only of Jeroboam died a natural death, the rest were given over to the dogs and birds. His successor Nadab fell by the hand of Baasha, 'of the house of Issachar,' and Elah the son of Baasha was assassinated by Zimri, who put to death also 'his kinsfolk and friends.' After a reign of a few days, Zimri, to avoid the vengeance of Omri his rival, 'burned the king's house over him with fire and died.' Omri triumphed over his competitor Tibni, and 'did worse than all that were before him.' Ahab his son 'sold himself to work wickedness,' and fell in ignoble disguise at Ramoth-Gilead. Jehu extirpated the house of Ahab; Jehoahaz was a vassal of Hazael, though Jehoash and the second Jeroboam were somewhat more prosperous. But Jeroboam's son Zachariah was murdered by Shallum, and Shallum, after a month's reign, was in turn murdered by Menahem. Menahem bribed off the Assyrian king, and his son Pekahiah had reigned but two years when he was slain by Pekah, who soon met the same fate from Hoshea, the last of the kings. How could a country prosper under a government so unsettled, and of which so many of its heads were crowned assassins and usurpers? And all this though it was the scene of the labours of Elijah, Elisha, Jonah, Hosea, and Amos. In the other, or the kingdom of Judah, several of its sovereigns walked in the ways of David, and their prosperous reigns are joyously recorded. Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, are specially noted; and while several of the worse monarchs were assassinated, the succession still remained in the house of David. But the idolatries of Solomon are not overlooked any more than those of Jeroboam, and the book which describes the glory of the temple tells also of its overthrow.

The authorship as well as the age of this history

may admit of several suppositions. Whatever were the original sources, the books are evidently the composition of one writer. The style is generally uniform throughout. The same forms of expression are used to denote the same thing, e.g., the male sex (1 Kings xiv. 10, etc.); the death and burial of a king (1 Kings xi. 43, etc.); modes of allusion to the law (1 Kings xi. 11); fidelity to Jehovah (1 Kings viii. 63, etc.); God's selection of Jerusalem (1 Kings viii. 16); and the references to the high places (1 Kings iii. 2); (De Wette, *Einleit.*, sec. 184, a; Hävernick, *Einleit.*, sec. 171). Similar idioms are ever recurring, so as to produce a uniformity of style (*Monotonie der Darstellung*, Hävernick, *l.c.*) Expressions which seem proverbial are repeated in the same terms, as the phrase, 'shut up and left' (1 Kings xiv. 10; 2 Kings ix. 8). There is not, however, perfect sameness of style in all places. There are also apparent discrepancies, but the solution must have been evident to the compiler. Thus 1 Kings xxi. 19, containing the doom of Ahab, 'in the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine,' is often said to be opposed to 1 Kings xxii. 38, where the prophecy is said to have been fulfilled when the armour of the deceased Ahab was washed at Samaria. But the fulfilment was yet waiting its culmination in the fate of Joram his son, whose corpse was 'cast into that plat of ground' by Jehu, who said at the time to his comrade, 'remember how that when I and thou rode together after Ahab his father, the Lord laid this burden on him' (2 Kings x. 25, 26). The retribution, as to its degradation, was fulfilled in the father, and as to its locality in the son. The phrase, 'unto this day,' is often used proverbially, and not with strict reference to subsequent reality. It seems to be repeated as it occurred in the original archives out of which the books have been compiled. The repetitions, as 1 Kings ix. 27, 28, and x. 22, are inserted from a different point of view; or, as in 2 Kings xiii. 12, 13, compared with xiv. 15, 16, the passages may have been inserted from erroneous transcription. We have not the perfect and colourless redaction of a modern abridgment, in which all anomalies are smoothed down, all chasms neatly bridged over, and seeming contradictions displaced or explained; but we have the varied style, loose connection, abrupt transitions, and occasional repetitions and dislocations, of an honest and artless compiler, whose work is not to interpret but to narrate.

The sources whence the historic information has been derived have been variously given. That annals contemporary with the events which they describe were written in the early period of the Jewish state, may be at once admitted. Eichhorn supposes that the sources of 'Kings were private historical works' (*Einleit.*, sec. 482). De Wette, from the legends related in them, cannot believe them to be official documents. Bertholdt, Hävernick, and Movers, hold that the books are extracts from the public annals (comp. Hävernick, sec. 169). The inspired historiographer refers his readers to these sources of evidence in such frequent phrases as *וְיָרָא*, and 'the rest of the acts.' Such a reference is made especially to the sources, when other royal acts than those narrated in the books of Kings are glanced at. These sources are styled the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, or Israel. Similar phraseology is used in Esther x. 2; vi. 1,

to denote the official annals of the Persian empire. Public documents are spoken of in the same way (Neh. xii. 23). There is little reason to suppose that the book referred to in this last passage is that styled Chronicles in our copy of the Scriptures (Movers, *Chronik*, sec. 234). Therefore we infer that the 'Book of the Chronicles of the Kings,' so often alluded to, was an authentic document—public and official state papers.

That the prophets themselves were employed in recording contemporaneous events, is evident from 1 Chron. xxix. 29; 2 Chron. xx. 34, etc. In the course of the narrative we meet with many instances of description, having the freshness and form of nature, and which are apparently direct quotations from some journal, written by one who testified what he had seen (1 Kings xx. 10; 2 Kings xii. 15; xiv. 8). Thus we have in those books, for the period of David, 'the book of Samuel the seer, the book of Nathan the prophet, and the book of Gad the seer;' and these may have been the source and authority of the 'Acts of David the king,' referred to in 1 Chron. xxix. 29. The 'Book of the Acts of Solomon' seems to have been a separate independent document, and may have had its origin in the works referred to in 2 Chron. ix. 29. as in 'the book of Nathan the prophet, and in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and in the visions of Iddo the seer.' There are several Hebrew words peculiar to the account of the reign of Solomon, and found nowhere else in Kings. It is therefore wrong, as Bleek says, on the part of Stähelin and De Wette, to assign Solomon's consecration-prayer to the period of the captivity. In the same books of Chronicles, the prophetic annalists are named in connection with many of the kings—Shemaiah and Iddo with Rehoboam, Jehu the son of Hanani with Jehoshaphat, Isaiah with Uzziah and Hezekiah, Azariah the son of Oded with Asa, Micah the son of Imiah with Ahab, and Jeremiah with Josiah. No less than thirteen of such works—or contemporary annals—are mentioned in the books of Chronicles, besides the ordinary and oft-recurring authority, 'The Book of the Chronicles of the kings of Israel and Judah.'—Rawlinson's *Bampton Lecture*, Lect. iii. The stories of Elijah and Elisha appear to have been distinct and separate compositions incorporated into the narrative.

Besides being virtually, and in source, the work of contemporary writers or prophets, these books receive confirmatory evidence of their historical verity from external or profane sources. On the one hand, Shishak and his conquest of Judah, So or Sevek, Tirhakah of Cush, and Pharaoh-Necho, are distinctly deciphered on the Egyptian monuments. On the other hand, the names of Jehu, Menahem, Hezekiah, and Manasseh, are found on the Assyrian tablets, along with the names of Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser, Sargon, and Sennacherib, who records at length his victory over many towns of Israel, and the immense tribute paid to him by Hezekiah. Among the tributaries of Esarhaddon appears Manasseh king of Judah. The Tyrian annals, as preserved by Menander, and the fragmentary notices of Syria found in ancient authors, are in general harmony with the Scripture annals. It is not to be forgotten also, that the historical incidents of these books receive confirmatory illustration from the prophets of the O. T. A portion of Isaiah and Jeremiah is historical, and light is cast on the same subjects by many allu-

sions to manners and social condition in Amos and Hosea. Though there appears to be occasional exaggeration in numbers, arising from the blunders of transcribers, yet the credibility of the history rests upon a sure and unbroken foundation. What neologists style their mythical character or colouring, furnishes to every believer in the reality of the theocratic government established by Moses, continued evidence that the Jews were God's peculiar people, and that Jehovah was their sovereign (Hävernick, sec. 170; Hengstenberg, *Beitr.*, ii. 169). The miraculous element is so imbedded in the history, that the history depends upon it, and cannot be well understood without it. The supernatural is all the more credible, if it be adapted to the age and people, and its manifestations be ever in harmony with the spirit of the theocracy, or in vindication of its claims.

As to what has been termed the anti-Israelitish spirit of the work (Bertholdt, *Einleit.*, p. 949), we do not perceive it. Eichhorn affirmed that Judah was introduced only on account of the synchronisms (*Einleit.*, iii. p. 542). But truth required that the kingdom of Israel should be described in its real character. Idol-worship was connected with its foundation; moscholatry was a state provision; fidelity obliged the annalist to state that all its kings patronized the institutions of Bethel and Dan, while eight, at least, of the Jewish sovereigns adhered to the true religion; and that the majority of its kings perished in insurrection, while those of Judah were, in general, exempted from seditious tumults and assassination.

Now, the compiler from these old documents—he who shaped them into the form which they have in our present books of Kings—must have lived in a late age. The Second Book of Kings concludes with an account of the liberation of Jehoiachin, king of Judah, from prison in Babylon. Jahn and Hävernick place the composition of 'Kings' in the reign of Evil-merodach; De Wette, and Keil virtually, towards the end of the Captivity. Instances of later phraseology occurring in the books of Kings are given by De Wette (sec. 185). But the majority of his instances do not prove his opinion. Many of the words and forms of spelling instanced by him are found also in some of the earlier books. Thus the forms מִלְחָמָה for מִלְחָמָה and מִלְחָמָה for מִלְחָמָה , found in Kings, are found also in the earlier books—the former in Judges xvii. 2, and the latter in Leviticus xv. 18, etc. The Chaldee official title רַב (2 Kings xxv. 8) is given appropriately to a Chaldee general. The use of the distinctive term הַיְיָ , in 2 Kings xviii. 26, was necessitated by the request of Eliakim that Rabshakeh should speak not in the tongue of the people but in his native Aramæan. The lists of later words given by Stähelin only prove that the period of the exile is the most probable date of composition. There are indeed some peculiar terms occurring in Kings which seldom or never occur in the other books, though occasionally in Chronicles and the parallel sections of Isaiah. Calmet ascribes the authorship to Ezra. Jewish tradition makes Jeremiah the author (*Baba-bathra*, fol. 15. 1). This opinion, adopted by Grotius, and lately revindicated by Hävernick and Graf, certainly appears the more probable. Thenius conjectures that the author was a pupil of Jeremiah; Stähelin that he may have

been an imitator; and Keil, that he was a citizen of Judah, long in the Babylonian exile, and filled with the prophetic spirit. There is considerable linguistic affinity between the books of Kings and the prophecy of Jeremiah (Küper, *Jerem.* p. 56).

Kings.	Jeremiah.
2 K. xvii. 14 . . .	vii. 26.
1 K. ix. 8 . . .	xxii. 8.
2 K. xxiv.-xxv. . .	lii.
1 K. ii. 4; viii. 25;	xxxiii. 17; xiii. 13;
ix. 5.	xvii. 25.
2 K. xxi. 12 . . .	xix. 3.

In the absence of certain evidence this opinion may be deemed the most likely, and is a more simple theory than that of Movers, who supposes that Jeremiah compiled a more ancient production—a book of Kings—the source of our present treatise. It explains the close similarity of the books of Kings and Jeremiah in spirit, style, and tendency, more easily and more satisfactorily than the supposition of De Wette, or any other conjecture of like nature. Objections against this opinion, from the hasty way in which Jeremiah has described his own times, admit of an easy solution. Contemporaries were familiar with his life and times, while his own prophecy contains some of the desired information. Another objection, that Jeremiah could not have lived longer than Evil-merodach, is noticed and refuted by Hävernick (*Ueber Daniel*, p. 14). The age of the Jewish tradition as to the authorship of the books of Kings may be inferred from the fact that they are placed among the *נביאים*. The conjecture of Gesenius that the book was written in Babylon gathers no proof from the phrase *עבר הנהר* (1 Kings iv. 24), as if it meant on the other or west side of the river, and was employed by one living to the east of the Euphrates; for the phrase is not uniform in meaning (Josh. i. 14, etc.). The idiom seems to have acquired a geographical currency, without any exact allusion to the locality of the person using it.

It has been sometimes thought, as by Thénius, that the books of Samuel were the production of the same *redactor* who composed the books of Kings. Both compositions form a history almost contiguous, though 2 Sam. xx.-xxiv. is evidently an appendix. That there should be many points of similarity in two works of history on kindred themes, and having a similar purpose in view, surprises no one. The close philological affinity on which Stähelin insists so much (*Spec. Einleit.*, sec. 36), may thus be easily accounted for. Yet there are also points of dissimilarity. The language of 'Samuel' has few marks of later usage; the style has more traces of an early age about it. The books of Samuel have not the compactness and symmetry of the books of Kings. The greater portion of them seems to be an original work, rather than a compilation. Vaihinger (art. *Könige*, *Bücher der*, in Herzog's *Encyclo.*) holds that Judges, as well as Samuel and Kings, are the production of one author. Ewald (*Geschich.*, i. 175) also thinks that from Judges to 2 Kings the hand of one author is apparent. But the instances adduced by Vaihinger will not suffice as proofs. The allusions in very similar language to an event so singular and of such national interest as the Exodus in Judges ii. 1-8, and 2 Kings xvii. 7; the like terms in which religious

apostasy is described in Judg. xi. 17, and 2 Kings xvii. 13, are insufficient to warrant the conclusion. Nor will the use of *הִכָּתִים*, signifying to provoke

to anger, as found in Judges ii. 12 and 2 Kings xvii. 11, 17, give any additional proof of sameness of style, for the verb is found elsewhere, as in Deut. xxxi. 29; Ps. lxxviii. 58; Hosea xii. 14. The same may be said of the other phrase, 'to deliver into the hand of spoilers,' which in Kings may have been copied from the earlier book and applied to a similar juncture in the history of their sin and punishment. There are, indeed, many points of similarity between Samuel and Kings, repeated turns of idiomatic expression which may not prove identity of authorship, but only shew that the compiler of the later books regarded the earlier one as his model.

The relation of Kings to Chronicles need not be dwelt on [see CHRONICLES]. In Kings we have some things not in Chronicles—as the attempt to secure the throne by Adonijah; David's last charge; the deposition of Abiathar, and the execution of Joab; the marriage of Solomon with Pharaoh's daughter; his judgment in the case of the two harlots; the organisation of his royal household; his idolatries, and his enemies, etc. On the other hand, many things passed over in Kings are detailed in Chronicles—such as David's preparations for building the Temple; the orders and arrangements of the Levites; the expostulation of Azariah with Asa; Jehoshaphat's reforming energy; and Hezekiah's passover, etc. etc. In point of number the books of Kings give generally smaller figures than Chronicles, as 1 Kings v. 16 comp. with 2 Chron. ii. 18; 1 Kings vii. 26 comp. with 2 Chron. iv. 5; 1 Kings ix. 28 comp. with 2 Chron. viii. 18; 2 Kings viii. 26 comp. with 2 Chron. xxii. 2. In the case of Jehoiachin in Kings, ten years are added to his age at his accession, 2 Kings xxiv. 8 comp. with 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9. 1 Kings iv. 26 presents an enormous exaggeration (2 Chron. ix. 25), giving according to the present reading 40,000 for 4000—having *ארבעה* for *ארבעים*.

The age of the books of Kings may be intermediate between the early books of Samuel and the later ones of Chronicles. The extraordinary handling of the books of Kings in the Septuagint has been often remarked on. There are transpositions, which only obscure the order of the narrative, some omissions, and several additions; one especially containing sentences of some length with regard to Jeroboam. There are also misrenderings and translations which would seem to imply a different Hebrew reading. The matter is fully gone into by Thénius (*die Bücher der Könige erklärt*; *Einleit.* p. 17). We need not wonder that the books of Kings, containing the history of the covenant people, are so often referred to in the N. T. Our Lord himself alludes to Solomon's glory; to the visit of the queen of Sheba; to the widow of Sarepta, and Elijah's mission to her; and to Naaman the Syrian in the days of Elisha (Matt. vi. 29; xii. 42; Luke iv. 25-27). The rough robe of Elijah and his complaint, the great drought, and the resuscitation of the Shunamite's child, are also referred to (Mark i. 6; Rom. xi. 3; James v. 17; Heb. xi. 35).

The 'Introductions' referred to in the course of this article may be consulted. Modern commen-

tators upon 'Kings' are scarce, and there are not many old ones; Theodoret, *Questiones in libros iii. et iv. Regnorum, Opera*, vol. i.; Seb. Leonhardi *Προμνηματα, in Libb. Reg.*, Erf. 1606, Lips. 1610-14; Seb. Schmidii *Annot. in Lib. Reg.*, Strasb. 1687; the various authors in the *Critici Sacri*; Cornelius à Lapide, *Comment., Opera*, vol. ii., 1718; Maurer, *Comment. Criticus*, vol. i., Lipsiæ 1835; Keil, *Commentar über der Bücher d. Könige*, Moskau 1846; Thenius, *die Bücher d. Könige erklärt*, Leipzig 1849.—J. E.

KING'S DALE (מֶלֶךְ הַדָּלָה; τὸ πεδῖον τῶν

Βασιλέων; *vallis regis*). In only two passages of Scripture is this place mentioned, and from neither of them can we get any information as to its position. When Abraham was returning with the spoil of Sodom, the king of Sodom went out to meet him 'at the valley of Shaveh, which is the king's dale' (Gen. xiv. 17); and in the narrative of the death of Absalom, the incidental remark is inserted by the historian—'Now Absalom in his lifetime had reared up for himself a pillar which is in the king's dale' (2 Sam. xviii. 18).

We have no direct indication of the geographical position of the king's dale either in the Bible or any ancient author. Some have supposed that it is identical with the valley of Jehoshaphat or Kidron; and that the well-known monument, now called the tomb of Absalom, is the pillar raised by that prince (Benjamin of Tudela, in *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 84; Raumer, *Pal.*, p. 303; Barclay, *City of Great King*, p. 92). The style of the monument, which is of the later Roman age, makes this theory impossible; and the name given to the valley, *Emek* (מֶעָק; מֶעָק), proves that a 'plain' or 'broad valley' was meant, and not a *ravine* like the Kidron. Others locate the king's dale at Beersheba, others at Lebanon (Reland, *Pal.*, p. 357), others near the Jordan (Stanley, *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, p. 44). But if we identify Salem with Jerusalem, then doubtless the king's dale was close to that city; and it seems highly probable besides that Absalom should have raised his memorial pillar in the vicinity of the capital (Krafft, *Die Topographie Jerusalems*, p. 88). Josephus says that Absalom's marble pillar in the king's dale was *two furlongs* distant from Jerusalem (*Antiq.* vii. 10. 3). Let it be observed also that the other name of the king's dale, *Shaveh* (שָׁוֶה), signifies 'a level place,' a 'plain.' Now in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem there is one place, and only one, which appears to answer to these indications, and it is the *Plain of Rephaim*. It is on the direct route from the north to Hebron; a practicable road leads down from it through the wilderness to the shore of the Dead Sea; and it is so close to Jerusalem that Melchisedec, from the heights of Zion, could both see and hear the joyous meeting of the princes of Sodom with the victorious band of Abraham, and the reclaimed captives (cf. Kurtz, *Hist. of the Old Covenant*, i. 218; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, i. 488; Kalisch *on Gen.* xiv. 17).—J. L. P.

KINNAMON (קִינָמון), translated 'cinnamon,'

occurs in three places of Scripture; first, about 1600 years before the Christian era, in Exod. xxx. 23, where it is enumerated as one of the ingredi-

ents employed in the preparation of the holy anointing oil. It is next mentioned in Prov. vii. 17, again in Cant. iv. 14, while in Rev. xviii. 13, among the merchandise of Babylon, we have 'cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense.' In the earliest notice it is called *kinnamon besem*, or 'sweet cinnamon.' Dr. Vincent is inclined to consider *khennah besem* and *khinnamon besem* as derived from the same root.

Many writers have doubted whether the *kinnamon* of the Hebrews is the same article that we now call cinnamon. Celsius quotes R. Ben Melech (*ad Cant.* iv. 14) and Saadiah (Exod. xxx.) as considering it to be the *Lign Aloe*, or *Agallochum*. Others have doubted whether our cinnamon was at all known to the ancients. But the same thing has been said of almost every other drug which is noticed by them. If we were to put faith in all these doubts, we should be left without any substances possessed of sufficiently remarkable properties to have been articles of ancient commerce. The word *κιννάμωμον* occurs in many of the Greek authors, as Herodotus, Hippocrates, Theophrastus, Dioscorides, Galen, etc. The first of these, writing 400 years before the Christian era, describes cinnamon as a product of Arabia, and of cinnamon he says, 'which we, as instructed by the Phœnicians, call *κιννάμωμον*.' He states, moreover, that the Arabians were unacquainted with the particular spot in which it was produced, but that some asserted it grew in the region where Bacchus was educated. From all this we can only infer that it was the production of a distant country, probably India, and that it was obtained by the route of the Red Sea. Theophrastus (ix. 5) gives a fuller but still fabulous account of its production, and it is not until the time of Dioscorides, Galen, and the Periplus of the Erythraean sea, that we get more definite information. Galen says that cassia and cinnamon are so much alike that it is not an easy matter to distinguish the one from the other. This is a difficulty that still continues to be experienced. Dioscorides (i. 12) says that cassia grows in Arabia, and that there are several kinds of it; and of cinnamon he states also (i. 13) that there are several species, named from the different places where it is procured. But the best sort is that which is like the cassia of Mosylon, and is itself called Mosyllitic, or as Pliny says, 'Portus Mosyllites quo *cinnamomum* devehitur' (vi. 29). Several kinds are described by Dioscorides, and no fewer than ten kinds in the Periplus of Arrian (vid. Vincent, *Periplus*, ii. p. 711), and among these the *Σκληρότερον*, from the Greek *σκληρός*, 'hard,' which he translates 'xylocassia,' or 'wood cinnamon,' and states to be 'a term which occurs frequently, and perhaps distinguishes the *cassia lignea* (wood cinnamon) from the *cassia fistula* (*cannella*, or pipe cinnamon).'

Cinnamon of the best quality is imported in the present day from Ceylon, and also from the Malabar coast, in consequence of the cinnamon plant (*Cinnamomum Zeylanicum*) having been introduced there from Ceylon. An inferior kind is also exported from the peninsula of India, the produce of other species of *cinnamomum*, according to Dr. Wight. From these countries the cinnamon and cassia of the ancients must most likely have been obtained, though both are also produced in the islands of Sumatra and Borneo, in China, and in Cochinchina.

Cassia bark, as we have seen, was distinguished with difficulty from cinnamon by the ancients. In the present day it is often sold for cinnamon; indeed, unless a purchaser specify *true* cinnamon, he



293. *Laurus kinnamomum*.

will probably be supplied with nothing but cassia. It is made up into similar bundles with cinnamon, has the same general appearance, smell, and taste; but its substance is thicker and coarser, its colour darker, its flavour much less sweet and fine than



300. *Kinnamomum cassia*.

that of Ceylon cinnamon, while it is more pungent, and is followed by a bitter taste; it is also less closely quilled, and breaks shorter than genuine cinnamon. There can be no reasonable doubt, as cinnamon and cassia were known to the Greeks, that they must have been known to the Hebrews also, as the commerce with India can be proved to have been much more ancient than is generally supposed [KIDDAN].—J. F. R.

KINNIM (כִּנְמִים and כִּנְמִים, Exod. viii. 16, 17, 18: cf. Heb. 12, 13, 14; Ps. cv. 31; Sept. *σκνίφες* or *σκνίπες*; Vulg. *cynipēs* and *scynipēs*: Wisd. xix. 10; Sept. *σκνίπα*; Alex. Ald. *σκνίφας*; Vulg. *muscas*). The name of the creature employed in the third plague upon Egypt, miraculously produced from the dust of the land. Its exact nature has been much disputed. Those who reason from the root of the word in the Hebrew text, and as-

sume it to be derived from כָּנַן, to fix, settle, or establish, infer lice to be meant, from their fixing themselves on mankind, animals, etc. The meaning of the root is, however, too general to afford by itself any assistance in ascertaining the particular species intended. Dr. A. Clarke has further inferred from the words 'in man and in beast,' that it was the *acarus sanguisugus*, or 'tick' (*Comment. on Exod.* viii. 16). But since it is spoken of as an Egyptian insect, the name for it may be purely Egyptian, and may have no connection with any Hebrew root (Michaelis, *Suppl. ad Lex.*, n. 1174). However this may be, the preposition from which Dr. Clarke argues is too various in meaning to assist his hypothesis. Nor is it certain whether the word is singular or plural. The variation, both in letters and points, seems to betoken uncertainty somewhere, though Gesenius takes כִּנְמִים in the collective sense. Michaelis also remarks that if it be a Hebrew word for lice, it is strange that it should have disappeared from the cognate tongues, the Aramaic, Samaritan, and Ethiopic. The rendering of the Septuagint seems highly valuable when it is considered that it was given by learned Jews resident in Egypt, that it occurs in the most ancient and best executed portion of that version, and that it can be elucidated by the writings of ancient Greek naturalists, etc. Thus Aristotle, who was nearly contemporary with the Septuagint translators of Exodus, mentions the *κνίπες* (the *σκνίφες* of the Septuagint) among insects able to distinguish the smell of honey (*Hist. Animal.*, iv. 8), and refers to species of birds which he calls *σκνιποφάγα*, that live by hunting *σκνίπες* (viii. 6). 'The *κνίπες* are born in certain trees, as the oak, the fig-tree, and they seem to subsist upon the sweet moisture which is collected under the bark. They are also produced on some vegetables' (*Hist. Plant.*, iv. 17, and ii. ult.) This description applies to *aphides*, or rather to the various species of 'gall flies' (*Cynips*, Linn.) Hesychius, in the beginning of the third century, explains *σκνίψ*, ζῶον χλωρὸν τε τετράπτερον, 'a green four-winged creature,' and quotes Phrynichus as applying the name to a sordid wretch, and adds, ἀπὸ τοῦ θηρίδιου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ξύλοις, τοῦ κατὰ βραχὺ αὐτὰ καταβλῶντος, 'from the little creature among trees, which speedily devours them.' Philo (A.D. 40) and Origen in the second century, who both lived in Egypt, describe it in terms suitable to the gnat or mosquito (Philo, *Vita Mosis*, i. 97. 2, ed. Mangey; Origen, *Homilia tertia in Exod.*); as does also Augustine in the third or fourth century (*De Continentia*, etc.) But Theodoret, in the same age, distinguishes between *σκνίπες* and *κνώπες* (*Vita Jacobi*). Suidas (A.D. 1100) says, *σκνίψ*, ζῶον κνωπῶδες, 'resembling gnats,' and adds, ἐστὶ γὰρ ὁ *σκνίψ* ζῶον μικρὸν ξυλοφάγον, 'a little creature that eats wood.' These Christian fathers, however, give no authority for their explanations; and Bochart remarks that they seem to be speaking of gnats under the name *σκνίπες*, which word, he conjectures, biassed them from its resemblance to the Hebrew. Schleusner adds, '*Glossaria in Octateuch.* *σκνίφες*, ζῶα μικρά ὑπὸ τοῖς κνώπας (less than gnats), *Lex. Cyrilli*, MS. Brem. *σκνίφες* ζῶοφις ἐστὶν ἐοικότα κνώπῳ (very small creatures like gnats). From this concurrence of testimony it would appear, that not lice, but some species of gnats is the proper rendering, though the ancients, no doubt, included other species of in-

sects under the name. Mr. Bryant, however, gives a curious turn to the evidence derived from ancient naturalists. He quotes Theophrastus, and admits that a Greek must be the best judge of the meaning of the Greek word, but urges that the Septuagint translators concealed the meaning of the Hebrew word, which he labours to prove is *lice*, under the word they have adopted, for fear of offending the Ptolemies, under whose inspection they translated, and the Egyptians in general, whose detestation of lice was as ancient as the time of Herodotus (ii. 37), (but who includes *τι ἄλλο μυσσάρων*, 'any other foul creature'), and whose disgust, he thinks, would have been too much excited by reading that their nation once swarmed with those creatures through the instrumentality of the servants of the God of the Jews (*Plagues of Egypt*, Lond. 1794, p. 56, etc.) This suspicion, if admitted, upsets all the previous reasoning. It is also inconsistent with Bryant's favourite hypothesis, that the plagues of Egypt were so adapted as to afford a practical mortification of the prejudices of the Egyptians. Nor could a plague of lice, upon his own principles, have been more offensive to them than the plague on the river Nile, and the frogs, etc., which he endeavours to show were most signally opposed to their religious notions. Might it not be suggested with equal probability that the Jews in later ages had been led to interpret the word *lice* as being peculiarly humiliating to the Egyptians? (see Joseph. *Antiq.* ii. 14. 3, who, however, makes the Egyptians afflicted with *phthiriasis*.) The rendering of the Vulgate affords us no assistance, being evidently formed from that of the Septuagint, and not being illustrated by any Roman naturalist, but found only in Christian Latin writers (see Faccioliati, *in voc.*) The other ancient versions, etc., are of no value in this inquiry. They adopt the popular notion of the times, and Bochart's reasonings upon them involve, as Rosenmüller (apud Bochart) justly complains, many unsafe permutations of letters. If, then, the Septuagint be discarded, we are deprived of the highest source of information. Bochart also reasons upon the similarity of the word כִּנִּים to κνίδες, the word in Aristotle for the eggs of fleas, lice, bugs, etc., whether infesting mankind or beasts (vi. 26), but which is not more like it than κνώσπες; and an enthusiast in etymology might remark that κνίδες means both 'dust' and 'lice,' which Scaliger explains *lendes*, 'nits,' *ab exiguitate similes pulveri*, 'from their minuteness, like dust' (p. 518). It is strange that it did not occur to Bochart that if the plague had been lice, it would have been easily imitated by the magicians, which was attempted by them, but in vain (Exod. viii. 18). Nor is the objection valid, that if this plague were gnats, etc., the plague of flies would be anticipated, since the latter most likely consisted of one particular species having a different destination [FLY]; whereas this may have consisted of not only mosquitoes or gnats, but of some other species which also attack domestic cattle, as the *astrus*, or *tabanus*, or *zimb* (Bruce's *Travels*, ii. 315, 8vo); on which supposition these two plagues would be sufficiently distinct.

But since mosquitoes, gnats, etc., have ever been one of the evils of Egypt, there must have been some peculiarity attending them on this occasion, which proved the plague to be 'the finger of God.' From the next chapter, ver. 31, it appears

that the flax and the barley were smitten by the hail; that the former was beginning to grow, and that the latter was in the ear—which, according to Shaw, takes place in Egypt in March. Hence the כִּנִּים would be sent about February, *i. e.*, before the increase of the Nile, which takes place at the end of May, or beginning of June. Since, then, the innumerable swarms of mosquitoes, gnats, etc., which every year affect the Egyptians, come, according to Hasselquist, at the increase of the Nile, the appearance of them in February would be as much a variation of the course of nature as the appearance of the *astrus* in January would be in England. They were also probably numerous and fierce beyond example on this occasion; and as the Egyptians would be utterly unprepared for them (for it seems that this plague was not announced), the effects would be signally distressing. Bochart adduces instances in which both mankind and cattle, and even wild beasts, have been driven by gnats from their localities. It may be added, that the proper Greek name for the gnat is *εμπis*, and that probably the word κνώσψ, which much resembles κνώψ, is appropriate to the mosquito. Hardouin observes, that the *ol κνίπες* of Aristotle are not the *εμπίδες*, which latter is by Pliny always rendered *culices*, but which word he employs with great latitude [GNAT]. For a description of the evils inflicted by these insects upon man, see Kirby and Spence, *Introduction to Entomology*, Lond. 1828, i. 115, etc.; and for the annoyance they cause in Egypt, Maillet, *Description de l'Égypte* par l'Abbé Mascari, Paris 1755, xc. 37; Forskal, *Descript. Animal.*, p. 85. Michaelis proposed an inquiry into the meaning of the word σκνίπες to the Société des Savants, with a full description of the qualities ascribed to them by Philo, Origen, and Augustine (*Recueil*, etc., Amst. 1744). Niebuhr inquired after it of the Greek patriarch, and also of the metropolitan at Cairo, who thought it to be a species of gnat found in great quantities in the gardens there, and whose bite was extremely painful. A merchant who was present at the inquiry called it *dubâb-el-keb*, or the *dog-fly* (*Description de l'Arabie*, Pref. pp. 39, 40). Besides the references already made, see Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Exod.*; Michaelis, *Suppl. ad Lex. Hebraic.*, p. 1203, 39.; Oedmann, *Verm. Samml. aus der Naturkunde*, i. 6. 74-91; Bakerus, *Annotat. in Et. M.*, ii. 1090; Harenberg, *Observ. Crit. de Insectis Ægyptum infestantibus in Miscell. Lips. Nov.*, ii. 4. 617-20; Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, art. 'Mücken.'—J. F. D.

KINSMAN. Of the four Hebrew words thus translated in the A. V., three, כִּנִּים (Num. xxvii. 11), מִדְרֵעַ (Ruth ii. 1), and קִרְבֹּב (Ps. xxxviii. 12 [11]; Job xix. 14, A. V. 'kinsfolk'), indicate simple relationship. The remaining one, נָאֵל, along with that, implies certain obligations arising out of that relationship.

The term נָאֵל is derived by the lexicographers from the verb נָאֵל, *to redeem*. That the two are closely connected is certain, but whether the meaning of the verb is derived from that of the noun, or the converse, may be made matter of question. The comparison of the cognate dialects leads to the conclusion that the primary idea lying at the

basis of both is that of *coming to the help or rescue of one*, hence *giving protection, redeeming, avenging*.

Comp. Ar. جَال, *ivit, venit*; جَال, *circumivit*,

obivit; Syr. ܝܠܡܝܫܬܐ *misertus est, protexit*. In this

case the לָנֶפֶשׁ of the O. T. would, in fundamental concept, answer pretty nearly to the παράκλητος of the N. T.

The Goel among the Hebrews was the nearest male blood relation alive. To him, as such, three rights specially belonged, and on him corresponding duties devolved towards his next of kin.

1. When an Israelite through poverty sold his inheritance and was unable to redeem it, it devolved upon one of his kin to purchase it (Lev. xxv. 25-28; Ruth iii. 4; iv.) So also, when an Israelite had through poverty sold himself into slavery, it devolved upon the next of kin as his Goel to ransom him in the Jubilee year (Lev. xxv. 47, ff. [JUBILEE, YEAR OF]). In allusion to this, God is frequently represented as the Goel of His people, both as He redeems them from temporal bondage (Exod. vi. 6; Is. xliii. 1; xlviii. 20; Jer. i. 34; etc.) and from the bondage of sin and evil (Is. xli. 14; xlv. 6, 22; xlix. 7; Ps. ciii. 4; Job xix. 25; etc.). In some of these passages there is an obvious Messianic reference, to which the fact that our redemption from sin has been effected by One who has become near of kin to us by assuming our nature gives special force (comp. Heb. ii. 14).

2. When an Israelite who had wronged any one sought to make restitution but found that the party he had wronged was dead without leaving a son, it fell to the next of kin of the injured party, as his Goel, to represent him and receive the reparation (Num. v. 6, ff.) The law provided that in case of his having no one sufficiently near of kin to act for him in this way, the property restored should go to the priest as representing Jehovah the King of Israel; a provision which the Jews say indicates that the law has reference to strangers, as 'no Israelite could be without a redeemer, for if any one of his tribe was left he would be his heir' (Maimon. in *Baba Kama*, ix. 11).

3. The most striking office of the Goel was that of acting as the avenger of blood in case of the murder of his next of kin; hence the phrase לֹמֵם

הַדָּם, *the blood-avenger*. In the heart of man

there seems to be a deep-rooted feeling that where human life has been destroyed by violence, the offence can be expiated only by the life of the murderer. Hence in all nations where the rights of individuals are not administered by a general executive acting under the guidance of law, the rule obtains that where murder has been committed the right and duty of retaliation devolves on the kindred of the murdered person. Amongst the Shemitic tribes this took the form of a personal obligation resting on the nearest of kin; a custom which still prevails among the Arabs (Niebuhr, *Des. d'Arabie*, ch. 7). This deep-rooted feeling and established usage the Mosaic legislation sought to place under such regulations as would tend to prevent the excesses and disorders to which personal retaliation is apt to lead, without attempting

to preclude the indulgence of it.* Certain cities of refuge were provided to which the manslayer might endeavour to escape. If the Goel overtook him before he reached any of these cities he might put him to death; but if the fugitive succeeded in gaining the asylum he was safe until at least an investigation had been instituted as to the circumstances of the murder. If on inquiry it was found that the party had been guilty of deliberate murder, the law delivered him up to the Goel to be put to death by him in any way he pleased; but if the murder was accidental the manslayer was entitled to the protection of the asylum he had reached [ASYLUM; CITIES OF REFUGE]. He was safe, however, only within its precincts, for if the Goel found him beyond these he was at liberty to kill him. Among some of the Oriental nations the right of blood-revenge might be satisfied by the payment of a sum of money; but this practice, which obviously gave to the rich an undue advantage over the poor in matters of this sort, the law of Moses absolutely prohibits (Num. xxxv. 31).

From the narrative in Ruth iii. and iv. it has been concluded that among the duties of the Goel was that of marrying the widow of a deceased kinsman so as to raise up seed to the deceased; thus identifying the office of the Goel with that of the Levir, as provided for Deut. xxv. 5-10 [MARRIAGE]. But the levirate law expressly limits the obligation to a brother, and, according to the Jewish commentators, to a full brother by the father's side (Maimonides, quoted by Othon, *Lex. Rabbin. Phil.*, p. 372), and in this relation neither Boaz nor the other kinsman stood to Elimelech or his sons. It is further evident that the question here was one of right rather than one of duty, and that the kinsman who waived his right incurred no disgrace thereby, such as one who declined to fulfil the levirate law incurred. The nearest kinsman had the right to redeem the land, and the redemption of the land probably involved the marrying of the widow of the deceased owner, according to usage and custom; but the law did not enjoin this, nor did the Goel who declined to avail himself of his right come under any penalty or ban. The case of the Goel, and that of the Levir, would thus be the converse of each other: the Goel had a right to purchase the land, but in so doing came under an obligation from custom to marry the widow of the deceased owner; the Levir was bound to marry the widow of his deceased brother, which involved, as a matter of course, the redemption of his property if he had sold it (see Winer, *Real-wörb.*, s. v. Ruth; Selden, *De Success. in bon. defunct.*, c. 15; Benary, *De Hebraeorum Levirate*, p. 19, ff.; Bertheau, *Exeg. Hdb. zum A. T.*, Lief. 6, p. 249; Michaelis, *On the Laws of Moses*, vol. ii. p. 129, ff., E. T.)—W. L. A.

KIPLING (THOMAS), a native of Yorkshire, educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated as B. A. in 1768, and became D. D. in 1784, and filled the office of Deputy Regius Professor of Divinity under Bishop Watson. In 1792 he preached the Boyle Lectures, which were not published. In 1793 he brought out at the University Press a very handsome edition of the famous

* Mohammed also sought to bring the practice under restraint without forbidding it (see *Koran*, ii. 173-5; xvii. 33).

'Codex Beza,' with fac-simile types (*Codex Beza, Quadratis literis, Græco-Latinis*, 2 vols. fol.), which was immediately assailed with a virulence amounting to personal hostility by the party which had espoused the cause of the once notorious Friend, who was banished the university for Unitarianism, and in whose case Kipling had come forward as promoter, or public prosecutor. Dr. Edwards, the leader of the party, charged him with ignorance and want of fidelity. But though his Prolegomena do not manifest much accurate scholarship, and he commits the serious error of printing the corrections instead of the original reading of the text, which he relegated to the notes at the end, Tregelles (*Introd. to Text. Crit. of N. T.*) allows that he 'appears to have used scrupulous exactitude in performing his task efficiently according to the plan which he had proposed to himself.' He was rewarded with the deanery of Peterborough, in which dignity he died in 1822.—E. V.

KIPPOD (כִּפּוֹד). This name occurs but three times in Scripture (Is. xiv. 23; xxxiv. 11; and Zeph. ii. 14), and has been variously interpreted—owl, osprey, tortoise, porcupine, otter, and, in the Arabic, bustard. Bochart, Shaw, Lowth, and other great authorities, have supported the opinion that it refers to the porcupine. The main stress of their argument seems to depend upon the component parts of the original word, of which the first syllable is said to be derived from כִּנָּה, *kana*, 'spine;' in confirmation of which Bochart, with his wonted learning, cites the Chaldee, Hebrew, Arabic, and Ethiopian names of the porcupine and hedgehog, which apparently confirm his opinion; but although derivations, when they are supported by apparent identity of meaning in other kindred languages, may satisfy the judgment of mere philologists, something more will be demanded by naturalists, who, looking for more positive indications than apparent synonyma and inferential derivation, have recourse mainly to the context for the real conditions, which must determine the meaning of disputed terms. Now, in Is. xiv. 23, 'I will make it a possession for the kippod (bittern), and pools of water,' etc., the words are plain and natural. Marshes and pools are not the habitation of hedgehogs, for they shun water. In Is. xxxiv. 11, it is said, 'The cormorant (*Sterna caspia*) and the kippod (bittern) shall possess it, the owl also and the raven shall dwell in it,' etc.; that is, in the ruins of Idumæa. Here, again, the version is plain, and a hedgehog most surely would be out of place. Zeph. ii. 14, 'Both the cormorant (*Sterna caspia*) and the kippod (bittern) shall lodge in the upper lintels of it; and their voice shall sing in the windows,' etc. Surely here kippod cannot mean the hedgehog, a nocturnal, grovelling, worm-eating animal, entirely or nearly mute, and incapable of climbing up walls; one that does not haunt ruins, but earthy banks in wooded regions, and that is absolutely solitary in its habits. We thus see that the arguments respecting kippod, supplied by kephud, or kephod—for we find these various readings—are all mere speculations, producing at best only negative results. Those drawn from indications of manners, such as the several texts contain, are, on the contrary, positive, and leave no doubt that the animal meant is not a hedgehog, nor even a mammal, but a bird. Hence, though we admit the assumed root of the

denomination, still it must bear an interpretation which is applicable to one of the feathered tribes, probably to certain wading species, which have, chiefly on the neck, long pointed feathers, more or less speckled. The Arabian bustard, *Otis houbara*, might be selected, if it were not that bustards keep always in dry deserts and uplands, and that they never roost, their feet not admitting of perching, but rest on the ground. We think the term most applicable to the heron tribes, whose beaks are formidable spikes that often kill hawks; a fact well known to Eastern hunters. Of these *Nycticorax europæus*, or common night heron, with its pencil of white feathers in the crest, is a species, not uncommon in the marshes of Western Asia; and of several species of bittern, *Ardea (botaurus) stellaris* has pointed long feathers on the neck and breast, freckled with black, and a strong pointed bill. After the breeding-season it migrates and passes the winter in the south, frequenting the marshes and rivers of Asia and Europe, where it then roosts high above ground, uttering a curious note before and after its evening flight, very distinct from the booming sound produced by it in the breeding-season, and while it remains in the marshes. Though not building, like the stork, on the tops of houses, it resorts, like the heron, to ruined structures, and we have been informed that it has been seen on the summit of Tauk Kesra at Ctesiphon.—C. H. S.

KIR (כִּיר, 'a wall'; *Cyrene*), the place to which the inhabitants of Damascus were carried captive by the king of Assyria (2 Kings xvi. 9). It is worthy of note that in the four passages in which alone this word occurs in Scripture, the authors of the Septuagint mistook its meaning or omitted it. They omit it in 2 Kings xvi. 9; in Is. xxii. 6 they render it *συναγωγῇ*, perhaps mistaking it for 'π'; in Amos i. 5 they translate *ἐκκλητος*, probably reading כִּירָא; and in Amos ix. 7 they have *βόβρος*, deriving it from כִּיר, 'to dig.' No indication is given of the geographical position of Kir, nor can we learn from Scripture whether it was a city or district. Some suppose that Kir is identical with the *Koῖρρα*, or *Curna*, of Ptolemy, a city of Media on the river Mardus (Ptolemy, vi. 2; Bochart, *Opera*, i. 294; Winer, *R. W.*, s. v.) Others think that Kir was a province or district along the banks of the river *Cyrus*, which flows down from the loftiest summits of the Caucasus range into the Caspian Sea (Pliny, *H. N.*, vi. 10; Ptol. v. 12). This river lies on the extreme northern frontier of ancient Assyria. It still retains its ancient name, *Kūr* (Bonomi, *Nineveh*, pp. 47, 71). Isaiah mentions *Elam* and Kir together (*l. c.*), and hence Keil (on 2 Kings xvi. 9) thinks it more natural to identify the latter with Curna of Media, or with *Xapῖν*, also a city of Media (Ptol. vi. 2), now called Kerend (Ritter, *Erdkunde* ix. 391). The latter supposition is adopted by Vittinga (apud Is. xxii. 6), and seems to be supported by the Targum, which has כִּירָא; it would also locate Elam and Kir close together, as the former lay along the southern border of Media, whereas the river *Cyrus* lies north of Media. It is now impossible satisfactorily to settle the question; we cannot even state with certainty whether the Kir of 2 Kings is identical with that of Isaiah; the latter may perhaps have been in Media near Elam, and the former on the banks of the *Cyrus*.—J. L. P.

KIR-HARESH, KIR-HERES, KIR-HARASETH, KIR-HARESETH, and KIR-MOAB (קִיר חָרֶשֶׁת, Is. xvi. 11; קִיר חָרֶשֶׁת, Jer. xlvi. 31, 36; קִיר חָרֶשֶׁת, 2 Kings iii. 25; קִיר חָרֶשֶׁת, Is. xvi. 7, 29; קִיר מוֹאֵב, Is. xv. 1), a strong city of Moab. It is remarkable that in not a single instance does the Vulgate version render this as a proper name; and the authors of the LXX. only make it a proper name in one passage, Is. xvi. 7, and there corruptly. Kir was one of the chief fortresses and cities of Moab; and the word *heres* or *harseth* would seem to imply that its wall was built of 'brick.' When Joram king of Israel invaded Moab, Kir was the only city left standing in the whole country; and it was saved by an act of savage cruelty, which is recorded in 2 Kings iii. 25-27. In the Chaldee paraphrase Kir-Moab of Isaiah is rendered כִּרְמֹאב, *Kerakka of Moab*; and in 2 Mac. xii. 17 the city is called Χάρακα. Ptolemy (v. 17) has it Χαρακώμα, and Steph. Byzant. Χαρακώβα. The city became the seat of a bishopric in the province of *Palestina Tertia* (Reland, p. 705). The Crusaders captured it, rebuilt its fortifications, and, mistaking it for Petra, established there, in A.D. 1167, a Latin bishopric of that name (Will. Tyr. xi. 26; xv. 21; Jacobi de Vitri. in *Gesta Dei*, ch. lvi. p. 1077; cf. Winer, *R. W.*, s. v.; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 166). There can be no doubt of the identity of Kir and Kharacca with the *Kerak* of Arab geographers (Schultens, *Index Geogr. in Vul. Salad*, s. v. *Caracha*), and the modern village of that name.

Kerak stands on the top of a rocky hill about ten miles from the south-east corner of the Dead Sea, and near the southern frontier of Moab. The hill is encompassed by deep narrow ravines, beyond which rise loftier mountains, shutting it in on all sides except the west, where a sublime glen descends 3000 feet to the shore of the Dead Sea. The city was at one time strongly fortified; and is still enclosed by a half ruinous wall, flanked by seven massive towers. Originally there were but two entrances, one on the north, the other on the south, and both tunnelled through the rock for a distance of nearly a hundred feet. On the western side stands the citadel, a strong building, separated from the town by a deep moat hewn in the rock. It appears to have been built by the Crusaders. Within it is a ruinous church, on whose walls are a few traces of rude paintings. The present population numbers about 3000, one-third of whom are Greek Christians. Their strong position, numbers, and valour, make them the rulers of a large district, and almost independent of the Turkish government. (*Handbook for S. and P.*, i. pp. 59, seq.; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 387; De Saulcy, *Journey round the Dead Sea*, i. 366-98; Lynch, *Expedition*, pp. 263, seq., English ed.)—J. L. P.

KIRJATH (קִירְיָת). This word means *town* or *city*, and is much used in the formation of names of places, like our own *town*. The following are the principal places distinguished by this term:—

1. KIRJATH, a town belonging to the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 28). It is identified by Rosenmüller and others with Kirjath-jearim, but v. Kaumer and Keil object to this on the ground that Kirjath-jearim is not only reckoned among the cities of Judah (xv. 60), but is expressly called

the city of the children of Judah. Eusebius (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Kapidd*) says Kirjath was a city under the metropolis of Gabatha (Gibeath); but this gives us no clue to its site.—W. L. A.

2. KIRJATHAIM, KIRIATHAIM (קִירְיָתַיִם, 'two cities,' or 'double city'; *Kapiaθαιμ*; Alex. *Kapiaθαιμ*; *Cariathaim*). i. A city of Reuben, situated a little to the south of Heshbon (Num. xxxii. 37). Though taken and rebuilt by this tribe, it was again, on the decline of Jewish power, occupied by the Moabites; and in pronouncing a prophetic curse on that nation Jeremiah mentions Kirjathaim with Nebo, Heshbon, and some other principal cities (xlviii. 1, 23). It appears from an incidental statement of Ezekiel that Kirjathaim was on, or near, the frontier of Moab. 'Therefore, behold, I will open the shoulder of Moab from its cities on its frontiers . . . Beth-jeshimoth, Baal-meon, and to Kiriathaim' (xxv. 9). The reading in this passage is קִירְיָתַיִם, which is intended for קִירְיָתַיִם, with ה local added, as is seen in the *Keri*; the LXX., however, renders it *παραθαλάσσιος*, 'of the maritime city,' having read *ים* 'sea,' instead of the termination *θαιμ*.

Kiriathaim is mentioned by both Eusebius and Jerome, who state that in their day it was a large Christian village, situated ten miles west of Medeba, and called *Coraitha* (*Kapiaθαιμ*, according to Eusebius, *Onomast.*, s. v. *Cariathaim*). About eleven miles south-west of the ruins of Medeba is a ruined village called *Kureiyât*, which is doubtless identical with the *Coraitha* of Jerome, and most probably with Kiriathaim. It lies on the south-western slope of Jebel Attarus. It was visited by Seetzen (*Reise*, ii. 342; cf. Ritter, *Pal. and Syr.*, ii. 583). Burckhardt thought that the ruins of Et-Teym, some miles farther north, might be Kiriathaim (*Travels in Syria*, p. 367; Ritter, *id.* p. 1185).

Kiriathaim is one of the oldest of Bible cities. It was on the 'plain of Kiriathaim' (A. V. SHAVEH-KIRIATHAIM, which see) that the Emims were smitten by the eastern kings who plundered Sodom (Gen. xiv. 5). Burckhardt tells us that a few miles south of Kureiyât is a level plateau, still called *el-Koura*, 'a term often applied in Syria to plains.' He would identify it with the 'Plain of Moab' (*Travels in Syria*, p. 371).

ii. A town of Naphtali allotted to the Ievites (1 Chron. vi. 76 [61]). The parallel passage in Josh. xxi. 32 has KARTAN, which see.—J. L. P.

3. KIRJATH-ARBA (קִירְיָת אַרְבָּה; Sept. *πόλις Ἀρβάς*, *πόλις Ἀργύβ, Καριαθαρβός*), the name of Hebron previous to the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites (Gen. xxiii. 2; xxxv. 27; Josh. xiv. 15; xv. 13, 54; xx. 7; xxi. 11), and which was apparently still in the use in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. xi. 25). There is reason to believe that Hebron was the original name of the place, that this was by the Canaanites changed into Kirjath-Arba, and that the Israelites when they took it restored the ancient name (Hengstenberg, *Bair.* iii. 187, ff.). Sir J. Maundeville says that in his time the place was called by the Saracens 'Kari-carba, that is, the Place of Patriarchs,' and by the Jews 'Arbothe' (*Early Trav. in Palestine*, p. 161). The partial resemblance of these names to Kirjatharba is probably purely accidental. Whether the אַרְבַּע in this word is a proper name or the numeral *four*, has been made matter of question.

Jerome received from the Jews the tradition that the city was called 'of four,' because there Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had been buried; and this he not only mentions in various parts of his writings, but has introduced into the text of the Vulgate: *Adamus maximus ibi inter Enakim situs est* (Josh. xiv. 15), and in the *Onomast.* he renders it by *villula quattuor*; but the older tradition was that Arba was the name of a man, one of the famous ancestors of the Anaqim, for there is no other way of making sense of Josh.

xiv. 15, than by taking the words **הָאָדָם הַגָּדוֹל** **בְּעֶנְקִים הָיוּ**, 'the great man among the Anaqim was he,' as in apposition to and descriptive of Arba (comp. xxi. 11). It is true that the naming of cities after individuals rarely occurs in the O. T.; but Arba was, doubtless, a heroic person in the esteem of the Canaanites, and the case of Kirjath-Baal shews that the names of deities and deified heroes might be so employed [HEBRON].—W. L. A.

4. KIRJATH-BAAL **קִרְיַת בָּעַל**; Sept. *Καριαθ Βάαλ*; *Baal's town*), the place commonly called Kirjath-Jearim (Josh. xv. 60; xviii. 14).

5. KIRJATH-HUZOTH **קִרְיַת חֻצוֹת**; Sept. *πόλις ἑρῶν*), the place to which Balaam was conducted by Balak to offer sacrifice (Num. xxii. 39). Knobel identifies it with the *Kereyat* of Burckhardt on the ridge of the Jebel Attarus to the east of the Dead Sea, or the ruins described by Seetzen as bearing the name of *d Kœrriol*, near the same locality, if the two be not the same.

6. KIRJATH-JEARIM **קִרְיַת יְעָרִים**, *city of forests*; Sept. *Καριαθιαριμ*; also KIRJATH-ARIM (Ezra ii. 25), one of the towns of the Gibeonites (Josh. ix. 17). It was to this place that the ark was brought from Bethshemesh, after it had been removed from the land of the Philistines, and where it remained till removed to Jerusalem by David (1 Sam. vii.; 1 Chron. xiii.) This was one of the ancient sites which were again inhabited after the exile (Ezra ii. 25; Neh. vii. 29). Eusebius and Jerome speak of it as being in their day a village nine miles from Diospolis (Lydda), on the road to Jerusalem. Dr. Robinson thinks it possible that the ancient Kirjath-jearim may be recognised in the present Kuryet-el-Enab. The first part of the name (Kirjath, Kuryet, signifying *city*) is the same in both, and is most probably ancient, being found in Arabic proper names only in Syria and Palestine, and not very frequently even there. The only change has been, that the ancient 'city of forests' has, in modern times, become the 'city of grapes.' The site is also about three hours, or nine Roman miles from Lydda, on the road to Jerusalem, and not very remote from Gibeon, from which Kirjath-jearim could not well have been distant. So close a correspondence of name and position seems to warrant the conclusion of Dr. Robinson in favour of Kuryet-el-Enab. This place is that which ecclesiastical tradition has identified with the Anathoth of Jeremiah, which Dr. Robinson refers to Anata [ANATHOTH]. It is now a poor village, its principal buildings being an old convent of the Minorites, and a Latin church. The latter is now deserted, but not in ruins, and is said to be one of the largest and most solidly constructed churches in Palestine (Robinson, ii. 109; 334-337).—J. K.

7. KIRJATH-SANNAH (*city of palms*; Josh. xv. 49), otherwise KIRJATH-SEPHER (*city of the book*), a city of the tribe of Judah, called also DEBIR, which see (Josh. xv. 15, 16; Judg. i. 11, 12).

KIR-MOAB (**קִיר-מוֹאָב**), 'the town, stronghold, or citadel of Moab,' Sept. *τὸ τεῖχος τῆς Μωαβιτιδος*; Is. xv. 1) [KIR-HARESETH].

KISH (**קִישׁ**; Sept. and N. T. *Kis*). The name of four persons mentioned in the O. T., of whom the most important was the father of Saul, the first king of Israel. He was a Benjamite of Gibeah, the son of Ner, and the grandson of Jehiel or Abiel (1 Sam. xiv. 51; 1 Chron. ix. 35). One of his uncles also bore the name of Kish (1 Chron. ix. 36). This was the name also of the great-grandfather of Mordecai, who was taken captive at the time Jeremiah was carried to Babylon (Esther ii. 5); and of a Merarite (1 Chron. xxiii. 21; xxiv. 29), who is also called KISHI (1 Chron. vi. 44) and KUSHALAH (1 Chron. xv. 17); the ancestor of Jeduthun or Ethan [JEDUTHUN].—W. L. A.

KISHION and KISHON (**קִישִׁיֹן**, 'hardness'; *Κισίων*; Alex. *Κισίων*; *Cesion*), a town of Issachar, apparently situated in the great plain of Esdraelon, where most of those with which it is grouped also stood (Josh. xix. 20). It was one of four allotted to the Levites (xxi. 28). It is called Kedesh in 1 Chron. vi. 72, which may perhaps have been a later name for it [KEDESH]. Some think that Kishon owes its name to the more celebrated river *Kishon*; and others that it took its name from the river. The two names, however, though similar in sound, have different roots, **קִישִׁיֹן** coming from **קָשָׁה**, 'to be hard'; and **קִישִׁיֹן**, from **קָשָׁה**, 'to be bent as a bow' (cf. Gesenius, *Thesaurus*; Keil on Josh. *ad loc.*) The site of the town is unknown.—J. L. P.

KISHON (**קִישִׁיֹן**, 'tortuous,' from **קָשָׁה**, 'to be bent'; *Κισίων*, *Κισίων*; Alex. *Κισίων* and *Κεσιών*; *Cison*), a celebrated river of Palestine, which drains nearly the whole plain of Esdraelon, and falls into the Mediterranean near the northern base of Mount Carmel. The Kishon has a vast number of little branches or tributaries falling into it from the hills on the north and south sides of the plain. Its highest sources on the north-east are at Tabor, as is stated by Jerome (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Cison*). This has been denied by Shaw (*Travels*, i. 168), but its truth has been satisfactorily established by many recent travellers (Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 356, 363; Munro, *Summer Ramble*, i. 281). The watershed on this part of the plain might be defined, with a near approach to accuracy, by a line drawn from the base of Tabor to the village of Nain on the opposite hill; on the west side of that line the water flows to the Mediterranean through the Kishon; on the east to the Jordan. During the summer all the water-courses are perfectly dry, but when the heavy rains of winter and early spring fall, large torrents rush down from Tabor and the hills of Galilee, speedily fill the deep miry beds in the alluvial plain, and render the passage of them both difficult and dangerous. In the end of March 1858 the writer travelled from Nazareth to Jenin; rain had fallen for two days before, and he had

extreme difficulty in crossing one of the channels through which a considerable stream was flowing westward (cf. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 434, English ed.) The soil of the whole plain is so soft and deep, and the natural drainage so defective, that a fall of rain converts large sections of it into dangerous swamps. During the battle between the French and the Arabs, on April 16th, 1799, many of the latter are said to have been drowned in the stream which flows westward through the plain from Deburieh, at the foot of Tabor (Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, p. 339; cf. Robinson, ii. 363). The highest source of the Kishon on the south-east is the large fountain of Jenin, the ancient En-gannim, the water from which, increased by a number of the streamlets from the surrounding hills, flows westward across the plain through a deep channel, during the winter months; but in summer this channel, like the northern one, is perfectly dry (Van de Velde, *Travels*, i. 362; Thomson, 435). The two channels unite at a point a few miles north of the site of Megiddo. The channel of the united stream is here deep and miry; the ground for some distance on each side is low and marshy; and the fords during winter are always difficult, and often, after heavy rain, impassable; yet in summer, even here, the whole plain and the river bed are dry and hard (Robinson, ii. 364; Thomson, *l.c.*) These facts strikingly illustrate the narrative of the defeat of Sisera. The battle was fought on the south bank of the Kishon, at Megiddo (Judg. iv. 13; v. 19). While the battle raged a violent storm of wind and rain came on (Judg. v. 4, 20; cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* v. 5. 4). In a short time the hard plain was turned into a marsh, and the dry river-bed into a foaming torrent. The Canaanites were driven back on the river by the fiery attack of Barak, and the fury of the storm; for 'the earth trembled, the heavens dropped . . . the stars in their courses fought against Sisera.' The war-horses and chariots dashing madly through the marshy ground made it much worse; and the soldiers, in trying to cross the swollen torrent, were swept away. 'The river Kishon swept them away, that ancient river, the river Kishon' (Judg. v. 21).

From this place the river flows through a tortuous bed to a narrow pass between the base of Carmel and a projecting spur from the hills of Galilee, where it passes from the plain of Esdraelon to that of Acre. Here was the scene of another of the most memorable incidents in sacred history. High up on the brow of Carmel, above the stream,

is a spot called *Muhrakah*, 'the sacrifice' (محرقة),

Holocaustum; Freitag, *Lex. Arab.*) ; it is the place where Elijah offered his sacrifice; and on the banks of the Kishon beneath, the eight hundred and fifty prophets of Baal were slain by his command (1 Kings xviii.; *Handbook*, ii. 371; Van de Velde, *Travels*, i. 321; Stanley, *S. and P.*, 347). The river continues to flow close along the rocky base of Carmel, in a tortuous bed, cut to the depth of fifteen or twenty feet in the loamy soil. The writer forded it in the month of May, on his way from the convent to Nazareth; the stream was about three feet deep and thirty wide, with a very easy current, but the soft mud made the passage difficult (cf. Robinson, ii. p. 365). The largest

perennial source of the Kishon is the fountain of Saadfyeh, which springs from the base of Carmel, about three miles east of Haifa (Thomson, p. 435; *Handbook*, ii. 383). From this point to the sea the river winds through marshes. At its mouth are banks of fine sand, which any unusual swell in the river converts into dangerous quicksands (Van de Velde, i. 289).

Such is the river Kishon, 'that ancient river.' Its modern name is *Nahr el-Mukutta*, which some have thought means 'the river of slaughter,' in allusion to the slaughter of the prophets of Baal on its banks. It may have this meaning, from the root قَطع, 'to cut,' or 'slay;' but the name may also signify 'river of the ford,' from another meaning of the same root (Freitag, *Lex. Arab.*, s. v.; cf. Robinson, ii. 365); the latter is the interpretation given of the name by the people of the country (but see Schwarze, pp. 49, seq.; Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 347; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 86).—J. L. P.

KISHUIM (כִּשְׁוִיִּם) is translated *cucumbers* in our A. V., and the correctness of this rendering has been almost universally admitted. It first occurs in Num. xi. 5, in the verse already quoted in ABATTICHIM, where the Israelites, when in the desert, express their longings for the melons and the *Kishuim* or cucumbers of Egypt. Reduced from the plural form, the word *kisha* is so similar to the Arabic كِيسا *kissa*, that there can be very little doubt of their both meaning the same thing. Celsius gives *keta*, *kati*, and *kusua*, as different pronunciations of the same word in different Oriental languages. It does not follow that these names always indicate exactly the same species; since in the different countries they would probably be applied to the kinds of cucumber most common, or perhaps to those which were most esteemed in particular localities. Thus in Egypt the name *kati* appears to be applied to the species which is called *Cucumis chate* by botanists, and 'queen of cucumbers' by Hasselquist, who describes it as the most highly esteemed of all those cultivated in Egypt [ABATTICHIM]. In India the name *kissa* is applied by the Mohammedans to the *Cucumis utilisimus*, or the common *kukree* of the natives; while in Persia and Syria the same name would probably be applied only to the common cucumber, or *Cucumis sativus*, as the two preceding species are not likely to be much known in either country. All travellers in the East notice the extensive cultivation and consumption of cucumbers and other herbs of the same tribe, especially where there is any moisture of soil, or the possibility of irrigation. Thus even in the driest parts, the neighbourhood of a well is often occupied by a field of cucurbitaceous plants, generally with a man or boy set to guard it from plunder, perched up on a temporary scaffolding, with a slight protection from the sun, where he may himself be safe from the attacks of the more powerful wild animals. That such plants appear to have been similarly cultivated among the Hebrews is evident from Is. i. 8, 'The daughter of Zion is left like a cottage in a vineyard, like a lodge in a garden of cucumbers;' as well as from Baruch vi. 70, 'As a scarecrow in a garden of cucumbers keepeth nothing, so are their gods of wood' [ABATTICHIM].—J. F. R.

KISS. Originally the act of kissing had a symbolical character, and, though this import may now be lost sight of, yet it must be recognised the moment we attempt to understand or explain its signification. Acts speak no less, sometimes far more forcibly, than words. In the early period of society, when the foundation was laid of most even of our Western customs, action constituted a large portion of what we may term human language, or the means of intercommunication between man and man; because then words were less numerous, books unknown, the entire machinery of speaking, being in its rudimental and elementary state, less developed and called into play; to say nothing of that peculiarity of the Oriental character (if, indeed, it be not a characteristic of all nations in primitive ages) which inclined men to general taciturnity, with occasional outbreaks of fervid, abrupt, or copious eloquence. In this language of action, a kiss, inasmuch as it was a bringing into contact of parts of the body of two persons, was naturally the expression and the symbol of affection, regard, respect, and reverence; and if any deeper source of its origin were sought for, it would, doubtless, be found in the fondling and caresses with which the mother expresses her tenderness for her babe. That the custom is of very early date appears from Gen. xxix. 13, where we read—'When Laban heard the tidings of Jacob, his sister's son, he ran to meet him, and embraced him and kissed him, and brought him to his house;' the practice was even then established and recognised as a matter of course. In Gen. xxvii. 26, 27, a kiss is a sign of affection between a parent and child. It was also, as with some modern nations, a token of friendship and regard bestowed when friends or relations met or separated (Tobit vii. 6; x. 12; Luke vii. 45; xv. 20; Acts xx. 37; Matt. xxvi. 48; 2 Sam. xx. 9). The church of Ephesus wept sore at Paul's departure, and fell on his neck and kissed him. When Orpah quitted Naomi and Ruth (Ruth i. 14), after the three had lifted up their voice and wept, she 'kissed her mother-in-law, but Ruth clave unto her.' It was usual to kiss the mouth (Gen. xxxiii. 4; Exod. iv. 27; xviii. 7; 1 Sam. xx. 41; Prov. xxiv. 26), or the beard, which was then taken hold of by the hand (2 Sam. xx. 9). Kissing of the feet was an expression of lowly and tender regard (Luke vii. 38). Kissing of the hand of another appears to be a modern practice: the passage of Job xxxi. 27, 'Or my mouth hath kissed my hand,' is not in point, and refers to idolatrous usages, namely, the adoration of the heavenly bodies. It was the custom to throw kisses towards the images of the gods, and towards the sun and moon (1 Kings xix. 18; Hosea xiii. 2; Minuc. Felix, ii. 5; Tac. Hist. iii. 24. 3; Lucian, *De Salt.* c. 17; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xviii. 5). The kissing of princes was a token of homage (Ps. ii. 12; 1 Sam. x. 1; Xenoph. *Cyrop.* vii. 5. 32). Xenophon says (*Agesil.* v. 4) that it was a national custom with the Persians to kiss whomsoever they honoured; and a curious passage to this effect may be found in the *Cyropædia* (i. 4. 27). Kissing the feet of princes was a token of subjection and obedience; which was sometimes carried so far that the print of the foot received the kiss, so as to give the impression that the very dust had become sacred by the royal tread, or that the subject was not worthy to salute even the prince's foot, but was content to kiss the earth itself near or on which he trod (Is. xlix. 23; Micah vii. 17; VOL. II.

Ps. lxxii. 9; Dion Cass. lix. 27; Seneca, *De Benef.* ii. 12). The Rabbins did not permit more than three kinds of kisses, the kiss of reverence, of reception, and of dismissal (Breschith Rabba on Gen. xxix. 11).

The peculiar tendency of the Christian religion to encourage honour towards all men, as men; to foster and develop the softer affections; and, in the trying condition of the early church, to make its members intimately known one to another, and unite them in the closest bonds—led to the observance of kissing as an accompaniment of that social worship which took its origin in the very cradle of our religion. Hence the exhortation—'Salute each other with a holy kiss' (Rom. xvi. 16; see also 1 Cor. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 26; in 1 Peter v. 14, it is termed 'a kiss of charity'). The observance was continued in later days, and has not yet wholly disappeared, though the peculiar circumstances have vanished which gave propriety and emphasis to such an expression of brotherly love and Christian friendship.

On the subject of this article consult Pfanner, *De Oculis Christianor. Veter.*; M. Kempius, *De Oculis*, Francof. 1680; Jac. Herrenschildius, *Osculologia*, Viteb. 1630; P. Muller, *De Osculo Sancto*, 1674; Boberg, *De Oculis Hebr.*—J. R. B.

KISSOS (Gr. *κισσός*), 'ivy,' is mentioned only once, and that in the Apocrypha (2 Maccab. vi. 7), where the Temple is described as being desecrated by the Gentiles, and the Jews forced to depart from the laws of their fathers: 'And when the feast of



301. Hedera helix.

Bacchus was kept, the Jews were compelled to go in procession to Bacchus, carrying ivy. The term *κισσός* or *κισσός* seems to have been applied by the Greeks in a general sense, and to have included

many plants, and, among them, some climbers, as the *convolvulus*, besides the common ivy, which was especially dedicated to Bacchus, and which was distinguished by the name of 'Hedera poetica, Dionysia aut Bacchica, quod ex ea poetarum coronæ consenserunt.' It is well known that in the Dionysia, or festivals in honour of Dionysus, and in the processions called *thiasoi*, with which they were celebrated, women also took part, in the disguise of Bacchæ, Naiades, Nymphæ, etc., adorned with garlands of ivy, etc.: thus Ovid (*Fasti*, iii. 766):—

Cum hedera cincta est? hedera est gratissima Baccho.

Bacchus is generally thought to have been educated in India, and the Indian Bāghēs has been supposed to be the original of the name. The fact of Bāghēs being a compound of two words signifying tiger and master or lord, would appear to confirm the identity, since Bacchus is usually represented as drawn in his chariot by a tiger and a lion, and tigers, etc., are described as following him in his Indian journey. As the ivy, however, is not a plant of India, it might be objected to its being characteristic of an Indian god. But in the mountains which bound India to the north, both the ivy and the vine may be found, and the Greeks were acquainted with the fact that Mount Mero is the only part of India where ivy was produced. Indeed, Alexander and his companions are said to have crowned themselves with ivy in honour of Bacchus. The ivy, *Hedera Helix*, being a native of most parts of Europe, is too well known to require special notice.—J. F. R.

KITE. [AJAH; DAAB.]

KITHLISH (כִּתְלִישׁ; Μααχῶς; Alex. Χααλῶς; *Cethlis*), a town of Judah, situated in the Shephelah or plain of Philistia, and grouped with Lachish and Eglon (Josh. xv. 33-40). It appears to have stood in the plain between Eglon and Eleutheropolis, but the site has not been discovered.—J. L. P.

KITRON (קִּטְרוֹן; Sept. Κέδρων; Alex. Σεβρών; *Cetron*), one of the places from which the children of Zebulun did not drive out the Canaanites (Judg. i. 30). This place is not mentioned in Josh. xix. as among the possessions of Zebulun. Bertheau suggests (*Exeg. Hdb.*, in loc.) that the word may be an erroneous reading for קִּטְרוֹן, mentioned Josh. xix. 15, and Rosenmüller proposes to identify it with the קִטָּה of the same passage; but all this is purely conjectural. 'In the Talmud (*Meqillah*, as quoted by Schwarz, 173), it is identified with Zippori, i.e., Sepphoris, now *Seffurich*' (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, ii. 47). We can find no trace of any such identification in the tract referred to.—W. L. A.

KITTIM. [CHITTIM.]

KITTO, JOHN, was born at Plymouth, 4th November 1804. The circumstances of his birth were very unfavourable to his education, and at the age of twelve he met with an accident which destroyed his hearing for life, and reduced him almost to the condition of a deaf mute. Though he was the inmate of a poor and unhappy home, his juvenile energy rose above adversity; and the

poor, hungry, and ragged boy strove to maintain himself, and pay for a few books from a small circulating library, by groping for old ropes and iron in Sutton-pool and selling them, and by painting rude labels for shop windows. On the 15th of November 1819 he was seized and sent to the Plymouth Workhouse for pity's sake. In this place his powerful will soon asserted his position against older and stronger boys, and here he began a diary which is still preserved, and large excerpts from which have been printed in his life. It contains many self-portraits, physical and mental, and shows the awakening of his mind to literary tastes and ambition. He learned shoemaking; but was often so dull and dispirited that he called himself 'John the Comfortless,' and twice had thoughts of bringing his life to a premature end. Some gentlemen at length took notice of him, and he removed to Exeter to work as a dentist with Mr. Groves. His spirit was now growing in pious fervour, and, disabled though he was, he longed to be a missionary. In July 1825 he removed for this purpose to the missionary college at Islington, and having learned, among other things, to print, he was sent out to Malta, but returned to England in infirm health in 1829. Mr. Groves, who was now preparing to go as a missionary to the East, took Kitto with him as a tutor to his boys, and the party arrived at Bagdad in December of the same year. During his residence in this city Kitto had experience of the sad results of war, plague, and inundation in succession. After four years' absence, and having passed through Trebizond and Constantinople on his return, he arrived in England in June 1833. Through the influence of friends, he at once set to work as a regular contributor to the *Penny Magazine*. One set of his papers bore the suggestive title of the 'Deaf Traveller.' The *Pictorial Bible* was commenced in the end of 1835. His experiences in the East gave him great delight in the work and some qualification for it, and it has passed through several editions. The *Pictorial Bible* was followed by the *Fictorial History of Palestine and the Holy Land*. After other smaller works had passed through his hands, the *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature* was begun by him as editor, and brought to a conclusion in 1848. The present edition of it, formally the third edition, is, however, to a great extent a new work. Then Kitto projected the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, which, having passed through the hands of various editors, still holds its way. His last and most popular work was the *Daily Bible Illustrations*, completed in eight volumes. During its progress his health gave way, and through the kind assistance of some friends, he was enabled to retire to Canstatt, in Germany, where he died on the 25th of November 1854. Dr. Kitto's services to the cause of Scripture learning were great in his own sphere. He revived and freshened the study of Eastern manners, and his origination of this Cyclopædia marks an epoch in the Biblical literature of our country. His life itself, with his physical defect and early privations, was a marvel of self-education and heroic perseverance. The University of Giessen in 1844 gave him a theological diploma, though he was a layman. An interesting autobiography is contained in his *Lost Senses*.—J. E.

KLEUKER, JOH. FRIED., was born at Oster-

ode 29th Oct. 1749, and died at Kiel 31st May 1827. He was successively prorector of the gymnasium at Lemgo, rector of a school at Osnabrück, and professor of Theology at Kiel. He devoted himself chiefly to Oriental studies. His works in the department of Biblical literature are—1. *Salomo's Schriften*, 3 vols., 1777-1785; and 2. *Ausführl. Untersuchung. der Gründe für d. Aechtheit und Glaubwürdigkeit d. Schriftl. Urkunden des Christenthums*, 5 vols., 1794-1800. These are inferior in importance to his works on Oriental literature and philosophy. His German translation of the *Zendavesta*, 3 vols. 4to, Riga 1776-78; his abridgment of the same, with relative essays and illustrations, Riga 1789; and his treatises *Ueb. die Natur u. d. Ursprung der Emanationslehre bei der Kabbalisten*, 1786, and *Ueb. das Brahmanische Religionsystem*, 1797, have placed his name high in the list of Orientalists.—W. L. A.

KNAPP, GEORG CHRISTIAN, was born Sept. 17, 1753, at Glaucha, near Halle, his father being director of the celebrated orphan asylum and educational institute founded in this town by A. H. Francke.* His studies were carried on first in the schools, and afterwards in the university of his native town. During a single session he studied at Göttingen. In 1777 he was appointed professor extraordinary of theology at Halle, and in 1782 was placed on the staff of ordinary professors. In 1785 he was also appointed, along with Niemeyer, to the directorate of the institution at Glaucha, and in the division of labour the superintendence of the Bible and Missionary department fell to his lot. The duties of these several offices he discharged with honour to himself and to the credit of his university during nearly half a century. He died Oct. 14, 1825. In theology he ranks amongst the expounders and defenders of a Biblical supranaturalism in opposition to the doctrines of the rationalistic school. Tholuck has described him as the latest offshoot of the old theological school of Halle. His Biblical works are—1. A translation of the book of Psalms, with comments, *Die Psalmen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen*, Halle 1778, 8vo, 3d ed. 1789. 2. A very carefully edited and useful edition of the Greek Testament, *Novum Testamentum graece recognovit atque insignioris lectionum varietatis et argumentorum notitiam subjunxit G. Ch. Knapp*, Halle 1797, 4to; the last edition in 1829, 2 vols. 8vo. 3. *Scripta varii argumenti maximam partem exegetica atque historica*, Halle 1805, 8vo; a second and enlarged edition in 1823, 2 vols. 8vo. 4. The following dissertations—*Ad vaticinium Jacobi*, 1774; *De versione Alexandrina in emendanda lectione exempli Hebraici caute adhibenda*, Halle 1773, 1776.—S. N.

KNATCHBULL (Sir NORTON), Bart., the representative of an ancient family settled at Mer-sham Hatch, in Kent, born 1601, inherited his uncle's estates 1636, created a baronet 1641. He was a man of considerable erudition, and devoted himself with some success to the exposition of the N. T. In 1659 he gave to the world *Animadversiones in Libro Novi Test.*, which speedily went through a considerable number of editions—a translation by himself, or under his superintendence,

appearing at Cambridge, 1693. The original work was reprinted both at Amsterdam and Frankfort, at which latter place it formed part of the supplement to N. Gurtler's edition of Walton's *Polyglot*, 1695-1701. Knatchbull's remarks are sensible, and shew very fair learning; but they are entirely wanting in depth, and we cannot read them without wonder at the small amount of knowledge which procured for their author such a wide-spread reputation. He died in 1684, and was buried at Mer-sham, his epitaph styling him 'Criticorum Coryphaeus et Oraculum,' and attributing to him the eloquence of Cicero and Chrysostom, and the judgment of Varro and Jerome.—E. V.

KNEADING-TROUGH (כִּנְיָה). The word occurs four times in the Bible, Exod. viii. 3; xii. 34; Deut. xxviii. 5, 17. In the two former places it is translated 'kneading-trough' (margin, 'dough'); in the two latter (where it is joined with כִּנְיָה = 'basket') 'store.' The LXX. render it *φύραμα*, in which they are followed by Kimchi, and *ἐγκατάλειμμα*, as if from נָשָׂא, 'to remain over,' in which the Targum of Jerusalem, Jonathan, and Rashi, and the Vulgate, 'reliquiae ciborum tuorum,' agree. There can, however, be little doubt that our version is substantially correct, and that the word signifies the small wooden bowl still used by the Arabs for kneading and serving up their cakes, and which they carry about with them wrapped up in the long flowing haik or plaid worn by the Bedouins. Large kneading-troughs, such as are in use among ourselves, were unnecessary then as now in the East, where every family bakes the needful supply of cakes every day (Thevenot, Shaw, quoted by Harmer, *Obs.*, vol. iv., pp. 366-370, Clarke's edition). Harmer, u. s., inclines to a kind of bag described by Pococke and Niebuhr, *Voyage*, i. 171, consisting of a piece of leather, drawn together by rings and chains, with a hook to hang it by, used by the Bedouins both as a table-cloth and as a wallet. But a wooden bowl was certainly used for kneading in Egypt—Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 386 [BREAD].—E. V.

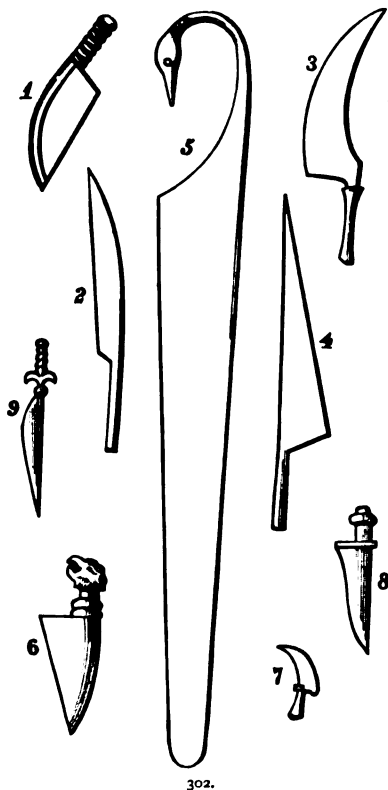
KNIFE. The purposes for which knives are mentioned in Scripture as being used are—for the slaying of sacrifices (Gen. xxii. 6), for circumcision and other ritual purposes (Exod. iv. 25; Josh. v. 2, 3; 1 Kings xviii. 28; Ezra i. 9), for cutting in pieces a body (Judg. xix. 29), for shaving off the hair (Ezek. v. 1), and for mending pens and other purposes of the scribe (Jer. xxxvi. 23). Knives were also doubtless used in dividing into portions the animals sacrificed (Lev. viii. 15, 20, 25; ix. 13; Num. xviii. 18; 1 Sam. ix. 24, etc.) In the Talmudic Tract *Tamid* (4. 3) are detailed instructions for the cutting up of the victims. That they were also used at meals may be inferred—1. from the primary meaning of the common Hebrew word for knife כִּנְיָה, from נָשָׂא to eat; 2. from the allusions in Prov. xxx. 14; xxiii. 2; and 3. from the statement of Josephus (*Antiq.* xvii. 7, *Bell. Jud.* i. 33. 7) concerning the use of a knife for the paring of apples.

Of the shape and material of the knives used by the Hebrews we know little. The earliest knives were probably of flint or some other species of hard stone; hence the name צַר (Exod. iv. 25),

* For an account of these Institutions see *Am. Bib. Rep.*, 1st series, vol. i. p. 30.

and the combination חרב צר (Josh. v. 2; LXX., μαχαίρας περπivas ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροβου) and צר חרב (Ps. lxxxix. 44). But that metal knives were also used by them cannot be doubted. That the חרב, which signifies both *sword* and *knife*, was of metal, is shewn both from the uses to which it was put, and from the allusions to its shining (Nah. iii. 3; comp. Gen. iii. 24).

The probable form of the knives of the Hebrews will be best gathered from a comparison of those of other ancient nations, both Eastern and Western, which have come down to us. No. 1 represents the Roman *culter* used in sacrificing, which may be compared with No. 2, an Egyptian sacrificial knife. Nos. 3, 4, and 5 are also Egyptian knives, of which the most remarkable, No. 3, is from the Louvre collection; the others are from the *Monumenti Reali* of Rosellini. Nos. 6-9 are Roman from Barthelemy. In No. 7 we have probably the form of the pruning-hook of the Jews



302.

(מסרת), Is. xviii. 5), though some rather assimilate this to the sickle (פֶּלֶס). It was probably with some such instrument as No. 9 that the priests of Baal cut themselves.—W. L. A.

KNITTEL, FRANZ ANTON, successively archidiaconus, general superintendent, and consistorialrath at Wolfenbüttel, was born at Salzdahlum, 3d April 1721, and died at his residence, 13th April 1792. In 1756 he discovered in the library at

Wolfenbüttel a MS. containing some fragments of the Epistle to the Romans in the Gothic version of Ulfilas. The MS. is a palimpsest, the newer surface being occupied with the Origines and some letters of Isidorus Hispalensis. The portions of the Gothic version of the Epistle to the Romans contained in it are ch. xi. 33-36; xii. 1-5, 17-21; xiii. 1-5; xiv. 9-20; xv. 3-13. These Knittel printed in a volume entitled *Ulfila Versionem Gothicam nonnullorum capitum Ep. ad Rom. venerandum antiquitatis monumentum . . . e latina codicis ejusd. MSti rescripti . . . una cum variis variae litteraturae monumentis huc usque ineditis*, etc. The text is printed on one side of the page in Gothic letters; under each word is Knittel's reading of it in italics; and under that a Latin translation of each. On the other side, there is a Latin version found in the Codex, under that the reading in the Vulgate, and under that the Greek text. The volume contains also two fragments from ancient Greek codices of the N. T. in the Wolfenbüttel library, and a copious critical commentary by Knittel. There are twelve plates, containing admirably-executed fac-similes of different codices; and among the notes is found an extract of considerable length from Otfried's Gospel-Harmony. The book is altogether a splendid one; but its literary merits are not quite equal to its sumptuous appearance. Knittel was not a man of large endowments, his knowledge of Gothic was imperfect, and he was too fond of the 'varia litteratura' (to use his own expression) to be very profound or exact in any one department of knowledge. He deserves, however, the praise of great laboriousness, and his honest endeavours to make his work worthy of the acceptance of scholars have enabled him to collect a vast amount of curious matter not elsewhere to be found. The volume bears no date, but it is usually referred to the year 1762 or 1763. It is now rare, and of the copies in the shops few have all the plates.—W. L. A.

KNOP, in the A. V., is the translation of two Hebrew words—1. כִּנּוֹר; LXX. σφαῖρα; Vulg. *Sphaerula*; Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 6. 7, σφαῖρα. Ornaments on the stem and branches of the golden candlestick, Exod. xxv. 31, 36; xxxvii. 17-22. Their precise form is unknown, but it is evident that they were of a globular form, perhaps resembling pomegranates (Josephus speaks of *πόταροι* as well as σφαῖρα), or, with Bähr (*Symbolik*, i. 416), apples.

The word occurs again, Amos ix. 1; Zeph. ii. 14, where it is commonly rendered 'lintel,' the marginal reading, 'chapter or knop,' being more correct. It probably means the capital of a pillar in the form of a pomegranate or its flower.

2. פִּקְעִים, 1 Kings vi. 18; vii. 24; margin 'gourds,' architectural ornaments of a gourd shape (cf. פִּקְעִות, 2 Kings iv. 39, *cucumeres asinini*), on the cedar panelling of Solomon's temple, and beneath the brim of the 'molten sea.'—E. V.

KOÄ (קוֹעַ), a word occurring along with Pekod (פֶּקֶד) and Shoa (שׁוֹא) in the prophet's description of the lovers of Aholibah (Ezek. xxii. 23). The versions here differ very much. The LXX., according to the Vat. Codex., has φακοὺς καὶ Σοῦ καὶ Τχοῦ (in the last word uniting the preposition with the name); but the Cod. Alex. has καὶ φοῦδ καὶ

σούδ και λούδ. The Chald. gives **אִשְׁתִּי, אִשְׁתִּי**, **אִשְׁתִּי**; the Syr. **ܐܬܬܝܢ ܕܥܡܐܢܐ**, *Put, and Lud, and Kua*. In these the words are taken as the names of places or peoples; and this view has been followed by Grotius, Junius, Ewald, and others. The Vulg., on the other hand, translates them as appellatives, 'nobiles tyrannosque et principes;' and this view most recent interpreters have followed. There is, however, some difference of opinion as to the meaning of the words. According to Jarchi, they are to be explained as **מְלָכִים**

שָׂרִים וְשֹׁלֵיטִים, *chiefs, princes, and rulers*, which does not greatly differ from the rendering of Jerome; Rosenmüller gives 'præfectos, nobiles et duces' as the proper rendering; Hävernicks, 'ahndung, macht und Getummel [vengeance, power, and uproar];' and Hitzig, 'edler, fürst, und herr [noble, prince, and lord]. The word *Pekod* occurs elsewhere (Jer. l. 21), as applied to Babylon; and *Shoa* stands connected with **שָׁח**, to lay waste or destroy, or **שָׁחַ**, to be rich, opulent, powerful; but *Koa*

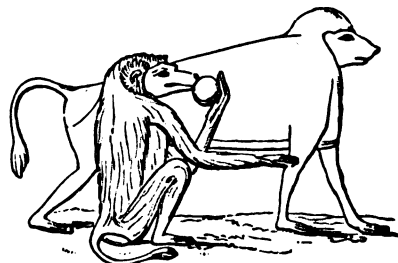
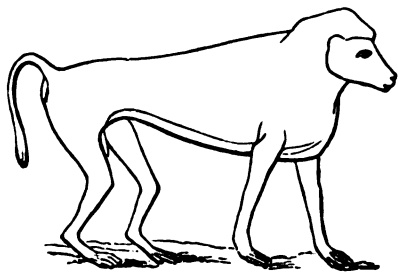
occurs here only, and has no affinity with any Hebrew word, unless it be **קָה**, to be strong or robust.

Michaelis (*Supplem. ad Lex. Heb.*, p. 2175) compares the Arab. **كاه** (for **كاه**), a stallion; Hävernicks, the Syr. **ܩܕܐ** to cry, and **ܩܕܐ** shout, uproar; and Hitzig the Sansc. *kara*, lord, and the Turk. *khan*. There is something to be said in favour of the oldest opinion, that these words are names of places. In the Talmud and other Jewish writings, mention is made of a town, **נְהַר־פְּקֹד**, *Nhar-Pqod*, in Babylonia, where there was a great Jewish school, and the inhabitants of which are characterised by Rab in some verses (*Fürst, Heb. u. Chald. H.-W.-B.* s. v.) This may be the Pekod or Pqod of our passage. Then, in 1 Kings x. 28, it is said, that 'Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt, and linen yarn,' etc. The word rendered 'linen yarn' here is **מִקָּו**, a word which nowhere else occurs in this sense, and regarding the meaning of which here the greatest uncertainty prevails. Gesenius translates the passage, 'And a company of the king's merchants brought [from Egypt] a company [of horses] at a price,' taking **מִקָּו** in the sense of *troop* or *company*; but the arrangement of the words in the parallel passage, 2 Chron. i. 16, is not favourable to this translation. The ancient versions regard this word as naming the place whence the horses were brought; the LXX. **ἐκ Θεκουέ**; Vulg. *de Coa*; Syr. **ܩܕܐ ܕܥܡܐܢܐ**, *city of the Aphelites*, Arab. *cities of the South*. The Vulg. may be right here, and Coa or Koa may be the name of some place known to the Jews.—W. L. A.

KOECHER, JOHANN CHRISTOPH, D.D., successively rector of the Gymnasium at Osnabrück, superintendent at Brunswick, and professor of theology at Jena, was born 23d April 1699, at Lobenstein, and died 21st September 1772, at Jena. Koecher published a continuation of Wolf's *Curæ Philologica*, under the title *Analecta Philologica et Exegetica in Quatuor Evangelia*, 4to, Altenburg 1766. 'It supplies,' says Orme, 'some of the desiderata of Wolf's work, and brings down the account of the sentiments of the modern writers on the gospels to the period of its publication' (*Biblioth. Bib.*, p. 276).—W. L. A.

KOHATH (תִּרְקָה, *assembly*; Sept. *Kadθ*), son of Levi, and father of Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel (Gen. xlv. 11; Exod. vi. 18-22; 1 Chron. xxiii. 12). The descendants of Kohath formed one of the three great divisions of the Levitical tribe. This division contained the priestly family which was descended from Aaron, the son of Amram. In the service of the tabernacle, as settled in the wilderness, the Kohathites had the distinguished charge of bearing the ark and the sacred vessels (Exod. vi. 16; Num. iv. 4-6).—J. K.

KOPH (קֹפֶה; Gr. *κήπος, κήπος*; whence the Latinized name *Cephus*). In the Hebrew and Semitic cognate tongues, and in the classical languages, these names, under various modifications, designate the Simiadæ, including, no doubt, species of Cercopithecus, Macacus, and Cynocephalus, or Guenons, apes, and baboons; that is, all the animals of the quadrumanous order known to the Hebrews, Arabs, Egyptians, and the classical writers. Accordingly, we find Pliny and Solinus speaking of Ethiopian Cephi exhibited at Rome: and in the upper part of the celebrated Prænestine mosaic representing the inundation of the Nile, figures of Simiadæ occur in the region which indicates Nubia; among others, one in a tree, with the name KHIEN beside it, which may be taken for a Cercopithecus of the Guenon group. But in the triumphal procession of Thothmes III. at Thebes, nations from the interior of Africa, probably from Nubia, bear curiosities and tribute, among which the Camelopardalis or Giraffe and six quadrumana may be observed. The smallest and most effaced



303. Apes from Rosellini's Monumenti dell' Egitto.

animals may be apes, but the others, and in particular the three figured and coloured from careful drawings, in Plate xxi. of Rosellini's work, are undoubtedly Macaci or Cynocephali, that is, species of the genus baboon, or baboon-like apes. Naturalists and commentators, not deterred by the interminable list of errors which the practice has

occasioned, are often unnecessarily anxious to assign the names of animals noticed in Scripture and in the ancient classics, to species characterised by the moderns; although the original designations are to be taken in a familiar sense, and often extend even beyond a generic meaning. In the instance before us we have the futility of this practice fully exemplified; for Buffon presumed his *Mona* (*Cercopithecus Mona*) to be the *Kebos* of the Greeks, and not without plausibility, since the western Arabs, it seems, apply the word *Moune* to all long-tailed apes. Linnæus referred *Cephus* to his *Simia Cephus*, now *Cercopithecus Cephus*, or *Moustache Guenon*, of a different group; while Lichtenstein referred it to his *Simia*, or rather, as now arranged, *Cercopithecus Diana*. But as none of these are known to inhabit eastern Africa, it is more probable that the *Keipen* of the Prænestine mosaic is in reality the *Cercopithecus Griseoviridis*, or *Grivet of Cuvier*, which, with equal pretensions in regard to form, has the advantage of being a native of Ethiopia and Nubia, and belongs, with the two last mentioned, to the group which has been called *Callitrix*.

But these considerations do not serve to point out the *Koph* of Scripture; for that animal, named only twice (1 Kings x. 22, and 2 Chron. ix. 21), is in both cases associated with תוכים, *Thoukium*, perhaps erroneously rendered 'peacocks.' Now neither peacocks nor pheasants are indigenous in Africa: they belong to India and the mountains of high Asia, and therefore the version 'peacocks,' if correct, would decide, without doubt, not only that *Koph* denotes none of the *Simiadae* above noticed, but also that the fleet of Tarshish* visited India or the Australasian islands. *Thoukium*, apparently meaning crested, indicates birds, perhaps parrots, but cannot refer to the pintado or Guinea hen, the Numidia of naturalists and the *Meleagris* of the ancients; nor to the *Pterocles* or *Sandgrouse*, both being familiarly known in Upper Egypt, and the last mentioned, in particular, abundant in Arabia and Palestine. The interpretation proposed by Hase, which would convert *Kophim* into *Succim—dwellers in caves*—is inadmissible, such a description being quite inapplicable to long-tailed monkeys. Like the whole order of *quadrumana*, they are constituted not for troglodyte, but arboreal life, or to be dwellers in trees; baboons alone venturing beyond woody covers in steep rocky situations, and sometimes finding shelter in clefts. For these reasons we conclude that the Hebrew *koph*, and names of the same root, were, by the nations in question, used generically in some instances and specifically in others, though the species were not thereby defined, nor on that account identical.

Baboons, we have already shewn, were known to the Egyptians, and cannot well have escaped observation among the people of Palestine, since they resided close upon the great caravan-routes, which, as is well known, were frequented from the earliest antiquity by showmen exhibiting wild beasts. In Egypt, however, a baboon was the type of some abstract power in nature or in metaphysics; as such the animal was idolized, and figures of a cynocephalus were invariably placed

on the summit of weighing-scales, where they still appear on the monuments.

If there be truth, as the following authorities show, in the existence of a large ape or baboon in



304. *Macacus Arabicus*.

Yemen, and even in Mesopotamia, the untractable and brutal character of the whole genus would be sufficient to sanction the Arabic name *Saadan*, and the Hebrew שדים, *Sadim*; which indicate the satyrs of the desert, noticed in Mr. Rich's *Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon*, p. 30, where they are denominated *Sied Assad*, and described as found in woody places near Semana, on the Euphrates. Thus we have the שערין, *Scirim*, or 'hairy ones' of Lev. xvii. 7, in accordance with Pliny, who conceived satyrs to be large apes. In the Prænestine mosaic, before quoted, a baboon is figured which, we are assured, had the name *CATYPOC*, or *Satyros*, by its side.* The only species of ape of the baboon form known in Arabia is the *Mocko* of Edwards, noticed in our illustrated series of drawings as *Macacus Arabicus*, a species nearly allied to *Cynocephalus Hamadryas* on the one hand, and to *Mac. Silenus* on the other—all three powerful, fierce, and libidinous animals. *Mac. Arabicus* may ultimately prove to be a true baboon, and the same as *Simia cynomolgus* of Hasselquist. It is a remarkable species for stature and aspect, having the dog-like nose and approximating eyes of baboons; the skin of the face of a reddish colour; the snout, lips, and chin black; the forehead low, and the sides of the head furnished with bushy, long, white hair; the breast, arms, and shoulders similarly covered, but the loins and lower extremities of a fine chestnut; the tail of the same colour, of no great length, tufted at the end, and all the hands black. It is found from the straits of Babel-Mandeb, through Southern Arabia to the Euphrates, and even beyond the junction of that river with the Tigris. Like other large and formidable *Simiadae*, it is less solicitous about the vicinity of trees, because it is armed with powerful canines; holds its enemy firmly grasped, and fights, not singly, but assisted by the whole troop: it frequents scrubby underwood near water, but becomes more rare eastward of Yemen.† Comparing the charac-

* If the voyage extended to the Spice Islands, then, indeed, both peacocks and ourang-outans had at hand. [See Emerson's *Ceylon*, vol. i.]

* This name does not occur in the copies in our possession, and, we fear, was lost in the breaking up of the mosaic, which is now preserved fragmentally in different museums.

† See Edwards's *Gleanings*, and Pennant's *History of Quadrupeds*, 4to, vol. i. p. 195. The

ters of this species, we find it by configuration, colours, and manners, peculiarly adapted to the purposes of idolatry in its grossest and most debasing aspect. The Hebrew people, already familiar with a similar worship in Egypt, may have copied the native tribes in the wilderness, and thus drawn upon themselves the remonstrance in Lev. xvii. 7, where the allusion to these animals is very descriptive, as is that in Is. xiii. 21; and again, xxxiv. 14, where the image is perfect, when we picture to ourselves the 'hairy ones' lurking about the river in the juniper and liquorice jungle, as described by Mr. Rich.

It is not unlikely that the baboon idol may have had goat's horns, since we find the same attribute on rams' heads in Egypt; on lions' heads on coins of Tarsus, and on horses' and elephants' heads on medals of Syrian kings. The Greek mythologists, ignorant of the baboon figure, may have preferred an imaginary compound of man and goat to that of the cynocephalus, which they confounded with the hyæna, or, in their love of ideal beauty, may have considered it too disgusting even for an idol. Perhaps the most ancient form of the Arabian Urolalt was that of a baboon, male or female, the name apparently having some reference to red, and to the Indian monkey-worship (see Gesner, *s. v.* 'Hyæna'). Urolalt and monkey-worship are connected with a solar mythus.—C. H. S.

KOPHER, or CIPHER (כֹּפֶר), occurs twice in the Song of Solomon (i. 14; iv. 13), and is in both places translated *camphire* in the A. V. It has been supposed to indicate a bunch of grapes (*Botrus kopher*), also *camphor*. The word *camphire* is the old mode of spelling *camphor*, but this substance does not appear to have been known to ancient commerce; at least we cannot adduce any proof that it was so. The word *Kopher* is certainly very like *Kafoor*, the Eastern name for *camphor*, but it also closely resembles the Greek *κῦρος*, or *Kypros*, usually written *Cypros*. Indeed, as has been observed, it is the same word, with the Greek pronunciation and termination. The *κῦρος* of the Greeks is, no doubt, the *Lawsonia inermis* of botanists, and is described by Dioscorides (i. 125) and by Pliny (xii. 24). There is reason to regard the *Cypros* as the plant called by the Arabs *hinna*, and as this is known to be the *Lawsonia inermis*, we conclude the *Cyprus* to be the same. This identity is now universally acknowledged: the *Kypros*, therefore, must have been *Lawsonia inermis*, as the *Hinna* of the Arabs is well known to be. If we examine the works of Oriental travellers and naturalists, we shall find that this plant is universally esteemed in Eastern countries, and appears to have been so from the earliest times, both on account of the fragrance of its flowers, and the colouring properties of its leaves.

Thus Rauwolf, when at Tripoli (*Travels*, iv.), 'found there another tree, not unlike unto our privet, by the Arabians called *Alkana*, or *Henna*, and by the Grecians, in their vulgar tongue, *Schenna*, which they have from Egypt, where, but above all in Cayre, they grow in abundance. The Turks and Moors nurse these up with great care

and diligence, because of their sweet-smelling flowers. They also, as I am informed, keep their leaves all winter, which leaves they powder and



305. *Lawsonia inermis*.

mix with the juice of citrons, and stain therewith against great holidays the hair and nails of their children of a red colour, which colour may perhaps be seen with us on the manes and tails of Turkish horses: see also Belon (ii. 74). This custom of dyeing the nails and the palms of the hands and soles of the feet, of an iron-rust colour, with *henna*, exists throughout the East, from the Mediterranean to the Ganges, as well as in Northern Africa. In some parts the practice is not confined to women and children, but is also followed by men, especially in Persia. In dyeing the beard, the hair is turned to red by this application, which is then changed to black by a preparation of indigo. In dyeing the hair of children, and the tails and manes of horses and asses, the process is allowed to stop at the red colour which the *henna* produces. In reference to this universal practice of the East, Dr. Harris observes that 'the expression in Deut. xxi. 12, 'pare her nails,' may perhaps rather mean 'adorn her nails,' and imply the antiquity of this practice. This is a universal custom in Egypt, and not to conform to it would be considered indecent. It seems to have been practised by the ancient Egyptians, for the nails of the mummies are most commonly of a reddish hue.' Seeing, then, that the *henna* is so universally admired in the East, both on account of the fragrance of its flowers and the dye yielded by its leaves, and as there is no doubt that it is the *κῦρος* of the Greeks, and as this word is so similar to the *kopher* of the Hebrews, there is every probability of this last being the *henna* of the Arabs, *Lawsonia alba* of botanists.—J. F. R.

KOPPE, JOHANN BENJAMIN, was born at Dantz, Aug. 19, 1750. He received his early education in the gymnasium of his native city, and distinguished himself there by his rapid progress

information in the text is derived from an officer who was in the Honourable East India Company's surveying service.

In Greek and Hebrew. During the two years 1769-71 he studied at Leipzig, and during the following two years at Göttingen. In the former university he was aided by Ernesti, and in the latter by Heyne, in the study of the Greek language. In 1774 he was appointed, at the recommendation of Heyne, to the chair of Greek in the recently formed gymnasium of Mittau. In 1776 he was called to a chair of theology in Göttingen, to which were shortly afterwards added the offices of preacher to the university, and director of the seminary for preachers (Prediger-seminarium). In 1784 he was invited to Gotha, and to the high offices of superintendent-general, counsellor of the superior consistory, and chief pastor. In 1788 he was appointed preacher to the Court, and counsellor of the consistory at Hanover. He died in his forty-first year, Feb. 12, 1791. Koppe is chiefly known by the edition of the N. T., which he projected under the title: *Novum Testamentum græce perpetua annotatione illustratum*. The first volume, containing the epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, and Thessalonians, was published in 1778, and was intended to exhibit the plan of the entire work. It contained a corrected text, the more important various readings, prolegomena, philological notes, and excursus on those passages and phrases which needed a more lengthened discussion. His purpose, as explained in the preface, was to supply the Biblical student with the same kind of assistance towards the determination of the grammatical sense of the writings of the N. T., as was provided for the classical student in the better editions of the Greek and Roman authors. Accordingly, he abstained from all doctrinal discussions, and laboured chiefly to illustrate the phraseology, to explain historical and archaeological references, and to exhibit the order of the writer's thoughts. Koppe's early death prevented the completion of his purpose. A second volume, containing the Epistle to the Romans, appeared in 1783. This was intended to be the fourth volume, and the former the sixth of the entire work, which he purposed to complete in eight volumes. Since the death of Koppe new editions of these two volumes have been published, that on Galatians, Ephesians, and Thessalonians, in 1823, under the editorship of T. C. Tychsen, and that on the Romans in 1824, by C. F. Ammon. In both cases the additional notes are carefully distinguished. Several other volumes have at different periods been contributed towards the completion of the work by J. H. Heinrichs and D. J. Pott, those edited by the former containing the Acts of the Apostles, Philippians, Colossians, Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse; those published by the latter containing I Corinthians, chap. i.-x., and the Catholic Epistles. Koppe was also the author of a translation, with notes, of Lowth on Isaiah: *D. Robert Lowth's Jesais neu übersetzt; nebst einer Einleitung und kritischen, philologischen und erläuternden Anmerkungen. Aus dem Engl. mit Zusätzen und Anmerkungen*, Leipzig 1779-90, 3 vols. 8vo; and of several dissertations and programmata, most of which are contained in the *Sylloge Commentt. Theoll.* of Pott and Ruperti.—S. N.

KORAH (כֹּרֵחַ, *ice*; Sept. *Koré*, in the A. V. of Jude 11, *Core*), a Levite, son of Izhar, the brother of Amram, the father of Moses and Aaron, who were therefore cousins to Korah (Exod. vi.

21). From this near relationship we may, with tolerable certainty, conjecture, that the source of the discontent which led to the steps afterwards taken by this unhappy man, lay in his jealousy that the high honours and privileges of the priesthood, to which he, who remained a simple Levite, might, apart from the divine appointment, seem to have had as good a claim, should have been exclusively appropriated to the family of Aaron. When to this was added the civil authority of Moses, the whole power over the nation would seem to him to have been engrossed by his cousins, the sons of Amram. Under the influence of these feelings he organized a conspiracy, for the purpose of redressing what appeared to him the evil and injustice of this arrangement. Dathan, Abiram, and On, the chief persons who joined him, were of the tribe of Reuben; but he was also supported by many more from other tribes, making up the number of 250, men of name, rank, and influence, all who may be regarded as representing the families of which they were the heads. The private object of Korah was apparently his own aggrandizement, but his ostensible object was the general good of the people; and it is perhaps from want of attention to this distinction that the transaction has not been well understood. The design seems to have been made acceptable to a large body of the nation, on the ground that the first-born of Israel had been deprived of their sacerdotal birthright in favour of the Levites, while the Levites themselves announced that the priesthood had been conferred by Moses (as they considered) on his own brother's family, in preference to those who had equal claims; and it is easy to conceive that the Reubenites may have considered the opportunity a favourable one for the recovery of their birthright—the double portion and civil pre-eminence—which had been forfeited by them and given to Joseph. These are the explanations of Aben-Ezra, and seem as reasonable as any which have been offered.

The leading conspirators, having organized their plans, repaired in a body to Moses and Aaron, boldly charged them with their usurpations, and required them to lay down their ill-gotten power. Moses no sooner heard this than he fell on his face, confounded at the enormity of so outrageous a revolt against a system framed so carefully for the benefit of the nation. He left the matter in the Lord's hands, and desired them to come on the morrow, provided with censers for incense, that the Lord himself, by some manifest token, might make known his will in this great matter. As this order was particularly addressed to the rebellious Levites, the Reubenites left the place, and when afterwards called back by Moses, returned a very insolent refusal, charging him with having brought them out of the land of Egypt under false pretences, 'to kill them in the wilderness.'

The next day Korah and his company appeared before the tabernacle, attended by a multitude of people out of the general body of the tribes. Then the Shekinah, or symbol of the divine presence, which abode between the cherubim, advanced to the entrance of the sacred fabric, and a voice therefrom commanded Moses and Aaron to stand apart, lest they should share in the destruction which awaited the whole congregation. On hearing these awful words the brothers fell on their faces, and, by strong intercession, moved the Lord to confine his wrath to the leaders in the rebellion.

and spare their unhappy dupes. The latter were then ordered to separate themselves from their leaders, and from the tents in which they dwelt. The terrible menace involved in this direction had its weight, and the command was obeyed; and after Moses had appealed to what was to happen as a proof of the authority by which he acted, the earth opened, and received and closed over the tents of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. The Reubenite conspirators were in their tents, and perished in them; and at the same instant Korah and his 250, who were offering incense at the door of the tabernacle, were destroyed by a fire which 'came out from the Lord;' that is, most probably, in this case, from out of the cloud in which his presence dwelt. The censers which they had used were afterwards made into plates, to form an outer covering to the altar, and thus became a standing monument of this awful transaction (Num. xvi.) On, although named in the first instance along with Dathan and Abiram, does not further appear either in the rebellion or its punishment. It is hence supposed that he repented in time: and Abendana and other Rabbinical writers allege that his wife prevailed upon him to abandon the cause.

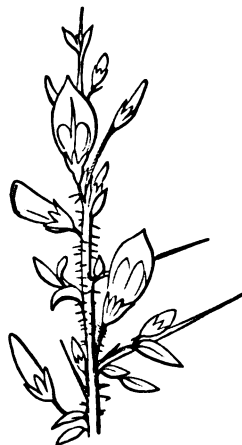
It might be supposed from the Scripture narrative that the entire families of the conspirators perished in the destruction of their tents. Doubtless all who were in the tents perished; but as the descendants of Korah afterwards became eminent in the Levitical service, it is clear that his sons were spared. They were probably living in separate tents, or were among those who sundered themselves from the conspirators at the command of Moses. There is no reason to suppose that the sons of Korah were children when their father perished.—J. K.

KORAHITE, KORHITE, or KORATHITE (קֹרַחִי; Sept. *υἱὸς [δῆμιος, γερερεῖς] Κορέ*; Vulg. *Coritæ*), a descendant of Korah, used of those who are usually called sons of Korah. To them was assigned an important part in the conducting of the temple music, Heman himself being a descendant of Korah (1 Chron. vi. 31-37). They had also the office of keeping the door in the temple assigned to them (1 Chron. ix. 17-19, 22-29; Jer. xxxv. 4). The appointment of the Korahites to this office dated from the time of David (1 Chron. xxvi. 1, ff.) One of their number, Mattithiah, had charge over the things that were made in the pans (1 Chron. ix. 31).

Of the Psalms, several (xlii., xlix., lxxiv., lxxv., lxxvii., lxxviii.) are inscribed 'for the sons of Korah.' Whether this implies that they were the composers of these Psalms, or merely that they received them to set them to music, or to sing them in the temple service, is matter of dispute [PSALMS]. These Psalms are marked by peculiar elevation of sentiment and poetical power.—W. L. A.

KOTZ or KOZ (קֹז) occurs in several passages of Scripture; in two of which it is mentioned along with *dardar*, where *kos* and *dardar* may be considered equivalent to the English *thorns* and *thistles*. The Septuagint translates it in all the passages by *ἄκανθα*, and it probably was used in a general sense to denote plants which were thorny, useless, and indicative of neglected culture or deserted habitations, growing naturally in desert situations, and useful only for fuel. But if any particular plant be

meant, the *Ononis spinosa* or 'Rest-harrow,' mentioned by Hasselquist, may be selected as fully characteristic. 'Spinosissima illa et perniciosissima



306. *Ononis spinosa*.

planta, campos integros tegit Ægypti et Palestinae. Non dubitandum quin hanc indicaverint in aliquo loco scriptores sacri.—J. F. R.

KRAUSE, FRIED. AUG. WILH., doctor in philosophy and private teacher at Vienna, was born at Dobrilugk in 1767, and died 24th March 1827. He published *Pauli ad Corinthios epistolæ Gr., perpetua annotatione illustratæ*, vol. i., Franc. ad Moen. 1792; intended as a continuation of Koppe's New Testament, but never carried further. He had previously published *Die Briefe an die Philipp. und Thessal. übersetzt und mit Anmerk. begleitet*, Frankf. 1790.—W. L. A.

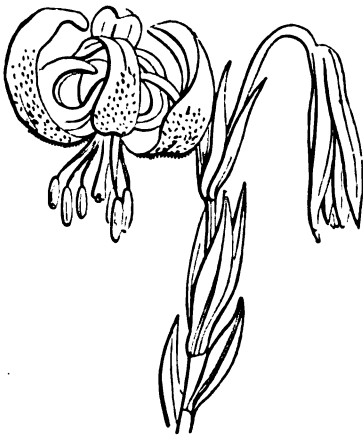
KRAUSE, JOH. FRIED., D.D., successively diakonus in Reichenbach, domprediger at Naumburg, and professor of theology at Königsberg, was born at Reichenbach 26th October 1770, and died 31st March 1820. His Biblical writings consist of several academical programmes, two on the epistle of the Philippians, one on the 1st epistle of Peter, and four on the 2d epistle to the Corinthians. These, with some discussions pertaining to philosophy and theology, were collected by him and issued together under the title *Opuscula Theologica, sparsim edita collegit, ineditisque auxit, etc.*, Regiom. 1818.—W. L. A.

KREBS (JOH. FRED.), born at Bayreuth, March 5, 1651; studied at Jena; became rector of the gymnasium at Heilsbrunn in 1675, where he afterwards filled the posts of professor of theology and Hebrew, and Inspector; and died August 16, 1721. He was a copious writer, his works filling five closely-printed columns in Adelung. They embrace natural and moral philosophy, historical and political science, and theology. His only direct contribution to Biblical literature is a work on the first five chapters of Genesis, illustrated from the Syriac, Chaldee, Persian, Æthiopic, and other Oriental languages.—E. V.

KREBS (JOH. TOBIAS), born at Buttelsstadt in 1718. From his twentieth year he studied theo-

logy and philology under J. A. Ernesti at Leipsic, where, in 1740, he became Magister, and read lectures on the N. T. He died in 1782, rector of the Fürstenschule at Grimma. He was the compiler of two works of considerable value for the illustration of the facts and language of the N. T., *De usu et præstantia Romane Historie in N. T. interpretatione*, Lips. 1745; *Observationes in N. T. e Flavio Joseph.*, Lips. 1755. The latter contains a rich collection of examples of the peculiarities of N. T. phraseology.—E. V.

KRINON (*κρινον*). This plant is mentioned in the well-known and beautiful passage (Matt. vi. 28): 'Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin, and yet I say unto you, that even Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of these;' so also in Luke xii. 27. Here it is evident that the plant alluded to must have been indigenous or grown wild, in the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee, must have been of an ornamental character, and, from the Greek term *κρινον* being applied to it, of a liliaceous nature. The name *κρινον* occurs in the old Greek writers. Theophrastus uses it, and is supposed by Sprengel to apply it to species of *Narcissus* and to *Lilium candidum*. Dioscorides indicates two species, but very imperfectly: one of them is supposed to be the *Lilium candidum*, and the other, with a reddish flower, may be *L. martagon*, or *L. chalcedonicum*. He alludes more particularly to the lilies of Syria and of Pamphylia being well suited for making the ointment of lily. Pliny enumerates three kinds—a white, a red, and a purple-coloured lily. Travellers in Palestine mention that in the month of January the fields and groves everywhere abound with various species of lily, tulip, and nar-



307. *Lilium chalcedonicum*.

cissus. Benard noticed, near Acre, on Jan. 18th, and about Jaffa, on the 23d, tulips, white, red, blue, etc. Gumpenberg saw the meadows of Galilee covered with the same flowers on the 31st. Tulips figure conspicuously among the flowers of Palestine, varieties probably of *Tulipa gesneriana* (Kitto's *Palestine*, p. ccxv.) So Pococke says, 'I saw many tulips growing wild in the fields (in March), and any one who considers how beautiful those flowers are to the eye, would be apt to con-

jecture that these are the lilies to which Solomon in all his glory was not to be compared.' This is much more likely to be the plant intended than some others which have been adduced, as, for instance, the scarlet *amaryllis*, having white flowers with bright purple streaks, found by Salt at Adowa. Others have preferred the *Crown imperial*, which is a native of Persia and Cashmere. Most authors have united in considering the white lily, *Lilium candidum*, to be the plant to which our Saviour referred; but it is doubtful whether it has ever been found in a wild state in Palestine. Some, indeed, have thought it to be a native of the new world. Dr. Lindley, however, in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* (ii. 744), says, 'This notion cannot be sustained, because the white lily occurs in an engraving of the Annunciation, executed somewhere about 1480 by Martin Schongauer; and the first voyage of Columbus did not take place till 1492. In this very rare print the lily is represented as growing in an ornamental vase, as if it were cultivated as a curious object.' This opinion is confirmed by a correspondent at Aleppo (*Gardeners' Chronicle*, iii. 429), who has resided long in Syria, but is acquainted only with the botany of Aleppo and Antioch: 'I never saw the white lily in a wild state, nor have I heard of its being so in Syria. It is cultivated here on the roofs of the houses in pots as an exotic bulb, like the daffodil.' In consequence of this difficulty, the late Sir J. E. Smith was of opinion that the plant alluded to under the name of lily was the *Amaryllis lutea* (now *Oporanthus luteus*), 'whose golden liliaceous flowers in autumn afford one of the most brilliant and gorgeous objects in nature, as the fields of the Levant are overrun with them; to them the expression of Solomon, in all his glory, not being arrayed like one of them, is peculiarly appropriate.' Dr. Lindley conceives, 'it to be much more probable that the plant intended by our Saviour was the *Ixiolirion montanum*, a plant allied to the *amaryllis*, of very great beauty, with a slender stem, and clusters of the most delicate violet flowers, abounding in Palestine, where Col. Chesney found it in the most brilliant profusion' (*l. c.*, p. 744). In reply to this, a correspondent furnishes an extract of a letter from Dr. Bowring, which throws a new light upon the subject: 'I cannot describe to you with botanical accuracy the lily of Palestine. I heard it called by the title of *Lilia syriaca*, and I imagine under this title its botanical characteristics may be hunted out. Its colour is a brilliant red; its size about half that of the common tiger lily. The white lily I do not remember to have seen in any part of Syria. It was in April and May that I observed my flower, and it was most abundant in the district of Galilee, where it and the *Rhododendron* (which grew in rich abundance round the paths) most strongly excited my attention.' On this Dr. Lindley observes, 'It is clear that neither the white lily, nor the *Oporanthus luteus*, nor *Ixiolirion*, will answer to Dr. Bowring's description, which seems to point to the Chalcedonian or scarlet *martagon* lily, formerly called the lily of Byzantium, found from the Adriatic to the Levant, and which, with its scarlet turban-like flowers, is indeed a most stately and striking object' (*Gardeners' Chronicle*, ii. 854). As this lily (the *Lilium chalcedonicum* of botanists) is in flower at the season of the year when the sermon on the Mount is supposed to have been spoken, is indigenous in the very locality, and is conspicuous,

even in the garden, for its remarkable showy flowers, there can now be little doubt that it is the plant alluded to by our Saviour.—J. F. R.

KROCHMAL, NACHMAN B. SHALMON, born in Brody, Feb. 18, 1780, and died in Tarnopol, July 31, 1840. This erudite critic and eminent Hebraist was the first among the Jews who, with a rare sagacity and independency of mind, investigated the Hebrew Scriptures, in order to ascertain the origin, unity, and date of each book, as well as to characterise its peculiarity of style and language, irrespective of the fixed traditional opinions held alike by the synagogue and the church about the authors and ages of the respective canonical volumes. He, however, published very little in his lifetime, but immediately after his death four treatises of his appeared in the Hebrew Annual, called *Kerem Chemed*, vol. v., Prag 1841, p. 51 ff., on *The Sacred Antiquities and their Import* (קדמוניות קדש והכנות). i. On the age of the comforting promises in the second part of Isaiah, chap. xl.-lxvi. (זמן)

(בבואות הנחמות שבחלק שני מספר ישעיה, in which he tries to demonstrate the late date of this part of the volume, and to show that Ibn Ezra was of the same opinion, only that he veiled it in enigmatical language [IBN EZRA]. ii. On the date and composition of Ezra and Chronicles, with an investigation of the ancient statement on this subject contained

in the Talmud, *Baba Bathra*, 14, b (על דבר בריתא); which is very important. He tries to trace and analyse the different parts of which these books are composed, and to shew that they extend to the destruction of the Persian empire. iii. On the date and composition of Ezekiel, the Minor Prophets, Daniel, and Esther, with an examination of the ancient statement on this subject contained in the same passage of the Talmud (בבאור פסוקא), (אחרית הבאה בבריתא הזכורה), which is still more important, inasmuch as Krochmal shews here what is meant by the *Great Synagogue*, and tries to demonstrate, that some portions of the Minor Prophets belong to the period of the Greek empire.

iv. On Origin and date of Ecclesiastes (ספר קהלת), (זמן חבורו מחברו וגו'), in which he shews, that it is the latest composition in the canon. The learned Dr. Leopold Zunz, to whom Hebrew scholars are so much indebted for some of the most masterly treatises on Hebrew literature, has edited a work which Krochmal has left behind him, entitled, *More Neboche Ha-Seman*, Leopoli 1851, which is a treasury of criticisms on Jewish philosophy, Biblical literature, and sacred antiquities.—C. D. G.

KUINOEL, CHRISTIANUS THEOPHILUS (KÜHNÖL, CHRISTIAN GOTTLIEB), was born at Leipzig, Jan. 2, 1768. His father was archdeacon of the church of St. Thomas. His education was commenced in the school of St. Thomas, and from thence he proceeded to the university of his native city. After taking the double degree of D.D. and Ph. D., he commenced, by the advice of Wolf, to deliver, as a privat-docent, courses of lectures on Greek and Latin Philosophy, and on Biblical Exegesis. In 1790 he was appointed extraordinary professor of philosophy, and in 1796 preacher at St. Paul's, the university church. His reputation as a Hellenist brought him, in 1799, an invitation to the Greek chair in Copenhagen, but not wishing to leave Germany, he declined to accede to it. Two

years afterwards he was appointed to the chair of Poetry and Eloquence in the university of Giessen, and in 1806 to one of the theological chairs. He died at Giessen, Oct. 15, 1841. He was a man greatly beloved by his students, and distinguished by the power of securing the strong attachment of persons of various sentiments. His published works are numerous. Of those which are devoted to the elucidation of the Scriptures, the following are the most important:—1. *Commentarius in Libros Novi Testamenti Historicis*, Lips. 1807-18, 4 vols. 8vo. A fourth edition of vol. i. was published in 1837, and of vol. ii. in 1843; of vol. iii. the last edition (the third) appeared in 1825, and of vol. iv. a second edition in 1827. 2. *Hosæ Oracula Hebr. et Lat. perpetua annotatione illustrata*, Lips. 1792, 8vo. Kuinoel had previously published in 1789 a translation of Hosea into German. 3. *Messianische Weissagungen des Alten Testaments übersetzt und erläutert*, Leip. 1792, 8vo. 4. *Observationes ad Novum Testamentum ex libris Apocryphis Veteris Testamenti*, Lips. 1794, 8vo. 5. *Pericopæ Evangelicæ*, Lips. 1796-97, 2 vols. 8vo. 6. *Die Psalmen metrisch übersetzt mit Anmerkungen*, Leip. 1799, 8vo. 7. *Spicilegium observationum in Epistolam Jacobi*, Lips. 1807. 8. *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebræos*, Lips. 1831, 8vo. Kuinoel's Commentaries are still valuable for the stores of philological learning which they contain, but are wanting in spiritual insight.—S. N.

KUSSEMETH (כִּסְמֶת) occurs in three places of Scripture. In the A. V. it is translated *rye* in Exod. ix. 32; Is. xxviii. 25; and *fitches* in Ezek. iv. 9; but its true meaning still remains uncertain. It was one of the cultivated grains both of Egypt and of Syria, and one of those employed as an article of diet. It was also sown along with wheat, or, at least, its crop was in the same state of forwardness; for we learn from Exod. ix. 32, that in the seventh plague the hail-storm smote the barley which was in the ear, and the flax which was balled; but that the wheat and the *kussemeth* were not smitten, for they were not grown up. Respecting the wheat and the barley, we know that they are often sown and come to maturity in different months. Thus Forskal says, 'Hordeum cum mense Februario maturatur, triticum ad finem Martii persistit' (*Flora Egypt.*, p. 43). The events above referred to probably took place in February (vid. *Pict. Bible*). That *kussemeth* was cultivated in Palestine we learn from Is. xxviii. 25, where it is mentioned along with ketzah (nigella) and cumin, wheat and barley; and sown, according to some translators, 'on the extreme border of the fields,' as a kind of fence for other kinds of corn. This is quite an Oriental practice, and may be seen in the case of flax and other grains in India, at the present day. The rye is a grain of cold climates, and is not cultivated even in the south of Europe. Korte declares (*Travels*, p. 168) that no rye grows in Egypt; and Shaw states (p. 351) that rye is little known in Barbary and Egypt (Rosenmüller, p. 76). That the *kussemeth* was employed for making bread by the Hebrews we know from Ezek. iv. 9, where the prophet is directed to 'take wheat, and barley, and beans, and lentiles, and millet, and *kussemeth*, and put them in a vessel, and make bread thereof.'

Though it is very unlikely that *kussemeth* can

mean rye, it is not easy to say what cultivated grain it denotes. The principal kinds of grain, it is to be observed, are mentioned in the same passages with the *kussemeth*. Celsius has, as usual,



308. *Triticum spelta*.

with great learning and labour, collected together the different translations which have been given of this difficult word. In the Arabic translation of Exod. ix. 32, it is rendered *julban*: 'cicercula, non circula, ut perperam legitur in versione Latina.' By other Arabian writers it is considered to mean peas, and also beans. Many translate it vicia, or vetches, as in the A. V. of Exod. ix. 32; for according to Maimonides (*ad Tr. Shabb.*, xx. 3), *carschinin* is a kind of legume, which in the Arabic is called *kirsana*, but in the sacred language *kussemeth*. Both *julban* and *kirsana* mean species of pulse, but it is not easy to ascertain the specific kinds. The majority, however, instead of a legume, consider *kussemeth* to indicate one of the cereal grains, as the rye (*secale*), or the oat (*avena*), neither of which is it likely to have been. These have probably been selected because commentators usually adduce such grains as they themselves are acquainted with, or have heard of as commonly cultivated. Celsius, however, informs us that in the Syriac and Chaldean versions *kussemeth* is translated *kunta*; *far* in the Latin Vulgate; *far aduncum*, Guisio, *Tract. Peah*, viii. 5, and *Tract. Chila'im*, i. 1; *šea* in the Septuagint, Is. xxviii. Aquila, Symmachus, and others, render it *spelta*. So Ben Melech, on Exod. ix., and Ezek. iv., says '*kyssemeth*, vulgo *spelta*,' and the Septuagint has *δλupa*. Upon which Celsius remarks: 'all these—that is, *kunta*, *far*, *ador*, *šea*, *spelta*, and *δλupa*—are one and the same thing.' This he proves satisfactorily by quotations from the ancient authors (*l. c.* ii. 100). Dr. Harris states that the word *kussemeth* seems to be derived from *casam*, 'to have long hairs;' and that hence a bearded grain must be intended;

which confirms the probability of *Spelt* being the true meaning.

Dioscorides has stated (ii. 111), that there are two kinds of *Zeā*, one simple, and the other called *dicoccos*. Sprengel concludes that this is, without doubt, the *Triticum Spelta* of botanists; that the *olyra* was a variety which Host has called *Triticum Zea*; and also that the simple kind is the *Triticum monococcon*. That these grains were cultivated in Egypt and Syria, and that they were esteemed as food in those countries, may also be satisfactorily proved. Thus Herodotus states that the Egyptians employ *olyra*, which others call *zea*, as an article of diet. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xviii. 8) mentions it as found both in Egypt and in Syria: 'Ægypto autem ac Syriæ, Cilicique et Asiæ, ac Græciæ peculiaries, *zea*, *olyra*, *tiphe*.' So in more modern times: 'In Ægypto zeam abunde nasci refert Dapperus descriptione Asiæ, p. 130. Et Monachos circa Jordanem, pane *δλupτην* vesci, scribit Johannes Phocas de Locis Syr. et Palæstinae, p. 34' (Cels. *l. c.* 100). That it was highly esteemed by the ancients is evident from Dioscorides describing it as more nourishing than barley, and grateful in taste. Pliny also (xviii. 11) says: 'Ex *zea* pulcrius, quam ex tritico fit granum;' and Salmasio: 'quod lautior panis ex *zea* quam ex tritico fieret.' The goodness of this grain is also implied from the name of semen having been especially applied to it (C. Bauhin, *Pinox*, p. 22).

Triticum Spelta, or *Spelt*, is in many respects so closely allied to the common wheats as to have been thought by some old authors to have been the original stock of the cultivated kinds; but for this there is no foundation, as the kind cultivated for ages in Europe does not differ from specimens collected in a wild state. These were found by a French botanist, Michaux, in Persia, on a mountain four days' journey to the north of Hamadan. It is cultivated in many parts of Germany, in Switzerland, in the south of France, and in Italy. It is commonly sown in spring, and collected in July and August. Though some circumstances seem to point to this species as the *kussemeth* of Scripture, the subject is still susceptible of further investigation, and can only be finally determined by first ascertaining the modern agriculture of eastern countries, and comparing it with the ancient accounts of the agriculture of Syria and Egypt.—J. F. R.

KÜSTER, LUDOLPH, one of the ablest Greek scholars of his day, born at Blomberg in Westphalia, Feb. 1670, and educated by his elder brother at the Joachim College at Berlin. His ability as a student attracted the notice of Spanheim, who became his patron, and by whose influence he obtained the reversion of a professorship in the college. While waiting for a vacancy he visited many of the chief seats of learning in Europe, consulting libraries, examining and collating MSS., and cultivating the society of scholars. His long-expected chair proved anything but a position of comfort, so after holding it about a year he gave up the post in disgust, and retired to Amsterdam. Having removed to Paris, where he joined the Romish Church, he was brought to the notice of Louis XIV. by the Abbé Bignon, and was rewarded with a handsome pension and admission into the Academy of In-

scriptions. He was planning new and important works when he was carried off by an abscess in the liver, October 12, 1716, before he had completed his forty-seventh year. Besides his edition of *Suidas*, which though able was too hasty, and left much for future editors, and his contributions to the *Thesaurus* of Grævius and Gronovius under the homonym of Neocorus (the Greek translation of Küster = Sacristan), he was the author of many classical treatises, especially that on the *Middle Verb*. His claim to a place in a Biblical cyclopædia rests on his edition of Mill's Greek Testament, published at Rotterdam 1710. The title-page describes his part in the work, 'Collectionem Millianam recensuit, meliori ordine disposuit, novisque accessionibus locupletavit.' His additions consist of the various readings of twelve MSS., of which the most important is the *Codex Boernerianus*, afterwards admirably edited by Matthæi. The edition also contains a preface by Küster, and a letter of Le Clerc's, discussing a number of various readings, of some historical interest. According to Tregelles, it is usually considered inferior in accuracy to Mill's original edition.—E. V.

KYPKE, GEORG DAVID, a learned German Orientalist, was born at Neukirk, in Pomerania, Oct. 23, 1724. He studied at Königsberg and Halle, and at the latter university took a degree in philosophy in 1744. In 1746 he was appointed professor extraordinary of Oriental languages at Königsberg, and in 1755 ordinary professor of the same. He died May 28, 1779. He was the author of several works intended to aid in the study of the Hebrew and Chaldee languages, and published at different times numerous programmata on various passages of the O. T. In addition to these he was the author of the following useful work: *Observationes Sacrae in Novi Fœderis libros ex auctoribus græcis et antiquitatibus*, Vratislav 1755, 2 vols. 8vo.—S. N.

L

LAANAH (לֶאֱנָה), translated *wormwood*, occurs in several passages of Scripture, in most of which it is employed in a figurative sense. Thus, in Deut. xxix. 18, 'Lest there be among you a root that beareth gall and *wormwood*,' is applied to such Israelites as should worship foreign gods. Prov. v. 4, 'But her end is bitter as wormwood.' Jer. ix. 15, 'Behold I will feed them, even this people, with wormwood, and give them gall to drink.' So in Jer. xxiii. 13, and in Lam. iii. 15 and 19, 'Remember mine affliction and my misery, the wormwood and gall,' where it is applied to public and private calamities, and in Amos v. 7, it is said of unrighteous judges, 'Ye who turn judgment to wormwood:' so in vi. 12, but here the word *laanah* is translated *hemlock*. That *laanah* was a plant of an extreme degree of bitterness, is evident from the various passages in which it occurs; and it has hence, as Celsius observes, been adopted to indicate both the sins and the punishments of men. Some translators, as the Septuagint, substitute the proper terms which they conceive the plant to denote, as ἀνθήκη, ὀδύνη, πικρία, and χολή. So the Arab translator uses words sig-

nifying *dolores, adversa, calamitates, amaritudo*. The Hebrew word *laanah* is supposed by lexicographers to have been originally derived from the same root as the Arabic لعن *laan*, 'he was accursed;' from which comes the Arabic لعنة

laana, signifying 'execration' or 'malediction;' and as the Hebrews accounted bitter plants as pernicious and poisonous, so they typified what was disagreeable or calamitous by a bitter plant. Thus, as Celsius remarks, Talmudical writers, in speaking of the blessings and maledictions of Moses, say, 'Illæ mel, hæ absinthium erant.' The Chaldee, and other Oriental translations, as the Syriac and Arabic, in Prov. v. 4; Lam. iii. 19, with the Rabbins, translate *laanah* by words signifying wormwood. This is adopted in the Vulgate, as well as in the English translation. In Revelations viii. 11, we have the Greek word ἀψυθος employed; 'And the name of the star is called wormwood, and the third part of the waters became wormwood (ἀψυθος), and many men died of the waters, because they were bitter.' Some other plants have been adduced, as the colocynt and the oleander, but without anything to support them; while different kinds of artemisia, and of wormwood, are proverbial for their bitterness, and often used in a figurative sense by ancient authors:—

'Parce, precor, lacerare tuum, nec amara paternis
Admiscere velis, ceu melli absinthia, verbis.'

Paulin. Ep. ad Ausonium.

Celsius has no doubt that a species of artemisia or wormwood is intended: 'Hanc plantam amaram in Judæa et Arabia copiose nascentem, et interpretum auctoritate egregie suffultam, ipsam esse Ebræorum לֶאֱנָה, pro indubitato habemus.' That species of artemisia are common in Syria and Palestine is well known, as all travellers mention their abundance in particular situations; but as many of them resemble each other very closely in properties, it is more difficult to determine what particular species is meant. It is probable, indeed, that the name is used in a generic rather than a specific sense. The species found in Syria have already been mentioned under ABSINTHIUM. The species most celebrated in Arabian works on Materia Medica is that called

شيج sheeh, which is conspicuous for its bitterness, and for being fatal to worms; hence it has been commonly employed as an anthelmintic even to our own times. This seems to be the same species which was found by Rauwolf in Palestine, and which he says the Arabs call *sheeha*. It is his 'Absinthium Santonicum, *sheeha* Arabum, unde semen lumbricorum colligitur;' the *Absinthium Santonicum Judaicum* of Caspar Bauhin, in his *Pinax*, now *Artemisia Judaica*; though it is probable two or three species yield the *Semini Santonium*, or wormwood of commerce, which, instead of seed, consists of the *tops* of the plants, and in which the peduncles, calyx flowers, and young seeds are intermixed. *Artemisia Maritima* and *Judaica* are two of the plants which yield it.—J. F. R.

LABAN (לָבָן, 'white'; LXX. Ἀδδαν), an Aramæan pastoral chief, son of Bethuel, brother of Rebecca, and grand-nephew of Abraham. In Gen.

xxix. 5 he is called 'the son of Nahoi,' by a common extension in meaning of the word בן . He is first mentioned in Gen. xxiv. 29, where Rebecca introduces him to Eliezer, Abraham's steward. Although it appears that Bethuel his father was alive (xxiv. 50),* Laban takes by far the most prominent part in the reception of Eliezer, and the arrangements respecting his sister's marriage. This fact has led to numerous conjectures, and especially to a suspicion on the part of R. Sol. Jarchi, that Laban was unfilial in his behaviour, which we only mention as a specimen of the harsh judgments which have been passed on Laban's character. The fact is quite in accordance with the Oriental custom which makes a grown-up brother the chief guardian of his sister's happiness and honour (Gen. xxiv. 13; Judg. xxi. 22; 2 Sam. xiii.; Niebuhr, *Beschr. von Arab.*, p. 31). A charge of cupidity has been brought against Laban, because, 'when he saw the ear-ring and the bracelets upon his sister's hands'—'he said, come, thou blessed of the Lord,' It would not, indeed, be surprising, if the splendour of these presents added somewhat to the emphasis of Laban's greeting; but to any one who will read the context of this passage (Gen. xxiv. 29, 30), it will be obvious that an invidious importance has been attached to these words. The impulse of Laban's hospitality preceded (ver. 29) all knowledge of his guest's wealth, and throughout the narrative he appears as an affectionate and God-fearing man (vers. 32, 55-60).

After the unfortunate breach which Jacob's fraud caused between himself and his brother Esau, the mind of Rebecca naturally recurred to her old home as a refuge for her favourite son, and, by the wish of both his parents, Jacob set forth to 'take a wife of the daughters of Laban' (xxviii. 2). We may observe in passing, that this would hardly have been the case, if Laban had been the base person he is generally represented to have been. His reception of his destitute nephew was characterised by that generous warmth and impulsiveness which has been most unjustly attributed to hypocrisy and self-interest. After a month had elapsed, Laban himself proposed that the active services rendered to him by Jacob should receive their just wages, and Jacob offered to serve seven years for Rachel, Laban's youngest daughter. In a country where it is the universal custom that the husband should pay a dowry to the parents of his wife (Exod. xxii. 16, 17; Gen. xxiv. 12; Hos. iii. 1, 2; 1 Sam. xviii. 25; Rosenmüller, *Morgenl.*, i. 132), it would probably have not been consonant to Jacob's feelings that he should marry as a penniless stranger, dependent on his father-in-law's beneficence. The implied dissatisfaction of Laban's daughters (xxxi. 15) does not therefore seem to have had any just grounds, nor must Laban be severely condemned for an arrangement which finds its daily and unblamed parallel in modern life, when, after years

of service, some inferior is admitted into partnership and connection by marriage with the principals of the business. No defence, however, can be offered for the mean treachery which induced Laban to practice the fraud—rendered so easy by the marriage-ceremonies of the East—of palming off the dim-eyed Leah, in the place of her beautiful sister. It is no excuse for him to say, that he was herein the divine instrument to punish Jacob for his own similar and still more disgraceful deceit; and although the popular feeling and prevailing custom* to which he appealed undoubtedly existed, and was in all probability sufficiently notorious to be known to Jacob, yet Laban ought to have insisted *before-hand* on its observance, and not to have carried his point by a trick discreditable even to a heathen nomad. All that can be said in extenuation of this is, that a week after he gave Rachel also to Jacob, and that he probably viewed polygamy with favour rather than otherwise. That Jacob did not wait till the end of the fourteen years before marrying Rachel, is clear, both from the narrative itself (xxix. 28), and from the fact that Jacob, even when he first fled to Laban, was no less than seventy-eight years old (cf. xxxi. 41; xxxvii. 2; xlvii. 9). The exaction of seven years' further service was, on any plea, wholly unwarrantable, and forms the darkest stain on Laban's character.

When fourteen years were ended, Jacob proposed to return, feeling that the treatment which he had received was neither generous nor just. For a moment Laban's better feelings won the day, and in requesting Jacob to stay with him he left him to name his own compensation (xxx. 28, 31). Jacob made a proposal that sounded equitable,† and then, by a threefold artifice, in accordance with all which was most contemptible in his character, took means to render it most unfair and prejudicial to the interests and reasonable expectations of his master. For six years this systematic fraud was continued, and the cunning seems to have been *all on Jacob's side*. We do not therefore agree with Ewald (*Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.*, i. 401, *seq.*) in seeing throughout this melancholy passage a contest of opposing frauds; for it was most natural that Laban should, from time to time, change his retainer's wages, when he saw that Jacob was prospering beyond his just measure, by means which (being apparently unsuspecting) he could not discover. The exposure seems to have come from Laban's sons, who

* A provision in the Gentoo laws renders it criminal for a man to give his younger daughter in marriage before the elder.

† The artifices, obscurely described in Gen. xxx. 37-42, are clearly explained (on slightly different hypotheses) by Rosenmüller and Kalisch. They consisted, 1. In 'piling certain wands' to influence the animals by the sight of unusual objects; 2. In mixing the parti-coloured cattle thus obtained with Laban's cattle; 3. In securing to himself all the strongest births. Shakespeare, in putting a defence of Jacob into Antonio's mouth—

'This was a venture, Sir, that Jacob served for;
A thing not in his power to bring to pass,
But swayed and fashioned by the hand of
Heaven.'—*Merch. of Venice*, i. 3.

only alludes to the *least* objectionable of these dishonest acts, namely, the use of the wands.

* Josephus is therefore mistaken in saying, *Βαθούλος* . . . ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦδη τέθνηκε, *Antiq.* i. 16. 2. There is no shadow of reason for conjecturing that 'Bethuel' is an interpolation in xxiv. 50; still less that it is the name of a younger brother of Laban. The 'undesigned coincidence' which Blunt finds in the 'consistent insignificance' of Bethuel, is one of the many instances of over-refinement in his ingenious and interesting book.

first woke their father's envy by denouncing Jacob's dishonesty, and pointing out its consequences (Gen. xxxi. 1-2); and Jacob, feeling that he could no longer face Laban's just displeasure, took advantage of the sheep-shearing festival (xxxviii. 12; 1 Sam. xxv. 7; 2 Sam. xiii. 23), (to which the breach between them had probably prevented him from being invited), to fly towards Canaan with his family and all his possessions. On occasion of this flight, Rachel, whose character appears to have been superstitious (cf. xxx. 14), stole the 'gods' (Teraphim, τοὺς τύρους τῶν θεῶν, Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 19. 8) of her father. The mere possession of Teraphim, which the Jews at no time consistently condemned (cf. Judg. xvii., xviii., *passim*; 1 Sam. xix. 13; Hos. iii. 4), does not prove Laban to have been an idolater; but that he must have been so appears with some probability from xxxi. 53 ('the gods of Nahor') and from the expression נִיחָשְׁתִּי, *nichash-*

thi, in xxx. 27; A. V., 'I have learnt by experience,' but properly, 'I have divined' or 'learnt by an augury' (cf. xlv. 15; 1 Kings xx. 33), showing that he was addicted to pagan superstitions. Learning the flight of Jacob, which naturally roused his indignation, Laban started in pursuit (A. V., 'on the third day,' but Joseph. *l. c.*, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν), and overtaking him on the seventh day, appears to have intended either to punish or to bring him back by force. From this course he was diverted by a dream, and contented himself with a demand for his stolen property, and an impetuous yet high-toned rebuke of Jacob's clandestine departure. In the scene of stormy reconviction which followed upon his failure to find the stolen household-gods, the forbearance and generosity are mostly on the side of Laban, who, conscious that he had not treated his nephew well, and that he had set the first fatal example of deceit, reminds him of the close ties between them, and proposes a sacred reconciliation, testified by the calm and pillar, which Jacob, in Hebrew, called Gilead, and Laban, in Chaldee, called Jagar-sahadutha. After this Laban kissed and blessed his daughters and their children, and departed. He is not again mentioned or alluded to. He was not free from the cunning and cupidity which too frequently disgrace the character of the Oriental nomad; but his character has been drawn in colours wholly unwarranted by the Scriptural history; and if we compare his conduct with that of his nephew and son-in-law, it has nothing to lose by the contrast and everything to gain.—F. W. F.

LABAN (לָבָן; Λαβῶν), a place mentioned Deut. i. 1, as one of the stations of the Israelites after crossing the Red Sea. It has been suggested that it is the same as Libnah, which was three days' journey north of Hazeroth (Num. xxxiii. 20); but this, Knobel (*in loc.*) remarks, can hardly be, because no mention is made of any discourses delivered at Libnah by Moses during the passage from Sinai to Kadesh (Num. x. 13), and after reaching Kadesh the Israelites did not return to Libnah. Knobel thinks it more probable that it is identical with the Ἀβάρα of Ptolemy (v. 17. 5), and the *Haurra* of the *Tab. Peut.* ix. e., a name which, from the Arab. حار, *har*, *he was white*, has the same meaning as the Heb. לָבָן; comp. Steph. Byzant. s. v. Ἀβάρα.—W. L. A.

LABOUR (עֲבֹדָה, מְלָאכָה), or the exercise of the limbs, both for obtaining subsistence and for the benefit of health, was ordained by God as soon as man was created. We are told that even before his fall Adam was to work in Paradise (Gen. ii. 5, 15). After the fall, however, pain and exhaustion were, as a consequence of sin, to be connected with the labour which from the beginning was designed to be a pleasant pastime and healthy exercise (*ibid.*, iii. 19). It is, therefore, the prostration of strength, wherewith is also connected the temporary incapacity of sharing in the enjoyments of life, and not labour itself, which constitutes the curse pronounced on the fallen man. Hence we find that, in primitive times, manual labour was neither regarded as degrading nor confined to a certain class of society, but was more or less prosecuted by all. It was enjoined on all Israelites as a sacred duty in the fourth commandment (Exod. xx. 9; Deut. v. 13); and the Bible entertains so high a respect for the diligent and skilful labourer, that we are told in Prov. xxii. 29, 'Seest thou a man skilled in his work, he shall stand before kings' (comp. also *ibid.*, x. 4; xii. 24, 27). Among the beautiful features which grace an excellent house-wife, it is prominently set forth that 'she worketh willingly with her own hands' (Prov. xxxi. 13). With such an honourable regard for labour, it is not to be wondered at that when Nebuchadnezzar carried the Jews away into captivity, he found among them a thousand craftsmen and smiths (2 Kings xxiv. 14-16; Jer. xxix. 2). The ancient Rabbins, too, regarded manual labour as most honourable, and urged it upon every one as a duty; as may be seen from the following sayings in the Talmud:—'He who does not teach his son a craft is, as it were, bringing him up to robbery' (*Cholin*, 105). 'Labour is greatly to be prized; for it elevates the labourer, and maintains him' (*Chagiga*, 5; *Nedarim* 49, b; *Baba Bathra* 110, a). To inculcate the dignity of all honest labour, however low the work might seem, the Talmud relates the following story: 'A man named Simon, whose business it was to clean the pits and reservoirs, said once to the celebrated R. Jochanan b. Zakkai (flor. 30 B.C.) [EDUCATION], I am as great as you are, and accomplish as much as you. How so? the Rabbi asked modestly. Behold, you make public affairs your business, and my labours too are devoted to the public benefit; I clean the pits, the wells, and the cisterns, in order that you may be able to recommend the inquirer such and such a pit for baptisms, and such and such a well for drinking. Truly you are right, said the Rabbi, for it is better to be attentive than to have to pronounce fools guilty of a sacrifice, for they know not to do evil' (*Midrash Rabbi on Ecclesiastes* iv. 17, p. 95). Hence the greatest Jewish Rabbins learned a craft, and laboured with their own hands for maintenance [EDUCATION]. The great Apostle of the Gentiles honoured and sanctified labour by engaging in it with his own hands; and he could boast that he worked hard day and night for maintenance, even when a preacher of the gospel, rather than be dependent upon any one (2 Cor. xii. 13, 14; 1 Thess. ii. 9). He could therefore teach others, by example, how to labour with their hands, and to use the wages of labour for holy purposes (Acts xx. 33-35; 1 Thess. iv. 11, 12). For the different kinds of labour in which the Hebrews were engaged, see articles

EDUCATION, HANDICRAFT, of this *Cyclopædia*.—C. D. G.

LACHISH (לָכִישׁ), perhaps = לָקֵס, 'obsti-

nate; Sept. Λαχίς; Alex. Λαχίς; *Lachis*, an ancient royal city of the Canaanites, whose king, at the request of Adonizedec, king of Jerusalem, joined the alliance against Joshua and the Israelites (Josh. x. 3). The allied forces having been conquered at Bethhoron, and the five kings slain at Makkedah (ver. 16, etc.), Joshua proceeded with the conquest of the land. Makkedah was first taken, then Libnah, and then *Lachish* (ver. 31, 32) though it received aid from Horam, king of Gezer (ver. 33). Afterwards the Israelites marched on Eglon, which was only a very short distance from the former, as they were able to capture it the same day (ver. 35). *Lachish* was situated in the *Shephelah*, or plain of Philistia bordering on the mountains of Judah (Josh. xv. 33), and was allotted, along with Eglon and others, to the tribe of Judah (ver. 39). The situation of *Lachish* on the south-western frontier, within the borders of the warlike Philistines, exposed to the first assaults of the powerful Egyptians, and on the line of march between that country and Syria, made it a strategic post of great importance. It was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 9), and was then, and afterwards, considered one of the principal strongholds of Judah. It would seem also, from an incidental remark of Micah (i. 13), that it was a station for chariots, which might be employed with great effect in the open level plain, but could not be used among the rugged mountains round Jerusalem. When the conspiracy was organized in Jerusalem against the unfortunate king Amaziah, he fled to *Lachish*, probably in the hope of escaping to Egypt; but he was pursued and slain (2 Kings xiv. 19; 2 Chron. xxv. 27).

Lachish was chiefly celebrated from its connection with the campaigns of Sennacherib. Ahaz, king of Judah, being hard pressed by the Syrians, applied for aid to Assyria, and became tributary to that great kingdom (2 Kings xvi. 7; B.C. 740). Hezekiah, his successor, threw off the foreign yoke (xviii. 7); consequently in the fourteenth year of his reign, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, marched against Judah, captured many of its strongholds, and besieged *Lachish*. Hezekiah was afraid, and appeased the conqueror by a large present (ver. 14-16); he also made vigorous preparations for the defence of Jerusalem, and entered into an alliance with Egypt (2 Chron. xxxii.; Is. xxxvi., *seq.*) It would seem that, after the submission of Hezekiah, Sennacherib captured *Lachish*, and marched in force against the Egyptians (Joseph. *Antiq.* x. i. 1; cf. Is. xx. 1-4; see also Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 477). A second time Sennacherib attacked *Lachish*; but whether on his return from his Egyptian campaign, or after he had paid a visit to Nineveh, cannot now be determined. While pressing the siege in person, he detached three of his officers with a large force to Jerusalem, to demand its surrender (2 Kings xviii. 17; 2 Chron. xxxii. 9, *seq.*) The terms they proposed were so humiliating, and the letter they bore was so blasphemous, that the Lord promised to deliver his people by a miracle from the proud conqueror. Before the return of the officers the siege of *Lachish* was raised (2 Kings xix. 8), and Sennacherib marched on Libnah.

There he suddenly heard that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, was advancing against him (ver. 9); but before a battle was fought the terrible calamity predicted by Isaiah came upon him: 'The angel of the Lord smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand' (Is. xxxvii. 36). Sennacherib immediately fled, and the Egyptians represented the miraculous destruction as the work of their own deities, and commemorated the event in their own way (Herod. ii. 141; Rawlinson's *Herod.*, i. 480). It is a remarkable fact that on the tablets and sculptures discovered by Layard in the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh, there is a full delineation and description of the siege of *Lachish*. The city is represented as having double walls, with battlements, towers, and outworks. Round it mounds are thrown up, and the whole force of Assyria—archers, spearmen, slingers, with a reserve of cavalry and chariots—is drawn up in order of battle. A part of the city has fallen, and the conquerors are employed impaling prisoners and dividing the spoil; while the chiefs of the conquered city are brought before the victorious monarch. Above the king's head is the following inscription in cuneiform characters: 'Sennacherib, the mighty king, king of the country of Assyria, sitting on the throne of judgment before the city of *Lachish*—I give permission for its slaughter' (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 148-152). This is one of the most interesting and important confirmations of Scripture history resulting from modern research.

Lachish again rose from its ashes, and was among the chief of Judah's fortresses when Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, invaded Palestine (Jer. xxxiv. 1-7). It existed still, and was re-occupied by the Israelites after the return from captivity (Neh. xi. 30). Eusebius describes *Lachish* as, in his day, a village 'seven miles distant from Eleutheropolis southward as you go to Darom' (ἑπτὰ μίλια ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλθερουπόλεως τὸ Δαρωμ; *Onomast.*, s.v. *Lachis*); and Darom was a small province south of Gaza, near the coast. Eleven miles from Eleutheropolis, on the road to Gaza, are the ruins of *Um Lâkis*, consisting of heaps of stones and mounds of rubbish, with here and there a few broken fragments of marble and granite columns, strewn over a low hill in the midst of a great undulating plain. At the southern base of the hill is an ancient well, round whose mouth are numbers of sarcophagi and other relics of the wealth and taste of former ages. The name at once suggests the royal city of *Lachish* (לָכִישׁ and لַכִּישׁ); the word

أم, 'mother,' is often prefixed to Arabic names);

and the situation corresponds exactly with the incidental notices in the Bible. It is in the plain of Philistia, on the southern border towards Egypt, and only three miles distant from Ajlân, the ancient Eglon (*Handbook for S. and P.*, p. 260). Dr. Robinson objects to this identification chiefly because *Lachish* was a place of great strength, and there are no traces of fortifications now; and because Eusebius and Jerome place *Lachish* seven miles from Eleutheropolis, whereas *Um Lâkis* is eleven. But to this it may be answered that for two thousand years and more *Um Lâkis* has been a ruin, and it has long been the practice in Palestine to carry away the stones from ruined sites for the construction of new buildings. There can be

no doubt about the identity of Ashdod; and though it stood the longest siege on record, it has not a trace of fortifications now (see, however, Robinson *B. R.*, ii. 46; Raumer, 166; Van de Velde, ii. 188). And farther, the distances given in the *Onomasticon* cannot always be relied upon. There can scarcely be a doubt that in the desolate ruin of Um Lakis we have all that remains of the Canaanitish city and Jewish stronghold.—J. L. P.

LACHMANN, KARL KONR. FR. WILH., was born at Brunswick 4th March 1798. His early education he received in his native city. His academical career began at Leipsic, but was principally pursued at Göttingen. During the disturbances of 1814, he for a season forsook study for warfare, but soon returned to his former pursuits without having had an opportunity of signalising his prowess on the field. In 1816 he was appointed to a professorship at Königsberg, where he remained till 1825, when he removed to Berlin. In this city the rest of his life was spent. He died 13th March 1851. The studies to which Lachmann chiefly devoted himself belong to the department of philology; but in this his range was wide. Besides editions of classical authors, he edited some of the remains of early Teutonic literature. In 1831 he issued an edition of the Greek N. T. in a small form, intended to present the text authorised by the most ancient codices. This was followed, in 1842, by the first volume of his larger critical edition of the original text, the result of the united labours of himself and the younger Buttmann. In this he aimed at presenting, as far as possible, the text as it was in the authorised copies of the 4th century, his design being, not to compare various readings with the received text, but to supply a text derived from ancient authorities directly and exclusively. Relinquishing the possibility of ascertaining what was the exact text of the original as it appeared in the autographs of the authors, he set himself to determine the oldest attainable text by means of extant codices. For this purpose he made use of only a very few MSS., viz., A, B, C, P, Q, T, Z for the Gospels; D, G, H for the Epistles, the Ante-Hieronymian Latin versions, and the readings of Origen, Irenæus, Cyprian, Hilary of Poitiers, Lucifer, and, for the Apocalypse, Primarius. Under the Greek text the editor cites his authorities, and at the bottom of the page he gives the Vulgate version edited from two codices of the 6th century, the Fuldensis and the Amiantinus, preserved in the Laurentian library at Florence. The second volume appeared in 1850. Lachmann expounded the principles on which his edition was based in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1830, p. 817-845. On its first appearance, his work, and the principles on which it was based, were subjected to much hostility; but his great services to the cause of N. T. criticism are now universally admitted. That he narrowed unreasonably the sphere of legitimate authority for the sacred text, that he was sometimes capricious in his selection of authorities, and that while he did not always follow his authorities, he at other times followed them even in their manifest errors and blunders, may be admitted. But, after every deduction from the merits of his work is made which justice demands, there will still remain to Lachmann the high praise of having been the first to apply to the editing of the Greek N. T. those sound principles of textual

criticism which can alone secure a correct and trustworthy text. In this he followed, to a considerable extent, the counsel of the illustrious Bentley, uttered more than a century before (whence some, who sought to discredit his efforts, unworthily mocked him as 'Simia Bentleii'); but he owed nothing to Bentley beyond the suggestion of the principles he has followed; and he possessed, and has ably used, materials which in Bentley's time were not to be had (Hertz, *K. Lachmann, Eine Biographie*, Berl. 1851; Tregelles, *Printed Text of the Greek N. T.*, p. 97, ff.)—W. L. A.

LADDER OF TYRE. Josephus, in describing the plain of Ptolemais, states that it is encompassed by mountains—Carmel on the south, Galilee on the east, and that on the north, the highest of them all, is called by the people of the country *The Ladder of the Tyrians* (κλίμαξ Τυρίων, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 10. 2), and is 100 stadia from the city. In 1 Maccab. xi. 59, we also read that 'Simon was made governor of the country from the *Ladder of Tyre* (ἀπὸ τῆς κλίμακος Τύρου) to the borders of Egypt.' The rendering of the Vulgate is here manifestly erroneous (à terminis Tyr, 'from the borders of Tyre'). Such as have visited the plain of Ptolemais can have no difficulty in identifying the 'Ladder of Tyre.' The rich plain is bounded on the north by a rugged mountain-ridge which shoots out from Lebanon and dips perpendicularly into the sea, forming a bold promontory about 300 feet in height (Russegger, 3, 143, 262; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, iii. 727, 814, seq.) The waves beat against the base of the cliff, leaving no passage below. In ancient times a road was carried, by a series of zigzags and staircases, over the summit, to connect the plain of Ptolemais with Tyre,—hence the origin of the name *Scala Tyrionum*, 'Ladder of Tyre.' It was the southern pass into Phœnicia proper, and formed the boundary between that country and Palestine (Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, p. 20; Reland, p. 544). The road still remains, and is the only one along the coast. A short distance from it is a little village called *Nakûrah*, and the pass is now called *Râs en-Nakûrah*, 'the excavated

promontory' (from نَقْر, 'excavavit saxum'), doubtless from the road which has been 'hewn in the rock' (*Handbook*, p. 389; see also Pococke, i. 79; Robinson, *B. R.*, iii. 89; Stanley, 260, 262). Some writers suppose that the promontory called *Râs el-Abiad* (the *Promontorium Album* of Pliny, v. 17), 'White Cape,' is the true Ladder of Tyre (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 346; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 231); but this is at variance with the statement of Josephus, that the Ladder of Tyre is the northern boundary of the plain of Ptolemais. *Râs el-Abiad* is eight miles north of the plain, and is not visible from any part of it; and besides *Râs en-Nakûrah* is just about 100 stadia from Ptolemais, as stated by Josephus. The writer, on visiting the spot, and clambering over the difficult pass, was particularly struck with the appropriateness of the name 'Ladder.'—J. L. P.

LAHAI-ROI, the well בְּאֵר לָחַי (φλέαρ οὐ ἐνὸς ἁνδρὸς ἐλθόν, and τὸ φλέαρ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ; *puleum nomine viventis et videntis*, and *puleum viventis et videntis me*). The incident which gave this well its name is one of those graphic episodes in the history of the early patriarchs which serve at once to throw

a clear light on their lives and characters, and to illustrate the genius of their language, and the peculiarities of their modes of thought and expression. Hagar fled from her imperious mistress, and took refuge in the desert. She sat down, as all travellers are wont to do, by a well. The LORD appeared to her there, and foretold the birth and future history of her son. She knew that she had seen Jehovah, and yet she still lived; though it was then the general belief that no man could see God and live. With joy and fear struggling in her heart she called the Lord, who spoke to her, 'The God of seeing' (אל ראי), for she said, 'Do I even still see (i. e., do I live, ראי אחרי) after seeing' (ראי אחרי); i. e., 'after seeing' God; or 'after my vision' of God. And then, as an expression of profound gratitude, she named the well *Ber-Lahai-roi*, that is, 'The well of seeing (God) and living,' or 'the well where God was seen by one who still lives.' The Hebrew will not bear the interpretation given to it by Clarke, 'A well to the Living One who seeth me'; and by such a rendering, besides, we miss the spirit and point of the passage. Equally untenable is the conjecture of Gesenius in his *Thesaurus* (see Kalisch, Clarke, and Murphy, *ad loc.*) The well was situated 'between Kadesh and Bered,' 'in the way to Shur.' The exact site is not known, but it was probably south of Kadesh, in or near the great valley of Arabah, and not far distant from the borders of Edom. It afterwards became a favourite camping-ground of Isaac (Gen. xxiv. 62; xxv. 11)—J. L. P.

LAHMAM (לחמם; *Maxēs*; Alex. *Λαμς*; *Leheman*), a town of Judah situated in the Shephelah, and apparently not far distant from Egion (Josh. xv. 40). It is only once mentioned in the Bible, and was probably a small village. The name does not occur in any other writer, and the site is unknown. The close similarity of final מ and D has given rise to a various reading in this name, some MSS. having לחמם and others לחמם. De Rossi says, 'Veteres omnes interpretes legunt per D, uno Vulgato excepto, qui habet *Leheman*. Sed in Cod. meo 650 legitur *Leemas*' (*Var. Lect. Vd. Test.*, *ad loc.*) *Lahmas* may be the true reading.—J. L. P.

LAHMI (לחמי; Sept. *τὸν Λαχμὶ*; Alex. *τ. Αεμελ*), the brother of Goliath of Gath, slain by Elhanan (1 Chron. xx. 5). [*ELHANAN*.]

LAISH (לַיִשׁ; 'strong,' or 'a lion,' as in Is.

xxx. 6; *Λαϊσ*, also in Alex. *Λαῖς* or *Λαῖ*; *Lais*). 1. An ancient Phœnician city, occupied by a colony of Sidonians, situated in the rich valley between Hermon and Lebanon, and at one of the great fountains of the Jordan. The earliest name given to it is *Leshem* (לֶשֶׁם; *Λαῖς*; Alex. *Λεσέμ*), which is probably a different form or inflection of Laish (Josh. xix. 47). The occupation of this place by the Sidonians is easily accounted for. Sidon was a commercial city. Situated on the coast, with only a narrow strip of plain beside it, and the bare and rocky side of Lebanon impending over it, a large and constant supply of food had to be brought from a distance. The plain around Laish is one of the richest in Syria, and the enterprising Phœnicians took possession of it, built a town, and

placed in it a large colony of labourers, expecting to draw from it an unfailing supply of corn and fruit. Josephus calls this plain 'the great plain of the city of Sidon' (*Antiq.* v. 3. 1). A road was made across the mountains to it at an immense cost, and still forms one of the main roads from the sea-coast to the interior. Strong castles were built to protect the road and the colony. Kulat esh-Shukif, one of the strongest fortresses in Syria, stands on a commanding hill over the place where the ancient road crosses the river Leontes; and it is manifestly of Phœnician origin. So also the great castles of Banias, four miles east of Laish, and Hunin, about six miles west of it, were founded by the Phœnicians, as is evident from the character of their architecture (*Handbk.*, pp. 447, 444; Robinson, *B.R.*, iii. 50, 52, 403, 371). It is most interesting to discover, after the lapse of more than three thousand years, distinct traces of the wealth and enterprise of the Phœnicians around the site and fertile plain of Laish. For an account of the capture of the city by the Danites, its subsequent history and present state, see the article *DAN*. Laish became chiefly celebrated, under its new name 'DAN,' as the northern border city of Palestine; and one of the two seats of Jeroboam's idolatrous worship (Deut. xxxiv. 1; 1 Kings xii. 29).

2. (*Λαϊσά*; *Laisa*.) A place mentioned in Is. x. 30. Isaiah, in describing the advance of the Assyrian host upon Jerusalem, enumerates Laish with a number of other towns on the north of the city. It is not quite certain whether the writer is here relating a real event, or detailing a prophetic vision, or giving a solemn warning under a striking allegory; but however this may be, the description is singularly graphic, and the line of march is pointed out with remarkable minuteness and precision. Aiath, Migron, and Michmash are passed; the deep ravine which separates the latter from Geba is then crossed; Ramah sees and is afraid, 'Gibeah of Saul is fled.' The writer now, with great dramatic effect, changes his mode of description. To terror and flight he appends an exclamation of alarm; representing one place as crying, another as listening, and a third as responding—'Lift up thy voice daughter of Gallim! *Hearken Laishah!* Alas poor Anathoth!' The words *הַקִּישִׁי לַיִשָּׁה* are rendered in the A. V., and by Grotius,

'Cause it (thy voice) to be heard unto Laish'—that is, apparently, to the northern border city of Palestine; but the Hebrew word will scarcely bear this interpretation, and the beauty of the passage is marred by it. Laishah was doubtless a small town on the line of march near Anathoth (see Lowth, Umbreit, Alexander, Gesenius, *ad loc.*) The name appears to have disappeared entirely, and the site is unknown. There is a *Laisa* (*Ἐλεασά*) mentioned in 1 Maccab. ix. 5, where Judas encamped; but we cannot tell whether it was identical with that of Isaiah, nor where it was situated.—J. L. P.

LAKES. [*PALESTINE*.]

LAKUM (לָקוּם; *Δωδύμ*; Alex. *Λακούμ*, and *ἔως δρυος*; *Lecum*), a town of Naphtali, near the Jordan, but its exact position is not defined (Josh. xix. 33). The name may perhaps indicate that it was a fortress so placed as to defend some import-

ant road or pass, if we derive it from the Arabic root *لَم*, 'to stop up a way.' One reading of the *Cod. Alex.* might be understood to favour this view; it renders the Hebrew עַל־לָקוֹם by *εως ακρου*. Perhaps some place near or at the important pass of Jacob's Bridge may be referred to.—J. L. P.

LAMB. This term is employed in the A. V. to express various Hebrew words.

1. *שֶׁה*. Used to denote the young either of sheep or of goats. Thus, in Deut. xiv. 4, Ye shall eat the ox, the sheep *שֶׁה*, and the goat *שֶׁה* (*ἀμνὸν ἐκ προβάτων, καὶ χίμαρον ἐξ αἰγῶν*, LXX.) In 1 Sam. xv. 3 it is used collectively, 'slay ox and sheep,' A. V. The marginal reading of the A. V. is frequently *kid*, Gen. xxii. 7; Exod. xii. 3; xiii. 13; 1 Sam. xvii. 34. In Is. vii. 25 it is rendered in the A. V. '*lesser cattle*.'

2. *טֶלֶה*, a lamb under a year old, occurs only in Is. lxxv. 25; and 1 Sam. vii. 9, 'a sucking lamb,' *טֶלֶה חָלֵב*; *ἀρνὴ γαλαθηγόνον*.

3. *כֶּבֶשֶׂת*, also *כֶּבֶשֶׂה*, a lamb, male or female, from one to three years old. Lambs of this age were generally used for sacrifice. In the case of a sin offering, a female without blemish (Lev. iv. 32); for cleansing a leper, two he-lambs and one ewe-lamb (Lev. xiv. 10); at the morning and evening sacrifice (Exod. xxix. 38), and at all the great feasts (Num. xxviii. 11; xxix. 2, 13-37; Lev. xxiii. 19). On extraordinary occasions they were sacrificed in large numbers, as at the dedication of Solomon's Temple (1 Chron. xxix. 21), 'a thousand lambs;' at Hezekiah's purification of the Temple (2 Chron. xxix. 32), 'two hundred lambs;' at Josiah's passover (2 Chron. xxxv. 7), 'lambs and kids, thirty thousand.'

4. *כֶּבֶשׂ*. Often connected in the plural with *אֵילִים*, *rams* (Deut. xxxii. 14; Is. xxxiv. 6; 2 Kings iii. 4; Ezek. xxxix. 18), and probably means 'wethers.'

5. *אֶמֶר*. The Chaldee term used in Ezra vi. 9, 17; vii. 17. In the Targums *אֶמֶר* is used for the Hebrew *כֶּבֶשׂ*.—J. E. R.

LAMECH (*לֶמֶךְ*; Sept. *Λαμέχ*). 1. The son of Methusael, fifth in descent from Cain (Gen. iv. 18-24). He is recorded as having married two wives, Adah and Zillah, and in this we have probably a note of the origin of polygamy. In his family the arts flourished; for, though one of his sons followed the nomadic pastoral life, two others, Jubal and Tubalcain, are mentioned, the one as the inventor of two musical instruments, the Kinnor and the Ugab [MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS], the other as the introducer of the metallurgic arts. Jewish tradition increases the number of his sons to seventy-seven (Joseph. *Antiq.* 1. 2. 2); and makes his daughter Naamah 'the mistress of lamentations and songs' (*מִרְתַּת קִינִין*, *Targ. Jon.* in loc.), after whom all the world wondered, yea, even the sons of God, and from whom evil spirits were born (*Midrash Ruth and Zohar*). In Lamech, also, we have to recognise the Father of Poetry; for his chant, which the sacred writer has preserved, is the oldest piece

of rhythmical composition in the world. It may be rendered thus:

And Lamech said to his wives:—

Adah and Zillah hear my voice,

Wives of Lamech give ear to my speech

A man for my wounding I slay

And a youth for my bruise.

For sevenfold shall Cain be avenged,

But Lamech seventy times seven.

We regard this as the chant of a fierce and lawless spirit exulting in the possession of arms, the preparation of which from iron had been discovered in his family, and boasting of the terrible vengeance which he would take on all who should injure him. It seems to be generally held by interpreters that the possessive affix 'my,' in ver. 24, is to be taken objectively, so that 'my wounding' is equivalent to 'the wounding of me,' and 'my bruise,' to 'the bruising of me.' There is a difference of opinion as to whether the verb *הִרְנִיתִי*, rendered *slay*, should be taken as a preterite or as a future. If it be taken as the former, the meaning will be that Lamech had *already* avenged himself on the person who had wounded him; so the LXX., the Vulg. and the Syr. versions, which are closely followed by the English of the A. V. If it be taken as the latter, the language is that of boastful threatening as to what Lamech would do if any should dare even to lay a stroke on him. This latter is preferred by the great mass of recent commentators, as well as by Calvin, Piscator, and Le Clerc, amongst the older, and Ibn Ezra among the Jewish interpreters. Calvin says, 'Mihi vera et simplex videtur esse eorum sententia, qui verbum præteriti temporis in futurum resolvunt, et indefinite accipiunt: ac si jactaret sibi satis esse roboris et violentiæ ad fortissimum quenque hostem occidendum.' On this ground Calvin translates the word by 'occidero,' *I will slay*. It seems more in accordance, however, with the idiom of our language, to render it in the definite present, as expressive of what was the fixed resolution and purposed habit of the speaker. That the Heb. preterite (so-called) may be legitimately so rendered, the following remarks of Ewald will sufficiently show:—'The perfect is used . . . (3.) Of actions which in reality are neither past nor present, but which the intention or the imagination of the speaker contemplates as being already as good as done, therefore as perfectly unconditional and certain, when, in modern languages, at least, the more energetic definite present would be used instead of the future.'—*Heb. Gr.*, sec. 262, Nicholson's Transl., p. 136.

As this passage appears in the A. V. it is so rendered as to convey the idea that Lamech's language is that of penitence or of remorseful fear. But this seems entirely alien from the spirit of the passage. The language is not that of a man who has been betrayed, through sudden passion, into an act of murderous violence which he deplors, and the vengeance due to which he dreads: rather is it that of one who neither fears God nor regards man, and who, confident in his strength and his arms, boasts, that if any shall dare to touch him, he will take upon him a summary vengeance seventy times greater than that by which the life of Cain was protected. Whether this was uttered in the prospect of some danger which his irregular habits had brought on him, and of which his wives were afraid, as Vatablus, Munster, Rivet, and some others,

think;* or whether, as good old Ainsworth suggests, 'that for violating the law of marriage by taking two wives, God vexed him with a disquiet life between them; that they lived in discontent and emulation one with another, and both of them with their husband, so in his wrath he uttered these words unto them to repress their strife' (*Annot. in loc.*); or whether these are merely a 'Thrasionic jactation' (to use an expression of Rivet's) called forth by his savage delight at finding himself possessed of deadly weapons, as Herder suggests (*Geist d. Heb. Poes.*, part I. p. 344), and as Rosenmüller, Knobel, and others, approve, may be left to the judgment of each reader.

2. The son of Methusehah, and father of Noah (*Gen. v. 25, 29*).—W. L. A.

LAMENTATIONS, BOOK OF, in the Hebrew Canon **אֵיכָה**, 'O how . . .' (a plaintive exclamation)†; in the Talmud and later authorities **קִינֹת**, † elegies, dirges; LXX. **Θρήνοι** *Threnoi*; Vulg. *Threni*, *id est Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophete*; Jerome, *Lamentationes quae Cynoth hebraice inscribuntur*; Syr. **ܐܝܟܐ ܕܝܪܡܝܐ**, etc.:

one of the Hagiographa (**כתובים**) in the Masoretic Code (the third of the five Megilloth, between Ruth and Ecclesiastes), but in the LXX., Vulg., and our Bibles—which follow their example—placed after the Book of Jeremiah. It is a collection of five elegies sung on the ruins of Zion; and the fall of Judea, the destruction of the Sanctuary, the exile of the people, and all the terrors of sword, fire, and famine in the city of Jerusalem are the principal themes upon which they turn in ever new variations.

The first chapter opens, in the most striking manner, with the picture of Jerusalem, the widowed queen herself, bereft of her inhabitants and of her crown, sitting alone in the vast stillness of night, § and weeping, bitterly weeping: without comfort, without friends—for these have turned foes. Her children are far away, in exile, ever hunted, ever

overtaken. And she remembers all her former glory now in the depths of her woe (1-7). *—Yet, it was her own sin that brought her down so 'wondrously.' . . . 'Behold, O God, my woe,' she bursts out suddenly (9):—The enemy is in the very Sanctuary, famine stares in her face, she humbles herself before the chance passers by, appeals to them for pity, asks them whether they saw in the wide wide world a grief like unto hers, which the Lord has wrought in the fulness of His day of ire. Fire above, a snare below, a yoke on her neck. . . . 'Over these things do I weep.

. . . my children are destroyed . . . and no comforter' (10-16). She wrings her hands in vain—foes all around (17). But 'the Lord is just, she has rebelled,† she does not complain of His judgment; only let 'all the peoples hear her pitiful wail.' But nay!—even her beloved friends 'mock her' (18, 19). And in the bitterness of her upheaved heart, and in the darkness of her woe, she turns to Him who has caused all this—'sword without, death within.' She does not ask for mercy, but she cries out for vengeance. . . . 'For many are my groans, and my heart is faint' (20-22). Commiseration for her own state—the saddest phase of suffering—confession of her own guilt, and the appeal to God's justice in avenging her on her foes on the score of *their* sins:—these form the loosely-connected but leading thoughts of the first chapter.

Chap. ii. again intones the **אֵיכָה**, asking in sad wonderment how the Lord could have thus laid low the splendour of Zion? . . . forgetful of 'His own footstool on the day of His wrath' (1). The strongholds are fallen, His very tabernacle is sunken to the ground; king and priest in exile—no law, no prophet; old men and young maidens sit on the ground in silence, ashes on their heads, and the babes pour out their young souls on their mothers' breasts (8-12). To what—the writer suddenly breaks the weird description—shall I compare thee, O daughter of Jerusalem, to what liken thee, how comfort thee? . . . 'For *deep as the sea* is thy wound; who shall heal thee? (13). And the cause—false prophets' false burdens, to which thou foolishly hast lent thine ear (14). Oh, see how the passers-by clap their hands, shake their heads, mock and scoff! . . . But Up, thou widowed city of sorrows! Up and cry unto Him whose hand has wrought all this shame and all this misery . . . cry unto Him in the night, and rest not and cease not, and cry out thy whole heart before Him, lift up thy hands and show Him the corpses of the suckling babes slain by hunger at the top of every street! (19). Let him behold—oh horror!—tender mothers feasting on the offspring that has lain under their own hearts. Show Him His own Sanctuary . . . and amid its ashes and broken stones lie slain His priest and His prophet, and the streets run red with the blood of boy and grayhead (20). In truth He has called together, as to a solemn assembly, every terror and every horror. He has slaughtered and not spared. No remnant, no fugitive, not one of the precious children saved—no comfort, no hope . . . the enemy has consumed them all—all.—

It would perhaps be more difficult to indicate a

* Vatablus paraphrases the passage thus:—'Si a quoquam etiam fortissimo viro, vel adolescente qui viribus valet, vulnus acciperem, illum interficerem; valeo enim viribus. Non est, igitur, quod mihi aut liberis vestris timeatis, O vos uxores meae; and adds, 'Videbat enim uxores suas tristes.'

† 'Three prophets have used the word **אֵיכָה** with reference to Israel: Moses, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. To what are they to be likened? To three bridesmen **שְׁרֵיבֵינֵי** = *Μυητῆρες*) who have seen the afterwards widowed wife in three different stages. The first has seen her in her opulence and her pride, and he said, 'Oh, how shall I bear alone your overbearing and your strife?' (Deut. i. 2). The second has seen her in her dissipation and dissoluteness, and he said, 'Oh, how has she become a harlot!' (Is. i. 21). And the third has seen her in her utter desolation, and he said, 'Oh, how does she sit solitary!' (Lam. i. 1). Introduction to *Echa Rabathi*.

‡ Cf. 2 Sam. i. 17-18; 2 Chron. xxxv. 25; Jer. ix. 9, etc., the name subsequently given to the body of liturgical poems said and sung in the synagogue on the 9th of Ab, the double anniversary of the destruction of the Temple.

§ 'When wailing sounds loudest and goes furthest, and whosoever hears it must needs weep with them who wail' (Talmud and Midrash to this v.)

* Dante's '*Nessun maggior dolore che ricordarsi del tempo felice nella miseria*' (*Inf.*, canto v.), reads almost like a reflection on this passage.

† '*Mea culpa, mea maxima culpa.*'

'running thought' in this than in any other elegy. The most heartrending, most desperate pictures of terror and woe are conjured up one after the other, without any perceptible logical sequence; and the ideas, as they come and go and return almost uncontrolled, have something of the ghastly, mechanical rocking to and fro of the body, which at times accompanies the wild wail or the tearless sorrow of women. The only new features of this section consist in the direct charge against the false prophets, and in the utterly crushed state of mind, which does not ask for vengeance any longer—but for mercy.

Chap. iii. brings us face to face with the writer himself. In sentences broken, abrupt, like sharp pangs, or as a man would speak in the midst of a shipwreck or a battlefield, he tells us his own tale of woe; his fluctuations between despair and hope; his cries and his prayers mixed up in wild confusion. '*I am the man who has seen the misery*,' he intones his song. His flesh and his bone have been made old in his sufferings (4); he has been set in dark places (6); laden with chains (7); and his prayer was 'shut out' (8); Then he said in the fulness of his affliction, and of his wormwood, and of his gall: Lost is the hope and the strength in the Lord (18, 19). . . . Yet once more he rouses himself, 'Thus do I answer unto mine heart, and therefore do I hope again. The loving-kindness of God has not ceased. His mercies are not over altogether—they are new every morning.' . . . Let me bear it in silence; the evil comes from Him who also sends the good. He sent punishments—just punishments; *for we have sinned*. Let us investigate our ways, and let us 'lift up our hands unto God in the heavens' (18-41). . . . But verily, if we were sinning men—*Thou hast not been a forgiving God; for Thou hast slain and hast not pitied* (42, 43). Through Thee our eyes run down unceasingly, like unto rivers (48).—And in the midst of the sights around him his own sufferings rush again upon his mind with increased power. How the dungeon closed upon him, water flowed over his head:—Buried alive. But he called upon the Lord from out his darkness, and He said, 'Fear not.' He has fought his fight, and freed him from the cruel hands of his adversaries and his enemies! (60). And the milder mood into which his mind was softening down, vanishes suddenly at the vivid recollection of what they did to him, and his whole soul presses itself into one glowing, passionate curse upon their heads. . . . 'Pursue them with ire, and destroy them from under the heavens of God!' . . .

Chap. iv. recommences with a sad survey, as it were, of the scene all around—the place of desolation and ruin, where the precious holy stones, together with the more precious children, lie strewed about like vile pottery (1, 2). The ghastly sights before described: the babes dying for want of food and drink; those fed on dainties once, feeding on the refuse of the street (3-9). ('Better for them that fell through the sword than those that fell through famine'); babes stretch out their little hands for bread, and there is none to give it them; women, 'pitiful women,' boiling their own children—the only food left! The foundations of Zion are burnt. Who of all kings and peoples had ever even hoped to enter triumphantly into the gates of Jerusalem? Through the sins, the overwhelming sins, of her prophets

and priests has all this come to pass (13). And all is over now. The king led away in fetters, the last ray of national existence gone; and you rejoice, daughter of Edom! (21). But remember this: '*the sin of Zion is expiated*.' Her cup was full to the brim, and she has emptied it to the dregs. . . . Edom, thy turn next! (22). . . .

A new and most remarkable feature is presented in this elegy. The king, 'the anointed of God,' under whose shadow 'we had hoped to live among the peoples,' is mentioned here most emphatically. This seems to express the last stage of transactions with the Babylonians. The proposal to submit to the sovereignty, but to retain their own national ruler, subject and tributary to the conqueror, like other small satraps of his wide realm, had very likely been made at the last moment, as the last possible means to avert further hostilities. That it was answered by the king's being taken prisoner and carried away, the writer does not seem to regret so much on the king's account—of whom he says as little as possible throughout—as on that of the now utterly trodden-out nationality. Yet there is one weird comfort. Judæa has lost everything, 'she has emptied her cup;' not even any more is exile to be dreaded—for there is none left to be exiled. Her sins were visited most terribly and most fully upon her; her enemies' turn must come now. If she has sinned, her enemy has sinned worse. . . . Daughter of Uz, rejoice and be glad, the cup is going round, 'and thou shalt drink and be drunken, and thou shalt be sick.'

Chap. v. (*Oratio Jeremia prophete*, Vulg.) differs from the rest considerably in tone and style. A certain collected calm, to which the horror in the midst of the catastrophe has given way, pervades it. There are no more outbursts of mad despair, no more cries for vengeance, no more heartrending wails for mercy; but only a mournful enumeration of all that the nation has to undergo as the hated slave of the conqueror, interspersed with a few brief notices of the scenes that accompanied the downfall of the 'crown of our head' (10-15). All the splendour of the days of yore is now gone from Zion. There are no old men in the gates, no young men with their songs:—'Woe unto us ($\text{לָנוּ} \text{נָא} \text{וָאֵל} = \text{of woe!}$), we have sinned.' On the Mount of Zion, which is desolate, jackals walk about (15-18);* and from

* We cannot refrain from adding one of the most striking talmudical passages in reference to this verse. 'One day the doctors (R. Gamliel, R. Eliezer ben Asaryah, R. Joshua, and R. Akiba) went up to Jerusalem. When they arrived at the Mount of Zophim they tore their garments. When they arrived at the Mount of the Temple, they saw a jackal come out from the Holy of Holies, and they all began to weep—except R. Akiba, who smiled. They asked him why he smiled? He replied by asking them why they wept? Why, they told him, upon the place of which it is said, 'the stranger which approacheth it shall die' (Num. iii. 38), we see fulfilled the passage (Lam. v. 18), 'On the Mount of Zion which is desolate, jackals walk about:—and we shall not weep?' And he replied, 'This is why I smile: it is written (Is. xviii. 2), 'I take just witnesses, Uriah the priest, and Zechariah.' What connection is there between Uriah of the first

out the midst of that vast stillness of ruin the poet's heart yearns towards God. The epilogue—half hope, half plaint—is addressed to Him who is everlasting, beyond all earthly changes (19). He may yet renew the days of yore (20). 'Unless'—and with this shrill discord, in accordance, however, with the tenor of the entire cycle, the book concludes—'unless thou hast utterly rejected us, and art wroth against us in the extreme.'*

The contents of the five elegies before us are briefly this:—The desolation of the city and its mournful silence in the first; the destruction of the city and the Temple in the second; the individual miseries of the writer in the third; once more the whole calamity compressed into one loud cry in the fourth; and the sighs and the hopes of the now rejected people in the fifth. These are the sounds and images impressed upon our minds; and through the whole goes one deep, wailing melody, which in the different chapters appears as in different, although not exactly definable, symphonic movements, over all that is lost—and all is lost.

There can hardly be any doubt as to the time to which these threnodies refer. A brief glance at the corresponding portions in the books of Kings and Chronicles demonstrates to evidence that they speak, one and all, of the whole period from the beginning of the last siege by Nebuchadnezzar to its terrible end. This has also, from the LXX. and the Midrash downwards, been the almost unanimous opinion of investigators (Carpzov, Eichhorn, Jahn, Bertholdt, Börmelius, Horrer, Riegler, Pareau, etc., etc.) It would seem to be equally clear that these poems belong, broadly speaking, to no particular phase of the great epoch of terrors, but that, written probably within a very brief space of time (more especially does this appear to be the case with the first four), they portray indiscriminately some woeful scene that presented itself 'at the head of every street,' or give way to a wild passionate outcry of terror, misery, despair, hope, prayer, revenge, as these in vehement succession swept over the poet's soul.

Yet it has been suggested (and the text has been strained to the utmost to prove it) that the successive elegies are the pictures of successive events portrayed in song; that, in fact, the Lamentations are a *descriptive* threnody—a drama in which, scene after scene, the onward march of dread fate is described, intermixed with plaints, reflections, prayers, consolations, such as the chorus would

and Zechariah of the second Temple? But it is also written (Zech. viii. 4), 'Again will old men and old women sit in the streets of Jerusalem.' As long as the prophecy about the first Temple was not accomplished, I feared lest that of the second might likewise not come to pass; now I have seen the first part fulfilled unto the last letter, I doubt no longer that the second also will be accomplished in its day. And his companions said unto him, 'Akiba, thou hast comforted us! Akiba, thou hast comforted us! May God comfort us! Amen' (Maccoth xxiv. a).

* In the Hebrew Bible (MSS. and printed), the last verse but one is found repeated at the end, in order that the book might not close with the dire sentence of condemnation. The same pious dread of closing with ominous words has caused the repetition of the penultimate verse in Isaiah, Malachi, and Ecclesiastes.

utter in grave and measured rhythms, accompanied by the sighs and tears to which the spectators would be moved by the irredeemably doomed heroes and actors. Thus, for instance, it has been maintained that the first chapter speaks of Jehoiachin's capture and exile (Horrer, Jahn, Riegler, etc.), upon which there is this to be observed, that a mere glance at 1 Kings xxiv. shews that such scenes as are described in this first elegy (famine, slaughter of youths, etc.) do not in the least agree with the time and circumstances of Jehoiachin, while they do exactly correspond with the following chapter of Kings, in which the reign under Zedekiah, with all its accompanying horrors, to the downfall of the city and empire, are related with the severe calmness of the historian, or rather the dry minuteness of the annalist. Neither can we, for our own part, see that 'gradual change in the state of the city' which De Wette sees in the consecutive chapters; nor can we trace the gradual progress in the mind of the people—that is, in the first two chapters, heaviest, for ever inconsolable, grief; in the third, the turning-point (the classical *peripety*); in the fourth and fifth, the mind that gradually collects itself, and finally finds comfort in fervent prayer—which is Ewald's ingenious suggestion, to which Keil assents, as far as 'a general inner progress of the poems' goes. To our, and, we take it, to every unbiased view, every one of the elegies is complete, as far as it goes, in itself, each treating the same, or almost the same, scenes and thoughts in ever new modes. In this respect they might to a certain degree be likened to the 'In Memoriam' and the second movement of the 'Eroica'—the highest things to which we can at all compare them in the varied realms of song. The general state of the nation, as well as of the poet, seem not much different from the first to the last, or, at all events, the fourth poem. It would certainly appear, moreover, as if, so far from forming a consistent and progressive whole, consciously leading onward to harmony and supreme peace, they had not even been composed in the order in which they are before us now. Thus, e.g., the fourth chapter is certainly more akin to the second than to the third. Accident, more than a settled plan, must have placed them in their present order. But the history of this collection and redaction is one so obscure that we will not even venture on a new speculation on it.

And here it is necessary to notice a peculiar statement of Jerome, which, though a 'crassus error' (Calvin), palpable at first sight, has yet found its stout defenders until very recently. We speak of his notion (ad Zach. xii. 11) that this Book of Lamentations on the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, was the lament which Jeremiah is said, in 2 Chron. xxxv., to have lamented on the death of Josiah, and which was sung by all the singing men and singing women in their קִינֹת or lamentations, and which are written קִינֹת, among the Elegies, i. e., among the collection of national threnodies extant at the time of Chronicles. Josephus relates, in his account of Josiah's death (*Antiq.* x. 5. 1), in a similar manner, that Jeremiah composed ἐπικήδειον μέλος, 'a dirge' on the king's death, ὃ καὶ μέχρι νῦν διαμένει, 'which is still extant.' What, indeed, is more natural than that Jeremiah, the 'Prophet of Wailings,' should have composed many mourning songs in the dark times

in which his lot was cast, and that he should, more especially as a kind of laureate, have composed a dirge on the death of his king? Nothing, indeed, but over-hastiness (though we are loth to charge the writer with it) could have caused Jerome so to misunderstand either Josephus' *μεγὰρ οὖν*, and to overstep, by an ill-advised addition of his own, the boundaries of the traditional illustration embodied in the Targum, *ad loc.* ('and as the lament over Josiah*'), to such a degree as to identify a single dirge on the death of a king—who, be it well remembered, was buried in the sepulchres of his fathers with all regal honours—with our five elegies wailing over the terrors to which the conquered city is a prey, the fire and famine that rage in the streets, the sanctuary that is razed to the ground, the whole nation that is nearly destroyed, and the king who is in exile.

How men like Ussher, Dathe, Michaelis, De Wette, could even for one moment have defended so obvious a mistake, we are utterly unable to comprehend. The wish to find all documents mentioned in Scripture in our canon ought not to have been father to such a monstrosity. True, it is given up now by the foremost of its former defenders; and only a few minor writers still hold that although our book does not exactly seem to befit the occasion of Josiah's death, yet it was written at that time as a prophecy on the future fate of Jerusalem—'*quod minime probabile est*,' we can only add with Calvin (*Prel. ad Lam.*)

We may be brief on the question of authorship, which, in fact, has been touched upon already in some degree in the foregoing. It is by common consent assigned to Jeremiah the prophet. The Talmud, embodying the earliest traditions, has: 'Jeremiah wrote his Book, the Book of Kings, and the Lamentations' (*Baba Bathra* 15, a).† Follow-

* כַּמְסַפֵּד יִאֲשִׁיָּהּ.

† Thenius, an otherwise estimable writer, has, in his Introduction to Lamentations, inaugurated a new and improved system of quoting from the Talmud, viz., '*Talmud Babylon.*' בְּפִרְקֵי תַלְמוּד.

Tract. אֵין חֻלְקִין נִמְנָה בְּבֵא בְּתָרָא Fol. י"ב. Considering that the veriest tyro in talmudical literature is aware that the current editions of the Talmud, wherever and whenever printed, are invariably printed with exactly the same number of pages in every tome, and exactly the same words on every side of every page, the inventor of the new system has only succeeded in reducing himself *ad absurdum*. To quote in any other way than by the mere indication of the page (as may be learned from the very commentaries on both margins), betrays about the same knowledge of so-called rabbinical literature as Henricus Seynensis did with his '*Rabbinus Talmud.*' Yet this is not all. Thenius goes so far as to charge Wette, Hävernick, and Keil, with having, in their quotation of the same passage, suppressed (*i.e.*, not expressly stated) the fact of the Babyl. Talm. having been first redacted at the end of the fifth century. We protest against the notion that every writer is bound to enlarge upon the literary history of every book he is quoting from; especially if this book be the Talmud, the date of which may be learned in every common manual. Whether De Wette, Hävernick, and Keil, know how to read the Talmud or not, we do not know, and it does not con-

cern us here. But they are perfectly authorised to use an authenticated and very common talmudical dictum bearing on their subject; everybody being agreed that the Talmud, whatever the date of its final redaction, embodies some of the earliest and most genuine traditions. Thenius evidently confounds writing with redacting. He does not surely hold that certain books of the Canon were first written at the time when they were first redacted! The terms 'ר' and 'ע' moreover, which occur in the other passage (wrongly quoted by him as '*a. a. O.*' since it is not to be found 'ר', b, but 'ב', a), have a very different meaning from the one upon which he bases his final conclusions. See TALMUD.

Besides this outer evidence, the inner evidence for Jeremiah's authorship is so striking that, for aught we know, it may have given rise to those very traditions. The elegies are written in his time by one who has lived through all the misery which they describe. The personal references to Jeremiah's own fate, such as we know it from his book of prophecies and kings, are not wanting.† What is more, his poetical and prophetic individuality

cern us here. But they are perfectly authorised to use an authenticated and very common talmudical dictum bearing on their subject; everybody being agreed that the Talmud, whatever the date of its final redaction, embodies some of the earliest and most genuine traditions. Thenius evidently confounds writing with redacting. He does not surely hold that certain books of the Canon were first written at the time when they were first redacted! The terms 'ר' and 'ע' moreover, which occur in the other passage (wrongly quoted by him as '*a. a. O.*' since it is not to be found 'ר', b, but 'ב', a), have a very different meaning from the one upon which he bases his final conclusions. See TALMUD.

* This agreement and disagreement between

LXX. and Vulg. is easily explained by their having both had one and the same current oral Haggadic tradition before their minds' eye, and having rendered it according to their individual recollections. † Cf. Lam. ii. 11, and iii., with Jer. xv. 15, seq.; xvii. 13, seq.; xx. 7; Lam. iii. 14 with Jer. xx. 7; iii. 64-66 with Jer. xvii. 18; v. with iv. 17-20. As in the prophecies, so here the iniquities of the people are given as the cause of the exile and the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, cf. i. 5, 8, 14, 22; iii. 39, 42; iv. 6, 22, v. 16 with Jer. xiii. 22-26; xiv. 7; xvi. 10, ff.; xvii. 1, ff., their sinful trust in false prophets and iniquitous priests, their relying on the safety of Jerusalem, and on the aid of powerless and treacherous allies, etc. etc.

pervades the whole so unmistakably, that it seems hardly necessary to refer to the numerous parallel passages, adduced by Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Keil, De Wette, Jahn, Bleek, and others. If contents, spirit, manner, individuality, are any guarantee at all, then Jeremiah is the author, and sole author of the book before us. He even seems to refer to his other book (cf. ii. 14; Jer. xiv. 13). But were any further proof needed, we would certainly find it in the very diction and phraseology common to both works, and peculiar to them alone.* Indeed, not one investigator in ancient or modern times has doubted the fact upon which tradition speaks with such rare unanimity. Except Hardt, who, for reasons of his own, ascribed the five different elegies to Daniel, Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, and king Jehonja respectively, and, in our own time, Conz and Thenius. The latter holds that only Lam. ii. and iv. belong to Jeremiah (the former written in Palestine, the latter in Egypt), the three others, however, to have been written by Jeremiah's contemporaries and disciples. His reasons for this assumption are, that Jeremiah *could* not have treated the same subject five times; that 2 and 4 are different from 1, 3, 5, which are less worthy of Jeremiah's pen; that the three latter do not quite fit Jeremiah's own circumstances; and, finally, because there is a difference in the alphabetical structure (see below) of 1, and of 2-4. These objections to Jeremiah's exclusive authorship seem about as tenable as Hardt's Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, and consorts. The first two points are not worth consideration; the third is answered by the simple proposition that they are poems, and not a historical narrative which we have before us, and that therefore a certain license must be given to the poet in the use of broad similes in his generalising, and in his putting himself sometimes in the place of the whole people as its spokesman and chief mourner. And if, finally, the structure differs in 1 from 2 and 4, then it may as well be asked why 3, which is not supposed to be written by Jeremiah, is like 2 and 4, which are allowed to be written by him? If somebody has imitated the structure in 3, why has it not been also imitated in 1 and 5? A further refutation of this attempt to take away two-fifths of Jeremiah's authorship—supported by no investigator as we said—has been given by Ewald, and we have indeed only mentioned it for the sake of completeness.—It has likewise been urged that the book is found placed among the Kethubim and not among the prophets, and that it bears no name; that consequently there seems to have been a doubt in the minds of the redactors of the Canon as to the authorship. But the fact is that this Book of Lamentations, which nowhere pretends to be a book of prophecy, which nowhere predicts events which will happen, but describes those which have happened—in words, it is true, well worthy of the

'inspired' writer,*—and nowhere speaks in the name, or reports a message of, God, belongs by rights to the Hagiographa. That, further, the redactors of the Canon did not think fit to inscribe the book with Jeremiah's name, proves less than nothing. There is not the remotest doubt about the unanimous belief before, during, and after their time, in Jeremiah's authorship (cf., e.g., quite apart from the express statements, the ingenious Haggadic parallels between Isaiah's verses of comfort and Jeremiah's verses of woe, alphabetically arrayed in Echa Rabbathi and elsewhere); and it might as well be called in question whether they believed in Moses' authorship of the Pentateuch, since they did not state this as their opinion expressly at the beginning of the book.

Whether Jeremiah himself or Baruch (as Bunsen, after Rashi, assumes) wrote out the different chapters, and whether Jeremiah, or his disciples (Ewald), finished it in Palestine or Egypt, are questions on which we cannot enlarge here, nor will it be of very much consequence for Biblical criticism, if, as probably will be the case, they remain unsettled for ever.

Respecting the outward form of these elegies, as far as style is concerned, we can only endorse the enthusiastic encomiums of the Lowths, Eichhorns, Herders. There seems in the whole realm of human mourning put into words, from the most tragic lament of classical Hellas to Ossian's wail and the Nibelungen-Klage, hardly anything to be compared in depth of heartrending pathos, and in grandeur and nobleness of language, to these sacred elegies—though certainly our translations, however faithful, do not quite convey this idea. Neither the symphonic character of the whole, nor the varying metres of the single parts, nor even that wonderful tenderness imparted to the whole by the constant recurrence of the feminine suffixes and terminations of verbs and adjectives, the הַ, יָ, יָ, etc.,

which, with a melancholy charm of their own, constantly remind us that it is a woman, the daughter of Zion herself, whose plaintive song resounds through the stilly night, can be imagined by the reader of any European version whatsoever. The more genuine and sublime, however, the poetry, the more surprising it would seem at first sight that the four first elegies should be arranged 'alphabetically'—that is, that i., ii., iv. should consist of twenty-two verses, each beginning with the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet in alphabetical order, while iii. has sixty-six verses, commencing with each letter of the alphabet repeated three times.† It is a grave error, however, for this reason alone, to call the time in which they were composed barbarous, or, at all events, a time of poetical decline and vitiated taste. What more barbarous, it would appear, than rhyme, 'the swaddling-clothes of unborn thought' (*Bettina von Arnim*), to find which does certainly give the poet at times more trouble than the beginning of a new sentence—not exactly logi-

* Cf. דָּי, Lam. i. 22, and Jer. viii. 18; פָּדָה, Lam. iii. 47, and Jer. xxiv. 17, xlviii. 43; שָׁכַר בַּת עֲמִי, Lam. ii. 11, and Jer. vi. 14, and viii. 11; מְנוּרָה מְסֻכִּי, Lam. ii. 22, and Jer. vi. 25, and frequently the very frequent use of וְיָרֵד שָׁכַר, דִּמְעָה, מִיָּם, שָׁכַר, a mockery all day long, Lam. iii. 14, and Jer. xx. 7; etc. etc.: the use of the *parag.*, and other grammatical peculiarities.

* Jeremiah did not write this book 'in prophecy,' but under the influence of the 'Holy Ghost,' is the poignant remark of the early commentators—misunderstood by the later ones.

† The fifth, though likewise in twenty-two verses, each beginning with a different alphabetical letter, does not tie itself to the alphabetical arrangement

cally linked to its predecessor—with a certain letter. 'Coldness, languor of feeling, low and mechanical phraseology,'—all these charges have been brought against the like Biblical alphabetical composition, but have not been substantiated. It was simply a fashion of the time, into which even the most genuine outburst of grief, when clad in poetical garb, fell naturally. Artificial forms, like the Sonnet, the Terze Rime, Madrigals, Ghazels, Makamat, do not imply want of real poetry in Dante, Shakspeare, Hariri, Rückert, Gothe; not to mention Æschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes, and their sometimes unfathomable metres. And are the 24th and 35th Psalms less grand because they are in acrostics? The Samaritan, Syriac, and Hebrew Liturgies of the Middle Ages contain some of the rarest poetical gems in this same form, and we cannot but emphatically protest against an *a priori* reason which is so flagrantly contrary to facts.—The peculiarity noticeable in the second, third, and fourth chapters, that the **D** precedes the **V**, we can no more explain than any of the former investigators. But we shall not trouble the reader with a new hypothesis. Suffice it to add that nothing in the least degree satisfactory has been brought forward in explanation of this apparent irregularity.—In i. iii. (except ii. 19) every verse seems to form a sort of Tricolon, indicated by distinctive accents (Imperatores or Reges) Soph Pasuk, Ethnachta, Sakeph Katon; the subdivisions of which, however, are of very unequal number and length; while iv. and v. appear to fall more naturally into Disticha. Another division has been suggested somewhat according to the following scheme:—

How does the city sit solitary, once full of people!
— is she become as a widow—
— is the great among nations become tributary—

How does the Princess among provinces sit solitary!

But on these points we must not further enlarge; any more than we can do full justice to the manifold extraordinary theories of strophe and anti-strophe, of Sapphic metre and trimeter, brought forward by investigators from Jerome to Saalschütz. That they were expressly composed by Jeremiah for Choruses, we do not know, and do not believe. 'En de telles calamités,' says a French writer, 'le cœur humain se resserre ou se fond; il devient insensible ou s'abandonne au désespoir. L'intention du prophète est de prémunir ses compatriotes contre l'un et l'autre de ces excès. Il veut qu'ils pleurent avec lui, mais comme lui.' And there is no reason why they should not have been sung by, without being 'expressly written for,' those who sat by the rivers of Babylon, as they are still chanted in the Synagogues, both on the eve and the morning of the 9th of Ab.* The prophet probably sent them to his exiled brethren, as he may have sent them part of his

prophetical book; and from Babylon they were brought back when the House of God was reared again on the sacred ground. The position of the Lamentations in the Canon appears to have been uncertain at first, since it was sometimes put together with Jeremiah's prophecies (see above), sometimes treated as a special work. In a talmudical enumeration of the Hagiographa (Bab. Bathra 14. b), we find it between the Song of Songs and Daniel.

With respect to the early versions of the book, it is noticeable, that the translation in the LXX. of the Book of Jeremiah is done by a different hand from that which translated the Lamentations, and that the Vulgate follows, in its version, rather the Hebrew text than the LXX. The Targum to Lamentations is of a late and very uncertain date; and though of little value for exegetical purposes, and containing more legendary by-work than most of the Targums, is yet highly useful, as containing both the early traditions and the floating theological notions.* Of the principal writers on Lamentations we mention Calvin, Grotius, Clericus, Horrer, Leusden, Lowth, Herder, Eichhorn, Meier, Pareau, Otto, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Kalkar, Thenius. The most valuable translations (into German) are by Dathe, Wolsohn, De Wette, Meier, Thenius.†—E. D.

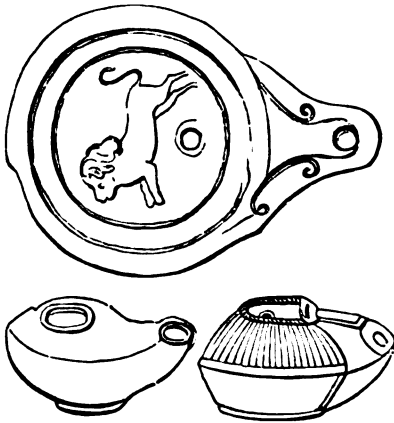
LAMP (לָמְפָא, whence, perhaps, Gr. *λαμπάς*, the *μ* being introduced in place of the Hebrew **D**, Lat. *lampas*, and our *lamp*). Lamps are very often mentioned in Scripture; but there is nothing to give any notion of their form. Almost the only fact we can gather is, that vegetable oils were burnt in them, and especially, if not exclusively, olive-oil. This, of the finest quality, was the oil used in the seven lamps of the Tabernacle (Exod. xxvii. 20). It is somewhat remarkable, that while the golden candlestick, or rather candelabrum, is so minutely described, not a word is said of the shape, or even the material, of the lamps (Exod. xxv. 37). This was, perhaps, because they were to be of the common forms, already familiarly known to the Hebrews, and the same probably which were used in Egypt, which they had just quitted. They were in this instance doubtless of gold, although metal is scarcely the best substance for a lamp. The golden candlestick may also suggest, that lamps in ordinary use were placed on stands, and where more than one was required, on stands with two or more branches. The modern Orientals, who are satisfied with very little light in their rooms, use stands of brass or wood, on which to raise the lamps to a sufficient height above the floor on which they sit. Such stands are shaped not unlike a tall candlestick, spreading out at the top. Sometimes the lamps are placed on brackets against the wall, made for the purpose, and often

* The Neginah (accent and note at the same time) has on that occasion a different tune from that generally used in the Pericopes, somewhat resembling that in which it is sung sometimes in the Roman 'Tenebræ,' in Passion-week (Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's *Reisebriefe*, vol. i.).—Chanted in a very low tone of voice, it produces a strikingly mournful impression.

* The Midrash to Lamentations (*Midrash Echa*) is a very remarkable book. Besides its very high poetical value, it contains a great deal of historical and philological material, which still awaits the spade of the competent excavator. Only a few scraps have as yet been turned to use.

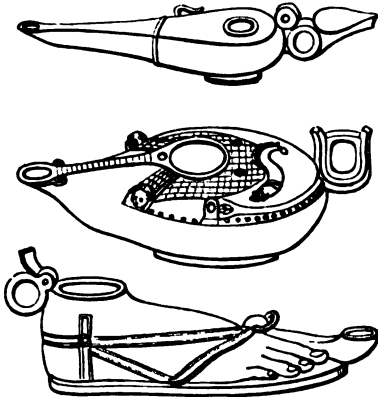
† We have not considered it necessary to prove from parallels, as has been done by some writers on the subject, that these Lamentations are not the only instances of elegiac poetry either in ancient times or in the East.

upon stools. Doubtless the same contrivances were employed by the Hebrews.



309. Egyptian Lamps.

From the fact that lamps were carried in the pitchers of Gideon's soldiers, from which, at the end of the march, they were taken out, and borne in the hand (Judg. vii. 16, 20), we may with certainty infer that they were not, like many of the classical lamps, entirely open at top, but so shaped that the oil could not easily be spilled. This was



310. Classical Lamps.

remarkably the case in the Egyptian specimens, and is not rare in the classical. Gideon's lamps must also have had handles; but that the Hebrew lamps were always furnished with handles we are not bound to infer: in Egypt we find lamps both with and without handles.

Although the lamp-oils of the Hebrews were exclusively vegetable, it is probable that animal fat was used, as it is at present by the Western Asiatics, by being placed in a kind of lamp, and burnt by means of a wick inserted in it. This we have often witnessed in districts where oil-yielding plants are not common.

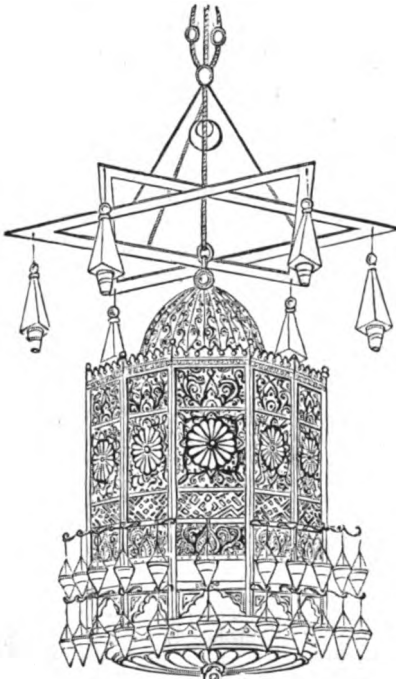
Cotton wicks are now used throughout Asia; but the Hebrews, like the Egyptians, probably employed the outer and coarser fibre of flax (Pliny,

Hist. Nat. xix. 1); and perhaps linen yarn, if the Rabbins are correct in alleging that the linen dresses of the priests were unravelled when old, to furnish wicks for the sacred lamps. [CANDLE-STICK.]

It seems that the Hebrews, like the modern Orientals, were accustomed to burn lamps over-night in their chambers; and this practice may appear to give point to the expression of 'outer-darkness,' which repeatedly occurs in the New Testament (Matt. viii. 12; xxii. 13); the force is greater, however, when the contrast implied in the term outer is viewed with reference to the effect produced by sudden expulsion into the darkness of night from a chamber highly illuminated for an entertainment. This custom of burning lamps at night, with the effect produced by their going out or being extinguished, supplies various figures to the sacred writers (2 Sam. xxi. 17; Prov. xiii. 9; xx. 20). And, on the other hand, the keeping up of a lamp's light is used as a symbol of enduring and unbroken succession (1 Kings xi. 36; xv. 4; Ps. cxxxii. 17).

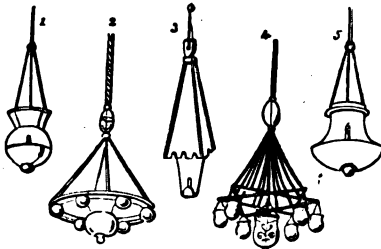
It appears from Matt. xxv. 1, that the Jews used lamps and torches in their marriage-ceremonies, or rather when the bridegroom came to conduct home the bride by night. This is still the custom in those parts of the East where, on account of the heat of the day, the bridal procession takes place in the night-time. The connection of lamps and torches with marriage-ceremonies often appears also in the classical poets (Homer, *Iliad*, xviii. 492; Eurip. *Phæniss.* 346; *Medea*, 1027; Virg. *Eclog.* viii. 29); and indeed Hymen, the god of marriage, was figured as bearing a torch. The same connection, it may be observed, is still preserved in Western Asia, even where it is no longer usual to bring home the bride by night. During two, or three, or more nights preceding the wedding, the street or quarter in which the bridegroom lives is illuminated with chandeliers and lanterns, or with lanterns and small lamps suspended from cords drawn across from the bridegroom's and several other houses on each side to the houses opposite; and several small silk flags, each of two colours, generally red and green, are attached to other cords (Lane's *Mod. Egypt.*, i. 201). A modern lantern much used on these occasions, with lamps hung about it and suspended from it, is represented in the following cut (No. 311). The lamps used separately on such occasions are represented in the following cut (No. 312). Figs. 1, 3, and 5, show very distinctly the shape of these lamps, with the conical receptacle of wood which serves to protect the flame from the wind. Lamps of this kind are sometimes hung over doors. The shape in fig. 3 is also that of a much-used in-door lamp. It is a small vessel of glass, having a small tube at the bottom, in which is stuck a wick formed of cotton twisted round a piece of straw: some water is poured in first, and then the oil. Lamps very nearly of this shape appear on the Egyptian monuments, and they seem also to be of glass (Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, iii. 101; v. 376). If the Egyptians had lamps of glass, there is no reason why the Jews also might not have had them, especially as this material is more proper for lamps intended to be hung up, and therefore to cast their light down from above. The Jews certainly used lamps in other festivals besides those of marriage. The Roman satirist (Persius, *Sat.* v. 179) expressly

describes them as making illuminations at their festivals by lamps hung up and arranged in an orderly manner; and the Scriptural intimations, so



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far as they go, agree with this description. If this custom had not been so general in the ancient and modern East, it might have been supposed that the Jews adopted it from the Egyptians, who, according to Herodotus (ii. 62), had a 'Feast of Lamps,'



312.

which was celebrated at Sais, and, indeed, throughout the country at a certain season of the year. The description which the historian gives of the lamps employed on this occasion strictly applies to those in modern use already described, and the concurrence of both these sources of illustration strengthens the probable analogy of Jewish usage. He speaks of them as 'small vases filled with salt and olive-oil, in which the wick floated, and burnt during the whole night.' It does not, indeed, appear of what materials these vases were made;

but we may reasonably suppose them to have been of glass.

The later Jews had even something like this feast among themselves. A 'Feast of Lamps' was held every year on the twenty-fifth of the month Chisleu. It was founded by Judas Maccabæus in celebration of the restoration of the temple-worship (Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 7. 7), and has ever since been observed by the lighting up of lamps or candles on that day in all the countries of their dispersion (Maimon. *Mosh. Hashanah*, fol. 8). Other Orientals have at this day a similar feast, of which the 'Feast of Lanterns' among the Chinese is, perhaps, the best known (Davis's *Chinese*, p. 138).—J. K.

LAMPE, FRIEDRICH ADOLPH, a distinguished divine of the Reformed Church in the 18th century. He was born Feb. 19, 1683, at Detmold, the capital of the small principality of Lippe-Detmold. He studied first at Bremen, then at Franeker, and afterwards, for a short time, at Utrecht. At Franeker the leading professors were followers of J. Cocceius, and Lampe's theological tendencies are those of the Cocceian school. After labouring as pastor at Weeze (near Cleves), Duisburg, and Bremen, successively, he was invited in 1720 to a chair of theology at Utrecht. In 1726 he was appointed professor of ecclesiastical history in the same university. In the following year he returned to Bremen, being invited to the joint offices of professor of theology and pastor of the church. He died Dec. 8, 1729. His exegetical works are—1. *Exercitationum Sacrorum Duodecim, quibus Psalmus XLV. perpetuo commentario explanatur, immixtis variis ad sensum Sacra Scriptura Hieroglyphicis et Antiquitates Sacras spectantibus*, Brem. 1715, 4to. 2. A dissertation on Sacred Chronology and on Jewish and Christian Chronologists, published in 1723 as a preface to Hottinger's *Pentateuch dissertationum biblico-chronologicarum*. 3. *Commentarius analytico-exegeticus Evangelii secundum Johannem*, Amst. 1724-25, 3 vols. 4to. 4. A posthumous work published by D. Gerdes, entitled, *F. A. Lampe meditationum exegeticarum opera anecdota*, Groningæ 1741, 4to; Basil 1742, 4to. This work contains a commentary on the Songs of Degrees, a commentary on Ecclesiastes, and annotations on the Apocalypse. 5. A series of dissertations in further elucidation (chiefly) of the Gospel of John, contained in the work, also posthumous, entitled, *F. A. Lampe, dissertationum philologico-theologicarum Syntagma*, Amstel. 1737, 2 vols. 4to. The titles of these dissertations are—*De titulo evangelii Johannis*; *De Scala Jacobi*; *De sinu Patris*; *De generatione ex aqua et Spiritu*; *De locis N. T. quæ de Αβρυ ὑποστατικῶς agere videntur*; *De loco Ps. xxxiii.* 6; *De locis V. T. quæ de Αβρυ ὑποστ. agere dubitantur*; *De descensu Christi in inferiores partes terræ*.—S. N.

LAMY or LAMI (BERNARD), a learned Roman Catholic divine, born at Mans in 1640, commenced his education at the college of his native place, and completed it under the Fathers of the Oratory in Paris. He speedily gained a considerable reputation, and became successively Professor of *Belles-lettres* at Vendôme and Juilly, and of philosophy at Saumur and Angers. In the latter city Lamy's zealous advocacy of the Cartesian philosophy raised most violent opposition from the Thomists, who were then in the ascendancy, and who procured an

'arrêt du conseil,' condemnatory of his teaching (August 6, 1675), and prohibiting him from exercising any ecclesiastical or educational function in France. Abandoned by the superiors of the Oratory, who weakly yielded to the storm, Lamy retreated first to St. Martin in Dauphigny, and then to Grenoble, where he found an enlightened protector in the bishop, Cardinal de Camus, by whose influence, at the end of eight months, his sentence was partially revoked, and he was permitted to preach theology in that city. In 1686 he was recalled to Paris, where he passed a tranquil life, until the controversy with M. de Harlay, Archbishop of Paris, caused by the publication of his *Harmony*, forced him to retire to Rouen, where he spent the remainder of his life in study and devotion. He died January 29, 1715. Lamy lived an ascetic life, and was as remarkable for his piety as for his extensive learning, nor did the controversies in which he engaged impair the gentleness and humility of his character. His range of knowledge was very wide, as his printed works, embracing rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, mechanics, perspective, etc., testify, and his contributions to theology, in spite of defective arrangement and some ill-founded theories, long sustained a well-deserved reputation. The following are the principal:—(1.) *Apparatus ad Biblia sacra*, Grenoble 1687, originally no more than tables of the chief facts of Scripture, with rules for its study, compiled for his pupils at Grenoble; published in a much enlarged form at Lyons in 1696, under the title *Apparatus Biblicus*. This, which in its day was perhaps the best 'introduction' to the Bible extant, was more than once translated, into French (by Bellegarde, and by Boyer, at the request of the Bishop of Chalons, Lyons 1699) and English (London 1728). (2.) *Demonstration de la vérité et de la sainteté de la morale Chrétienne*, Paris 1688, ed. 2, 1706-1711, an answer to the sceptical objectors of the day. (3.) *Harmonia quatuor Evangelistarum*, Paris 1689, a work which gave rise to much controversy, and many objections, to which he replied in (4.) *Commentarius in Harmoniam*, to which was annexed, *Apparatus Chronol. et Geograph.*, Paris 1699, a work more generally esteemed than the *Harmony* itself. The theories which provoked the most vehement opposition, and finally drove Lamy from Paris, were (a) that our Lord did not celebrate the Jewish Passover with his disciples (now generally accepted by the soundest scholars); (b) that John the Baptist was imprisoned twice; by the Sanhedrim and by Herod; and (c) that the three Marys mentioned in the Gospels are identical. Lamy's last work, *De Tabernaculo fœderis, de Sanct. civitat. Jêrus. et de templo ejus*, Paris 1720, to which he had devoted more than thirty years of assiduous labour and research, and for which he had had illustrations prepared by the most skilful artists, did not appear till after his death, under the editorship of Père Desmolins.—E. V.

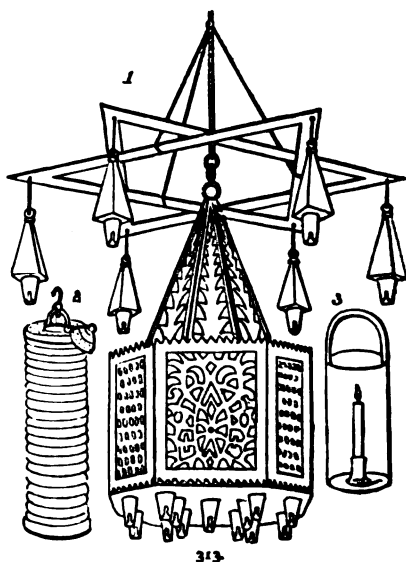
LANGUAGE. [TONGUES, CONFUSION OF.]

LANIADO, ABRAHAM B. ISAAC, an Italian Rabbi and commentator, flourished 1580-1620. He wrote—(1.) A work on the mysteries of the Mosaic Law, entitled *סֵפֶר אֲבְרָהָם*, *The Shidd of Abraham*, which consists of seventeen treatises and discourses on circumcision, marriage, almsgiving, confession of sins, repentance, and mourning for the dead. It was printed in Venice 1603, and is very highly

esteemed by the Jews. (2.) A commentary on the Song of Songs, entitled *שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים*, *Songs of Silver*, which was edited by Moses Laniado, with the Hebrew text, the Commentary of Rashi, the Chaldee Paraphrase, with a Spanish translation by the editor, printed in Hebrew characters, Venice 1619. He also wrote (3.) A commentary on the Pentateuch, and (4.) A commentary on Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther, which have not as yet been published.—C. D. G.

LANIADO, SAMUEL B. ABRAHAM, flourished about 1580. He wrote—(1.) A commentary on the Pentateuch, entitled *כֵּל חַמּוּדָה*, *Delightful Vessel*, which was first published in Venice 1594-1595. He explains the Pentateuch according to the Sabbatic Lessons [HAPHTARA] in the Midrashic manner. (2.) A commentary on Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, entitled *כֵּל יָקָר*, *Precious Vessel*, which was first published in Venice 1603, and excerpts of it are printed in Frankfürter's *Rabbinic Bible* [FRANKFURTER]. It consists chiefly of extracts from the expositions of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Ralbag, etc. (3.) A commentary on Isaiah, called *כֵּל טָהוֹר*, *A Vessel of Pure Gold*, Venice 1657. It is a very lengthy commentary, and, like the former, is chiefly made up from the expositions of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Ralbag, etc. Comp. Fürst, *Bibliotheca Hebraica*, ii. p. 222; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 2433.—C. D. G.

LANTERN (*φάρος*). This word occurs only in John xviii. 3, where the party of men which went out of Jerusalem to apprehend Jesus in the garden of Gethsemane is described as being provided 'with lanterns and torches.' In the article LAMP it has been shown that the Jewish lantern, or, if we may so call it, lamp-frame, was similar



to that now in use among the Orientals. Another of the same kind is represented in the annexed engraving (No. 313, fig. 1).

As the streets of eastern towns are not lighted at night, and never were so, lanterns are used to an

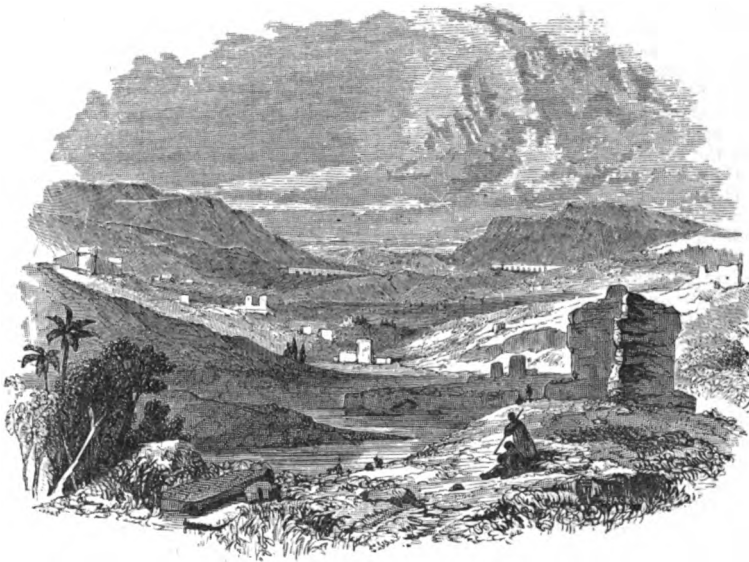


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extent not known among us. Such, doubtless, was also formerly the case; and it is therefore remarkable that the only trace of a lantern which

the Egyptian monuments offer, is that contained in the present engraving (No. 314). In this case it seems to be borne by the night-watch, or civic guard, and is shaped like those in common use among ourselves. A similar lantern is at this day used in Persia, and perhaps does not materially differ from those mentioned in Scripture. More common at present in Western Asia is a large folding lantern of waxed cloth strained over rings of wire, with a top and bottom of tinned copper (No. 313, figs. 2, 3). It is usually about two feet long by nine inches in diameter, and is carried by servants before their masters, who often pay visits to their friends at or after supper-time. In many Eastern towns the municipal law forbids any one to be in the streets after nightfall without a lantern. —J. K.

LAODICEA (*Λαοδικεα*). There were several places of this name, four of which it may be well to distinguish, in order to prevent them from being confounded with one another. The first was in the western part of Phrygia, on the borders of Lydia; the second, in the eastern part of the same country, denominated *Laodicea Combusta*; the third, on the coast of Syria, called *Laodicea ad Mare*, and



315. Laodicea.

serving as the port of Aleppo; and the fourth, in the same country, called *Laodicea ad Libanum*, from its proximity to that mountain. The third of these, that on the coast of Syria, was destroyed by the great earthquake of Aleppo in August 1822, and at the time of that event was supposed by many to be the *Laodicea* of Scripture, although in fact not less than four hundred miles from it. But the first named, lying on the confines of Phrygia and Lydia, about forty miles east of Ephesus, is the only *Laodicea* mentioned in Scripture, and is that one of the 'seven churches in Asia,' to which St. John was commissioned to deliver the awful warning contained in Rev. iii.

14-19. The fulfilment of this warning is to be sought, as we take it, in the history of the Christian church which existed in that city, and not in the stone and mortar of the city itself; for it is not the city, but 'the church of the *Laodiceans*,' which is denounced. It is true that the city is utterly ruined; but this is the case with innumerable other towns in Asia Minor. It is the precise reference to the seven churches as such, without any other reference to the cities than as giving them a name, which imparts a marked distinction to the Apocalyptic prophecies. But this has been little heeded by writers on the subject, who somewhat unaccountably seek, in the actual and mate-

rial condition of these cities, the accomplishment of spiritual warnings and denunciations. At the present day, would an authorised denunciation of 'the church in London,' as in danger of being cast forth for its lukewarmness, be understood to imply that London itself was destined to become a heap of ruins, with its bridges broken down, and its palaces and temples overthrown?

Laodicea was the capital of Greater Phrygia, and a very considerable city at the time it was named in Scripture (Strabo, p. 578); but the frequency of earthquakes, to which this district has always been liable, demolished, some ages after, great part of the city, destroyed many of the inhabitants, and eventually obliged the remainder to abandon the spot altogether. Smith, in his *Journey to the Seven Churches* (1671), was the first to describe the site of Laodicea. He was followed by Chandler and Pococke; and the locality has, within the present century, been visited by Mr. Hartley, Mr. Arundell, and Col. Leake.

Laodicea is now a deserted place, called by the Turks Eski-hissar (*Old Castle*), a Turkish word equivalent to *Paleo-kastro*, which the Greeks so frequently apply to ancient sites. From its ruins, Laodicea seems to have been situated upon six or seven hills, taking up a large extent of ground. To the north and north-east runs the river Lycus, about a mile and a half distant; but nearer it is watered by two small streams, the Asopus and Caprus, the one to the west, and the other to the south-east, both passing into the Lycus, which last flows into the Mæander (Smith, p. 85).

Laodicea preserves great remains of its importance as the residence of the Roman governors of Asia under the emperors; namely, a stadium, in uncommon preservation, three theatres, one of which is 450 feet in diameter, and the ruins of several other buildings (*Antiq. of Ionia*, pt. ii., p. 32; Chandler's *Asia Minor*, c. 67). Col. Leake says: 'There are few ancient sites more likely than Laodicea to preserve many curious remains of antiquity beneath the surface of the soil; its opulence, and the earthquakes to which it was subject, rendering it probable that valuable works of art were often there buried beneath the ruins of the public and private edifices (Cicero, *Epist. ad Amic.*, ii. 17; iii. 5; v. 20; Tacit. *Annal.* xiv. 27). And a similar remark, though in a lesser degree, perhaps, will apply to the other cities of the vale of the Mæander, as well as to some of those situated to the north of Mount Tmolus; for Strabo (pp. 579, 628, 630) informs us that Philadelphia, Sardis, and Magnesia of Sipylus, were, not less than Laodicea and the cities of the Mæander as far as Apameia at the sources of that river, subject to the same dreadful calamity' (*Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 253).

LAPIDE, CORNELIUS A, is the Latin designation usually given to CORNEILLE DE LA PIERRE, which is itself the translation of his native name, VAN DER STEEN. This eminent commentator was born in the year 1567, at Bocheff or Bucold, in the diocese of Liege, in Belgium. In 1592 he entered the Society of the Jesuits, and gave himself up to the study of Holy Scripture. For twenty years he was Divinity Professor at Louvain, after which he pursued the same avocation with extreme assiduity at Rome, where he died greatly respected for his unaffected piety and profound

learning, March 12, 1637. His commentaries, which were published at first in separate portions at Antwerp and Paris, 1616-1639, have been since issued in more than one collective edition; at Venice, 1740, in eleven folio volumes; at Lyons, 1838, in the same number of quarto volumes; and very recently, 1861, at Paris, in twenty-one imperial-octavos. This last edition is enriched with copious and well-selected notes from Rosenmüller, Maurer, Michaelis, Munk, Rénan, Franck, Patritius, Kuinoel, Allioli, and others, by the help of whom the learned editors (the Abbés Crampon and Péronne) have to a great extent supplemented the defects and corrected the inaccuracies of the original work. The author's devotion to his church has strongly coloured his comment; this fact, added to the prolixity wherewith he investigates what he considers the various senses of the sacred text (the mystical, analogical, and allegorical being no less conspicuous than the literal, historical, and grammatical) has raised a prejudice against a Lapidé's great work in some quarters (see Herzog, *Real-Encykl.*, iii. 153). It must, however, in justice be admitted that, after all deductions on this score, this commentary justifies the popularity which it has always commanded in the Church of Rome. The convenient method and perspicuity with which the author has carefully arranged his abundant materials, and the promptitude with which he has invariably decided what he thinks to be the true meaning of the text, go far to obviate the evils of his prolixity and multiplicity of senses. Nowhere else can the student find collected so rich a treasury of patristic and scholastic exegesis, and the general value of this honest and pious commentator is proved by the frequency with which he is quoted by authors beyond his own communion, of unimpeachable impartiality, such as De Wette and Meyer. Corn. a Lapidé did not live to complete his annotations on *Job* and the *Psalms*. In the older editions Pineda (*on Job*) and Le Blanc (*on the Psalms*) used to supplement these wanting portions. In the reissue of the work from the press of M. Louis Vivès, the editors have done wisely in substituting the *compact* commentaries of the learned Jesuit Corder, *on Job*, and Cardinal Bellarmine, *on the Psalms*. These works, in three extra volumes, complete the entire circle of the Canonical and Apocryphal Scriptures—presenting the student with the marrow of ancient exegesis, embellished moreover with the best criticism of modern writers of the greatest merit. Some portions of Cornelius a Lapidé (especially on the Pentateuch, the Historical Books, and the Hagiographa) have been included in the Abbé Migne's *Scriptura Sacra Cursus Completus*. In the 24th and 25th volumes of this *Cursus* is reprinted the valuable *Epitome Comment. Estii et Cornelii à Lapidé in omnes D. Pauli Epistolas*, which Gorcomius (Johannes a Gorcum) carefully prepared at the beginning of the 17th century. This abridgment of what has often been deemed the best part of a Lapidé's work, is a useful work.—P. H.

LAPIDOTH (לִּפְדוֹת; LXX. Λαφιδούθ), mentioned in Judg. iv. 4, and supposed to be the name of Deborah's husband. The expression, however, is ambiguous, since לִּפְדוֹת may as well mean 'a woman of Lapidoth' (cf. Tennyson, 'Like that

great dame of Lapidoth'), but no place of such a name is known to have existed. Others again, since Lapidoth is the plural of **לָפִיד**, 'a lamp' (although in the Bible only the form **לָפִידִים** occurs), do not consider it as a proper name at all, but render it 'a woman of splendours,' i. e., noble and divinely inspired; or 'woman of lamps,' since the Rabbis say that she had the charge of the Tabernacle lamps. Setting aside these idle conjectures, it remains nearly certain, that Lapidoth is the name of the unknown husband of the great prophetess. The feminine form of the word is no difficulty; cf. **מִקְלֹת**, 1 Chron. xxvii. 4; **כִּרְמוֹת**, Ezra viii. 33 (Bertheau, *Buch d. Richter*, p. 76).—F. W. F.

LAPWING. [DUKHIPHATH.]

LARDNER, NATHANIEL, D.D., a learned nonconformist author and preacher, was born in 1684, at Hawkhurst, in Kent. He studied first in London, next in Utrecht, where his studies were pursued under the direction of the celebrated professors Graevius and Burman, and also in Leyden. He commenced preaching at Stoke-Newington in 1709, but failing, from his cold manner and feeble utterance, to gain acceptance, he entered the family of Lady Treby as chaplain and tutor. Still cherishing a strong desire to be useful as a preacher, he was appointed in 1724 to deliver the Tuesday Evening lecture at the Old Jewry. To this appointment we owe his great work on the *Credibility of the Gospel History*, in five quarto volumes, the preparation of which extended from 1727 to 1743. The work is unequalled for the extent and accuracy of its investigations into the credibility of the gospel history. No greater work has ever been produced on the same subject. Recent researches supplement it, but it is not likely that they will ever supersede it. Lardner's doctrinal sentiments inclined to Unitarianism. In 1729 he published his *Vindication of Three of our Blessed Lord's Miracles* in answer to Woolston, and in 1759 his celebrated *Letter on the Logos*. His collected works, with a Memoir by Dr. Kippis, were published in 1788 in 11 vols. 8vo, and republished in 6 vols. 4to in 1815. After preaching for several years to a congregation in Crutched Friars, Dr. Lardner died at Hawkhurst on the 24th of July 1768.—W. J. C.

LASEA (*Lasala*; **Λ**, *Λασσάλα*; **Α**, *Ἀλάσσα*; **Β**, *Λασάλα*; *Thalassa*). When the Apostle Paul, on his eventful voyage to Rome, 'was passing under Crete, over against Salmone,' the historian tells us that, 'hardly passing it (the vessel) came into a place which is called the Fair Havens, *nigh whereunto was the city Lasæ*' (Acts xxvii. 8). The Peutinger Table marks a town called *Lisia* in Crete, and Pliny (iv. 12) mentions *Lasos* (or *Alos*, as it is in some copies) as one of the cities of that island. These may probably be identical with Lasea (Conybeare and Howson, vol. ii., p. 330, 1st ed.) Until very recently the site of this town was altogether unknown. It was discovered in 1856, and the site carefully examined by the Rev. G. Brown. It lies about the middle of the southern coast of Crete, some five miles east of Fair Havens, and close to Cape Leonda. Mr. Brown describes the ruins as follows:—'Inside the cape, to the eastward, the beach is lined with

masses of masonry. These were formed of small stones cemented together with mortar so firmly that even where the sea had undermined them huge fragments lay on the sand. This sea-wall extended a quarter of a mile along the beach from one rocky face to another, and was evidently intended for the defence of the city. Above we found the ruins of two temples. The steps which led up to the one remain, though in a shattered state. Many shafts, and a few capitals of Grecian pillars, all of marble, lie scattered about, and a gully worn by a torrent lays bare the substructions down to the rock. To the east a conical rocky hill is girdled by a wall; and on a platform between this hill and the sea, the pillars of another edifice lie level with the ground. Some peasants came down to see us from the hills above, and I asked them the name of the place. They said at once 'Lasea' (Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, app. iv., p. 262, 2d ed.) This interesting and important discovery throws much light on this part of the apostle's voyage, and affords additional proof of the minute accuracy of Luke's topographical notices (see Alford, *Greek Test.*, Prolegomena to Acts, Excursus I, 3d ed.)—J. L. P.

LASHA (**לָשָׁה**; *Λασα*; *Lesa*, and *Lasa*), a place mentioned in Gen. x. 19 as marking the utmost border of the ancient Canaanites. Their border was 'from Sidon unto Gaza; towards (בְּמִצְרָיִם) Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, unto Lasha.' Lasha thus appears to have been situated east, or north-east, of the cities of the Plain, and consequently beyond the Dead Sea. The name is only casually mentioned in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius; but upon the passage in Genesis, Jerome says, 'hoc tantum annotandum videtur, quod *Lise* (sic) ipsa sit, quæ nunc *Callirhoe* dicitur, ubi aquæ calidæ prorumpentes in mare Mortuum defluunt' (*Quæst. in Gen.*, Opp., iii. 321; ed. Migne). This conjecture is highly probable. The position of Callirhoe agrees in all respects with the Mosaic narrative; and the name would seem to favour the view.

لَسَع appears to be equivalent to the Arabic **لَسَع**, 'a fissure,' 'perhaps used of chasms in the earth, and fountains' (Gesenius, *Thes.*, s. v.) Callirhoe is situated in a narrow wild ravine which falls into the Dead Sea, near its north-eastern angle. The scenery is very romantic. The cliffs rise up in jagged frowning masses, variously coloured—red, grey, and black—while the whole bottom of the ravine is densely filled with foliage. Canes, aspens, tamarisks, and palms are intermixed with the bright and beautiful oleander. A copious stream of hot water, fed by numerous hot springs, dashes along a rocky torrent-bed, throwing up clouds of white steam, and tinging every stone and cliff-side in its track with the bright yellow of the sulphur with which it is largely impregnated. Around the springs, which are about three miles from the lake, are some ruins, strewn all over with broken pottery. Here stood the baths once so famous for their medicinal properties, where Herod the Great went, by the advice of his physicians, during his last illness (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 5; cf. Pliny, v. 16). The water at the fountain has a temperature of about 96° Fahr.; the stream is about

twelve feet wide and one foot deep, with a very rapid current; and the chasm is not more than thirty yards across (Irby and Mangles, p. 467, 1st ed.; Lynch, *Official Report*, May 4; *Handbk.*, pp. 201, 300; Reland, *Pal.*, 302; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, ii. 572). A short distance south of this ravine (which is now called Wady Zurka Main) are other warm springs, and beside them a ruined town called *Sara* (Ritter, *l.c.*; Seetzen, *Reise*, ii. 336). Dean Stanley suggests that Callirhoe may be identical with the *En-eglaim* of Ezek. xlvii. 10 (*S. and P.*, p. 289). This, however, is mere conjecture. We have no data by which to fix the site of *En-eglaim*.—J. L. P.

LASHARON (לָשָׁרוֹן; wanting in the Sept.; *Saron*). This obscure name has given rise to considerable discussion among critics. It is only found in Josh. xii. 18, where, in the list of the old Canaanitish kings conquered by the Israelites, we read, 'The king of Lasharon one.' Verses 18-22 are wanting in the Vatican Codex of the Septuagint; and this name, with a few others, is also left out in the Alexandrine. They are now found in all Hebrew MSS. Jerome renders the clause, *Rex Saron unus*, from which it appears that he considered the ל to be a preposition prefixed (with the art. ה, represented by the *dagesh* in ש) to the proper name לָשָׁרוֹן; and in this view he is followed by a number of scholars, as Clericus, Michaelis, etc. (*Critica Sacra*, ad loc.) In the same manner it is said מֶלֶךְ לִישָׁרָאֵל means 'king of Israel.' This, however, is contrary to the usage of the context, where every other town is connected with מֶלֶךְ, 'king,' in the ordinary construct state, without any such prefix. We conclude, therefore, that *Lasharon* is the real name. The Targum reads מלכא דלשרון, and the Arabic version also لشرון (see Keil, *Comment. on Joshua*; Rosenmüller, *ad loc.*) The highest authorities are in favour of the ordinary reading, notwithstanding the argument of Gesenius (see, however, *Thesaurus*, p. 642; and compare Bochart, *Opp.* ii. 307). The site of Lasharon is unknown. Masius supposes it to be the place mentioned in Acts ix. 35, where the reading of some MSS. is Ἀσάδωνα, instead of Σάδωνα; but there is no evidence to support such a view.—J. L. P.

LASTHENES (Λασθένης), the minister of Demetrius II. Nicator. He appears to have been a Cretan, and was general of the Cretan forces who assisted Demetrius with a number of mercenaries to regain his kingdom from Alexander Balas in B.C. 148 or 147 (cf. 1 Maccab. x. 67; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 4. 3). His arbitrary government, added to his persuading Demetrius to disband the regular troops and only employ Cretans, is supposed to have alienated the subjects from the king, and caused great dissatisfaction to the soldiers. This conduct led to the downfall of Demetrius, for it enabled Tryphon (Diodotus) to set up Antiochus, the young son of Alexander Balas (Diod. *Reliq.*, lib. xxxiii. 4, ed. Didot, vol. ii. p. 522).

What became of Lasthenes is not known, and he must not be identified with the *Chulian* instructor of the sons of Demetrius I. Soter (Just. *xv.* 2; cf. Livy, *Epit.* 52). There is a later

Lasthenes, also a Cretan, who took a prominent part against the Romans in B.C. 70-68 (Smith's *Dict. of Biog.*, s. v. Lasthenes, No. 3).

Lasthenes is described as 'cousin' (συγγενής, 1 Maccab. xi. 31; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 4. 9) and 'father' (1 Maccab. xi. 32; Joseph. *Antiq.*, *l.c.*). Both are honourable titles, and the latter is more especially equivalent to 'friend,' or 'supreme counsellor' (Gesen. *Thes.*, s. v. בֵּן; cf. Grimm on 1 Maccab. x. 89, and 1 Maccab. xi. 32).—F. W. M.

LATCHET (לָשֶׁת; σφουρητήρ, *luds*). The thong used to fasten the shoes or sandals of the ancients; in modern terms, a shoe-tie or boot-lace. The earliest mention of it is in Gen. xiv. 23, where it is employed to express a thing of the least possible value, 'I will not take from a thread (חוט) even to a shoe latchet' (לָשֶׁת קֶעַל). It occurs also in Is. v. 47. In the N. T. it is found in a remarkable declaration of John the Baptist, in which he expresses his inferiority to the Messiah (Mark i. 7; Luke iii. 16; John i. 27). In Matt. iii. 11 the same sentiment is expressed rather differently, 'whose shoes I am not worthy to bear;' in both cases the allusion is to slaves, who were employed to loosen and carry their master's shoes, the habits of Orientals requiring this article of dress to be taken off before entering an apartment (Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, pt. i. ch. 9). This saying of the Baptist, as reported by Matthew, is repeated by Paul in his address to the Jews at Antioch, in Pisidia (Acts xiii. 25). Chrysostom, on John i. 27, remarks, τὸ γὰρ ὑποδήμα λύσαι τῆς ἐσχάτης διακονίας ἐστίν.—J. E. R.

LATINISMS. This word, which properly signifies idioms or phraseology peculiar to the Latin tongue, is extended by Biblical critics so as to include also the Latin words occurring in the Greek Testament. It is but reasonable to expect the existence of Latinisms in the language of every country subdued by the Romans. The introduction of their civil and military officers, of settlers, and merchants, would naturally be followed by an infusion of Roman terms, etc., into the language of their new subjects. There would be many new things made known to some of them, for which they could find no corresponding word in their own tongues. The circumstance that the proceedings in courts of law were, in every part of the Roman empire, conducted in the Latin language, would necessarily cause the introduction of many Roman words into the department of law, as might be amply illustrated from the present state of the juridical language in every country once subject to the Romans, and, among others, our own. Valerius Maximus (ii. 2. 2), indeed, records the tenacity of the ancient Romans for their language in their intercourse with the Greeks, and their strenuous endeavours to propagate it through all their dominions. The Latinisms in the N. T. are of three kinds, consisting (1) of Latin words in Greek letters; (2) of Latin senses of Greek words; and (3) of those forms of speech which are more properly called Latinisms. The following may suffice as examples of each of these: First, Latin words in Greek characters: ἀσάπριον, 'farthing,' from the Latin *assarinus* (Matt. x. 29). This word is used likewise by Plutarch, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Athenæus, as may be seen in Wetstein, *in loc.* Ἐφῆρας,

sensus (Matt. xvii. 25): *κεντυρίων, centurio* (Mark xv. 39), etc.: *λεγεών, legio*, 'legion' (Matt. xxvi. 53). Polybius (B.C. 150) has also adopted the Roman military terms (vi. 17, ff.) *σπεκουλάτωρ, speculator*, 'a spy,' from *speculo*, 'to look about;' or, as Wahl and Schleusner think, from *spiculum*, the weapon carried by the speculator. The word describes the emperor's life-guards, who, among other duties, punished the condemned; hence 'an executioner' (Mark vi. 27), margin, 'one of his guard;' (comp. Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 25; Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* i. 33. 7; Seneca, *De Ira*, i. 16). *μάκελλον*, from *macellum*, 'a market-place for flesh' (1 Cor. x. 25). As Corinth was now a Roman colony, it is only consistent to find that the inhabitants had adopted this name for their public market, and that Paul, writing to them, should employ it. *μίλιον* (Matt. v. 41). This word is also used by Polybius (xxvii. 11. 8) and Strabo (v. p. 332). Secondly, Latin senses of Greek words: as *καρπός* (Rom. xv. 28), 'fruit,' where it seems to be used in the sense of *emolumentum*, 'gain upon money lent,' etc.: *ἔπαινος*, 'praise,' in the juridical sense of *elogium*, a testimonial either of honour or reproach (1 Cor. iv. 5). Thirdly, those forms of speech which are properly called Latinisms: as *βουλούμενος τῷ ὅχλῳ τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι*, 'willing to content the people' (Mark xv. 15), which corresponds to the phrase *satisfacere alicui*: *λαβεῖν τὸ ἱκανὸν παρὰ*, 'to take security of,' *satis accipere ab* (Acts xvii. 9): *δοῖς ἐργασίας*, 'give diligence,' *da operam* (Luke xii. 58); the phrase *remittere ad alium iudicem* is retained in Luke xxiii. 15: *ὁ δὲ βέβη*, 'see thou to that,' *tu videris* (Matt. xxvii. 4) (Arigler, *Hermeneut. Biblica*, Vienna 1813, p. 99; Michaelis' *Introduction to the N. T.*, by Marsh, Cambridge 1793, vol. i. part i. p. 163, *sqq.*). The importance of the Latinisms in the Greek Testament consists in this, that, as we have partly shown (and the proof might be much extended), they are to be found in the best Greek writers of the *same era*. Their occurrence, therefore, in the N. T. adds one thread more to that complication of probabilities with which the Christian history is attended. Had the Greek Testament been free from them, the objection, though recondite, would have been strong. At the same time the subject is intricate, and admits of much discussion. Dr. Marsh disputes some of the instances adduced by Michaelis (*ut supra*, p. 431, *sqq.*). Desingier even contends that there are no Latinisms in the N. T. (*De Latinismis*, Leipsig 1726; and see his *Vindiciae Dissertationis de Latinismis*). Even Arigler allows that some instances adduced by him may have a purely Greek origin. Truth, as usual, lies in the middle, and there are, no doubt, many irrefragable instances of Latinisms, which will amply require the attention of the student (see Georgii *Hierocli. de Latinismis Novi Test.*, Witteberg 1733; Kypke, *Observ. Sacr.*, ii. 219, Wratis 1755; Pritii *Introductio in Lect. Nov. Test.*, p. 207, *sqq.*, Lips. 1722. Winer refers also to Wernsdorff, *De Christo Latine loquente*, p. 19; Jahn's *Archiv.* ii. iv.; Olearius, *De Stylo Nov. Test.*, p. 368, *sqq.*; Jnchofer, *Sacra Latinitatis Historia*, Prag. 1742; see *Bibl. Real-Wörterbuch*, art. *Römer, Römisches*, etc.)—J. F. D.

LATIN VERSIONS. Under this head we shall give some account of—1. The versions of the sacred Scriptures in the Latin tongue anterior to that of Jerome; 2. The version of Jerome com-

monly called the Vulgate; and 3. Those which have been executed in later times.

I. ANTE-HIERONYMIAN VERSIONS.—The early and extensive diffusion of Christianity among the Latin-speaking people, renders it probable that means would be used to supply the Christians who used that language with versions of the Scriptures in their own tongue, especially those resident in countries where the Greek language was less generally known. That from an early period such means were used cannot be doubted; but the information which has reached us is so scanty, that we are not in circumstances to arrive at certainty on many points of interest connected with the subject. It is even matter of debate whether there were several translations or one translation variously corrupted or emended.

The first writer by whom reference is supposed to be made to a Latin version is Tertullian, in the words: 'Sciamus plane non sic esse in græco authentico, quomodo in usum exiit per duarum syllabarum aut callidam aut simplicem eversionem,' etc. (*De Monogamia*, c. 11). It is possible that Tertullian has in view here a version in use among the African Christians; but it is by no means certain that such is his meaning, for he may refer merely to the manner in which the passage in question had come to be usually cited, without intending to intimate that it was so written in any formal version. The probability that such is really his meaning is greatly heightened, when we compare his language here with similar expressions in other parts of his writings. Thus, speaking of the Logos, he says, 'Hanc Græci *Ἀβύρον* dicunt, quo vocabulo etiam sermonem appellamus. Ideoque in usu est nostrorum per simplicitatem interpretationis, Sermonem, dicere, in primordio apud Deum esse' (*Adv. Prax.*, c. 5); where he seems to have in view simply the colloquial usage of his Christian compatriots (comp. also *Adv. Marc.*, c. 4 and c. 9). The testimony of Augustine is more precise. He says (*De Doct. Christ.*, ii. 11): 'Qui Scripturas in Hebræa lingua in Græcam verterunt numerari possunt, latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuiquam primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex græcus et aliquid tantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ Latine videbatur, ausus est interpretari.' A few sentences before he speaks of the 'Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas;' and he proceeds to give instances how one of these versions elucidates another, and to speak of the defects attaching to all of them. This testimony not only clearly establishes the fact of the existence of Latin versions in the beginning of the 4th century, but goes to prove that these were numerous; for that Augustine has in view a number of interpreters, and not merely a variety of recensions, is evident from his statement in this same connection, 'in ipsis interpretationibus itala cæteris præferatur, nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ;' and from his speaking elsewhere (*Cont. Faustum*, ii. 2) of 'codices aliarum regionum.' On the other hand, the testimony of Hilary is in favour of only one Latin version: 'Latina translatio non virtutem dicti ignorat magnam intulit obscuritatem, non discernens ambigui sermonis proprietatem (in Ps. clviii.) On the same side is the declaration of Jerome: 'Si latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda respondebunt Quibus? tot sunt enim exemplaria pene quot codices.' That by 'exemplaria' here Jerome refers to what would now be called *editions* or *recensions*,

is evident from the nature of his statement, for it cannot be supposed that he intends to say that almost every codex presented a distinct translation; and is rendered still more so by what follows: 'Si autem veritas est querenda de pluribus, cur non ad græcam originem revertentes ea quæ vel a vitiosis interpretibus male reddita, vel a præsumptoribus imperitis emendata perversius, vel a libris dormitantibus addita sunt aut mutata corrigamus?' (*Præf. in Evangg. Ad. Damas.*) Elsewhere (*Præf. in Josuam*) he says also: 'Apud Latinos tot exemplaria quot codices et unusquisque pro suo arbitrio vel addidit vel subtraxit quod ei visum est;' where there can be no doubt as to his meaning. Jerome frequently uses the expression *communis* or *vulgata editio*, but by this he intends the LXX., or the old Latin translation of the LXX. In reference to the Latin N. T. he uses the expressions, *latinus interpretes*, *latini codices*, or simply *in latino*.

The statement of Augustine, that of the interpretations the *Itala* was preferred, has been supposed to indicate decidedly the existence of several national Latin versions known to him. For this title can only indicate a translation prepared in Italy, or used by the Italian churches,* and presupposes the existence of other versions, which might be known as the *Africana*, the *Hispanica*, etc. On the other hand, however, if there was a version known by this name, it seems strange that it should never be mentioned again by Augustine or by any one else; and further, it is remarkable, that to designate an Italian version, he should use the word *Itala* and not *Italica*. This has led to the suspicion that this word is an error, and different conjectural emendations have been proposed. Bentley suggested that for *itala* . . . *nam* there should be read *illa* . . . *que*, a singularly infelicitous emendation, as Hug has shewn (*Introd.*, E. T., p. 267). As Augustine elsewhere speaks of 'codicibus ecclesiasticis interpretationis usitate' (*De consensu Evangg.*, ii. 66), it has been suggested by Potter that for *Itala* should be read *usitata*, the received reading having probably arisen from the omission, in the first instance, of the recurrent syllable *us* between interpretationibus and usitata (thus INTERPRETATIONIBUSITATA), and then the change of the unmeaning *itala* into *itala*. Of this emendation many have approved, and if it be adopted, the testimony of Augustine, in this passage, as for a plurality of Latin versions, will be greatly enfeebled, for, by the *versio usitata*, he would doubtless intend the version in common use as opposed to the unauthorised interpretations of private individuals. As tending to confirm this view of his meaning, it has been observed, that it is extremely improbable that if there was an acknowledged *versio Africana*, the Christians in Africa would be found preferring to that a version made for the use of the Italians. A new suggestion, relating to this passage, has been offered by Reuss (*Gesch. d. Schr. d. N. T.*, p. 436), 'Is it not possible,' he asks, 'that Augustine may refer, in this passage (written about the year 397), to a work of Jerome, viz., his version of Origen's Hexapla, which Augustine, in one of his letters (*Ep. xxviii.*, tom. ii. p. 61) to Jerome

prefers to his making a new translation from the original? 'At any rate,' he adds, 'it is remarkable that Isidore of Spain (*Etymol.*, vi. 5) characterises the translation of Jerome (the last) as *verborum tenaciorem et perspicuitate sententia clarior*. May one venture to suggest, that he has taken this phrase from Augustine, regarding him as using it of Jerome?' To this, however, it may be replied, that whilst it is not improbable that Isidore took the passage from Augustine, he may have done so without regarding Augustine's words as referring to any work of Jerome. That they do so refer seems to us very improbable.

An effort has been made to obtain a decision for this question from a collation of the extant remains of the ancient Latin texts, but without success. Eichhorn (*Einleit. ins. N. T.*, iv. 337, ff.) has compared several passages found in the writings of the early Latin fathers with certain extant codices of the early Latin text; and from the resemblance which these bear to each other, he argues that they have all been taken from one common translation. In this conclusion many scholars have concurred both before and since the time of Eichhorn (Wetstein, Hody, Semler, Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf), but others have, on the other side, pointed to serious differences of rendering, which, in their judgment, indicate the existence of distinct translations (Michaelis, Hug, De Wette, Bleek, etc.)

As the evidence stands, it seems impossible either to hold by the existence of only one accredited Latin version before the time of Jerome, the corruption of which, from various causes, is sufficient to account for all the discrepancies to be found in the extant remains; or to maintain with certainty that there were several independent versions, the work of persons in different parts of the Latin church. There is, however, a third supposition which may be advanced: There may at an early period, and probably in Africa, have been made a translation of the Bible from the Greek into Latin, and this may have formed the groundwork of other translations, intended to be amended versions of the original. In this case a certain fundamental similarity would mark all these translations along with considerable variety; but this variety would be traceable not to undesigned corruption, but to purposed attempts, more or less skilfully directed, to produce a more adequate version. This supposition meets all the facts of the case, and so far has high probability in its favour. Proceeding upon it, we may further suppose that these different revised or amended translations might have their origin in different parts of the western world; and in this case the meaning of Augustine's statement in the passage (*Cont. Faustum*, ii. 2) where he speaks of 'codices aliarum regionum,' becomes manifest. In this case, also, if the reading *Itala* be retained (and most critics incline to retain it) in the famous passage above cited, it will indicate the revision prepared in Italy and used by the Italian churches; of which, it is natural to suppose, that it would be both more exact and more polished than the others; and with which Augustine would become familiar during his residence in Rome and Milan.

Of this ancient Latin version in its various amended forms, all of which it has become customary to include under the general designation *Itala*, we have remains partly in the citations of the Latin fathers, partly in the Græco-Latin codi-

* The supposition of Wiseman and Lachmann, that the *Itala* of Augustine was a corrected codex of the one Latin version, written in Italy, cannot be reconciled with Augustine's words in their connection.

ces, and partly in special MSS. A copious collection from the first of these sources (which yet admits of being augmented) has been supplied by Sabatier, *Bibliorum SS. Latina Vers. antiqua seu Vetus Itala*, etc., *quæcunque reperiri potuerunt*, Remis 1743, 3 vols. fol., ed. 2, 1749. For the Apocalypse we depend entirely on this source, namely the quotations made by Primasius. The Græco-Latin codices are the *Cantabrigian* or *Codex Beza*, the *Laudian*, the *Claromontane*, and the *Boernerian* [MANUSCRIPTS]. Of the known special codices containing portions of the N. T., the following have been printed or collated:—

1. *Cod. Vercellensis*, written apparently by Eusebius the martyr, in the 4th century; it embraces the four gospels, though with frequent *lacuna*. It is mentioned by Montfaucon in his *Diarium Italicum*, p. 445; and it has been edited by Bianchini in *Evangeliarum quadruplex latina vers. antiq. seu Vd. Italica*, etc., Rom. 1749, 4 vols. fol.; previously and still more carefully by J. A. Irici, *SS. Evangeliorum Cod. S. Eusebii manu exaratus, ex autographo ad unguem exhibitus*, etc., Mediol. 1748, 2 parts, 4to. In this codex the gospels are arranged in the order Matthew, John, Luke [Lucanus], Mark. As a specimen of the style of this codex, and the imperfect state in which some parts of it are, we give the following passage (John iv. 48-52) from the edition of Irici:—

AIT ERGO AD ILLV	ET IBAT JAM ----
IHS NISI SIG	IPSO DESCEN
NA ET PRODIG	DENTE SERVI
-- VIDERITIS	OCCVRER --
NON ----	ILLI ET NVNT --
TIS DICIT ILLI	VERVNT EI --
REG --- S DME	CENTES QVO
L ----- E	NIAM FILIVS
.	TVVS VIVIT
.	INTER -- GA
.	BAT H ----
AIT -- IHS -- ADE	
FILIVS TVVS	MELIVS HABVIT
VIVIT ET CRE	ET DIXERVNT
DIDIT HOMO	HERI HORA SEP
VERBO QVOD	TIMA -- LIQVID
DIXIT ILLI IHS	ILLVM FEBRIS.

2. *Cod. Veronensis*, a MS. of the 4th or 5th century, in the library at Verona, containing the gospels, but with many *lacuna*; printed by Bianchini.

3. *Cod. Brixionus*, of about the 6th century, at Brixen in the Tyrol, containing the gospels, with the exception of some parts of Mark; printed by Bianchini.

4. *Cod. Corbeijensis*, a very ancient MS., from which Martianay edited Matthew's gospel, the Ep. of James, etc., Par. 1695. The gospel appears also in Bianchini's work, and in the appendix to Calmet's commentary on the Apocalypse. There is another MS. of the old Latin text at Corbey, from which various readings have been collected on Matthew, Mark, and Luke by Bianchini, and on the four gospels (partially) by Sabatier.

5. *Cod. Colbertinus*, of the 11th century, in the Parisian library; edited entire by Sabatier.

6. *Cod. Palatinus*, of the 5th century, in the library at Vienna, containing about the whole of

Luke and John and the greater part of Matthew and Mark; edited by Tischendorf, Leip. 1847, 4to.

7. *Cod. Bobbiensis*, of the 5th century, now at Turin, formerly in the monastery of Bobbio, containing portions of Matthew and Mark; fragments of Acts xxiii., xxvii. 28; and of the Epistle of James, i. 1-5; iii. 13-18; iv. 1, 2; v. 19, 20; 1 Pet. i. 1-12; edited by Fleck, in *Anecdota Sacra*, Lips. 1837, and more fully by Tischendorf, in the *Wiener Jahrbücher* 1847.

8. *Cod. Claromontanus*, of the 4th or 5th century, now in the Vatican library, containing the four gospels, Matthew in an ante-hieronymian version (wanting i. 1-iii. 15; xiv. 33-xviii. 12), the other three according to the Vulgate; collated by Sabatier, edited by Mai, *Scriptor. Vett. Nova Collectio a Vatican. codd. edita*, iii. p. 257, ff.

9. Fragments of Mark and Luke, contained in a MS. of about the 5th century, belonging to the imperial library at Vienna, have been printed by Alter, in *Paulus Repertor. für Bibl. und Morgenländ. Litter.*, iii. 115-170, and in *Paulus Memorabilien*, part 7, 58-96.

10. A MS. of the 7th century, now at Breslau, containing the synoptic gospels, with *lacuna* and part of John's gospel; described by Dr. D. Schulz, *De Cod. 4 Evangg. Biblioth. Rhedigeriana*, Bresl. 1814.

11. A fragment of Luke (xvii.-xxi.) from a palimpsest of the 6th century, in Ceriani, *Monumenta Sac. et Prof. præsertim Bibl. Ambrosiana*, Mil. 1861, vol. i., Fasc. i. p. 1-8.

12. Cardinal Mai has given, in his *Spicilegium Romanum*, tom. ix. p. 61-86, various readings from a very ancient codex of the *Speculum Augustini*, and he has since edited the *Speculum* entire in his *PP. Nov. Bibl.*; comp. Tregelles, p. 239.

13, 14, 15. In the monastery of St. Gall are three codices, the first of the 4th or 5th century, containing fragments of Matthew; the second a Gallic MS. of the 7th century, containing Mark xvi. 14-20; the third, an Irish MS. of the 7th or 8th century, containing John xi. 14-44.

16. *Cod. Monacensis*, of the 6th century, containing the four gospels, with *lacuna*; transcribed by Tischendorf.

17. A fragment containing Matt. xiii. 13-25, on purple vellum, of the 5th century, in the library at Dublin, printed in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, iii. 374, by Dr. Todd.

18. *Cod. Guelferbytanus*, of the 6th century, containing some fragments of Rom. xi. 15, published by Knittel in 1762 [KNITTEL], and more correctly by Tischendorf, *Anecd. Sac. et Prof.*, p. 153.

19. Fragments of the Pauline epistles discovered by Schmeller at Munich, and transcribed by Tischendorf, who has described them in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Christl. Wissenschaft*, for 1857, No. 8.

Besides these, there are several MSS. known to exist chiefly in the British libraries. Some of these are noticed in Bentley's *Critica Sacra*, edited by Ellis, 1862, and in Westwood's *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*. See also Betham's *Antiquarian Researches*, Petrie *On the Ecclesiastical Antiq. of Ireland*, O'Connor *Rerum Hibern. Scriptores*.

These codices palæographers and critics profess to be able to allot to different recensions or revisions. Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, and 17, they pronounce to be African; 3, 6, 12, 16, Italic; and 14, 15, Irish; though Tischendorf expresses

doubt as to the African character of No. 9, and the Italic of No. 6.

Of the O. T., only a few fragments have been discovered in special codices. These have been printed by Sabatier (*Lib. cit.*), by Vercellone (*Variae Lectiones Vulg. Lat. Bibliorum*, 2 vols., Rom. 1860-62), by Münster (*Miscell. Hafn.* 1821), and by Ranke (*Fragmenta Hos. Am. Mich.* 1856, 1858). The MSS. of the Vulgate preserve the old Latin version of those books of the Apocrypha which were not retranslated by Jerome, and the Psalter. Our principal source of information, however, is in the citations made by the Latin fathers from the version in their hands.

From these various sources we possess in the old Latin version of the O. T., the Psalter, Esther, and some of the Apocryphal books entire, the rest only in fragments; whilst of the N. T. we possess nearly the whole.

The value of these remains in regard to the criticism of the sacred text is very considerable. They afford important aid in determining the condition of the Greek text in the early centuries. This, which Bentley was the first to perceive, or at least to announce, has been fully recognised by Lachmann, Tregelles, and Tischendorf, though they have not all followed it out with equal description (see Tischendorf's strictures, *Prolegg. in ed. Sept. N. T.*, p. ciii., ff.; ccxlii.)

The general character of the Itala is close literal adherence to the original, so as often to transgress the genius of the Latin language; its phraseology being marked by solecisms and improprieties which may be due to its having been originally produced either in a region remote from the centre of classical culture, or among the more illiterate of the community. Thus *Συρηπ* is rendered by *salutaris*, *διαφύσειν* by *superponere* (e.g., 'quanto ergo superponit homo ab ove,' Matt. xii. 12), *πρωεληγίς* by *prosperare*, *κοσμοκράτορες* by *munditantes*, etc.; and we have such constructions as *stellam quam viderant in orientem* (Matt. ii. 9); *ut ego veniens adorem ei* (Matt. ii. 8); *qui autem audientes* (ii. 9); *pressuris quibus sustinetis* (2 Thess. i. 4); *habitavit in Capharnaum maritimam* (Matt. iv. 13); *terra Naphthalim viam maris* (iv. 15); *verbum audit et continuo cum gaudio accipit eum* (xiii. 20); *dominantur eorum, principantur eorum* (xx. 25), etc. It must be borne in mind, however, that the current text was exposed to innumerable corruptions, and that we can hardly, from the specimens that have come down to us, form any very accurate judgment of the state in which it was at first. One can hardly suppose that by any Latin-speaking people, the following version, which is that presented by the Colbertina MS., of Col. ii. 18, 19, could have been accepted as idiomatic, or even intelligible:—*Nemo vos convincat volens in humilitate et religione angelorum, quæ vidit ambulans, sine causa inflatus sensu carnis suæ, et non tenens caput Christum, ex quo omne corpus connexum et conductione subministratum et provectum crescit in incrementum Dei.* If this be (to borrow the remark of Eichhorn, from whose *Einleitung ins N. T.*, iv. 354 ff., we have taken these specimens) 'verborum tenax,' where is the 'perspicuitas sententiæ' of which Augustine speaks?

II. HIERONYMIAN OR VULGATE VERSION.—I. *Labours of Jerome.*—To such an extent had ignorance, carelessness, and unskilful emendation cor-

rupted the copies of the Itala in use, that it became generally and strongly felt that something must be done to rescue the Latin churches from the evils to which this exposed them, and to secure to them a settled correct version of the Holy Scriptures. To this feeling, effect was given at the right time by the duty being laid by the Romish Bishop Damasus upon Jerome, the man of all others then living most competent to discharge it; the man most skilled in the original tongues of Scripture, one whose zeal in the cause of Biblical learning gave the best omen of success, and who possessed abundant leisure to give himself wholly to the work. To the request of Damasus, Jerome, after some hesitation, acceded. He first addressed himself, about the year 382, to the revision of the existing version of the gospels, which he sought to bring into accordance with the Greek original—*Novum Testamentum græcæ fidei reddidi*, says he (*Catal. Scriptt. Eccl.*, 135); a work which he describes as at once *pious and perilous*, for he foresaw that people accustomed from their infancy to a particular translation would regard him as nothing better than a sacrilegious falsifier, should he alter, add to, or correct the old version (*Præf. in Evangg. ad Damasum*). Resolved, therefore, to proceed with great caution, he selected Greek codices which did not differ much from the Latin usage, and he so restrained his pen that only where he found the translation misrepresenting the sense did he venture to correct it. He next took up the Psalter, at first following the common text of the LXX., but afterwards that in Origen's *Hexapla*, with his critical marks (*Prol. ii.*, in *Ps.*; *Ep. ad Suniam et Fretellam de emend. Ps.*; *Apol. adv. Rufin.* ii. 24). Both recensions are extant, the former known as the *Psalterium Romanum*, the latter as the *Psal. Gallicanum*; and both have been repeatedly printed. An edition of the two was issued at Paris as early as 1509 by the forerunner of the Reformation in France, Jacques Le Fevre d'Estaples, under the title *Psalterium Quincuplex Gallic. Roman. Hebr. Vetus conciliatum*; of which a second edition appeared in 1518, and a third at Caen in 1515, in one vol. folio. Pursuing this course, Jerome set himself to revise all the books of the O. T., and emend them according to the Hexaplar text, but it is not ascertained to what extent this design was executed. That he fulfilled it in reference to Job, the writings of Solomon, and Chronicles, is attested by himself (*Apol. Cont. Rufin.* ii. 24); but it would appear that of the result of his labours in this department he was by some means defrauded (*Ep. xciv. ad Augustin.*)

These efforts led on to his undertaking what was for his time a gigantic work, the translation of the entire O. T. from the Hebrew. Commencing with the books of Kings, he issued in succession, and in the following order, the Prophets, the writings of Solomon, Job, the Psalms, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and Esther. He also translated from the Chaldee the Apocryphal books of Judith and Tobit, the latter in one day with the aid of a Jew, the former by his own unaided effort after he had acquired a competent knowledge of the language. To the books of Esther, Jeremiah, Daniel, he retained the Apocryphal additions, though he did not himself approve them. In these labours he was occupied about twenty years, from A. D. 385 to 405. In executing this translation Jerome some-

times adhered closely to the LXX. and other Greek versions, when he perceived that they were in accordance with the Hebrew; at other times he translated directly from the Hebrew, using the aid of his Jewish masters (Hody, p. 350, ff.) Jerome introduced into his version the practice of distinguishing by 'cola' and 'commata,' a practice previously not in use among the Latins (*Præf. in Esai.*; in *Paralip.*, etc.)

In one of his writings (*Proem. ad Lib. iii. Comment. in Galat.*) he laments the effect of his Hebrew studies in spoiling his Latin style. This would seem to indicate a greater devotedness to these studies, and a greater familiarity with their object than can probably be justly admitted. At the same time there can be no doubt that Jerome was a diligent student of Hebrew, and used the best means within his reach to acquire proficiency in that language (cf. *Ep. ad Rusticum*, c. 6; *Epitaph. Paule*; *Præf. in Daniel.*; *Ep. ad Damasum*; *Proem. in Job.*, etc.; Hody, p. 359, ff.) His linguistic attainments have been ridiculously exalted by some, but we may safely allow him the praise which he himself claims (*Adv. Rufin.*), of being 'Hebræus, Græcus, Latinus, trilinguis,' and which Augustine freely concedes to him, designating him 'homo doctissimus et omnium trium linguarum peritus' (*De Civit. Dei*, l. xviii, c. 43).

2. *Reception of Jerome's Version.*—Though commenced and carried on under the sanction and encouragement of some of the most eminent authorities in the church, the work of Jerome was far from being cordially accepted by the Christian community. Jerome himself is constantly complaining, in his prefaces as well as in other parts of his writings, of the obloquy to which his undertaking was exposed, and of the injurious treatment to which he was himself subjected. He was violently attacked by Rufinus, presbyter of Aquileia, who, amongst other charges, asserts that he was misled by one of his Hebrew teachers, whose name, Barhanina, he corrupts into Barabbas ('Plautino sale,' says Jerome in his reply), and compares Jerome to the Jews, who preferred Barabbas to Jesus. To this attack Jerome replied in his *Apologia contra Rufinum*. At first, also, Augustine looked unfavourably on the new version; but afterwards he acknowledged its merits, and himself used it in his citations of Scripture (*Epp. ad Hieron.*, 28, 71, 82, 89; *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 48; *Ep. ad Audacem*; *De Doct. Christ.*, iv. 7; *Quæst. in Deut.*, 20, 24; in *Jos.*, 7, 15, 19, 24, 25; in *Jud.*, 16, 37, 47, 56). By others it was from the first cordially welcomed, and even during Jerome's lifetime it was in some churches publicly read. After his death the prejudices which had impeded its reputation gradually subsided, and in the time of Gregory the Great, about the end of the 6th century, it was in use, along with the old version, in the church of Rome, and was gradually rising above the latter in public esteem (*Moral. in Job.*, *Præf.*) Somewhat later, Isidore of Seville attests that it was in general use in all the churches, because it was more true to the meaning and clearer in expression than the other (*De off. ecclæs.*, i. 12); and from the middle of the 7th century it may be regarded as the authorised version of the Western Church, though it was at no time indicated as such by any authoritative declaration. The Psalter, however, in the older version, as corrected by Jerome (*Psalterium Gallicanum*), continued to be used, it being more difficult to

introduce a new book for psalmody than one for reading. Some of the apocryphal books, as already mentioned, were also retained from the old version, and the N. T. remained as it was left by Jerome after simply revising the old translation. From its general reception this somewhat composite work came to be known as the *editio Vulgata*, i.e. (to use the words of Jerome in reference to the LXX.), *editio toto orbe Vulgata*, the received and common text of Scripture, a title answering to the *κοινὴ ἔκδοσις* of the Greek Scriptures. This, which was at first used of the LXX., or the translation of the O. T. made from the LXX., was readily transferred thence to that of Jerome when it became current in the churches.

3. *History of Jerome's version till the invention of printing.*—The circumstances under which this version came into use could hardly fail to expose it to serious corruption, beyond that to which all unprinted documents are exposed from the ignorance or presumption of copyists. The use along with it of the old version supplied a constant temptation to alter the one from the other, and from this cause the version of Jerome became in course of time largely corrupted, especially in the parts of Scripture used for liturgical purposes. Roger Bacon asserts that it was corrupted also by the interpolation of passages taken from the offices of the church—*Ab officio ecclesiæ multa accipiunt et ponunt in textu* (Hody, p. 428). Parallel passages further offered an inducement to alteration, and in this way many changes were made on the later version. It is even alleged that it was altered to make it agree better with Josephus (Hody, l. c.) Sometimes also it was deemed proper to introduce what seemed necessary to preserve the orthodoxy of the translation; thus, after the words 'videbo Deum' (Job xix. 26) some one inserted 'salvatorem meum,' because 'videtur facere ad fidem, et quia cantatur in ecclesia' (Hugo, *Correctorium*; comp. Doederlein, *Litterarisches Museum*, St. i. 35).

From these various causes the text had become so corrupt that even in the time of Charlemagne it was felt to be necessary to make an attempt to revise it, so as to secure greater accuracy. This task was committed by that enlightened and magnanimous prince to Alcuin, who, somewhere about the year 802, undertook it, and by comparing, it is said, the existing text with the originals, and probably also collating different MSS., sought to produce a correct edition of the Latin Bible (Hody, p. 409). Alcuin says that he corrected all the books of the O. and N. T. 'examussim,' but under his idea of 'correcting' was included the rectifying of the version itself where it seemed to him not adequately to represent the original; and the result of this was that under his hands the Vulgate was still further perverted from its original condition. We may doubt also how far his collation of MSS. was conducted on critical grounds, nor do we know how far it extended. Certain it is that the text of the Vulgate remained still so unsettled, that in the 11th century it became necessary to subject it to another revision. This was undertaken by Lanfranc with the aid of other learned men; but though a writer of the time says, 'multa ad unguem emendavit' (Rob. de Monte, ap. Hody, p. 416), his work was not much known out of England, and accordingly in the next century another revision was undertaken by Cardinal Nicolaus.

Others engaged in the same work, and after the 12th century there began to be formed the so-called *Epanorthetæ* or *Correctoria Biblica*. Of these the earliest was that of the Abbot Stephanus, about the year 1150. Then followed that which the doctors of the Sorbonne issued for the use of their students, in which reference is made to an ancient MS. cited as *Parisius*, and sometimes *Correctio Parisiensis*, from which corrected readings are taken (Simon, *Hist. Crit.*, c. 9, p. 115); a copy of this Correctorium, consisting of four volumes folio, was in the library of the Abbey of Cîteaux till the time of the Revolution. The attempt of the Archbishop of Sens to introduce this Correctorium into general use called forth an interdict of it from the Dominicans (A. D. 1256), who issued Correctoria of their own. Of these, that of Hugo a Sto. Caro is the one best known; a copy of it exists in the library at Nürnberg; and in the Pauline Library at Leipzig there is another Dominican Correctorium, specimens from which are given by Carpzov (*Crit. Sac.*, p. 686). Other religious bodies, the Carthusians and the Franciscans, had also their special Correctoria (Hug, p. 278); a copy of one of the latter is in the library of the University of Freiburg, of which Hug (*l. c.*) gives an account. These Correctoria were prepared by noting on the margin of some MS. readings in which other MSS. differed from it, and appending short notes in which the readings were criticised. In determining which to prefer, the authors were guided rather by exegetical and dogmatical reasons than by those of a critical kind; and as they sometimes introduced the translations which they found in the Latin fathers, and also made new translations from the original, their labours often tended rather to deform than to correct the text of the Vulgate.

The corruptions to which the text of the Vulgate has been exposed have caused it to be regarded with considerable suspicion; and some have even gone the length of asserting that we no longer possess the translation of Jerome (see Pfeiffer, *Crit. Sac.*, *Opp.* p. 790; and Carpzov, *Crit. Sac.*, p. 680). The reasons adduced by these writers are not without weight; but the general opinion of scholars is, that they have failed to establish their position to the extent they have desired.

4. *History of the printed text.*—Among the earliest uses to which the discovery of printing was put, was the multiplying of copies of the Latin Bible; the first edition which has the place and year of publication noted is that of Mentz, 1462; for earlier editions, see Le Long, ii. 2, 58, ff., ed. Masch. As the MSS., however, from which these were executed were in a corrupt state, it is not to be wondered at that the earliest printed editions were sadly incorrect. The diffusion of copies, indeed, only made the corrupt state of the text more apparent and more generally known. Hence attempts began to be made at a critical revision of the text, and editions having critical apparatus appended were issued. Of this class are the editions of Gumelli, Paris 1504; of Castellan, Venet. 1511; of the Complutensian Polyglott, 1517; of Colinaeus, Paris 1525; of Rob. Stephen, Paris 1527, and especially the fourth edition, 1540, and following editions; of Benedictus (Benoist), Paris 1541; and of Isid. Clarius, Venet. 1542 (Le Long, *l. c.*) As the emendations in these editions, however, were often arbitrarily

made, and in some cases were really new translations, the condition of the text was still such as to give occasion for serious complaint.

During the fourth session of the Council of Trent, a commission under the presidency of Archbishop Filhol was appointed to report on the state of the text of the Vulgate. Their report was given in on the 17th of March 1546, and was to the effect that the text was so corrupt, that only the Pope could restore it to its original integrity. Hot debates ensued, in the course of which it was proposed that a new translation should be made from the original Hebrew and Greek, and pronounced to be alone authentic. Others contended that all that was required was an amended Vulgate; but much discussion arose as to the merits of Jerome's translation, and doubts were cast by some on the claims of the existing Vulgate to be regarded as Jerome's work at all. The result was a resolution, adopted on the 8th of April, declaring that the 'vetus et Vulgata editio' was alone to be held authentic, 'in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus et expositionibus'; and discharging all persons from presuming on any pretext to reject it. Some doubt has arisen as to whether this decree was intended to preclude in all cases an appeal to the original Scriptures as the final authority. Such seems unquestionably to be its obvious meaning; for if not even in controversy may any one presume to set aside the translation, there can in no case be a legitimate appeal to the original from the translation. But Hug says that 'the meaning is plainly this: As in civil affairs an authentic instrument is valid evidence, so in public religious matters the Vulgate is a document from which valid argument may be drawn, without prejudice, however, to other documents' (*Introd.*, p. 279). If this was all the Council meant, it is a pity they said so much more than this, and bound their church by an edict which undoubtedly has operated to the discouragement of all true Biblical exegesis within her pale.

Whilst thus asserting the supremacy of the Vulgate, the Tridentine divines did not attempt to decide which of the differing editions was the one to be preferred; they only enacted that henceforth the Vulgate should be imprinted in the most emended form possible (Sep. 4; Decr. 2). They appointed, however, a commission to effect a correct edition of the Vulgate; but this was suddenly suspended by order of the Pope Paul III. An attempt was also made by Hentenius, under the auspices of the theologians of Louvain, to produce a correct text by printing a revised edition of the fourth Stephanic impression, Louvain 1547. The proceedings in this matter of the Council excited derision at Rome, and provoked displeasure among scholarly men in the Romish Church, of whom such men as Maffei and Farnesi openly signified their dissatisfaction. The Court of Rome, however, seized the occasion for exerting its authority, and assumed the prerogative of issuing the authentic Scriptures. This work, begun under the auspices of Pius IV. and V., was hastily completed by Sixtus V. who fitted up a press in the Vatican for the purpose of printing it, and himself corrected the press. It appeared under the title *Biblia Sacra Vulgata editionis tribus tomis distincta*, Romæ ex Typogr. Apostol. Vat., 1590, fol.; a second title page announces that this edition is 'ad Concilii Tridentini præscriptum emendata, et a

Sixto V., P. M., recognita et approbata.' The manifold deficiencies of this edition were apparent even before it was issued, and an attempt was made to remedy or conceal them by erasing, pasting corrections over the errors, or correcting by the pen; nevertheless the work was sent forth with the highest pretensions, all other editions were interdicted, and the alteration of the minutest particle was prohibited. Pope Gregory XIV., however, saw it necessary to send forth a more worthy edition of the Vulgate text, and the work which he began was completed by Clement VIII. This, which appeared in 1592, though professing to be 'Sixti V. jussu recognita et Clementis auctoritate edita,' differed very much from the Sixtine edition, copies of which the popes endeavoured to buy up and destroy, so that it is now one of the rarest of books. In 1593 Clement sent forth another edition, which contained many alterations. The errors of the Clementine recension, and the discrepancies between it and that of Sixtus, though both issued under the supreme papal sanction, have been fully exposed by James in his *Bellum Papale, sine concordia discors Sixti quinti et Clementis octavi circa Hieronymianam editionem*, Lond. 1600; and Prosper Marchand, in Schelhorn's *Amanitates Litterariae*, iv. p. 433, ff.; see also Hody, p. 505; and Amama, *Censura vulg. vers. quinque libb. Mos.*, Francq. 1620. In 1593 an edition in 4to of the Clementine text was issued from the Vatican press, and another in 1598, sm. 4to. Both the folio and quarto editions contain the preface of Bellarmin, in which he describes the design of the editors, and the rules by which they were guided. The quarto editions have marginal references, explanations of the Hebrew names, and an index rerum; both are very incorrectly printed, and the text they present differs considerably from that of the edition of 1592. A reprint of this edition in 4to and 8vo was issued from the Plantine press, Antwerp 1599; which, however, in many places differs from its original. Almost all subsequent editions have slavishly followed that of Clement, copying even its manifest errors (see a list in Le Long—Masch ii. 3, p. 249, ff.) Recent editions are those of L.

van Ess, 3 vols., Tüb. 1822; Kistemaker, 3 vols., Münster 1823; an edition published by authority of Leo XII. at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 8vo, 1826; one in sm. folio, published at Besançon and Paris 1839; and that of Fleck, Lips. 1840. An attempt to produce a correcter text has recently been made by Vercellone in an edition published by him at Rome in 1861. Of great value also are his *Varia Lectiones Vulgate Lat. Bib. editionis*, tom. i., ii., part i (Pent.—I Regg.), Rom. 1860-62, 4to. The earlier work of Bukentop (*Lux de luce*, etc., Colon. Agripp. 1710, 4to), in which the doubtful and various readings of the Clementine edition are illustrated from the original texts, and the Sixtine edition is discussed, possesses also much utility. A critical edition of the Vulgate text yet remains a desideratum.

5. *Principal codices of the Vulgate.*—1. *Cod. Amiantinus*, of the middle of the 6th century, the oldest and best extant; in the Laurentian library at Florence; it contains the O. T., except Baruch, and the N. T.; the latter has been edited from it by Tischendorf, Lips. 1850, 4to.

2. *Biblia Gothica Toldeanae Ecclesiae*, of the 8th century, containing all the books except Baruch (Vercellone, *Var. Lectt.*, i. p. 84).

3. *Cod. Cavensis*, of the 8th century, if not earlier; contains the O. and N. T.; belongs to the monastery of La Cava, near Salerno; examined by Tischendorf.

4. *Cod. Paullinus*, of the 9th century, wants Baruch; at Rome (Vercellone, *l. c.*)

5. *Cod. Statianus* hod. *Valliedlanus*, of the 9th century; at Rome (*Ibid.*)

6. *Cod. Ottobonianus*, of the 8th century, contains the Octateuch; in the Vatican (*Ibid.*)

7. *Biblia Carolina*, of the 9th century; wants Baruch, and the two last leaves are by a later hand; in the cantonal library at Zürich.

8. *Biblia Bamburgensis*, of the 9th century, wants the Apocalypse; it has Jerome's Epistle to Paulinus prefixed in large uncials, the rest of the MS. is minuscular; in this MS. 1 John v. 7 appears thus (Kopp, *Bilder u. Schriften der Vorzeit* i. 184):

Et ipse qui testis fitatur. qm̄ xp̄i test
ueritatis qm̄ trer sunt qui testimonium dant. sp̄
aqua et sanguis. et trer unum sunt.

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9. *Cod. Alcuini*, of the 9th century, containing the O. and N. T. (except Baruch); supposed to be that offered to Charlemagne at his coronation; formerly in the possession of the recluses at Moutier de Grandval, now in the British Museum (Addit., 10, 546).

10. A MS. on very clean parchment, probably of the 13th century; formerly at Altdorf, now at Erlangen (Niederer, *Nachrichten zur Kirchen-Gehlehrten- und Bücher-Geschichte*, x. 125).

11. A MS., of the 13th century, described in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, xvii. 183, ff.

12. *Cod. Fuldensis*, of the 6th century, contains the N. T., with the gospels in the form of a harmony; used by Lachmann in his edition of the Latin subjoined to his Greek N. T.; a specimen was published by Ranke, Marb. 1860, 4to.

13. *Cod. Forojuliensis*; contains the four gospels; edited along with fragments of Mark's gospel from the Prague MS. (previously edited by Dobrowski, *Fragmentum Pragense Ev. S. Marci*, etc., Prag. 1778, 4to), and other remains of the same gospel from MSS. preserved at Venice, by Bianchini, *Append. ad Evangel. quadrupl.*

the O. and N. T., Basil. 1551, again 1573, and at Leipz. 1738.

10. The version of Junius and Tremellius appeared at Frankfurt in parts between 1575 and 1579, and in a collected form in 1579, 2 vols. fol. Tremellius took the principal part in this work; his son-in-law Junius rather assisting him than sharing the work with him. Tremellius translated the N. T. from the Syriac, and this, along with Beza's translation, appeared in an edition of Tremellius's Bible, published at London in 1585. The translation of Piscator is only an amended edition of that of Tremellius.

11. Thomas Malvenda, a Spanish Dominican, engaged in a 'nova ex Hebraeo translatio,' which he did not live to finish. What he accomplished was published along with his commentaries, 5 vols., Lugd. 1650, fol.; but the extreme barbarism of his style has caused his labours to pass into oblivion. He died in 1628.

12. Cocceius has given a new translation of most of the Biblical books in his commentaries, *Opera Omnia*, tom. i.-vi., Amsterdam 1701.

13. Sebastian Schmid executed a translation of the O. and N. T., which appeared after his death in 4to, Argentor. 1696; it has been repeatedly reprinted, and is esteemed for its scholarly exactness, though in some cases its adherence to the original is over close.

14. The version of Jean le Clerc (Clericus) is found along with his commentaries; it appeared in portions from 1693 to 1731.

15. Charles Fr. Houbigant issued a translation of the O. T. and the Apocrypha, along with his edition of the Hebrew text, Par. 1753, 4 vols. fol.

16. A new translation of the O. T. was undertaken by J. A. Dathe; it appeared between 1773 and 1789. At one time much admired, this version has of late ceased perhaps to receive the attention to which it is entitled.

17-19. Versions of the Gospels by Ch. Wilh. Thalemann (Berl. 1781); of the Epistles, by Godf. Sigism. Jaspis (2 vols., Lips. 1793-1797); and of the whole N. T. by H. Godf. Reichard (Lips. 1799), belong to the school of Castellio.

20. H. A. Schott and F. Winzer commenced a translation of the Bible, of which only the first vol. has appeared, containing the Pentateuch, Alton. et Lips. 1816. Schott has also issued a translation of the N. T., appended to his edition of the Greek text, Lips. 1805. This has passed into four editions, of which the last (1839) was superintended by Baumgarten-Crusius.

Translations of the N. T. have also been issued by F. A. Ad. Naebe (Lips. 1831), and Ad. Goeschen (Lips. 1832). (Carpzov, *Crit. Sac.*, p. 707, ff.; Fritzsche, *Art. Vulgata*, in Herzog's *Encyc.*; *Bible of Every Land*, p. 210, etc.)

Literature.—Simon, *Hist. Crit. des Versions du N. T.* 1690; Hody, *De Bibliorum textibus originalibus, versionibus Graecis et Latina Vulgata*, Libri iv., Oxon. 1705, fol.; Martianay, *Hieronymi Opp.*, Par. 1693; Blachinus, *Vindiciae Canonis S.S. Vulg. Lat. ed.*, Rom. 1740; Riegler, *Krit. Gesch. der Vulgata*, Sulzb. 1820; L. van Ess, *Pragmatisch-Krit. Gesch. der Vulgata*, Tüb. 1824; Wiseman, Two Letters on 1 John v. 7, reprinted in his *Essays*, vol. i. *The Introductions* of Eichhorn, Michaelis, Hug, De Wette, Hävernick, Bleek, etc. Davidson's *Biblical Criticism*; Reuss, *Gesch. der Heil. Sch. A. T.*, sec. 448-457; Herzog,

Encycl. Art. Vulgata; etc. The copious and valuable *Art. Vulgate* in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, the writer had an opportunity of consulting only after his own Article was prepared for the press.—W. L. A.

LATTICE. This word represents in the A. V. three Hebrew words.

1. **אֶשְׁכֶּנֶת**. This occurs Judg. v. 28, and Prov. vii. 6, in the latter of which places it is rendered *casement*. In both places it is in parallelism with **חֲלֹן**, *window*. In all probability it denotes the latticed opening which in Oriental houses serves the purpose at once of allowing a cooling breeze to enter the house, and permitting the inmates to look out on the outer world without being themselves seen [HOUSE; cut 273]. Gesenius derives it from **שָׁנַב**, *to be cool*; and Lee compares the Ar.

أَشْنَب *ashnabon*, having a cool mouth. Fürst finds in it rather the idea of *interlacing* or *pegging one into another* (ineinanderzapfen); and connects it with **שָׁלָבִים** (1 Kings vii. 28, 29). The LXX. renders by **ροζάουρα**, which, according to Jerome, is a window widening inwards from a narrow aperture like the barb of an arrow; according to others, a slit in the wall through which the archers might discharge their arrows, such as we still see in old castles and keeps.

2. **חֲרָצִים** (Song of Sol. ii. 9), latticed or reticulated openings; LXX. **μεσοστάδια**. The Targ. gives **חֲרָצָה** as the equivalent word both here and of **אֶשְׁכֶּנֶת** in Prov. vii. 6.

3. **שֶׁכֶּנֶת**. This word means primarily *a net* (Job xviii. 8); thence the *net-work* used in balustrades, or on the capital of pillars (1 Kings vii. 17, 20, 42; 2 Kings xxv. 17; Jer. lii. 22, 23, etc.); and finally, the *lattice-work* of a window (2 Kings i. 2).—W. L. A.

LAURENCE, RICHARD, D.C.L., was born at Bath in the year 1760. He matriculated in the University of Oxford, July 14, 1778, as an exhibitor of Corpus Christi College, took the degree of B.A. April 10, 1782, that of M.A. July 9, 1785, and those of B. and D.C.L. June 27, 1794. Upon the appointment, in 1796, of his brother, Dr. French Laurence, to the regius-professorship of civil law, he was made deputy professor, and took up his residence in Oxford. He was the preacher of the Bampton Lectures in 1804, and in consequence of the reputation he thence acquired, he was presented by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the rectory of Mersham, Kent. In 1814 he was appointed to the chair of regius-professor of Hebrew, and to the canonry of Christchurch, Oxford, and in 1822 was elevated to the archiepiscopal see of Cashel. He died suddenly in Dublin, December 28, 1838. His most important contributions to Biblical literature are his translations of certain Apocryphal books of the O. T. from the Ethiopic, and the critical investigations with which they were accompanied. These are, 1. *Ascensio Isaiae Vatis, opusculum pseudepigraphum, multis abhinc seculis, ut videtur, deperditum, nunc autem apud Ethiopias compertum et cum versione Latina Anglicanaque publici juris factum*, Oxon. 1819, 8vo. 2. *Primi Ezrae Libri, qui apud vulgatum appellatur quartus, versio Ethiopica nunc*

primo in medium prolata et Latine, Angliceque reddita, Oxon. 1820, 8vo. The translation is followed by general remarks upon the different versions of this book, its apocryphal character, the creed of its author, and the probable period of its composition, which he places between the years B.C. 28 and B.C. 25. 3. *The Book of Enoch the Prophet, an apocryphal production, supposed to have been lost for ages, but discovered at the close of the last century in Abyssinia, now first published from an Ethiopic MS. in the Bodleian Library*, Oxf. 1821, 8vo; 3d. ed. 1838. In addition to these, Dr. Laurence is the author of the following critical or exegetical works—4. *Remarks on the Systematical Classification of MSS. adopted by Griesbach in his edition of the Greek Testament*, Oxf. 1814, 8vo. 5. *A dissertation on the Logos of St. John*, Oxf. 1808, 8vo. 6. *Critical reflections upon some important misrepresentations contained in the Unitarian version of the N. T.*, Oxf. 1811, 8vo. 7. *The book of Job in the words of the A. V., arranged and printed in conformity with the Massoretic text*, Dublin 1828, 8vo. 8. *On the existence of the Soul after death; a dissertation opposed to the principles of Priestley, Law, and their respective followers*. By R. C. Lond. 1834, 8vo. This work discusses the usage of the terms *κοιμᾶσθαι* and *Sheol*, and enters into the critical examination of various Scriptural narratives.—S. N.

LAVER (לָוֶה; לוֹטֶה). 1. A vessel made by divine command (Exod. xxx. 18), of the brazen mirrors of the women that served—*marg.* 'assembled by troops'—at the door of the tabernacle (xxxviii. 8), and set up between the altar of burnt-offerings and the curtain of the sanctuary (xl. 30). Its shape is unknown, but is thought to have been circular. It contained water wherewith the priests were to wash their hands and their feet whenever they entered the tabernacle, or came near to the altar to minister (xl. 32). It had a 'foot' (רֶגֶל, *basus*), which seems, from the distinct mention constantly made of it—'and his foot'—to have been something more than a mere stand or support. Probably it formed a lower basin to catch the water which flowed, through taps or otherwise, from the laver. The priests could not have washed in the laver itself, as all the water would have been thereby defiled, and so would have had to be renewed for each ablution. It has been suggested that they held their hands and feet under streams that flowed from the laver, and that the 'foot' caught the water that fell. As no mention is made of a vessel wherewith to wash the parts of the victims offered in sacrifice, it is presumed that the laver served this purpose also.

2. In Solomon's Temple, besides a very large vessel, called from its size the molten sea [SEA, MOLTEN], and used for the ablutions of the priests (then become very numerous), there were ten lavers of brass for washing the sacrifices. These were doubtless very elaborate and ornamental. A minute description is given of the bases on which they stood, and their several parts and ornaments (1 Kings vii. 27-39); but it is so difficult to understand, that hardly two writers on Bible antiquities agree about its interpretation. Each base would seem to have been a hollow chest, four cubits in length, four in width, and three in height (LXX., six cubits high). The four sides cast of brass had

'borders' (panels it is supposed) in ledges or mouldings, on which were bas-reliefs of lions, oxen, and cherubim, and, beneath these, garlands or festoons—'certain additions of light work'

(לֵיחָ, *corolla pensiles*). The base stood upon the brazen axles of four cast wheels (each one and a half cubit in diameter), after the manner of ordinary chariots—not immediately on the axles themselves, but on four feet which were fastened to the axles—so that the sides adorned with bas-reliefs were raised above the circumference of the wheels, and the wheels stood under the panels (Keil). Upon the ledges 'was a base above.' This seems to have been a hollow basin, standing half a cubit in height, to receive the water that fell from the laver. It, too, was ornamented with carved figures—cherubim, lions, and palm-trees, and 'addition round about.' Above this basin stood the laver on cast shoulder-pieces, rising from the four corners of the base. Each laver contained forty baths, and was four cubits in diameter. The shape is not given, it was probably circular. The wheels under the bases were doubtless intended to facilitate removal from one spot to another; but the appointed place of the lavers was five on the right hand and five on the left of the court of the priests (2 Chron. iv. 6). King Ahaz cut off the borders of the bases, and removed the lavers from off them (2 Kings xvi. 17), and gave them to the king of Assyria; and the bases themselves were ultimately broken in pieces by the Chaldeans, and the brass of them carried to Babylon (2 Kings xxv. 13).—J. G. C.

LAW (תּוֹרָה; Gr. νόμος) means a rule of conduct enforced by an authority superior to that of the moral beings to whom it is given. The word law is sometimes also employed in order to express not only the moral connection between free agents inferior and superior, but also in order to express the *nexus causalis*, the connection between cause and effect in inanimate nature. The expression, however, *law of nature*, is improper and figurative. The term *law* implies, in its strict sense, *spontaneity*, or the power of deciding between right and wrong, and of choosing between good and evil, as well on the part of the lawgiver as on the part of those who have to regulate their conduct according to his dictates. It frequently signifies not merely an individual rule of conduct, as תּוֹרַת הָעוֹלָה, *the law of burnt offering*; תּוֹרַת הַיֹּלָדָה (Lev. xii. 2), the law concerning the conduct of women after childbirth; תּוֹרַת הַמִּצְוָה, the law concerning the conduct of persons afflicted with leprosy (Lev. xiv. 2); תּוֹרַת הַבֵּית, the description of a building to be erected by an architect;—but it signifies also a whole body of legislation; as תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה (1 Kings ii. 3; 2 Kings xxiii. 25; Ezra iii. 2), *the law given by Moses*, which, in reference to its divine origin, is called תּוֹרַת יְהוָה, *the law of Jehovah* (Ps. xix. 8; xxxvii. 31; Is. v. 24; xxx. 9). In the latter sense it is called, by way of eminence, הַתּוֹרָה, *the law* (Deut. i. 5; iv. 8, 44; xvii. 18, 19; xxvii. 3, 8). If not the substance of legislation, but rather the external written code in which it is contained is meant, the following terms are employed: סֵפֶר תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה (2 Kings xiv. 6; Is. viii. 16; xxiv. 5); סֵפֶר תּוֹרַת אֱלֹהִים or סֵפֶר תּוֹרַת יְהוָה (Josh. xxiv. 26).

In a wider sense, the word νόμος is employed in the N. T. to express any guiding or directing power, originating from the nature of anything existing. The apostolic use of the word has been well expressed by Claudius Guillaud in his work, *In Omnes Pauli Epistolas Collatio*, p. 21. Law is a certain power restraining from some, and impelling to other things or actions. Whatever has such a power, and exercises any sway over man, may be called law, in a metaphorical sense. Thus the apostle (Rom. vii. 23) calls the right impulses and the sanctified will of the mind, νόμος τοῦ νοῦς, *the law of the mind*; and the perverse desire to sin which is inherent in our members, νόμος ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν, *the law in the members*. In the same manner he calls that power of faith which certainly governs the whole man, since the actions of every man are swayed by his convictions, νόμος πίστεως, *the law of faith*. So, the power and value ascribed to ceremonies, or rather to all outward acts, he designates, νόμος τῶν ἐντολῶν, *the law of precepts*.

Similar expressions are, νόμος τῆς ἀμαρτίας, *the law of sin* (Rom. vii. 23); νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος, *the law of the Spirit* (viii. 2); νόμος δικαιοσύνης, *the law of righteousness* (ix. 31); νόμος τοῦ ἀνδρός, the authority of the husband over his wife (vii. 2); νόμος θεουθεντίας (James i. 25; ii. 12), the holy impulse created by the sense of spiritual liberty.

If, however, the word νόμος alone is used, it is almost invariably equivalent to ὁ νόμος Μωυσέως: and ὁ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ are the subjects of the Mosaic theocracy, viz., the Jews, who practise the ἀνδγαυίας τοῦ νόμου, *the reading of the law* (Acts xiii. 15), are Ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου (xxi. 20), τηρεῖν (xv. 5, 24), or φυλάσσειν, ποιεῖν (Rom. ii. 14), πράσσειν (ii. 25), τὸν νόμον (Acts xxi. 24), *zealots for the observance and performance of the law*, although they debate often περὶ ζητημάτων τοῦ νόμου αὐτῶν, about mere legal quibbles; so that, as mere hearers, they cannot expect the blessings promised to the doers of the law.

עדות מצות חקים ומשפטים, μαρτύρια, δικαιώματα, ἐντολαί, κρίματα, κρίσεις, προστάγματα, are the various precepts contained in the law, תורה, νόμος.

The Mosaic law is especially embodied in the last four books of the Pentateuch. In Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, there is perceptible some arrangement of the various precepts, although they are not brought into a system. In Deuteronomy the law or legislation contained in the three preceding books is repeated with slight modifications. The whole legislation has for its manifest object to found a theocratical hierarchy, the manifest aim of which is to make that which is really holy (τὸ ἅγιον) prevail [MOSES, LAW OF].

The Jews divide the whole Mosaic law into 613 precepts, of which 248 are affirmative and 365 negative. The number of the affirmative precepts corresponds to the 248 members of which, according to Rabbinical anatomy, the whole human body consists. The number of the negative precepts corresponds to the 365 days of the solar year; or, according to the Rabbinical work *Brandspiegel* (which has been published in Jewish-German at Cracow and in other places), the negative precepts agree in number with the 365 veins which, they say, are found in the human body. Hence their logic concludes that if on each day each member of the human body keeps one affirmative precept

and abstains from one thing forbidden, the whole law, and not the decalogue alone, is kept. The whole law is sometimes called by Jewish writers, *Therlog*, which word is formed from the Hebrew letters that are employed to express the number 613; viz., 400 = ת + 200 = ק + 10 = י + 3 = נ. Hence 613 = תרי"ג *theriog*. Women are subject to the negative precepts or prohibitions only, and not to the affirmative precepts or injunctions. This exception arises partly from their nature, and partly from their being subject to the authority of husbands. According to some Rabbinical statements women are subject to 100 precepts only, of which 64 are negative and 36 affirmative. The number 613 corresponds also to the number of letters in the decalogue. Others are inclined to find that there are 620 precepts according to the numerical value of the word כתר = crown; viz., 400 = ת + 200 = ק + 20 = נ; and others, again, observe that the numerical value of the letters תורה, *law*, amounts only to 611.

The Jews assert that, besides the *written law*, תורה שכתוב, νόμος ἑγγραφός, which may be translated into other languages, and which is contained in the Pentateuch, there was communicated to

Moses on Mount Sinai an *oral law*, תורה שבעל פה, νόμος ἀγραφός, which was subsequently written down, together with many Rabbinical observations, and is contained in the twelve folio volumes which now constitute the Talmud, and which the Jews assert cannot be, or at least ought not to be, translated [TALMUD].

In the O. T. we do not read of a learned profession of the law. Lawyers (νομικοί) are mentioned only after the decline of the Mosaic institutions had considerably advanced. It is, indeed, very remarkable, that in a nation so entirely governed by law, there were no lawyers forming a distinct profession, and that the νομικοί of a later age were not so much remarkable for enforcing the spirit of the law, as rather for ingeniously evading its injunctions, by leading the attention of the people from its spirit to a most minute literal fulfilment of its letter [LAWYER].—C. H. F. B.

[Münster Seb., *Præcepta Mosaica* 613 cum succincta et plerumque mirabili et supersticiosa Rabbinorum expositione, Heb. and Lat., Basil 1533; Hottinger, *Juris Heb. Leges* 261 ductu R. Levi Barzelonite, Tig. 1655; Selden, *De Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Heb. disciplinam*, Argent. 1665; Michaelis, *Commentaries on the laws of Moses*; Stäudlin, *Commentationes II. de Legum Mosaicarum*, Göttingæ 1796; Purmann, *De fontibus et aconomia Legum Mosaicarum*, Francofurti 1789; T. G. Erdmann, *Leges Mosis præstantiores esse legibus Lycurgi et Solonis*, Vitebergæ 1788; Hartmann, *Verbindung des Alten und Neuen Testaments*; Heeren, *Ideen*, ii. 430, seq., Beilage iv.; De Wette, *Sittenlehre*, ii. 21, seq.; Creizenach, *Schulchan Aruch, oder Darstellung des Mos. Gesetzes*, 4 parts, Frankf. 1833. On the abolition of the law, see several dissertations and programmata of the elder Witsch, published in Wittenberg, and *De Legis Mosaicæ Abrogatione*, scripsit C. H. F. Bialloblotzky, Göttingæ 1824.]

LAWYER (νομικός). This word, in its general sense, denotes one skilled in the law, as in Tit. iii. 13. When, therefore, one is called a lawyer, this is understood with reference to the laws of the land in which he lived, or to which he belonged.

Hence among the Jews a lawyer was one versed in the laws of Moses, which he taught in the schools and synagogues (Matt. xxviii. 35; Luke x. 25). The same person who is called 'a lawyer' in these texts, is in the parallel passage (Mark xii. 28) called a scribe (*γραμματεὺς*); whence it has been inferred that the functions of the lawyers and the scribes were identical. The individual may have been both a lawyer and a scribe; but it does not thence follow that all lawyers were scribes. Some suppose, however, that the 'scribes' were the public expounders of the law, while the 'lawyers' were the private expounders and teachers of it. But this is a mere conjecture; and nothing more is really known than that the 'lawyers' were expounders of the law, whether publicly or privately, or both.—J. K.

LAW AND PROPHETS, READING OF. [HAIPIHTHARA.]

LAZARUS (*Ἀδάρος*; *Lazarus*), the Greek contracted form of the Hebrew proper name *עֲלִיזָר*, *Eleazar*, 'God aids.' It is applied to two persons in the N. T.—Lazarus of Bethany, and Lazarus the beggar.

1. *Lazarus of Bethany*.—The story of Lazarus is a fragment—one of those wonderful episodes we sometimes meet with in the Bible. It is told by only one evangelist. It is brief, simple, and graphic; and there is a dramatic power in it not surpassed in sacred history. The story is introduced abruptly, and the characters are all grouped before the reader's mind without a word of preface, except a single note to identify Mary. It is evident the narrator takes it for granted that Lazarus was well known to his readers, and that his sisters, Mary and Martha, were distinguished persons. The disciples of our Lord must all have been intimately acquainted with the family of Bethany, and, like their Master, deeply attached to them (John xi. 16); and the churches planted by them had, no doubt, often heard from their lips the account of the miracle. The notoriety of the miracle, and the public attention directed by it to Lazarus and his sisters, may account for the abrupt way in which the story is introduced by John. Possibly, too, in his day—after the other disciples had passed away from the scene of their labours—doubts had begun to be cast on the reality of the miracle, or some legendary details to be added; John consequently relates, in a brief but singularly striking manner, the whole facts and circumstances, thus leaving the authentic narrative on the permanent inspired record. The name of Lazarus is not mentioned except in connection with the miracle. We have no direct information regarding his social status, the sect or party to which he belonged, the events of his previous life, or the way in which he had become acquainted with Jesus; nor are we told what effect the miracle produced upon him, or how the life so wonderfully prolonged was employed. It appears that his history, with the exception of this one event, was unimportant so far as the divine purpose in Revelation was concerned. The facts related are simply these:—He resided at Bethany with his sisters Mary and Martha. While Jesus was in Peræa, during the third year of his public ministry (see Robinson's *Harmony of the Gospels*), Lazarus was taken with a dangerous disease. His sisters sent a special messenger to inform Jesus, who re-

plied, 'This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God, that the Son of God might be glorified thereby.' He remained in Peræa two days longer, and then told his disciples that Lazarus was dead. It is probable that he died just about the time the messenger reached Jesus; for Bethany of Peræa (A. V. *Bethabara*; see Lachmann, Tischendorf, Alford, etc., *in loc.*) was about two days' journey from Jerusalem; the messenger took two days to go; Jesus remained two days in Peræa after his arrival; he spent two more on the journey to Bethany, and when he reached the village Lazarus had already been in the grave 'four days.' In consequence of the rapid progress of decomposition in that climate, it was, and still is, customary to bury on the day of death. Jesus, after an interesting and affecting interview with the sisters outside the village, is taken to the grave. 'It was a cave (*σπηλαιον*), and a stone lay upon it.' Jesus said, 'Take away the stone.' Martha remonstrated: 'Lord, by this time he stinketh' (*ἤδη δέσσει*—spoken evidently not as a mere supposition, but as a fact—Alford, Stier), for it is the fourth day.' This made the miracle all the more wonderful. Jesus said to her, 'Did I not tell thee, that if thou wouldest believe thou shouldst see the glory of God?' Then they removed the stone, and Jesus said, 'Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me'—words uttered for the benefit of those standing around, that they might have visible demonstration of the truth of his Divine mission. Having finished his short prayer, 'He cried with a loud voice (*φωνῇ μεγάλῃ*—which all could distinctly hear), *Lazarus, come forth*.' And he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave-clothes: and his face was bound about with a napkin' (cf. Matt. xxvii. 59; Mark xv. 46; John xix. 40; xx. 6, 7—see article BURIAL). 'Jesus saith unto them, Loose him, and let him go.' And so the story of Lazarus ends as abruptly as it began (John xi. 1-46).

A little later in the gospel narrative Lazarus' name is again incidentally mentioned, but still in connection with the great miracle. After the miracle Jesus was compelled to retire to the city of Ephraim (John xi. 54), and thence he went to Galilee and Peræa (cf. Matt. xix. 1; Mark x. 1; Robinson, *Harmony of the Gospels*). From Peræa he returned (six days before the Passover, *i.e.*, on Saturday, John xii. 1) 'to Bethany, where Lazarus was, whom he had raised from the dead.' A great supper was there prepared in his honour, and 'Lazarus was one of them that sat at the table with him' (ver. 2). Lazarus was now the engrossing subject of interest to the Jews, and the cause of intense excitement. The minds of the populace were so powerfully influenced by the miracle wrought upon him that the rulers resolved to put him to death as well as Jesus (ver. 11). The result of their schemes, so far as Lazarus is concerned, are not recorded, and we hear no more of him.

This is the whole amount of direct information concerning Lazarus contained in the sacred narrative. There are a few incidental expressions and allusions, however, which when thoughtfully considered cannot fail to invest the story with additional interest, and to shed upon it new light. Lazarus was 'of Bethany (*ἀπὸ Βηθανίας*), of the village of Mary and Martha' (*ἐκ τῆς κώμης, κ.τ.λ.*) Some critics say that the *ἀπὸ* signifies *present resi-*

dence, and *ex nativitate*. Lazarus was thus a *resident* in Bethany at the time of the miracle, but a native of the village of Mary, which is supposed to have been in Galilee (Gresswell, *Dissertations*, ii. 481, *seq.*; Wahl, *Clavis N. T.*) This distinction has been rejected by the best modern critics (Alford, Kuinoel, Lücke). Bethany is called 'the village of Mary and Martha,' who thus appear to have been better known than Lazarus. Probably Martha possessed property (Lampius), and was the proprietor of the house in which Jesus had lodged; so we might conclude from the statement of Luke, who says 'she received Jesus, *eis τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς*, into her house' (x. 38); and Mary had, perhaps, by her devoted attachment to Jesus, acquired distinction among his followers [MARY]. This view appears to be confirmed by the remark — 'It was Mary who anointed the Lord with ointment and wiped his feet with her hair, whose brother Lazarus was sick' (John xi. 2). Our Lord had known the family for some time. It is apparently the first introduction which Luke describes (x. 38-42) — 'It came to pass that he entered into a certain village, and a certain woman named Martha (Trench suggests 'perhaps an early widow with whom her sister and Lazarus, a younger brother, resided,' *Miracles*, p. 391, note, 6th ed.) received him into her house. Mary sat at his feet and heard his word; but Lazarus is not then mentioned at all. From that time Jesus appears to have made the house his home whenever he visited Jerusalem (Mark xi. 11-19; Matt. xxi. 17). The sweet repose he enjoyed there after the exciting and jarring scenes in the city, the delicate attentions and singular attachment of the gentle Mary, and the warm generous hospitality of Martha, as contrasted with the coldness and scorn of the world, and the unnatural enmity of his own kindred, touched the heart of the Saviour, and contributed no doubt to awaken those feelings so simply and yet so beautifully expressed by John, 'Now Jesus loved Martha, and her sister, and Lazarus' (xi. 5). These explain, too, that passionate burst of grief (*ἐνέβριμματο τῷ πνεύματι καὶ ἐδάκρυεν αὐτὸν . . . ἑδράκρυεν*, Maldonatus and Stier, *in loc.*) which compelled even the scoffing Pharisees to exclaim, 'Behold how he loved him!' (John xi. 33, 35). The family of Lazarus seems to have been rich and influential (see Faber Stapul, *Evangel. Joan.*, p. 604). The perfume with which Mary anointed Jesus, which is described as *πιστικῆς πολυτιμῆς*, 'genuine and exceeding costly' — value for about £10 of *our money*; the private rock-hewn sepulchre which none but the wealthy could afford to excavate (Is. xxii. 16); and the numbers of Jews who came from Jerusalem to condole with them, were all indications of wealth and influence. The family was doubtless among the *dite* of Bethany, freely associating, too, even with the chief men of Jerusalem.

Lazarus was present at the feast given to our Lord in the house of Simon the Leper. Some critics affirm that the feast mentioned in John xii. 2-8 is not the same as that of which we read in Matt. xxvi. 6-13, and Mark xiv. 3-9 (Origen, Chrysostom, Lightfoot, Wolf, etc.), but the circumstances related are too numerous and minute to admit of such a view (Alford, Meyer, Lange). John does not name Simon, nor does he tell us where the feast was: — 'There (in Bethany) they made him a supper' (xii. 2). The supper appears

to have been given on account of the miracle wrought on Lazarus, and not, as Lange thinks, because Jesus had healed Simon. It is not known who Simon was; but from the fact that 'Martha served,' and from the expression 'they made him a supper' (*ἐποίησαν οὖν αὐτῷ*), we might infer that Martha was at home, and that Simon was her husband, though separated from her and from society on account of his disease. John does not say *who* made the supper; yet the context seems to connect the plural verb with the three parties mentioned, Martha, Mary, and Lazarus (see in Alford; Gresswell, *Dissert.* ii. 554, *seq.*; Ellicott, *Lectures on Life of our Lord*, p. 283). Some suppose that Simon was Lazarus' father, and there was a very old tradition to this effect (Nicephorus, *Hist. Ec.* i. 27; Theophylact, in Matt. xxxi.; Ewald, *Gesch. Christus*).

No miracle hitherto performed by Jesus was so stupendous in its character, and had so greatly excited the Jewish mind, both for good and evil, as the resurrection of Lazarus. We cannot wonder at what Bayle (*Dict.*, s. v. *Spinoza*) relates of the leader of modern infidelity, Spinoza: 'On m'a assuré, qu'il disoit à ses amis, que s'il eût pu se persuader la résurrection de Lazare, il auroit brisé en pièces tout son système, il auroit embrassé sans répugnance la foi ordinaire des Chrétiens.' In fact, if this miracle can be proved, it establishes on an indestructible basis the divine power and mission of our Lord. No thoughtful man could resist such evidence. Therefore, as might be anticipated, the enemies of Christianity have exhausted philosophy and fancy alike in their efforts to overthrow its authenticity. The coarse assertions of Woolston are not now worth notice; they were disposed of long since by Lardner (*Vindication*, in *Works*, vol. x., ed. 1838). The rationalistic views of Paulus (*Kritisch. Kommentar.*) and Gabler (*Journal für Auserl. Theol. Lit.*, iii. 235) have been successfully refuted by Strauss (*Leben Jesu*; see also Kuinoel, in John xi.); and the mythological dreams of the latter have been dissipated by a host of later German writers, and the reality of the story triumphantly established (see especially Neander, *Das Leben Jesu Christi*; Stier, and Olshausen, *ad loc.*) The views of Paulus have just been revived in the lively romance of M. E. Renan, entitled *Vie de Jesus*. He confesses that there is an appearance of circumstantiality in the narrative of this miracle which distinguishes it from others. He says, indeed, that at this distance of time, and with one version of it only, it is impossible absolutely to decide whether all is fiction, or whether there is a basis of truth; yet he proceeds, 'Il est donc vraisemblable que le prodige dont il s'agit ne fut pas un de ces miracles complètement légendaires et dont personne n'est responsable. En d'autres termes, nous pensons qu'il se passa à Béthanie quelque chose qui fut regardé comme une résurrection' (p. 360). Renan's account is, that the friends of Jesus, anxious to give sceptical Jews some convincing proof of his divine mission, took advantage of the sickness of Lazarus, laid him in the family tomb, led Jesus to the sepulchre immediately on his arrival at Bethany; and then, when he expressed a wish to see the corpse of his friend, the stone was removed, and Lazarus rose! All thought it was a miracle, Jesus himself was deceived. The *pious fraud* of the devoted family was successful. Such is the monstrous opinion advanced with all seriousness by this philosophical French critic.

Nothing could be more unlikely; in more direct antagonism to the whole circumstances of the narrative. If there be any truth in the words of John, such a fraud was impossible. There is a precision and minuteness of detail, conversational, psychological, and topographical, in the story, which separates it entirely from the domain of legend. The evangelist is evidently telling what he saw and heard, and what left an indelible impress on his mind. Every sentence of the narrative demands, and will amply repay, a thoughtful study; and such a study cannot fail to carry with it the conviction of its reality. We note the simple message of the sisters to Jesus concerning their sick brother, 'He whom thou lovest is sick.' Christ's deliberate delay that he might work out the glory of God (ver. 4). The way in which he tells his disciples of Lazarus' death; their misunderstanding of his meaning at first, and their passionate expression of sorrow at last, 'Let us also go, that we may die with him' (16). The great concourse of people to condole with the sisters, as was the custom of the Jews (Lightfoot, *ad loc.*; Trench, *Miracles*, p. 399). The meeting of Jesus and the sisters; each of the latter giving utterance to the feeling which had filled both their minds, and formed the subject of their united lamentations during the 'four days,' 'Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died' (vers. 21, 32). Christ's words of comfort and hope, which the sisters *cannot* fully comprehend (vers. 23-27). The outward manifestations of grief on the part of the crowd that had gathered round them, so characteristic of Eastern customs (33). The approach to and description of the tomb (38). The painful remonstrance of Martha, practical Martha (cf. Luke x. 40), 'Lord, by this time he stinketh,' which must have been literally true, unless we suppose a continuous miracle in operation from the moment of death; for in the East decomposition sets in in a few hours (cf. Augustine, Hilary, Tertullian, and others, cited by Trench, p. 413). Then, finally, the account of the resurrection—so simple, and yet so grand. One almost thinks he sees it. If ever there was a narrative of *facts*, this is one. The *publicity* of the miracle made deception impossible. In the East a death is known to, and excites, the whole community in such a village as Bethany. We may well suppose, too, that the entire population saw the miracle performed. A large number from the neighbouring city were there also (John xi. 19)—learned, fanatical, sceptical men—prepared to scrutinize every act of Jesus, and expose any attempt at deception. It ought not to be forgotten that the word *Jesus*, Ἰησοῦς, with John, designates the *chiefs of the Jewish people*, the members of the Sanhedrim—the dominant and learned party who were characterised by bitter hostility to Jesus (i. 19; vii. 12, 13; viii. 22; ix. 22 [Jews]; Alford, *in loc.*; Bleek, *Beiträge*; Trench, *Miracles*, pp. 400, 411). The momentous effects of the miracle, too, tend to show its reality. The moment the report of it was carried to Jerusalem, a meeting of the Sanhedrim was summoned. The members of that august council assembled in alarm. 'What do we?' was the question they addressed to each other, 'for this man doeth many miracles. If we let him alone, all men will believe on him' (John xi. 46-48). They determined that Jesus should die (ver. 53). He knew their plans, and he retired for a time from the holy city (ver. 54). On his return to Bethany, the rebuke

he gave to Judas for his unseemly attack on the devoted Mary, when she anointed him at the supper, was the immediate cause of the betrayal (John xii. 4-8, with Matt. xxvi. 8-14; Alford, *in loc.*) The fame of the miracle spread through the surrounding country; and the popular ovation at the triumphal entry into Jerusalem was another of its results, which fully justified the excitement and alarm created among the Pharisees, and led them to remark to each other, 'Perceive ye how ye prevail nothing? Behold, the world is gone after him' (John xii. 19). The miracle causing such a sensation must have been a reality. Any attempt at fraud could not have escaped detection and exposure.

The raising of Lazarus is related by John alone. None of the other Evangelists mention his name, or even allude to the miracle. This has been a puzzle to commentators, and a ground of cavil and attack to infidels and sceptics. But why should it be so? It is not the only miracle of our Lord which has a single historian among the Evangelists; nor is it the only great event in his life of which John is the sole witness (cf. John ii. 1-12; iii. 1-21; iv. 46-54; v. 1 *seq.*; ix. 1 *seq.*). It is a fact that the synoptic Gospels relate chiefly to the miracles wrought in Galilee, while John gives those of which the scene was in Judea. Why this was we cannot tell. It is vain to inquire. Who can fathom the motives and objects of the Divine Spirit in the plan and structure of revelation? Various attempts have been made to account for the silence of the three Evangelists in this case (see Trench, *Miracles*, p. 389; also Lightfoot, Grotius, Kuinoel, Olshausen, *in loc.*); but Neander has truly said that 'to seek a special reason for the omission of the miracle can lead to nothing but arbitrary hypothesis' (*Das Leben Jesu*, 234; cf. Alford, *Prolegomena to Gospels*, i. sec. 5. 1). It would have been interesting to know something of the after-life of Lazarus. What effect did the great miracle produce on his character? Was his faith shaken by the crucifixion, or did the fulness of his own experience keep him firm in the belief that Jesus was 'the resurrection and the life'? Did he meet and follow Christ after his resurrection? Did he go and preach to the churches in Palestine or elsewhere the life-giving doctrines of the Gospel—showing himself at the same time as the most wonderful monument of Jesus' divine power and divine mission? Or did he, awed and solemnized by his brief view of the world of spirits, shrink from publicity, and meditate in silence and retirement on subjects hid from mortal eyes? . . . But nothing has been revealed in God's word, and the fables of Apocryphal tradition are not worth recording (*Epist. Pil. ad Tiberiam*, in Giles' *Cod. Apoc. N. T.*, p. 457; Epiphanius, *Adv. Hæreses*, i. 652).

Literature.—In addition to the works named, the following may be consulted. The commentaries of Origen, Chrysostom, Cyril Alex., and Augustine in *Joan.* Tract. xlix; Lannoy, *Varia de Comment. Lazari*, etc., Opp. ii. 202, *seq.*; Heubner, *Miraculorum ab Evang. Narrat. Interpr.*; Ebrard, *The Gospel History*; Ellicott, *Lectures on the Life of our Lord*.

2. The name of the beggar in our Lord's beautiful parable recorded in Luke xvi. 19-31. The introduction of a proper name into this parable makes it possible, and perhaps probable, that the story had a foundation in fact, as is stated in an old tradition (Theophylact, *in loc.*; Chrysostom, *De Lazaro*).

Some have thought that our Lord may have had Lazarus of Bethany here before his mind (Oosterzee, *ad loc.*) But however this may be, it must be admitted that there is embodied in this parable something far higher than an isolated historical fact, or an incidental and touching allusion to a friend—it contains a sublime truth, and it presents it before the mind's eye with wonderful vividness. The name Lazarus is appropriate, in whatever way it came to be selected. It signifies either 'God aids,' from the Hebrew לֵאזָרָא, and thus contemplates the beggar from a divine stand-point (Lightfoot, Meyer, Alford). Or it may mean 'the helpless,' לֵאזָרָא, regarding him from a human stand-point (Olshausen, Lange). For expositions of the parable, see Trench, *Parables*; Stier, *Reden*; Kuinoel, *ad loc.*; Chrysostom, *l. c.*—J. L. P.

LEAD (עֹפֶרֶת; Sept. Μόλυβδος), a well-known metal, the first Scriptural notice of which occurs in the triumphal song in which Moses celebrates the overthrow of Pharaoh, whose host is there said to have 'sunk like lead' in the waters of the Red Sea (Exod. xv. 10).

Before the use of quicksilver was known, lead was used for the purpose of purifying silver, and separating it from other mineral substances (Plin. *Hist. Nat.*, xxxii. 31). To this Jeremiah alludes where he figuratively describes the corrupt condition of the people: 'In their fire the lead is consumed (in the crucible); the smelting is in vain, for the evil is not separated' (Jer. vi. 29). Ezekiel (xxii. 18-22) refers to the same fact, and for the same purpose, but amplifies it with greater minuteness of detail. Compare also Mal. iii. 2, 3.

Job (xix. 23, 24) expresses a wish that his words were engraven 'with an iron pen and lead.' These words are commonly supposed to refer to engraving on a leaden tablet; and it is undeniable that such tablets were anciently used as a writing material (Pausan. ix. 31; Plin. *Hist. Nat.*, xiii. 11). But our authorized translators, by rendering 'an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever,' seem to have entertained the same view with Rosenmüller, who supposes that molten lead was to be poured into letters sculptured on stone with an iron chisel, in order to raise the inscription. The translator of Rosenmüller (in *Bib. Cabinet*, xxvii. 64) thinks that the poetical force of the passage has been overlooked by interpreters: 'Job seems not to have drawn his image from anything he had actually seen executed: he only wishes to express in the strongest possible language the durability due to his words; and accordingly he says, 'May the pen be iron, and the ink of lead, with which they are written on an everlasting rock,' i. e., Let them not be written with ordinary perishable materials.' This explanation seems to be suggested by that of the Septuagint, which has 'Ἐν γραφείῳ σιδηρῷ καὶ μολύβδῳ, ἥ ἐν πέτραις ἐγγλυφῆναι, i. e., 'that they were sculptured by an iron pen and lead, or hewn into rocks.'

Although the Hebrew weights were usually of stone, and are indeed called 'stones,' a leaden weight denominated לֵאנָא *anach*, which is the Arabic word for lead, occurs in Amos vii. 7, 8. In Acts xxvii. 28, a plummet for taking soundings at sea is mentioned, and this was of course of lead.

The ancient uses of lead in the East seem to have

been very few, nor are they now numerous. One may travel far in Western Asia without discovering any trace of this metal in any of the numerous useful applications which it is made to serve in European countries.

We are not aware that any trace of lead has been yet found within the limits of Palestine. But ancient lead-mines, in some of which the ore has been exhausted by working, have been discovered by Mr. Burton in the mountains between the Red Sea and the Nile; and lead is also said to exist at a place called Sheff, near Mount Sinai.—J. K.

LEAF, LEAVES. The word so translated in the A. V. in reference to foliage is עֵלֶף, φύλλον, with the exception of Ezek. xvii. 9, where לְרִפִּי is used, meaning fresh leaves, such as are easily torn off, derived from the verb רָפָה, which occurs in Gen. viii. 11, 'In her mouth an olive leaf plucked off'

עֵלֶף הָיְתָה בְּפִי. In two passages, Prov. xi. 28, Neh. viii. 15, עֵלֶף is translated *branch*. In Dan. iv. 9, 11 (12, 14, A. V.), the word עָנִי, from עָנָה, to sprout or bloom, is rendered *leaf*, but in Ps. civ. 12, *branch*. For *leaves of doors*, or folding doors, the Hebrew term is פְּתִיחוֹת (Deut. iii. 5; Josh. ii. 9, etc.), or לְתִתָּן (1 Kings vi. 32, 34; Ezek. xli. 24); in one passage, Jer. xxxvi. 23, this word is also used for the *leaves* (A. V.), or rather *columns* (σελίδας, LXX.) of a manuscript roll. In the Scriptures the green leaf is an emblem of vigour and prosperity, Ps. i. 3; Jer. xvii. 8; and the faded or fallen leaf of weakness and ruin, Lev. xxvi. 36; Job xiii. 25; Is. i. 30; xxxiv. 4. The medicinal virtues of leaves are alluded to in Ezek. xlvii. 12; Rev. xxii. 2.—J. E. R.

LEAH, one of the two daughters of Laban who became the wives of Jacob [JACOB].

LEATHER. [SKINS; TANNER.]

LEAVEN. Two Hebrew words are thus translated in the A. V., 1. שָׂאֵר, Sept. ζύμη (Exod. xii. 15, 19; Lev. ii. 11; Deut. xvi. 4). The primary meaning of this word the lexicons derive from שָׂאָה, an unused word kindred with שָׂאָה, to boil, to swell up; comp. Arab. شَار, *shāra*, to boil up; Gr. ζύμη, from ζῆω; Lat. *fermentum*, from *fervio*; Eng. *leaven*, from Fr. *lever*, to raise, or rather the A. S. *hlefan*. 2. חֲמֵץ, Sept. ζύμη (Lev. ii. 11; vi. 10 [A. V. 17]; xxiii. 17; Amos iv. 5). This word, from חָמַץ, to be sharp, sour, means anything soured, and hence anything fermented or leavened; it is properly an adjective, and is so used (Exod. xii. 15; comp. ver. 19, where מִצֵּת is used as its equivalent, Lev. vii. 13, etc.) Opposed to these is מִצֵּה, Sept. ἀζυμος scil. ἀστος, unleavened (without leaven, Lev. x. 12), pl. מִצֵּהוֹת, ἄζυμα.

That *Sor* and *Chamets* are synonymous is clear from Exod. xii. 15, where they are both used of the same object. It is probable, however, that the latter has a more general significancy than the former, so as to be applicable to both kinds of

fermentation, vinous and acetous. The cognate word *חֶמֶץ*, is the word for vinegar (Num. vi. 3; Ruth ii. 11; Ps. lxxix. 22; Prov. x. 26).

The usual *leaven* in the East is dough kept till it becomes sour, and which is kept from one day to another for the purpose of preserving leaven in readiness. Thus, if there should be no leaven in all the country for any length of time, as much as might be required could easily be produced in twenty-four hours. *Sour dough*, however, is not exclusively used for leaven in the East, the *lees of wine* being in some parts employed as yeast' (*Pictorial Bible*, vol. i., p. 161). In the Talmud men-

tion is made of leaven formed of the *קולן של סופרים*, *bookmakers' paste* (*Pesach*. iii. 1).

The process of fermentation is one simply of corruption. It was probably on this account that fermented bread was forbidden to be used in the Passover, and that all leaven was to be purged out of the houses of the Israelites for the seven days of that festival (Exod. xii. 15, ff.); and that in all offerings made by fire unto the Lord, unleavened bread alone was to be used (Lev. ii. 4, 11; vii. 12; viii. 2; Num. vi. 15); though where the offering was not to be consumed upon the altar, but eaten by the priests, it might contain bread that was leavened (Lev. vii. 13; xxiii. 17). It is to be presumed, also, that the shewbread was unleavened; both, *a fortiori*, from the prohibition of leaven in the bread offered on the altar, and because in the directions given for the making of the shewbread it is not specified that leaven should be used (Lev. xxiv. 5 9); for, in all such cases, what is not enjoined is prohibited. Jewish tradition also asserts that the shewbread was without leaven (Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 6. 6; Talm. *Minchoth* v. 2, 3). As all corruption implies impurity, it was not fitting that anything in which corruption was going on should be presented to the Lord or before him; and as Israel had been delivered out of Egypt that they might be a pure people unto the Lord, it was proper that in celebrating that event they should put away from their houses whatever was a symbol of corruption. For the same reason, honey was prohibited to be offered to the Lord, because of its tendency to ferment. Traces of the same belief and feeling may be found among heathen nations (comp. Plutarch, *Quest. Rom.*, 109; Aul. Gell., x. 15, 19). The command to purge all leaven out of their houses during the Passover festival, and the zeal of the Jews to observe that injunction (comp. *Mishnah*, *Pesach*. ii. 1; Schöttgen, *Hör. Hebr.* i. 598), have afforded to the apostle a striking figure by which to enforce purity of communion in the church of Christ (1 Cor. v. 7). The diffusive power of leaven, and its tendency to assimilate to itself that on which it acts, are laid hold of by our Saviour to illustrate the character of his kingdom as a progressive power in the mass of humanity (Matt. xiii. 33; Luke xiii. 21), and by him and St. Paul as illustrative of the diffusive influence of evil (Matt. xvi. 6, 12; Mark viii. 15; Luke xii. 1; 1 Cor. v. 6; Gal. v. 9). The idea seems to have been familiar to the Jews; comp. Otho, *Lex Rabbin. Phil.*, p. 227. They even employed leaven as a figure of the inherent corruption of man. 'R. Alexander, when he had finished his prayers, said, Lord of the universe, it is clearly manifest before thee that it is our will to do thy will: what hinders that we do not thy will? The leaven

which is in the mass (*Gl.*, The evil desire which is in the heart)' (*Babyl. Berachoth*, 17. 1; ap. Meuschen *N. T. ex Talmude ill.*) We find the same allusion in the Roman poet Persius (*Sat.* i. 24; comp. Casaubon's note, *Comment.* p. 74).—W. L. A.

LEBANON, the loftiest and most celebrated mountain-range in Syria, forming the northern boundary of Palestine, and running thence along the coast of the Mediterranean to the great pass which opens into the plain of Hamath. The range of *Anti-lebanon*, usually included by geographers under the same general name, lies parallel to the other, commencing on the south at the fountains of the Jordan, and terminating in the plain of Hamath.

I. THE NAME.—In the O. T. these mountain ranges are always called *לְבָנוֹן*, *Lebanon*, to which in prose the art. is constantly prefixed *הַלְבָנוֹן*; in poetry the art. is sometimes prefixed and sometimes not, as in Is. xiv. 8, and Ps. xxix. 5. The origin of the name has been variously accounted for. It is derived from the root *לָבַן*, 'to be white.' *הַלְבָנוֹן* is thus emphatically 'The White Mountain' of Syria. It is a singular fact that almost uniformly the names of the highest mountains in all countries have a like meaning—*Mont Blanc*; *Himalayah* (in Sanscrit signifying 'snowy'), *Ben Nevis*, *Snowdon*, perhaps also *Alps* (from *albi* 'white,' like the Latin *albus*, and not, as commonly thought, from *alp*, 'high'). Some suppose the name originated in the white snow by which the ridge is covered a great part of the year (Bochart, *Opera*, i. 678; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 741; Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 395). Others derive the name from the whitish colour of the limestone rock of which the great body of the range is composed (Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, s.v. *Libanon*; *Schulzii Leitungen des Hochst.*, v., p. 471; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 493). The former seems the more natural explanation, and is confirmed by several circumstances. Jeremiah mentions the 'snow of Lebanon' (xviii. 14); in the Chaldee paraphrase *ܠܒܢܐ*, 'snow mountain,' is the name given to it, and this is equivalent to a not uncommon modern Arabic appellation *جبل الثلج*, *Jebel eth-Thelj*

(Gesenius, *Thes.*, l. c.; Abulfeda, *Tab. Syr.*, p. 18). Others derive the name Lebanon from *Λιβανός*, 'frankincense,' the gum of a tree called *libanos* (Reland, *Pal.*, p. 312; Herodot. i. 183), which is mentioned among the gifts presented by the magi to the infant Saviour (Matt. ii. 11).

This, however, is in Hebrew *לְבָנוֹן*, *Lebanon* (Exod. xxx. 34; Is. lx. 6). The Greek name of Lebanon, both in the Septuagint and classic authors, is uniformly *Λιβανός* (Strabo, xvi. p. 755; Ptol. v. 15). The Septuagint has sometimes *Ἀντι-Λιβανός* instead of *Λιβανός*, but for what reason it is impossible to tell (Deut. i. 7; iii. 25; Josh. i. 4; ix. 1). The Latin name is *Libanus* (Pliny, v. 17), which is the reading of the Vulgate. It would appear that the Greek and Roman geographers regarded the name as derived from the snow. Tacitus speaks of it as a remarkable phenomenon that snow should lie where there is such intense heat—'Præcipuum montium Libanum erigit, mirum dictu, tantos inter ardores opacum fidumque

nivibus' (*Historia*, v. 6). And so Jerome writes, 'Libanus λευκαμῦς—id est, *candor* interpretatur' (*Adversus Jovianum*, Opera, ii. 286, ed. Migne); he also notes the identity of the name of this mountain and 'frankincense'—*δμωνίμως* apud Græcos et Hebræos et *mons* appellatur, et *thus*' (*in Osee*, Opp. vi. 160). Arab geographers call the range *Jebel Libnân*, جبل لبنان (Abulfeda,

Tab. Syr., p. 163; Edrisi, p. 336, ed. Jaubert). This name, however, is now seldom heard among the people of Syria, and when used it is confined to the western range. Different parts of this range have distinct names—the northern section is called *Jebel Akkâr*, the central *Sunnûn*, and the southern *J. ed-Druze*. Other local names are also used.

The *eastern range*, as well as the western, is frequently included under the general name *Lebanon* in the Bible (Josh. i. 4; Judg. iii. 3); but in Josh. xiii. 5 it is correctly distinguished as 'Lebanon toward the sun-rising' (הַלְבָנוֹן מִיָּמִינֵי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ; Sept. *Ἀβανὸν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου*; and translated in the Vulgate, 'Libani quoque regio contra orientem'). The southern section of this range was well known to the sacred writers as HERMON, and had in ancient times several descriptive titles given to it—Sirion, Shenir, Sion; just as it has in modern days—*Jebel esh-Sheikh*, *J. el-Helf*, *J. Antâr* [HERMON]. Greek writers called the whole range 'Ἀντιλίβανος (Strabo, xvi., p. 754; Ptolemy, v. 15), a word which is sometimes found in the Septuagint as the rendering of the Hebrew *Lebanon* (l. c.) Latin authors also uniformly distinguish the eastern range by the name *Antilibanus* (Plin. v. 20). The name is appropriate, describing its position, lying 'opposite' or 'over against' Lebanon (Strabo, l. c.) Yet it does not seem to have been known to Josephus, who uniformly calls the eastern as well as the western range *Ἀβανος*; thus he speaks of the fountains of the Jordan as being near to Libanus (*Antiq.* v. 3. 1), and of Abila as situated in Libanus (xix. 5. 1). The range of Anti-lebanon is now called by all native geographers *Jebel esh-Shurky* (جبل

الشرقي, 'East mountain'), to distinguish it from Lebanon proper, which is sometimes termed *Jebel el-Ghurby* (جبل الغربي, 'West mountain'; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 437; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, p. 4).

To insure greater definiteness, and to prevent repetition, the name *Lebanon* will be applied in this article to the *western range*, and *Anti-lebanon* to the *eastern*.

2. PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY—LEBANON.—The mountain-chain of Lebanon commences at the great valley which connects the plain of Hamath with the Mediterranean (and which was anciently called 'the entrance of Hamath,' Num. xxxiv. 8), in lat. 34° 40'; and runs in a south-western direction along the coast, till it sinks into the plain of Acre and the low hills of Galilee, in lat. 33°. Its extreme length is 110 geographical miles, and the average breadth of its base is about 20 miles. The highest peak, called *Dahur el-Kudûb*, is about 25 miles from the northern extremity, and just over the little cedar grove; its elevation is 10,051 feet (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 170). From this

point the range decreases in height toward the south. The massive rounded summit of Sunnûn, 23 miles from the former, is 8500 feet high. Jebel Keniseh, the next peak, is 6824 feet; and Tomat Niha, 'the Twin-peaks,' the highest tops of southern Lebanon, are about 6500 feet. From these the fall is rapid to the ravine of the river Litâny, the ancient Leontes.

Some writers regard the Litâny as marking the southern limit of Lebanon; and it would seem that the ancient classical geographers were of this opinion (Smith's *Dict. of G. and R. Geog.*, s.v. *Libanus*; Kitto, *Physical Hist. of Pal.*, p. 32). Diodorus Siculus describes Lebanon as extending along the coast of Tripolis, Byblus, and Sidon (*Hist.* xix. 58); and the Litâny falls into the sea a few miles south of Sidon. The notices of Ptolemy are somewhat indefinite, and represent the two chains of Lebanon and Anti-lebanon as commencing at the Mediterranean—the former on the north, the latter on the south (*Geog.* v. 15). Strabo is more definite and less accurate—'There are two mountains which enclose Cœle-syria, lying parallel to each other. The commencement of both these mountains, Libanus and Anti-libanus, is a little way above the sea. Libanus rises from the sea near Tripolis and Theoprosopon; and Anti-libanus from the sea near Sidon. They terminate somewhere near the Arabian mountains, which are above the district of Damascus and the Trachones. . . . A hollow plain lies between them, whose breadth toward the sea is 200 stadia, and its length from the sea to the interior about twice as much. Rivers flow through it, the largest of which is the Jordan' (xvi., p. 754). According to Pliny the chains begin at the sea, but they run from south to north (*H. N.*, v. 17; cf. *Ammian. Marcell.* xiv. 26). Cellarius merely repeats these ancient authors (*Geog.* ii. 439). Reland shews their errors and contradictions, but he cannot solve them, though he derived some important information from Maundrell (*Pal.*, pp. 317, seq.; cf. *Early Trav. in Pal.*, Bohn, p. 483). Rosenmüller (*Bib. Geog.*, ii. 207, Clark), Wells (*Geog.* i. 239), and others, only repeat the old mistakes.

The source of these errors may be seen by an examination of the physical geography of the district east of Tyre and Sidon. There can be no doubt that the range of Lebanon, viewed in its physical formation, extends from the entrance of Hamath to the plain of Acre. But between the parallels of Tyre and Sidon it is cut through by the chasm of the Litâny, which drains the valley of Cœle-syria. That river enters the range obliquely on the eastern side, turns gradually westward, and at length divides the main ridge at right angles. Here, therefore, it may be said, in one sense, that the chain terminates; and though on the south bank of the Litâny another chain rises, and runs in the line of the former, it is not so lofty, its greatest height scarcely exceeding 3000 feet. Ancient geographers thought Lebanon terminated on the north bank of the Litâny; and as that river drains the valley of Cœle-syria, which lies between Lebanon and Anti-lebanon, they naturally supposed that the chain on the south bank of the Litâny was the commencement of the latter range. Here lies the error, which the writer of this article was among the first to detect, by an examination of the general conformation of the mountain-ranges from the summit of Hermon (see *Bibliotheca Sacra*,

vol. xi. 52; Porter's *Damascus*, i. 296). Anti-lebanon is completely separated from this western range by a broad and deep valley. The great valley of the Jordan extends northward to the western base of Hermon, in the parallel of the chasm of the Litâny. From this point a narrower valley, called Wady el-Teim, runs northward, till it meets an eastern branch of Cœle-syria. These three valleys, forming a continuous line, constitute the western boundary of Anti-lebanon. No part of that chain crosses them (Robinson, ii. 438). The southern end of the plain of Cœle-syria is divided by a low ridge into two branches. Down the eastern branch runs Wady el-Teim, conveying a tributary to the Jordan (*Bib. Sac.*, i. c.; Robinson, iii. 428-30); down the western runs the Litâny. The latter branch soon contracts into a wild chasm, whose banks are in some places above a thousand feet high, of naked rock, and almost perpendicular. At one spot the ravine is only 60 feet wide, and is spanned by a natural bridge, at the height of about 100 feet above the stream. Over it rise jagged walls of naked limestone, pierced with numerous caves. The scenery is here magnificent; as one stands on this arch of nature's own building, he can scarcely repress feelings of alarm. The cliffs almost meeting overhead; rugged masses of rock shooting out from dizzy heights, and appearing as if about to plunge into the chasm; the mad river far below dashing along from rapid to rapid in sheets of foam. In wild grandeur this chasm has no equal in Syria, and few in the world. Yet, from a short distance on either side, it is not visible. The mountain-chain appears to run on in its course, declining gradually, but without any interruption. The ridge, in fact, has been cleft asunder by some terrible convulsion; and through the cleft the waters of Cœle-syria have forced their way to the Mediterranean instead of the Jordan, which is the natural outlet. It will thus be seen that the ridge on the south bank of the Litâny is the prolongation of that on the north, and is a part of Lebanon (Robinson, ii. 438); and that the chasm of the Litâny, though the drain of Cœle-syria, is no part of that valley. Neither Cœle-syria, therefore, nor Anti-lebanon, at any point, approaches within many miles of the Mediterranean (*Handbook for S. and P.*, 571; Robinson, iii. 420, *seq.*; Van de Velde, *Travels*, i. 145, *seq.*).

The view of Lebanon from the Mediterranean is exceedingly grand. The writer saw its glittering summits from the shores of Cyprus. On approaching, it appears to rise from the bosom of the deep like a vast wall; the wavy top densely covered with snow during winter and spring; and the two highest peaks capped with crowns of ice on the sultriest days of summer. The *western slopes* are long and gradual, furrowed from top to bottom with deep rugged ravines, and broken everywhere by lofty cliffs of white rock, and rugged banks, and tens of thousands of terrace walls, rising like steps of stairs from the sea to the snow-wreaths. 'The whole mass of the mountain consists of whitish limestone, or at least the rocky surface, as it reflects the light, exhibits everywhere a whitish aspect. The mountain teems with villages, and is cultivated more or less almost to the top. Yet so steep and rocky is the surface, that the tillage is carried on chiefly by means of terraces, built up with great labour, and covered above with soil. When one looks upward from below, the vegetation on these

terraces is not seen, so that the whole mountain side appears as if composed of immense rugged masses of naked whitish rock, severed by deep wild ravines, running down precipitously to the plain. No one would suspect among these rocks the existence of a vast multitude of thrifty villages, and a numerous population of mountaineers, hardy, industrious, and brave' (Robinson, ii. 493; cf. Volney, *Travels*, i. 272, *seq.*).

On looking down the western slopes from the brow of one of the projecting bluffs, or through the vista of one of the glens, the scenery is totally different; it is now rich and picturesque. The tops of the little stair-like terraces are seen, all green with corn, or straggling vines, or the dark foliage of the mulberry. The steeper banks and ridgetops have their forests of pine and oak; while far away down in the bottom of the glens, and round the villages and castellated convents, are large groves of gray olives. The aspect of the various sections of the mountains is, however, very different; the rocks and strata often assuming strange fantastic shapes. At the head of the valley of the Dog river are some of the most remarkable rock formations in Lebanon. Here numbers of little ravines fall into the main glen, and their sides, with the intervening ridges, are thickly covered with high peaks of naked limestone, sometimes rising in solitary grandeur like obelisks; but generally grouped together, and connected by narrow ledges like arched viaducts. In one place the horizontal strata in the side of a lofty cliff are worn away at the edges, giving the whole the appearance of a large pile of cushions. In other places there are tall stalks, with broad tops like tables. In many places the cliffs are ribbed, resembling the pipes of an organ, or columnar basalt. A single perch of clear soil can scarcely be found in one spot throughout the whole region, but every minute patch is cultivated. In more than one place the writer has seen wheat growing in grottoes, and under natural arches (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 289). The highest peaks of the range are naked, white, and barren. A line drawn at the altitude of about 6000 feet would mark the limits of cultivation. Above that line the shelving sides and rounded tops are covered with loose limestone debris, and are almost entirely destitute of vegetable life.

The western base of Lebanon does not correspond with the shore-line. In some cases bold spurs shoot out from the mountains, and dip perpendicularly into the sea, forming bluff promontories, such as the 'Ladder of Tyre,' Promontorium Album or 'White Cape,' the well-known pass of the Dog river, and Theoprosopon, now called Ras esh-Shuk'ah. In other places the mountains retire, or the shore-line advances (as at Beyrout and Tripolis), leaving little sections of fertile plain, varying from half a mile to three miles in width. This was the territory of the old Phœnicians, and on it still lie the scattered remains of their once great cities [PHŒNICIA]. From the promontory of Theoprosopon a low ridge strikes northward along the shore past Tripolis, separated from the main chain by a narrow valley. When it terminates, the coast-plain becomes much wider, and gradually expands, till it opens at the northern base of Lebanon into the 'entrance of Hamath' (Robinson, iii. 385).

Eastern declivities.—From the east Lebanon presents a totally different aspect. It does not seem much more than half as high as when seen from

the west. This is chiefly owing to the plain of Cœle-syria (now called *d-Bukâ'a*, CœLE-SYRIA), which extends along its base, and has an average elevation of about 3000 feet (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 175). The ridge resembles a colossal wall, its sides precipitous, and thinly covered, in most places, with oak forests. There are very few—only some two or three—glens furrowing them. The summit of the ridge, or backbone, is much nearer the eastern than the western side; and extending in gentle undulations, white with snow, far as the eye can see to the right and left, it forms a grand object from the ruins of Ba'albek, and still more so from the heights of Anti-lebanon. A nearer approach to the chain reveals a new feature. A side ridge runs along the base of the central chain from the town of Zahleh to its northern extremity; and is thinly covered throughout with forests of oak intermixed with wild plum, hawthorn, juniper, and other trees. A little south of the parallel of Sunfn this ridge is low and narrow, and the Bukâ'a is there widest. Advancing northward the ridge increases in height, and encroaches on the plain, until, at the fountain of the Orontes ('Ain el-'Asy), it attains its greatest elevation, and there the plain is narrowest. From this point southwards to where the road crosses from Ba'albek to the Cedars, the central chain is steep, naked, and destitute of vegetation, except here and there a solitary oak or blasted pine clinging to the rocks (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 303, *seq.*; Robinson, iii. 530, *seq.*)

The northern extremity of Lebanon is clearly defined. The side ridge above described sinks down in graceful wooded slopes into Wady Khâled, which drains a part of the plain of Hums, and falls into Nahr el-Kebîr. The main chain also terminates abruptly a little farther west, and its base is swept by the waters of the Kebir, the ancient river Eleutherus (Robinson, iii. 558-60).

Rivers.—Lebanon is rich in rivers and fountains, fed by the eternal snows that crown its summit, and the vapours which they condense. The 'streams from Lebanon' were proverbial for their abundance and beauty in the days of the Hebrew prophets (Cant. iv. 15), and its 'cold-flowing waters' were types of richness and luxury (Jer. xviii. 14). Some of them, too, have obtained a classic celebrity (see Reland, *Pal.*, 437, 269). They are all small mountain-torrents rather than rivers. The following are the more important:—The *Eleutherus* (now Nahr el-Kebîr), rising in the plain of Emesa, west of the Orontes, sweeps round the northern base of Lebanon, through the 'entrance of Hamath,' and falls into the Mediterranean midway between Tripolis and Aradus. Strabo states that it formed the northern border of Phœnicia and Cœle-syria (xvi. p. 753; Robinson, iii. 576). The *Kadisha*, or 'sacred river,' now generally called Nahr Abu Aly, has its highest sources around the little cedar grove, and descends through a sublime ravine to the coast near Tripolis. At one spot its glen has perpendicular walls of rock on each side nearly 1000 feet high. Here, on opposite banks, are two villages, the people of which can converse across the chasm, but to reach each other requires a toilsome walk of two hours. In a wild cleft of the ravine is the convent of Kanobin, the chief residence of the Maronite patriarch (*Handbook for S. and P.*, 586). The *Adonis* (Nahr Ibrahim), famous in ancient fable as the scene of the romantic story of Venus and Adonis. Killed by a

boar on its banks, the blood of Adonis dyed the waters, which have ever since, on the anniversary of his death, run red to the sea (Lucien, *De Syria Dea*, 6; Strabo, xv. p. 170). Adonis is supposed to be identical with Tammuz, for whom Ezekiel represents the Jewish women as weeping (viii. 14). The source is a noble fountain beside the ruins of a temple of Venus, and near the site of Apheca, now marked by the little village of Afka (Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* iii. 55; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 297; Ritter, *Pal. und Syr.*, iv. 558). The Adonis falls into the sea a few miles south of the Biblical Gebal. The *Lycus flumen*, now *Nahr el Kelb*, or 'Dog river,' rises high up on the flank of Sunfn, and breaks down through a picturesque glen. At its mouth is that famous pass on whose sculptured rocks Assyrian, Egyptian, Roman, and French (!) generals have left records of their expeditions and victories (Robinson, iii. 618; *Handbook*, 407, *seq.*; Strabo, xvi. p. 755). The *Magoras* of Pliny (v. 17), is probably the modern Nahr Beyrout. The *Tamyras* or *Damouras* (Strabo, xvi. p. 756; Polybius, v. 68) rises near Deir el-Kamr, the capital of Lebanon. It is now called Nahr ed-Dammûr. The *Bostrenus* of ancient authors appears to be identical with Nahr el-Awaley, though some doubt this. The *Leontes* has already been mentioned. The lower section of it is now generally termed Kasimiyeh, and the upper section Litâny. Its chief sources are at Chalcis and Ba'albek; but a large tributary flows down from the ravine of Zahleh, and is the only stream which descends the eastern slopes of Lebanon.

ANTI-LEBANON.—The centre and culminating point of Anti-lebanon is HERMON. From it a number of ranges radiate, like the ribs of a half-open fan. The first and loftiest runs north-east, parallel to Lebanon, and separated from it by the valley of Cœle-syria, whose average breadth is about six miles. This ridge is the back-bone of Anti-lebanon. Where it joins Hermon it is broad, irregular, intersected by numerous valleys and little fertile plains, and covered with thin forests of dwarf oak. Its elevation is not more than 4500 feet. Advancing northward its features become wilder and grander, oak trees give place to juniper, and the elevation increases until, above the beautiful plain of Zebedâny—which lies embosomed in its very centre—it attains a height of about 7000 feet (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 175). From this point to the parallel of Ba'albek there is little change in the elevation or scenery. Beyond the latter it begins to fall, and declines gradually until at length it sinks down into the great plain of Hamath, eight miles east of Riblah, and sixteen south of Emesa. With the exception of the little upland plains, and a few of the deeper valleys, this ridge is incapable of cultivation. The sides are steep and rugged, in many places sheer precipices of naked, jagged rock, nearly 1000 feet high. They are not so bare or bleak, however, as the higher summits of Lebanon. Vegetation is abundant among the rocks; and though the inhabitants are few and far between, immense flocks of sheep and goats are pastured upon the mountains, and wild beasts—bears, boars, wolves, jackals, hyænas, foxes—are far more abundant than in any other part of Syria or Palestine (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 315).

The lowest and last of the ridges that radiate from Hermon runs nearly due east along the magnificent plain of Damascus, and continues onward

to Palmyra. Its average elevation is not more than 3000 feet, and it does not rise more than about 700 feet above the plain, though some of its peaks are much higher. Its rock is chalky, almost pure white, and entirely naked—not a tree, or shrub, or patch of verdure, is anywhere seen upon it. It thus forms a remarkable contrast to the rich green of the plain of Damascus. From the central range to this ridge, there is a descent, by a series of broad bare terraces or plateaus, supported by long continuous walls of bare whitish limestone, varying from 100 to 1000 feet in height. Nothing could be more dreary or desolate than the scenery on these steppes. The gravelly soil, in many places thickly strewn with flints, is as bare as the cliffs that bound them. Yet they are intersected by several rich and beautiful glens, so deep, however, that their verdure and foliage cannot be seen from a distance. Towards the east these steppes gradually expand into broad upland plains, and portions of them are irrigated and tilled. On them stand the small but ancient towns of Yabrūd, Nebk, Jerūd, etc., around which madder is successfully cultivated.

Rivers.—Anti-lebanon is the source of the four great rivers of Syria. The *Orontes*, springing from the western base of the main ridge, beside the ruins of *Lybo*, flows away northward through a broad rich vale, leaving in its course the walls of Emesa, Hamath, Apamea, and Antioch. The *Jordan*, Palestine's sacred river, bursting from the side of Hermon, rolls down its deep mysterious valley into the Sea of Death. The *Abana*, the 'golden-flowing' stream of Damascus (*Chrysorrhoeas*, Pliny, v. 16; also called *Bardinea*, Steph. Byz.; see *ABANA*) rises on the western side of the main ridge, cuts through it and the others, and falls into the lake east of the city. The *Leontes*, Phœnicia's nameless stream, has its two principal fountains at the western base of Anti-lebanon, beside Chalcis and Ba'albek (Porter, *Damascus*, i. 11; Robinson, iii. 498, 506). The only other streams of Anti-lebanon are the *Pharpar*, now called el-'Awaj, rising on the eastern flank of Hermon [*PHARPAR*]; and the torrent which flows down the fertile glen of Helbon [*HELBON*] into the plain of Damascus.

3. GEOLOGY AND BOTANY.—The geology of Lebanon has never been thoroughly investigated. Dr. Anderson, who accompanied the United States Expedition under Lieut. Lynch, is the only man who has attempted anything like a scientific examination of the mountains. We are much indebted to his *Reconnaissance*, embodied in Lynch's *Official Report*. The German traveller Russegger also supplies some facts in his *Reisen* (vol. iii.)

The main ridges of Lebanon and Anti-lebanon are composed of Jura limestone; hard, partially crystallized, and containing few fossils. The strata have been greatly disturbed. In some places they are almost perpendicular; in others tilted over, laying bare veins and detached masses of trap. In the southern part of Lebanon, near Kedes and Safed, are many traces of recent disturbance. From the earliest ages earthquakes have been frequent, and most destructive in that region. The earthquake of 1837 buried thousands of the inhabitants of Safed beneath the ruins of their houses (Robinson, ii. 422, *seq.*; *Handbk.* 438). In the upper basin of the Jordan, and along the eastern flank of Hermon, trap rock abounds; the latter is the commencement of the great trap-fields of Haurān (Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 240, *seq.*)

Over the Jura limestone there is in many places a more recent cretaceous deposit; its colour is gray, and sometimes pure white. It is soft, and abounds in flints and fossils, ammonites, echinites, ostræa, chenopus, nerinea, etc., often occurring in large beds, as at Bhamdūn above Beyrout. Fossil fish are also found embedded in the rock near the ancient Gebal (Reland, *Pal.*, p. 321). These cretaceous deposits occur along the whole western flank of Lebanon; and the lower eastern ranges of Anti-lebanon are wholly composed of them (D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii. 393; Elliot, *Travels*, ii. 257; Volney, ii. 280).

Extensive beds of soft, friable sandstone are met with both in Lebanon and Anti-lebanon. According to Anderson, the sandstone is of a more recent period than the cretaceous strata. This change in the geological structure gives great variety to the scenery of Lebanon. The regular and graceful outlines of the sandstone ridges contrast well with the bolder and more abrupt limestone cliffs and peaks; while the ruddy hue and sombre pine forests of the former relieve the intense whiteness of the latter.

Coal has been found in the district of Metn, east of Beyrout; but it is impure, and the veins are too thin to repay mining. Iron is found in the central and southern portions of Lebanon; and there is an extensive salt-marsh on one of the eastern steppes of Anti-lebanon (Porter, *Damascus*, i. 161; *Handbook*, 363; Volney, i. 281; Burckhardt, 27).

The *Botany* of Lebanon, like the geology, is to a great extent unknown. It appears to be very rich. The writer during his residence in the country was often struck with the abundance, the variety, and the beauty of the trees, shrubs, and flowers of these noble mountains. The great variety of climate, from the tropical heat of the Jordan valley at the base of Hermon, to the eternal snows on its summit, affords space and fitting home for the vegetable products of nearly every part of the globe. The forests of Lebanon were celebrated throughout the ancient world. Its



320. Cedars of Lebanon.

cedars were used in the temples and palaces of Jerusalem (1 Kings vi.; 2 Sam. v. 11; Ezra iii. 7; Is. xiv. 8; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 2), Rome (Pliny, *H. N.*, xiii. 11), and Assyria (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, pp. 356, 644); and the pine and oak were extensively employed in ship-building (Ezek. xxvii. 4-6). On these mountains we have still the cedar, pine, oak of several varieties, terebinth,

juniper, walnut, plane, poplar, willow, arbutus, olive, mulberry, carob, fig, pistachio, sycamore, hawthorn, apricot, plum, pear, apple, quince, pomegranate, orange, lemon, palm, and banana. The vine abounds everywhere. Oleanders line the streams, and rhododendrons crown the peaks higher up, with the rock-rose, ivy, berberry, and honeysuckle. The loftiest summits are almost bare, owing to the cold and extreme dryness. There are even here, however, some varieties of low prickly shrubs, which lie on the ground like cushions, and look almost as sapless as the gravel from which they spring. Many of the flowers are bright and beautiful—the anemone, tulip, pink, ranunculus, geranium, crocus, lily, star of Bethlehem, convolvulus, etc. Thistles abound in immense variety. The *cereals* and *vegetables* include wheat, barley, maize, lentils, beans, peas, carrots, turnips, potatoes, melons, pumpkins, cucumbers, tobacco, cotton, and numerous others. Irrigation is extensively practised, and wherever water is abundant the crops are luxuriant. Probably in no part of the world are there more striking examples of the triumph of industry over rugged and intractable nature than along the western slopes of Lebanon. The steepest banks are terraced; every little shelf and cranny in the cliffs is occupied by the thrifty husbandman, and planted with vine or mulberry (Robinson, iii. 14, 21, 615; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 283; *Handbk.* 410, 413).

Zoology.—The zoology of Lebanon does not differ from that of PALESTINE, and will be treated of under that article.

4. CLIMATE.—There are great varieties of climate and temperature in Lebanon. In the plain of Dan, at the fountain of the Jordan, the heat and vegetation are almost tropical; and the exhalations from the marshy plain render the whole region unhealthy. The semi-nomads who inhabit it are as dark in complexion as Egyptians. The writer has seen the thermometer stand at 98° Fahr. in the shade on the site of Dan, while the day before it did not rise above 32° on the top of Hermon. The coast along the western base of Lebanon, though very sultry during the summer months, is not unhealthy. The fresh sea-breeze which sets in in the evening, keeps the night comparatively cool, and the air is dry and free from miasma. Snow never falls on the coast, and it is very rarely seen at a lower elevation than 2000 feet. Frost is unknown. In the plains of Coele-syria (3000 feet) and Damascus (about 2300 feet), snow falls more or less every winter, and the writer has seen it eight inches deep on the streets and terraced roofs of Damascus, while the roads were so hard with frost that horses could not walk on them. The main ridges of Lebanon and Anti-lebanon are generally covered with snow from December to March, sometimes so deeply that the roads are for weeks together impassable. During the whole summer the higher parts of the mountains are cool and pleasant, the air is extremely dry, and malaria is unknown. From the beginning of June till about the 20th of September rain never falls, and clouds are rarely seen. At the latter date the autumn rains begin, generally accompanied with storms of thunder and vivid lightning. January and February are the coldest months. The barley harvest begins, on the plain of Phœnicia, about the end of April, but in the upper altitudes it is not gathered in till the beginning of August. The

writer spent a summer in the village of Shumlân, on the western declivity of Lebanon. Its elevation is 2000 feet. He kept a careful register of the thermometer and barometer. During the hottest part of the day the thermometer did not rise above 83° Fahr., and in the night it usually went down to 76°. In two months (June 20th to August 20th) the barometer did not vary a quarter of an inch; there were only two cloudy days, and one very slight shower of rain (August 12th). At Bludân, in Anti-lebanon, the writer spent several summers. Its elevation is 4800 feet; the air is extremely dry, and the thermometer never rose above 82° Fahr. in the shade. The nights were cool and pleasant. The *sirocco* wind is severely felt along the coast and on the western slopes of Lebanon, but not so much in Anti-lebanon. It blows occasionally during March and April. *Dew* is almost unknown along the mountain ridges, but in the low plains, and especially at the base of Hermon, it is very abundant (Ps. cxxxiii. 3).

5. HISTORICAL NOTICES.—Lebanon is first mentioned as a boundary of the country given by the Lord in covenant promise to Israel (Deut. i. 7; xi. 24). To the dwellers in the parched and thirsty south, or on the sultry banks of the Nile, the snows, and streams, and verdant forests of Lebanon must have seemed an earthly paradise. By such a contrast we can understand Moses' touching petition—'I pray thee let me go over and see the good land that is beyond Jordan, that goodly mountain, and Lebanon' (Deut. iii. 25). The mountains were originally inhabited by a number of warlike, independent tribes, some of whom Joshua conquered on the banks of Lake Merom (xi. 2-18). Farther north were the Hivites (Judg. iii. 3), and the Gibleites, and Arkites, whose names still cling to the ruins of their ancient strongholds [GIBLITES; ARKITES]. The Israelites never completely subdued them, but the enterprising Phœnicians appear to have had them under their power, or in their pay, for they got timber for their fleets from the mountains, and they were able to supply Solomon from the same forests when building the temple (1 Kings v. 9-11; Ezek. xxvii. 9, *seq.*) During the conquests of David and the commercial prosperity of the nation under Solomon, the Jews became fully acquainted with the richness, the grandeur, and the luxuriant foliage of Lebanon; and ever after that mountain was regarded as the emblem of wealth and majesty. Thus the Psalmist says of the Messiah's kingdom, 'The fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon' (lxxii. 16). And Solomon, praising the beauty of the Bridegroom, writes, 'His countenance is as Lebanon, excellent as the cedars' (Cant. v. 15). Isaiah also predicts of the church, 'The glory of Lebanon shall be given to it' (xxxv. 2; cf. lx. 13; Hos. xiv. 5, 6).

Anti-lebanon seems to have been early brought under the sway of Damascus, though amid its southern strongholds were some fierce tribes who preserved their independence down to a late period (1 Chron. v. 19-23; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 11. 3; Strabo, xvi. pp. 755, 756).

During the reign of the Seleucidæ several large cities were founded or rebuilt in these mountains; as Laodicea at the northern end of Anti-lebanon, Chalcis at its eastern base, Abila in the wild glen of the Abana (Luke ii. 1; ABILA). At the commencement of our era, Lebanon, with the rest of Syria, passed into the hands of Rome; and un-

der its fostering rule great cities were built, and beautiful temples erected. The heights on which Baal-fires had burned in primeval times, and the groves where the rude mountain-tribes worshipped their idols, became the sites of noble buildings, whose ruins to this day excite the admiration of every traveller. Greece itself cannot surpass in grandeur the temples of Ba'albek and Chalcis. The writer has visited more than thirty temples in Lebanon and Anti-lebanon (*Handbk.*, pp. 454, 457, 557, 411; cf. Robinson, iii. 438, 625).

During the wars of the Seleucidæ, the Romans, and the Saracens, the inhabitants of Lebanon probably remained in comparative security. When, under the Muslem rule, Christianity was almost extirpated from the rest of Syria, it retained its hold here; and the *Maronites*, who still occupy the greater part of the range, are doubtless the lineal descendants of the old Syrians. The sect originated in the 7th century, when the monk *Maron* taught them the Monothelitic heresy. In the 12th century they submitted to the Pope, and have ever since remained devoted Papists. They number about 200,000. The *Druses*, their hereditary foes, dwell in the southern section of the range, and number about 80,000. The jealousies and feuds of the rival sects, fanned by a cruel and corrupt government, often desolate 'that goodly mountain' with fire and sword. Anti-lebanon has a considerable Christian population, but they are mixed with Mohammedans, and have no political status. The whole range is under the authority of the Pasha of Damascus.

Literature.—The fullest accounts of Lebanon are found in Ritter's *Pal. and Syr.*; Robinson, *B. R.*; Van de Velde's *Travels*, and *Memoir*; Churchhill's *Mount Lebanon*; Buckhardt's *Syria*.

Anti-lebanon was almost a *terra incognita* until the writer of this article began his researches in 1850 (see Van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 33). The general topography, statistics, etc., are given in Porter's *Damascus*; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. xi.; *Handbk. for S. and P.*—J. L. P.

LEBAOTH (לְבָאוֹת; 'lions'; Λαβῶς; Alex. Λαβῶς; *Lebaoth*), a town on the southern border of Judah, only mentioned in Josh. xv. 32. It was manifestly unknown to Eusebius and Jerome, as they just state it to have been a town of Simeon (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Labaoth*). It was probably a small desert village, or place of permanent encampment, in a region infested by wild beasts. It is called by the fuller name Beth-lebaoth (בֵּית לְבָאוֹת; Βαθαρωῶς; Alex. Βαθαλαβῶς; *Bethlebaoth*) in Josh. xix. 6, where it is enumerated among the towns allotted out of Judah to Simeon. Keil suggests that it is the same place which, in 1 Chron. iv. 31, is called *Beth-birei* (בֵּית בִּרְיָ, οἶκος Βαρουσχωῦ [combining two names]; Alex. Βαροῦμ); and Gesenius says the latter name is a corruption of Beth-lebaoth (*Thesaur.*, p. 194; see BETH-BIREI).—J. L. P.

LEBBÆUS (Λεββαῖος), a surname of the Apostle Jude (Matt. x. 3). In Mark iii. 18 he is called Thaddæus, and this has led to variations of reading in the MSS. from a desire to reconcile the two passages. Thus in Matt. x. 3 the cod. B. and some miniscular codd. read καὶ Θαδδαῖος; so cod. N without the καὶ, cod. D. simply Λεββαῖος, while the Text. Rec. with A. and C' has A.

δ' ἐπικληθεὶς Θ. Lachmann has adopted the former of these readings. It is probable that Judas-Jacobi had both these as surnames, as they have the same signification substantially, Lebbæus (לֵבְבִי) being derived from לֵב, *heart*, and Thaddæus (תָּדֵא) from תָּדָה, *breast* (Winer, *R. W. B.*, i. 632), though as תָּדָה means *mamma* rather than *pectus*, this latter etymology is somewhat suspicious. Meyer contends that Thaddæus is תָּדֵא, an independent proper name, while Lebbæus is a by-name common among the Jews. On this ground Fritzsche would read with some MSS. in Matt. x. 3, Θαδδαῖος δ' ἐπικλ. Λεββαῖος.—W. L. A.

LEBONAH (לְבוֹנָה; 'frankincense'; Λεβωνά; Alex. τοῦ Λιβάνου τῆς Λιβωνά; *Lebona*). In describing the situation of Shiloh, the author of the book of Judges says it is north of Bethel, east of the road leading from Bethel to Shechem, 'and on the south of *Lebonah*' (Judg. xxi. 19). The site of Shiloh is well known, and about three miles west of it is the little village of *Lubdân*; which is doubtless identical with Lebonah. The identity appears to have been first discovered by R. Parchi in the 14th century (*Benj. of Jud.* by Asher, ii. 435). The place is also mentioned by Maundrell and others (*Early Travels*, p. 436; Robinson, ii. 272). The village stands on the lower declivity of a hill, on the west of a little fertile plain, to which it gives its name. It is still inhabited, and its old gray houses have a venerable aspect. Above them, in the sides of the cliffs and rocks, are numbers of sepulchral caves, shewing that this was a place of wealth and importance in the days of Israel's glory (*Handbk.*, p. 330).—J. L. P.

LEBONAH (לְבוֹנָה; Sept. Λιβανος, Λιβανωτός; Lat. *thus*; A. V. *frankincense*), a species of fragrant resin that exudes from a tree. It is a native product of Arabia Felix, and hence called *Older Arabicus* (Dioscorid. i. 82; Plaut., *Mil. Glor.*, ii. 4). From Cant. iv. 6, 14, it has appeared to some that the tree was to be found in Palestine; but the allusion there may be merely poetical, the term being used as a synonym of what is pleasant and delightful. There is some uncertainty as to the particular kind of tree from which the lebonah was drawn. Pliny even in his day says, 'nec arboris ipsius quæ sit facies constat' (*N. H.* xii. 31); and Thophrastus also attests that different descriptions of the mother plant were given (*De Plant.* ix. 4). The Arabian botanist Abulfadli says it is a vigorous shrub, growing only in Yemen and on hills, and in respect of its leaves and fruit resembling the myrtle; a description which has been thought to apply very well to the *Amyris katif*, or the *Amyris kafal* (Sprengel, *Hist. rei Herb.*, i. 12, 257; *Gesch. der Botanik*, i. 16). From the bad quality of the frankincense now obtained in Arabia (called there لَبَان), it has been

supposed that the finer kind in use among the Hebrews must have been brought from India. The Arabs themselves use for the best sort the name كُنْدُر, *kundur*, from the Sanscrit *kundū*; and according to Colebrooke (*Asiat. Res.* ix. 377) this comes from a tree known to botanists as the *Boswellia serrata* or *thurifera*, and which grows on

the hills in India, abundantly near Nagpure. When the bark is pierced, there exudes a gum of a whitish or yellowish colour, externally powdery from friction, but internally pellucid, very brittle, with a balsamic or resinous smell, and a somewhat acrid taste; it burns with a clear flame and an agreeable odour. It is the *olibanum* of the Pharmacopœia. As the Indian frankincense would come to the western nations through Arabia, this may account for all the ancient writers making it a product of that country alone. In the Mosaic ceremonial frankincense was used as an ingredient in the perfume or incense that was to be placed before the Lord (Exod. xxx. 34, ff.); and as an accompaniment to the meat-offering (Lev. ii. 1, 16; vi. 15; xxiv. 7; Num. v. 15). Its use in these cases arose from its fragrant odour when burnt; in which respect the incense was a symbol of the divine name, and its diffusion an emblem of the publishing abroad of that name (Mal. i. 11; comp. Song i. 3); and from this, as prayer is a calling on God's name, the incense came to be an emblem of prayer (Ps. cxli. 2; Luke i. 10; Rev. v. 8; viii. 3, 4). In this symbolical representation the frankincense especially set forth holiness as characteristic of the divine name, so that the burning of it was a celebration of the holiness of Jehovah (Bähr, *Symbolik d. Mos. Cultus*, i. 466; ii. 329, etc.) In this respect its whiteness, from which it received its name (לְבָנָה, from לָבַן, *to be white*), became significant. It was used also in the religious services of the heathen (Herod. i. 183; Ovid, *Trist.* v. 5. 11; *Metam.* vi. 164; Arnob. *adv. Gentes*, vi. 3; vii. 26, etc.) On the altars of Mylitta and the Paphian Venus only incense was burnt (Münter, *Relig. der Babylonier*, p. 55; *Der tempel d. himml. Göttin zu Paphos*, p. 20; Hom., *Od.* viii. 363; see Damm on *Sophocles*; Tacit., *Hist.* ii. 3). This was quite foreign from the Mosaic institute.—W. L. A.

LECAH (לֶכָּה; Ἀλεχάδ; Alex. Ἀλεχάδ; *Lecha*).

In enumerating the sons of Shelah, the son of Judah, 'Er, the father of Lecah,' is mentioned (1 Chron. iv. 21). Lecah was a town or village colonized or occupied by the family of Er. The name is not found in any other place, nor is its site known. It appears to have been near Mareshah.—J. L. P.

LE CLERC, JEAN (CLERICUS JOANNES), was born at Geneva in 1657. He became professor of Hebrew, and afterwards of church history to the Remonstrants at Amsterdam. In this office he continued till his death, which took place in 1736. Le Clerc was a man of indefatigable industry, and his writings are very numerous. The following are the more important of his works on Biblical subjects:—*Translatio Librorum V. T. cum paraphrasi perpetua, Comment. philol., dissert. crit.* etc., 4 vols. fol., Amst. 1693, 1696, 1708, 1731; *Nov. Test. ex versione Vulg., cum paraphr. et adnot. H. Hammond; ex Angl. ling. in lat. transtulit, suisque animadd. auxit*, 2 vols. fol., Amst. 1698, Frank. 1714; *Harmonia Evangelica cui subjecta est Hist. Christi ex quatuor Evr. concinnata*, fol., Amst. 1699; *Ars critica in qua ad studia Lingr. Lat. Gr. et Heb. via munitur*, 2 vols. 8vo, Amst. 1696, Lond. 1699, Amst. 1712. Le Clerc's supplement to Hammond's Notes was translated into English, 4to, Lond. 1699; his Harmony of the Gospels was also translated, Lond. 1700, but very inadequately.

Some of his minor writings also appeared in an English garb under the title, *Twelve Dissertations out of M. Le Clerc's Genesis*, etc., 8vo, Lond. 1696; and *Parrhasiana, or thoughts on several subjects*, etc., Lond. 1700. Le Clerc was a man of varied talents, and of great acuteness and perspicacity; his learning was extensive and accurate; his spirit bold and free; and his tendency somewhat sceptical and destructive. His exegesis, though scholarly, wants depth, earnestness, and sympathy with the sacred writers.—W. L. A.

LEE, SAMUEL, D.D., a distinguished orientalist and Biblical scholar, was born at Longnor, in Shropshire, May 14, 1783. After receiving the elements of education, he was apprenticed to a carpenter, but his native aptitude for learning having been accidentally stimulated by a desire to understand some Latin quotations and the sight of some Latin books, he procured a Latin grammar, and taught himself that language. He next acquired a knowledge of Greek, and from that advanced to Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Samaritan, all of which he acquired by his own unaided efforts before he was twenty-five years of age. By this time he had married, and exchanged his former occupation for that of a schoolmaster. Having attracted the notice of Archdeacon Corbett, and Dr. Jon. Scott, he was, by their aid, enabled to add to his other acquisitions a knowledge of Arabic, Persic, and Hindustanee, as well as some European and other tongues. In 1815 he accepted an engagement with the Church Missionary Society, and became a student of Queen's College, Cambridge, where he took his degree of B.A. in 1817. At this time he edited portions of the Scriptures, and of the Prayer Book, in several Oriental languages. In 1818 he took orders, and preached at Shrewsbury, still carrying on his Oriental studies; at this time he is said to have known eighteen languages. In 1819 he became professor of Arabic, and in 1834 Regius professor of Hebrew at Cambridge; besides receiving some pieces of Church preferment, and the title of D.D., first from the University of Halle, and then from that of Cambridge. Shortly before his death, which took place December 16, 1852, he had become Rector of Barley, in Somersetshire, where he died. Besides the editions of the Scriptures which he carried through the press, he published several works bearing on Biblical literature. The most important are, *A Grammar of the Hebrew Language, compiled from the best authorities, chiefly Oriental*, which has passed through several editions; *A Lexicon, Heb., Chald., and Eng.*, Lond. 1840; *The Book of the Patriarch Job translated, with Introduction and Commentary*, Lond. 1837; *An Inquiry into the Nature, Progress, and End of Prophecy*, Camb. 1849; *Prolegomena in Bib. Polygl. Londinens. Minora*, Lond. 1828. That Dr. Lee was a great scholar cannot be doubted; perhaps he was the greatest British orientalist of his day; and his writings bear evident traces of a vigorous, earnest, and independent mind, loving truth, and boldly pursuing it. But he never wholly surmounted the want of early training, and his works display that deficiency in mental discipline, that lack of sound judgment, and that tendency to confidence and self-assertion which are incident to the self-educated and the *δυσμαθής*. His influence would have been greater had his dogmatism and pugnacity been less.—W. L. A.

LEECH. [ALUKAH.]

LEEK. [CHATZIR.]

LEES. [SHEMARIM.]

LE FEVRE, JACQUES, surnamed from the place of his birth D'Étaples (FABER STAPULENSIS), was born about the year 1455. He was of humble birth and had received but a poor education, but such was his diligence, and such his ability, that he rose to the foremost place among the learned men of his day. In 1493 he became a teacher of theology at the Sorbonne; but his zeal for the restored learning, and especially his endeavours to promote the study of the Greek N. T., excited the jealous fears of his superiors, and he had to leave his post. He retired to the court of Margaret of Navarre at Nerac, where he enjoyed a peaceful retreat till his death in 1537. Though he himself never openly left the communion of the Romish Church, his entire working was in the direction of the Reformation movement; and to him Farel and others of the Reformers were indebted for much instruction and stimulus in the early part of their career. Calvin also visited him, in 1533, at Nerac, and was welcomed by the old man, who predicted that he would be '*insigne celestis in Gallia instaurandi regni instrumentum*' (Beza, *J. Calvini Vit.*) Le Fevre wrote *Commentarii Initiationis in iv. Evangelia*, Meaux 1522, Colon. 1541; *Pauli Epistola 14 cum Commentariis*, Par. 1515; *Commentarii in Epp. Cathol.*, Bas. 1527, Antw. 1540. Le Fevre also edited *Psalterium Quincuplex videlicet Gallic. Roman. Heb. Vet. Conciliatum, cum Comment.*, Paris 1508, 1513; and to him also is due the honour of producing the first French version of the Scriptures from the Vulgate [FRENCH VERSIONS].—W. L. A.

LEGION (Λεγεών; *legio*), a division of the Roman army containing at first 3000, afterwards 4000, then 5000 or 5200, and in the time of Christ



321. Legionary Soldiers.

about 6000 infantry, besides horsemen. In the N. T. the term is applied to an indefinitely large number of spiritual beings acting in concert, and

disciplined and officered like an army. Thus Christ speaks of the 'legions of angels' which his Father would readily send to fight for him (Matt.



322. Legionary Soldiers.

xxvi. 53), and the interrogated unclean spirit replies, 'My name is legion, for we are many' (Mark v. 9).—J. G. C.

LEHABIM (לְהָבִים; Λαβειμ; *Laabim*. The passage in 1 Chron. i. 11 containing this word is omitted in the Cod. Vat. of the Sept.; but the Alex. reads both Λαβειμ and Λαβειμ). The tenth chapter of Genesis gives an outline of the genealogy of all the ancient nations, tracing them up to Noah. Mizraim was the second son of Ham, and from Mizraim sprung the *Lehabim*. The word is in the plural, and evidently signifies a tribe, doubtless taking the name of *Lehab*, Mizraim's third son (Gen. x. 13). Bochart affirms that the *Lehabim* are not, as is generally supposed, identical with the Libyans. His reasons are: That Lybia was much too large a country to have been peopled by one son of Mizraim; and that in other parts of Scripture Lybia is either called Phut (פּוּט), Jer. xli. 9; Ezek.

xxx. 5), or Lubim (לּוּבִים, 2 Chron. xii. 3; Nahum iii. 9), and Phut was a brother, and not a son of Mizraim (Gen. x. 6; Bochart, *Opera*, i. 279). These arguments do not stand the test of historical criticism. Phut and Lubim are not identical (Nahum iii. 9); and the *Lehabim* may have been joined by other tribes in colonizing Libya. It is quite true there is no direct evidence to identify the *Lehabim* and Lubim; yet there seems a high probability that the words are only different forms of the same name—the former being the more ancient, the middle radical ה was afterwards softened (as is not unusual in Hebrew, Gesen. *Thes.*, pp. 743, 360)

into ך quiescent. Thus *Lehabim* (לְהָבִים) became

Lubim (לּוּבִים). The *Lehabim* are not again mentioned in Scripture, but we find the Lubim connected with Mizraim (2 Chron. xii. 3), and the Kushites or Ethiopians (xvi. 8; see Art. LUBIM). We may therefore safely infer that the *Lehabim* were the ancient Lubim or Libyans, who perhaps first settled on the borders of the Nile, among or beside the Mizraim; but, as they increased in number, migrated to the wide regions south-west, and occupied the vast territory known to classic geogra-

phers as Lybia (Kalisch *On Gen.* x. 13; see also Michaelis, *Spicileg. Geogr.*; Knobel, *die Völkertafel des Pent.*) Dr. Beke maintains that the Lehabim, as well as the Mizraim, were a people of north-western Arabia; but, as he states himself, his views are opposed alike to the opinions of ancient and modern geographers; and his arguments do not appear of sufficient weight to command acceptance (*Origines Biblica*, pp. 167, 198, *seq.*)—J. L. P.

LEHI (לֶחִי), the 'cheek,' or 'jaw-bone'; Alex., Judg. xv. 9; *ἔως Σιαγώνος*, ver. 14; Alex. in ver. 9, *Δεῦτ*; *Lechi, id est, maxilla*). The story of Lehi is a romantic episode in the history of Samson. After the slaughter of the Philistines, in revenge for the murder of his wife, the warriors of that nation 'went up, and pitched in Judah, and spread themselves in Lehi' (Judg. xv. 9). The Israelites afraid, bound Samson, and gave him up to his enemies at Lehi (ver. 14). There, however, he brake his bonds, seized the *jaw-bone* (*Lehi*) of an ass, and slew a thousand of them. Having dispersed the Philistines, 'he cast away the *jaw-bone*, and called that place *Ramath-Lehi*' (17, which may be rendered 'the casting away of the *jaw-bone*'). After the fatigue, Samson was almost fainting with thirst, and prayed for water; and 'God clave an hollow place, which is in *Lehi* (אֲשֶׁר בִּלְחִי); A. V., 'that was in the jaw'), and there came water thereout; wherefore he called the name thereof *En-hakkore* (עֵין הַקּוֹרֵא), 'the fountain of the caller,' or 'of him who called'), which is in *Lehi* (אֲשֶׁר בִּלְחִי) unto this day.' Our A. V. gives an appearance of improbability to one part of the story which does not exist in the Hebrew. It represents the fountain as opened in the *jaw-bone*, whereas it ought to be in *Lehi*. The same words rendered in the first clause of the verse, 'that was in the jaw' (אֲשֶׁר בִּלְחִי), are rendered in the last clause, 'which is in *Lehi*.' The latter is the correct rendering for both.

The name of the place before the conflict was evidently Lehi, as appears from verses 9 and 14; perhaps so called from the form of some hill or rock (Ges., *Thesaur.*, p. 752). After the slaughter of the Philistines, Samson, with a characteristic play upon the name, makes it descriptive of his signal and singular victory (cf. GILGAL; GILEAD). It is remarkable that in the Septuagint the word *Lehi* (לֶחִי) is uniformly translated (*σιαγών*), except in ver. 9; whether applied to the place or to the jaw-bone. This makes the whole passage very obscure. The rendering of the Vulg. is even worse (see, for instance, ver. 19). Josephus says the place was called Σιαγών, 'Jaw-bone,' on account of Samson's deed, 'though before it had no name' (*Antiq.* v. 8. 8).

The site of Lehi is unknown. Jerome states that Paula, when on her way from Bethlehem to Egypt, passed from Sochoth to the fountain of Samson (*Opera*, i. 705, ed. Migne). Later writers locate it beside Eleutheropolis (*Anton. Mar.*, *Itin.* 30; Reland, p. 872); but the tradition appears to have been vague and uncertain (Robinson, ii. 64, *seq.*) The writer could not hear of any fountain at Eleutheropolis, nor was Dr. Robinson more successful. There is a deep old well; but, of course, it would not answer to the Scripture narrative

(Robinson, ii. 26, *seq.*) Van de Velde tries to identify Lehi with a hill called Tel el-Lekiyeh about five miles north of Beersheba; but this is alike opposed to Scripture topography and to tradition (see, however, *Memoir*, p. 342). Tobler found a *Beit-Likieh* near Beth-horon (*Dritte Wanderung*); but this seems too far north.—J. L. P.

LEIGHTON, ROBERT, was born in the year 1611, and probably in London, where his father resided. Being of Scottish descent, he was educated at Edinburgh, and took his degree of M. A. at the university there in 1631. After leaving the university he spent some years on the Continent, chiefly in France. On his return to Scotland he was licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and became in 1641 minister of the parish of Newbattle, where he remained till 1653. Of events during his incumbency some curious notices, from the records of the Presbytery of Dalkeith and the kirk-session books of Newbattle, have been published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 463, ff. In 1653, Leighton became principal of the University of Glasgow, which office he held till after the Restoration. On the re-establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland, he became Bishop of Dunblane, to which office he was consecrated at Westminster, 15th December 1661; and in 1669 he became Archbishop of Glasgow. In 1674 he resigned this office and retired to England, where he resided for several years, and died at London 25th June 1684. Leighton's great work is his *Practical Commentary upon the First General Epistle of St. Peter*. This is not a learned exposition; the writer hardly notices questions of philology at all; but perhaps no more remarkable instance is extant of the power which sympathy with the writer gives in enabling an expositor to bring out and elucidate his meaning. Leighton wrote also *Praelectiones Theologicae*, of which an edition was published a few years ago by the late Prof. Scholefield of Cambridge; also some sermons and charges. There is an edition of his work in 4 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1819; but the best edition is that of Pearson, Lond. 1828.—W. L. A.

LE JAY, GUY MICHEL, was born in Paris, 1588, and died 10th July 1675. He was the editor of the Paris Polyglott, which appeared in 10 vols. fol., Par. 1629-45. The first four vols. contain the Heb., Chald., LXX., and Vulg. texts of the O. T.; vols. 5 and 6, the N. T. in Gr., Syr., Arab., and Lat.; vol. 7, the Heb. Samar. Pent., the Sam. vers., with translation by Morinus, the Arab. and Syr. Pent.; vols. 8-10, the rest of the books of the O. T. in Syr. and Arab. Lejay lost largely by this publication; but as a reward for his labour and cost he was ennobled. The work was the best of its kind till the London Polyglott appeared, by which it was soon superseded.—W. L. A.

LE LONG, JACQUES, was born at Paris in 1665. Having finished his studies, he became librarian first of the Seminary at Aubervilliers, and then of the Oratoire at Paris, an office which he held till his death in 1721. He devoted himself chiefly to bibliography. His great work is his *Bibliotheca Sacra seu syllabus omnium ferme sac. Script. editionum ac versionum*, etc., 2 vols., 1709. This was but the first part of a larger work which he designed to prepare; the second was to have

been devoted to the authors who had written on the Scriptures. Le Long issued two other editions of his *Bibliotheca*, with corrections and additions; still further improvements were introduced in the edition of C. F. Boerner, Lips. 1709, and in that of Desmalets, Par. 1723; but the recasting of the work by A. G. Masch, 2 vols. 4to, 1778, gave it the form in which it has best subserved the wants of the Biblical student. To such it is invaluable.—W. L. A.

LE MAISTRE. [SACI DE.]

L'EMPEREUR, CONSTANTINE, was born at Oppyck in the Netherlands; and was successively professor of Hebrew at Harderwyk, and professor of theology at Leyden, where he died in 1648. He edited the Commentary of Ibn Ezra and Mos. Alshech on Is. lii. 13–liii. 12, with notes, Leyd. 1633; and the Paraphrase of Joseph ben Jachja on Daniel, with translation and notes, Amst. 1633. He published also *Clavis Talmudica complectens formulas, loca dialectica et logica priscorum Judæorum*, Leyd. 1634; and *De legg. Heb. forens.*, Leyd. 1637.—W. L. A.

L'ENFANT, JACQUES, a minister of the French Protestant Church, was born 13th April 1661, at Bazoché, in the district of Beauce in France. He was educated at Saumur, Geneva, and Heidelberg. In the last-named place he officiated as minister of the French church; he afterwards repaired to Berlin, where he was associated with Beausobre. He died 7th August 1728. Besides his Histories of the Council of Constance and that of Nice, he is known for the share he had, along with Beausobre, in the French translation of the N. T. which appeared in 1718 [BEAUSOBRE].—W. L. A.

LEMUEL (לְמוּאֵל); LXX., ὑπὸ θεοῦ? Aquila, Λαμμουῖν; Symmachus, Ταμμουήλ; Theodotion, Πεβοῖελ), a king, to whom his mother addressed the lessons of chastity and temperance contained in Prov. xxxi. 2–9. As we are told nothing else respecting him, and his name does not occur elsewhere, a wide field has been opened to the conjectures of the learned:—1. The Jews in general, and the fathers, both Greek and Latin, identify Lemuel with Solomon. According to the Jews, Solomon had eight names, of which this was one. The name means either '(created) by God,' like Lael in Num. iii. 24 (Gesen. *Thes.* s. v.), or '(dedicated) to God' (J. Simonis, *Onomast. V. T.*, p. 503); (a), Simonis thinks that לְמוּאֵל is equivalent to לְמוּאֵל (ver. 4, and cf. Samuel); and that לְמוּ is the same as לְ (as it is in Job xxvii. 14), that form being chosen for the sake of the alliteration which it furnished with שְׁלֵמָה; (β) Schultens thinks that the name

Lemuel was used as a mere synonym of Jedidiah, one of the names of Solomon (2 Sam. xii. 25); (γ), M. Geier regards it as a pet name given to Solomon in his infancy by Bathsheba, to avoid the harsher לְמוּ, and J. F. Schelling also looks upon it as a diminutive. 2. Grotius first suggested that Lemuel was Hezekiah, referring to Prov. xxv. 1, and giving to Lemuel, which he derives from the Arabic, the same meaning as Hezekiah, which he interprets to be 'a Deo prehensus.' 3. The purely arbitrary conjecture of Hitzig, Ziegler, and others (Hitzig,

Die Sprüche Sal., ad loc.; Rosenmüller, *Schol.*, ad loc.) is, that Lemuel was an Arab or Edomite emir, celebrated (as the Arabs often were) for skill in proverbs. To support this view Hitzig, both in xxx. 1, and xxxi. 1, takes לְמוּ (A. V. 'prophesy') as a proper name, 'Massa,' in which opinion Bunsen partly agrees. The absence of the article with לְמוּ, renders it, however, inadmissible to translate the verse, 'Lemuel, king of Massa,' in xxxi. 1; although Davidson, by altering the reading in xxx. 1, makes Massa a proper name in that verse (*Introd.* ii. 338). Hitzig ingeniously compares Lemuel with Nemuel, Simeon's first-born (1 Chron. iv. 24); and then shews that Massa may have been founded by those 500 Simeonites who smote the remnant of the Amalekites in Mount Seir (1 Chron. iv. 39–43). He therefore concludes that Agur and Lemuel were both sons of the queen of Massa ('her obeyed in Massa,' as he renders xxx. 1), but that they were of Israelite descent. 4. Eichhorn (*Einkl.*, v. 105), Ewald (*Sprüche Sal.*, 173), Keil (*Einkl.*, sec. 120), and others, regard Lemuel as a merely poetic and imaginary name, chosen to represent some ideal king, who may well be supposed to have been addressed in the moral precepts contained in xxxi. 2–9. It is, in the absence of all trustworthy data, impossible to decide between these conflicting theories. The LXX. give us no assistance whatever, since they render xxxi. 1, οἱ ἐμοὶ λόγια εἰσηῆται ὑπὸ θεοῦ βασιλέως, and in ver. 4 they wander so widely from the Hebrew as to leave us hopelessly in the dark as to the reading they may have followed. If we are to choose between the theories mentioned, it is obvious that the first and the fourth are less arbitrary than the others. The first is supported by the authority of Jewish tradition; the fourth is in accordance with a practice very prevalent among the Jews during the later period of their literature. We would, however, prefer to class Lemuel with Agur, Ithiel, Ucal, Darda, Ethan, and many other persons mentioned incidentally in Scripture, of whom all further record and memory have been lost.—F. W. F.

LENTILES. [ADASHIM.]

LEO JUDÆ, one of the Swiss Reformers, and the early friend of Zuingli, was born at Germar in Alsace, in 1482. His father's name was John Jud; but whether this arose from his family being of Jewish descent, Leo himself tells us he was unable to say. The name, however, exposed him to reproach, and perhaps for this reason we find him sometimes designating himself Leo Keller; in Zürich he was known as Meister Löw, and this name his descendants adopted. He was educated for the medical profession; but through the influence of Zuingli he forsook this for the clerical, and in 1522 became minister of St. Peter's Church at Zürich. Here he laboured till his death, and had an important share in the reformatory movements of the time and the doctrinal controversies which divided the Reformers. He died 19th June 1542. At the time of his death he was engaged on a translation of the Bible into Latin, which he left unfinished: it was completed by Bibliander, who translated what was left of the O. T.; Ret. Choli, who translated the Apocryphal books; and Rud. Gualter, who translated the N. T. on the basis of the version of Erasmus. The work was revised by

Pellican, and appeared in 1543. This translation is marked by adherence to the meaning rather than the words of the original; it is consequently somewhat paraphrastic; but it is fair and true, and the Latinity is good. It has been often reprinted. Leo translated also into German Erasmus' Paraphrases of the N. T.; Augustine's tract *De Spiritu et Litera*, and edited several of the works of Zuingli. He also translated the Prophets in the *Deutsche Bibel* which appeared at Zürich in 1529 [GERMAN VERSIONS].—W. L. A.

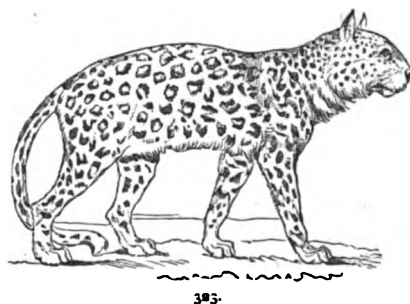
LEO DI MODENA, b. Isaac b. Mordecai, also called Jehudah Arje Modanese, was born in Venice, April 23, 1571, of an ancient and literary family who emigrated from France into Italy. Leo displayed his talents at so extraordinarily tender an age that he read the Sabbath lesson [HAPHTARA] before the whole congregation in the synagogue when he was two and a half years old, and appeared as preacher (רש"י) when he was ten years old. This thirst for learning and devotedness to Biblical literature and exegesis, constituted the most prominent features of his long and chequered life, as may be seen from his numerous poetical, liturgical, ethical, doctrinal, polemical, and exegetical works. Those of his productions which relate to Biblical literature and exegesis are as follows:—(1) A Hebrew and Italian lexicon

called *נלות יהודה*, *The Captivity of Judah*, or *פשר דבר*, *Explanation of Words*, in which he explains in Italian all the difficult expressions in the Hebrew Bible, and which is preceded by grammatical rules, Venice 1612, Padua 1640. It has also been printed in the margin of the Hebrew Bibles published for the use of the Italian Jews, following the order of the Canonical books, and thus being equivalent to an Italian translation. (2) A Rabbinical and Italian vocabulary, called *פי מריה*, *The Lion's Mouth*, of which the Italian title is *Raccolta delle voci Rabin. non Hebr. nò Chald.*, etc., Padua 1640; appended to the preceding work, afterwards printed separately, in Venice 1648. (3) A polemical treatise on the genuineness of the celebrated Kabbalistical interpretation of the Pentateuch called the *Sohar*, entitled *ספר נחום*, *Leipzig 1840*. (4) *Historia de Rite Hebraici*, or the history of the rites, customs, and manner of life of the Jews, consisting of thirteen chapters, and written in Italian, Venice 1638. This celebrated and most useful Manual was translated into English by Edmund Chilmead, London 1650; and also edited by Simon Ockley, under the title *History of the Present Jews throughout the World*, London 1707, in Picard's *Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Various Nations of the Known World*, vol. i., London 1733; into French by Father Simon, who prefaced it with an elaborate account of the Karaites and Samaritans, Paris 1674; into Dutch, Amsterdam 1683; and into Latin by Grosgebauer, *Historia rituum Judeorum*, Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1693. Leo also wrote (5) A commentary on the books of Samuel; (6) A commentary on the five Megilloth, i.e., the Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther; (7) A commentary on the Psalms; (8) A commentary on Proverbs; (9) A commentary on the Sabbath lessons; and (10) A polemical work against Christianity, entitled *מנחם*, but these works have not as yet been published. Leo died in Venice, where he was chief

rabbi, in 1648, in the seventy-seventh year of his age; comp. Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. p. 383, ff.; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodliana*, col. 1345-1356; *Der Israelitische Volkslehrer*, vol. iv., Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1854, pp. 91, ff.; 123, ff.; 186, ff.; 247, ff.; vol. v., 1855, p. 396, ff.—C. D. G.

LEOPARD (נמר, *namer*; Sept. *πάρδαλις*; Cant. iv. 8; Is. xi. 6; Jer. v. 6; xiii. 23; Hos. xiii. 7; Hab. i. 8; Dan. vii. 6; Rev. xiii. 2; Eccus. xxviii. 23). Though zoologists differ in opinion respecting the identity of the leopard and the panther, and dispute, supposing them to be distinct, how these names should be respectively applied, and by what marks the animals should be distinguished, nevertheless there can be no doubt that the *nimr* of the Bible is that great spotted feline which anciently infested the Syrian mountains, and even now occurs in the wooded ranges of Libanus; for the Arabs still use *nimr*,

the same word slightly modified, to denote that animal. The Abyssinian name differs scarcely from either; and in all these tongues it means spotted. Pigikris, according to Kirschner, is the Coptic name; and in English, 'leopard' has been adopted as the most appropriate to represent both the Hebrew word and the Greek *πάρδαλις*, although the Latin *leopardus* is not found in any author anterior to the 3d century, and is derived from a gross mistake in natural history. The variety of leopard, or rather panther, of Syria, is considerably below the stature of a lioness, but very heavy in proportion to its bulk. Its general form is so well known as to require no description beyond stating that the spots are rather more irregular, and



the colour more mixed with whitish, than in the other pantherine feline, excepting the *Felis Uncia*, or *Felis Irbis*, of High Asia, which is shaggy and almost white. It is a nocturnal cat-like animal in habits, dangerous to all domestic cattle, and sometimes even to man. In the Scriptures it is constantly placed in juxtaposition with the lion or the wolf; which last, if the hyena be intended, forms a natural association. There is in Asia Minor a species or variety of panther, much larger than the Syrian, not unfrequent on the borders of the snowy tracts even of Mount Ida, above ancient Troy; and the group of these spotted animals is spread over the whole of Southern Asia to Africa. From several names of places, it appears that, in the earlier ages of Israelitish dominion, it was sufficiently numerous in Palestine. Leopard skins were

worn as a part of ceremonial costume by the superiors of the Egyptian priesthood, and by other personages in Nubia; and the animal itself is represented in the processions of tributary nations.—C. H. S.

LEPROSY (צִרְעָה; λέπρα, λεύκη), that foul cutaneous disease, the description of which, as well as the regulations connected therewith, are given in Lev. xiii., xiv.; comp. also Exod. iv. 6, 7; Num. xii. 10-15; 2 Sam. iii. 29; 2 Kings v. 27; vii. 3; xv. 5; Matt. viii. 2; x. 8, *al.* Whether Lev. xiii., xiv., speaks of one distemper, or a group of diseases having mutually a mere superficial resemblance, or a real affinity; or whether the malady here spoken of can be identified with the leprosy of modern Syria, Greece, Spain, etc., will best be decided by an analysis of the Scriptural description of this distemper. The leprosy of the Bible consists of three general classes, viz., *leprosy of man, leprosy of garments and vessels, and leprosy of houses*, which we shall discuss *seriatim*.

I. Leprous man.—Lev. xiii. 2-44, which describes this distemper as laying hold of man, gives six different circumstances under which it may develop itself. They are as follows:—

i. The first circumstance mentioned in Lev. xiii. 2-6 is that it may develop itself without any apparent cause. Hence it is enjoined that if any one should notice a rising or swelling (שֹׁאֵר), an eruption or scab (סִפְחָה), or a glossy pimple (בִּהְרָת) in the skin of his flesh, which may terminate in leprosy (צִרְעָה), he is at once to be taken to the priest, who is to examine it and pronounce it leprosy, and the man unclean, if it exhibits these two symptoms—viz., *a*, the hair of the affected spot changed from its natural black colour to white; and *b*, the spot deeper than the general level of the skin of the body (2, 3). But if these two symptoms do not appear in the bright pimple, the priest is to shut him up for seven days, examine him again on the seventh day, and if the disease appears to have made no progress during this time, he is to remand the patient for another seven days (4, 5), and then, if on inspecting it again he finds that the bright spot has grown darker (כָּהָה), and that it has not spread on the skin, he is to pronounce it a simple scab (סִפְחָה), and the person clean after washing his garments (6). If, however, the pustule spreads over the skin after it has been pronounced a simple scab and the individual clean, the priest is to declare it leprosy, and the patient unclean (7, 8). It is thus evident that the symptoms which indicated Scriptural leprosy, as the Mishna rightly remarks (*Negaim* iii. 3), are bright pimples, a little depressed, turning the hair white, and spreading over the skin.

As the description of these symptoms is very concise, and requires to be specified more minutely for practical purposes, the spiritual guides of Israel defined them as follows:—Both the bright pimple (בִּהְרָת) and the swelling spot (שֹׁאֵר), when indicative of leprosy, assume respectively one of two colours, a principal or a subordinate one. The principal colour of the bright pimple is as white as snow (עוֹה כִּשְׁלֵן), and the subordinate resembles plaster on the wall (כִּסְדֵּי הַחֵיבֶל); whilst the principal colour of the rising spot is like that of an

egg-shell (בִּקְרוֹם בָּצָה), and the secondary one resembles white wool (בְּעֶסֶר לֶבָן; *Mishna, Negaim* i. 1); so that if the affected spot in the skin is inferior in whiteness to the film of an egg it is not leprosy, but simply a gathering (Maimonides *On Leprosy*, i. 1). Any one may examine the disease, except the patient himself or his relatives, but the priest alone can decide whether it is leprosy or not, and accordingly pronounce the patient unclean or clean, because Deut. xxi. 5 declares that the priest must decide cases of litigation and disease. But though the priest only can pronounce the decision, even if he be a child or a fool, yet he must act upon the advice of a learned layman in those matters (*Mishna, Negaim* iii. 1; Maimonides, *ibid.* ix. 1, 2). If the priest is blind of one eye, or is weak-sighted, he is disqualified for examining the distemper (*Mishna*, l. c., i. 3). The inspection must not take place on the Sabbath, nor early in the morning, nor in the middle of the day, nor in the evening, nor on cloudy days, because the colour of the skin cannot properly be ascertained in these hours of the day; but in the third, fourth, fifth, seventh, eighth, and ninth hours (*Negaim* ii. 2); and the same priest who inspected it at first must examine it again at the end of the second seven days, as another one could not tell whether it has spread. If he should die in the interim, or be taken ill, another one may examine him, but not pronounce him unclean (Maimonides *On Leprosy*, ix. 4). There must at least be two hairs white at the root and in the body of the bright spot before the patient can be declared unclean (Maimonides, l. c., ii. 1). If a bridegroom is seized with this distemper he must be left alone during the nuptial week (*Mishna, Negaim* iii. 2).

ii. The second case is of leprosy reappearing after it has been cured (Lev. xiii. 9-17), where a somewhat different treatment is enjoined. If a person who has once been healed of this disease is brought again to the priest, and if the latter finds a white rising in the skin (שֹׁאֵר לִבְנֵה), which has changed the hair into white and contains live flesh (בִּשְׂרֵי חַי), he is forthwith to recognise therein the reappearance of the old malady, and declare the patient unclean without any quarantine whatever, since the case is so evident that it requires no trial (9-11). There were, however, two phases of this returned distemper which exempted the patient from uncleanness. If the leprosy suddenly covered the whole body so that the patient became perfectly white, in which case there could be no appearance of live flesh (12, 13), or if the whiteness, after having once diminished and allowed live flesh to appear, covers again the whole body, then the patient was clean (14-17). This most probably was regarded as indicative of the crisis, as the whole evil matter thus brought to the surface formed itself into a scale which dried and peeled off. The only other feature which this case represents besides the symptoms already described, is that leprosy at times also spread over the whole skin and rendered it perfectly white. As to the live flesh (בִּשְׂרֵי חַי), the Sept., the Chaldee, the Mishna, and the Jewish Rabbins, in accordance with ancient tradition, take it to denote *sound flesh*, or a spot in the flesh assuming the appearance of life after it had been paled by the whiteness overspreading the whole surface. The size of this spot of live flesh which renders

the patient unclean must, according to tradition, be at least that of a lentil (Maimonides, *l. c.*, iii. 1-3).

iii. The third case is of leprosy developing itself from an inflammation (שחין) or a burn (מכות אש) (שכוח), which is to be recognised by the same symptoms (Lev. xiii. 18-28). Hence when these suspicious signs were discernible in that part of the skin which was healed of an inflammation, the patient was to go to the priest, who is at once to pronounce it leprosy developed from an inflammation, if the symptoms are unmistakable (19, 20). If the priest found these marks, he remanded the patient for seven days (21), and if the disorder spread over the skin during the time the patient was declared leprous and unclean (22); but if it remained in the same condition, he pronounced it the cicatrix of the inflammation (צרכת השחין) and the patient clean (23). The same rules applied to the suspicious appearance of a burn (24-28). According to the Hebrew canons שחין is defined inflammation arising from 'an injury received from the stroke of wood or a stone, or from hot olive husks, or the hot Tiberian water, or from anything, the heat of which does not come from fire; whilst מכות אש denotes a burn from live coals, hot ashes, or from any heat which proceeds from fire' (*Mishna, Negaim ix. 1*; Maimonides *On Leprosy*, v. 1).

It will be seen that there is a difference in the treatment of the suspicious symptoms in *i.* and *iii.* In the former instance, where there is no apparent cause for the symptoms, the suspected invalid has to undergo two remands of seven days before his case can be decided; whilst in the latter, where the inflammation or the burn visibly supplies the reason for this suspicion, he is only remanded for one week, at the end of which his case is finally determined.

iv. The fourth case is leprosy on the head or chin (Lev. xiii. 29-37), which is to be recognised by the affected spot being deeper than the general level of the skin, and by the hair thereon having become thin and yellowish. When these symptoms exist, the priest is to pronounce it a scall (נתק), which is head or chin leprosy, and declare the patient unclean (30). But if this disorder on the head or chin does not exhibit these symptoms, the patient is to be remanded for seven days, when the priest is again to examine it, and if he finds that it has neither spread nor exhibits the required criteria, he is to order the patient to cut off all the hair of his head or chin, except that which grows on the afflicted spot itself, and remand him for another week, and then pronounce him clean if it continues in the same state at the expiration of this period (31-34); and if it spreads after he has been pronounced clean, the priest is forthwith to declare him unclean without looking for any yellow hair (35, 36). The Jewish canons define נתק by 'an affection on the head or chin which causes the hair on these affected parts to fall off by the roots, so that the place of the hair is quite bare' (Maimonides *On Leprosy*, viii. 1). The condition of the hair, constituting one of the leprous symptoms, is described as follows: 'קט is small or short, but if it be long, though it is yellow as gold, it is no sign of uncleanness. Two yellow and short hairs, whether close to one another or far from each other, whether in the centre of the *Nethek*, or on the edge thereof, no matter whether the *Nethek* precedes the yellow hair or the yellow hair the

Nethek, are symptoms of uncleanness' (Maimonides, *l. c.*, viii. 5). The manner of shaving is thus described: 'The hair round the scall is all shaved off except two hairs which are close to it, so that it might be known thereby whether it spread' (*Mishna, Negaim x. 5*).

v. The fifth case is leprosy which shews itself in white polished spots, and is not regarded as unclean (Lev. xiii. 38, 39). It is called *Bohak* (בהק), from בהק, to be white, or as the Sept. has it, *ἀλφός*, *vittiligo alba*, white scurf.

vi. The sixth case is of leprosy either at the back or in the front of the head (Lev. xiii. 40-44). When a man loses his hair either at the back or in the front of his head, it is a simple case of baldness, and he is clean (40, 41). But if a whitish red spot forms itself on the bald place at the back or in the front of the head, then it is leprosy, which is to be recognised by the fact that the swelling or scab on the spot has the appearance of leprosy in the skin of the body; and the priest is to declare the man's head leprous and unclean (42-44). Though there is only one symptom mentioned whereby head leprosy is to be recognised, and nothing is said about remanding the patient if the distemper should appear doubtful, as in the other cases of leprosy, yet the ancient Rabbins inferred from the remark, 'it is like leprosy in the skin of the flesh,' that all the criteria specified in the latter are implied in the former. Hence the Hebrew canons submit 'there are two symptoms which render baldness in the front or at the back of the head unclean, viz., live or sound flesh, and spreading; the patient is also shut up for them two weeks, because it is said of them that 'they are [and therefore must be treated] like leprosy in the skin of the flesh' (Lev. xiii. 43). Of course, the fact that the distemper in this instance develops itself on baldness, precludes white hair being among the criteria indicating uncleanness. The manner in which the patient in question is declared unclean by two symptoms and in two weeks, is as follows—'If live or sound flesh is found in the bright spot on the baldness at the back or in the front of the head, he is pronounced unclean; if there is no live flesh he is shut up and examined at the end of the week, and if live flesh has developed itself, and it has spread, he is declared unclean, and if not he is shut up for another week. If it has spread during this time, or engendered live flesh, he is declared unclean, and if not he is pronounced clean. He is also pronounced unclean if it spreads or engenders sound flesh after he has been declared clean' (*Mishna, Negaim x. 10*; Maimonides *On Leprosy*, v. 9, 10).

2. Regulations about the conduct and purification of leprous men.—Lepers were to rend their garments, let the hair of their head hang down dishevelled, cover themselves up to the upper lip, like mourners, and warn off every one whom they happened to meet by calling out unclean! unclean! since they defiled everyone and everything they touched. For this reason they were also obliged to live in exclusion outside the camp or city (Lev. xiii. 45, 46; Num. v. 1-4; xii. 10-15; 2 Kings vii. 3, etc.) 'The very entrance of a leper into a house,' according to the Jewish canons, 'renders everything in it unclean' (*Mishna, Negaim xii. 11*; *Kelim*, i. 4). 'If he stands under a tree and a clean man passes by, he

renders him unclean. In the synagogue which he wishes to attend they are obliged to make him a separate compartment, ten handbreadths high and four cubits long and broad; he has to be the first to go in, and the last to leave the synagogue' (*Mishna, Negaim* xii. 12; *Maimonides On Leprosy*, x. 12); and if he transgressed the prescribed boundaries he was to receive forty stripes (*Pessachim* 67, a). All this only applies to those who had been pronounced lepers by the priest, but not to those who were on quarantine (*Negaim*, i. 7). The Rabbinic law also exempts women from the obligation to rend their garments and letting the hair of their head fall down (*Sota*, iii. 8). It is therefore no wonder that the Jews regarded leprosy as a living death (comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 11. 3, and the well-known Rabbinic saying *מצורע חסוב כמות*), and as an awful punishment from the Lord (2 Kings v. 7; 2 Chron. xxvi. 20), which they wished all their mortal enemies (2 Sam. iii. 29; 2 Kings v. 27).

The healed leper had to pass through two stages of purification before he could be received back into the community. As soon as the distemper disappeared he sent for the priest, who had to go outside the camp or town to convince himself of the fact. Whereupon the priest ordered two clean and live birds, a piece of cedar wood, crimson wool and hyssop; killed one bird over a vessel containing spring water, so that the blood might run into it, tied together the hyssop and the cedar wood with the crimson wool, put about them the tops of the wings and the tip of the tail of the living bird, dipped all the four in the blood and water which were in the vessel, then sprinkled the hand of the healed leper seven times, let the bird loose, and pronounced the restored man clean (*Lev.* xiv. 1-7; *Mishna, Negaim* xii. 1). The healed leper was then to wash his garments, cut off all his hair, be immersed, and return to the camp or city, but remain outside his house seven days, which the *Mishna* (*Negaim* xiv. 2), the Chaldee Paraphrase, *Maimonides* (*On Leprosy*, xi. 1), etc., rightly regard as a euphemism for exclusion from connubial intercourse during that time (8), in order that he might not contract impurity (comp. *Lev.* xv. 18). With this ended the first stage of purification. According to the Jewish canons, the birds are to be 'free, and not encaged,' or sparrows; the piece of cedar wood is to be 'a cubit long, and a quarter of the foot of the bed thick'; the crimson wool is to be a shekel's weight *i.e.*, 320 grains of barley; the hyssop must at least be a handbreadth in size, and is neither to be the so-called Greek, nor ornamental, nor Roman, nor wild hyssop, nor have any name whatever; the vessel must be an earthen one, and new; and the dead bird must be buried in a hole dug before their eyes (*Mishna, Negaim* xiv. 1-6; *Maimonides On Leprosy*, xi. 1).

The second stage of purification began on the seventh day, when the leper had again to cut off the hair of his head, his beard, eyebrows, etc., wash his garments, and be immersed (*Lev.* xiv. 9). On the eighth day he had to bring two he-lambs without blemish, one ewe-lamb a year old, three-tenths of an ephah of fine flour mixed with oil, and one log of oil; the one he-lamb is to be a trespass offering, and the other, with the ewe-lamb, a burnt and a sin offering; but if the man was poor he was to bring two turtle doves, or two young pigeons, for a sin offering and a burnt offering, instead of a he-lamb

and a ewe-lamb (10, 11, 21). With these offerings the priest conducted the healed leper before the presence of the Lord. What the offerer had to do, and how the priest acted when going through these ceremonies, cannot be better described than in the following graphic language of the Jewish tradition. 'The priest approaches the trespass offering, lays both his hands on it, and kills it, when two priests catch its blood, one into a vessel, and the other in his hand; the one who caught it into the vessel sprinkles it against the wall of the altar, the other goes to the leper, who, having been immersed in the leper's chamber [which is in the women's court], is waiting [outside the court of Israel, or the men's court, opposite the eastern door] in the porch of Nicamor [with his face to the west]. He then puts his head into [the court of Israel], and the priest puts some of the blood upon the tip of his right ear; he next puts in his right hand, and the priest puts some blood upon the thumb thereof; and lastly, puts in his right leg, and the priest puts some blood on the toe thereof. The priest then takes some of the log of oil and puts it into the left hand of his fellow-priest, or into his own left hand, dips the finger of his right hand in it, and sprinkles it seven times towards the holy of holies, dipping his finger every time he sprinkles it; whereupon he goes to the leper, puts oil on those parts of his body on which he had previously put blood [*i.e.*, the tip of the ear, the thumb, and the toe], as it is written, 'on the place of the blood of the trespass-offering' [*Lev.* xiv. 28], and what remains of the oil in the hand of the priest he puts on the head of him who is to be cleansed for an atonement' (*Mishna, Negaim* xiv. 8-10; *Maimonides, Hilchoth Machosrei Kephora*, iv.). It is in accordance with this prerogative of the priest, who alone could pronounce the leper clean and readmit him into the congregation, that Christ commanded the leper whom he had healed to shew himself to this functionary (*Matt.* viii. 2, etc.).

II. *Leprous garments and vessels*.—Leprosy in garments and vessels is indicated by three symptoms, *green and reddish spots*, and *spreading*. If a green or reddish spot shows itself in a woollen or linen garment, or in a leather vessel, it is indicative of leprosy, and must be shown to the priest, who is to shut it up for a week. If, on inspecting it at the end of this time, he finds that the spot has spread, he is to pronounce it inveterate leprosy (*צרעת ממארת*), and unclean, and burn it (*Lev.* xiii. 47-52); if it has not spread he is to have it washed, and shut it up for another week, and if its appearance has then not changed, he is to pronounce it unclean and burn it, though it has not spread, since the distemper rankles in the front or at the back of the material (53-55). But if, after washing it, the priest sees that the spot has become weaker, he is to cut it out of the material; if it reappears in any part thereof then it is a developed distemper, and the whole of it must be burned, and if it vanishes after washing, it must be washed a second time, and is clean (56-59). The Jewish canons define the colour green to be like that of *herbs*, and red like that of *fair crimson*, and take this enactment literally as referring strictly to wool of sheep and flax, but not to hemp and other materials. A material made of camel's hair and sheep's wool is not rendered unclean by leprosy if the camel's hair preponderates, but is unclean when the sheep's wool preponderates, or when both are equal, and this

also applies to mixtures of flax and hemp; dyed skins and garments are not rendered unclean by leprosy (*Mishna, Negaim* xi. 2. 3; Maimonides *On Leprosy*, xii. 10; xiii. 1-3). Nor are vessels made of skins of aquatic animals exposed to leprous uncleanness (Maimonides, *ibid.*, xi. 1).

III. *Leprous houses*.—Leprosy in houses is indicated by the same three symptoms, viz., spots of a deep green or reddish hue, depressed beyond the general level, and spreading (Lev. xiv. 33-48). On its appearance, the priest was at once to be sent for, and the house cleared of everything before his arrival. If, on inspecting it, he found the first two symptoms in the walls, viz., a green or red spot in the wall, and depressed, he shut the house up for seven days (34-38), inspected it again on the seventh day, and if the distemper spread in the wall he had the affected stones taken out, the inside of the house scraped all round, the stones, dust, etc., cast into an unclean place without the city, and other stones and plaster put on the wall (39-42). If, after all this, the spot re-appeared and spread, he pronounced it inveterate leprosy, and unclean, had the house pulled down, and the stones, timber, plaster, etc., cast into an unclean place without the city, declared every one unclean, till evening, who had entered it, and ordered every one who had either slept or eaten in it to wash his garments (43-47).

As to the purification of the houses which have been cured of leprosy, the process is the same as that of healed men, except that in the case of man the priest sprinkles seven times upon his hand, whilst in that of the house he sprinkles seven times on the upper door-post without. Of course the sacrifices which the leprous man had to bring in his second stage of purification are precluded in the case of the house (Maimonides *On Leprosy*, xv. 8).

3. *Prevalence, contagion, and curableness of leprosy*.—Though the malicious story of Manetho that the Egyptians expelled the Jews because they were afflicted with leprosy (Joseph. *Cont. Ap.* i. 26), which is repeated by Tacitus (lib. v., c. 3), is rejected by modern historians and critics as a fabrication; yet Michaelis (*Locus of Moses*, art. 209), Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 652), and others, still maintain that this disease was 'extremely prevalent among the Israelites.' Against this, however, is to be urged that—1. The very fact that such strict examination was enjoined, and that every one who had a pimple, spot, or boil was shut up, shews that leprosy could not have been so wide spread, inasmuch as it would require the imprisonment of the great mass of the people. 2. In cautioning the people against the evil of leprosy, and urging on them to keep strictly to the directions of the priest, Moses adds, 'Remember what the Lord thy God did to Miriam on the way when you came out of Egypt' (Deut. xxiv. 9). Now this allusion to a single instance which occurred on the way from Egypt, and which, therefore, was an *old case*, naturally implies that leprosy was of rare occurrence among the Jews, else there would have been no necessity to adduce a bygone case; and 3. Wherever leprosy is spoken of in later books of the Bible, which does not often take place, it is only of isolated cases (2 Kings vii. 3; xv. 5), and the regulations are strictly carried out, and the men are shut up so that even the king himself formed no exception (2 Kings xv. 5).

That the disease was *not contagious* is evident from the regulations themselves. The priests had

to be in constant and close contact with lepers, had to examine and handle them; the leper who was *entirely* covered was pronounced clean (Lev. xiii. 12, 13); and the priest himself commanded that all things in a leprous house should be taken out before he entered it, in order that they might not be pronounced unclean, and that they might be used again (Lev. xiv. 36), which most unquestionably implies that there was no fear of contagion. This is, moreover, corroborated by the ancient Jewish canons which were made by those very men who had personally to deal with this distemper, and according to which a leprous minor, a heathen, and a proselyte, as well as leprous garments, and houses of non-Israelites, do not render any one unclean; nor does a bridegroom, who is seized with this malady during the nuptial week, defile any one during the first seven days of his marriage (comp. *Mishna, Negaim* iii. 1, 2; vii. 1; xi. 1; xii. 1; Maimonides *On Leprosy*, vi. 1; vii. 1, etc.). These canons would be utterly inexplicable on the hypothesis that the distemper in question was contagious. The enactments, therefore, about the exclusion of the leper from society, and about defilement, were not dictated by sanitary caution, but had their root in the moral and ceremonial law, like the enactments about the separation and uncleanness of menstruous women, of those who had an issue or touched the dead, which are joined with leprosy. Being regarded as a punishment for sin, which God himself inflicted upon the disobedient (Exod. xv. 26; Lev. xiv. 35), this loathsome disease, with the peculiar rites connected therewith, were especially selected as a typical representation of the pollution of sin, in which light the Jews always viewed it. Thus we are told, that 'Leprosy comes upon man for seven, ten, or eleven things; for idolatry, profaning the name of God, unchastity, theft, slander, false witness, false judgment, perjury, infringing the borders of a neighbour, devising malicious plans, or creating discord between brothers' (*Erachin* 16, 17; *Baba Bathra* 164; *Aboth de R. Nathan* ix.; *Midrash Rabba on Levit.* xiv.) 'Cedar wood and hyssop, the highest and the lowest, give the leper purity. Why these? Because pride was the cause of the distemper, which cannot be cured till man becomes humble, and keeps himself as low as hyssop' (*Midrash Rabba, Cohelath*, p. 104).

As to the *curableness* of the disease, this is unquestionably implied in the minute regulations about the sacrifices and conduct of those who were restored to health. Besides, in the case of Miriam, we find that shutting her up for seven days cured her of leprosy (Num. xii. 11-13).

4. *The identity of the Biblical leprosy with the modern distemper bearing this name*.—It would be useless to discuss the different disorders which have been palmed upon the Mosaic description of leprosy. With the Scriptural symptoms before us, let us compare the most recent description of modern leprosy given by an eye-witness who examined this subject, 'The scab comes on by degrees, in different parts of the body; the hair falls from the head and eyebrows; the nails loosen, decay, and drop off; joint after joint of the fingers and toes shrink up, and slowly fall away. The gums are absorbed, and the teeth disappear. The nose, the eyes, the tongue, and the palate are slowly consumed; and, finally, the wretched victim shrinks into the earth and disappears, while medicine has no power to stay the ravages of this fell disease,

or even to mitigate sensibly its tortures' (Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 653, etc.); and again, 'Sauntering down the Jaffa road, on my approach to the holy city, in a kind of dreamy maze, . . . I was startled out of my reverie by the sudden apparition of a crowd of beggars 'sans eyes, sans nose, sans hair, sans everything.' They held up towards me their handless arms, unearthly sounds gurgled through throats without palates' (*ibid.* p. 651). We merely ask by what rules of interpretation can we deduce from the Biblical leprosy, which is described as consisting in a rising scab, or bright spot deeper than the general level of the skin, and spreading, sometimes exhibiting live flesh, and which is non-contagious and curable, that loathsome and appalling malady described by Dr. Thomson and others? Dr. Mason Good, with equal violation of the simple phrases of the text, has attempted to force on them modern specific significations, and has drawn out a comparative table of parallel terms as used in Lev. xiii., by Hippocrates and Celsus, *e. g.*, שחח, *herpes* or *tetter*; נגע, *ictus*, blow or bruise, etc.

בהרת, Lev.,	λέπρα, Hippo-	Vitiglio, Celsus,
comprehending	crates, comp.	comprehending
1. בהק	1. ἀλφός	1. Albida.
2. בהרת לבנה	= 2. λευκη	= 2. Candida.
3. בהרת כהה	3. μέλας	3. Nigrescens,
		or <i>umbrae similis</i> .

But as Mr. Hayman, the writer of the article *LEPER* in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, justly remarks, 'the Hebrew of (1) is in Lev. xiii. 39 predicated of a subject compounded of the phraseology of (2) and (3), whereas the (1) (2) and (3) of Hippocrates and of Celsus are respectively distinct, and mutually exclusive of one another.' Besides *בהרת* simply means *languid, expiring, depressing*.

As to the leprosy of garments, vessels, and houses, Michaelis says, that wool of sheep which died from a particular disease might fret into holes, and exhibit an appearance in the garments of which they were made, like that described in Lev. xiii. 47-59; and that the attack on the walls with what the Germans call *salpêtre*, and what we call *mural salt*, which corrodes and consumes them, may be meant by leprosy of houses described in Lev. xiii. 33-48. But he has no theory for the leprosy of leather vessels (*Laws of Moses*, art. ccl.) Calmet, however, thinks that this disorder is caused by animalcules which erode the garments and the stones, and is called leprosy because it is produced in much the same manner as leprosy in man (*Dissertation* prefixed to his *Comment. on Leviticus*); and those who follow this theory submit that 'the analogy between the insect which frets the human skin and that which frets the garment that covers it; between the fungous growth that lines the crevices of the epidermis and that which creeps in the interstices of masonry; is close enough for the purpose of a ceremonial law.' We must confess that these fine-spun theories cannot be deduced from the simple description of Lev. xiii., xiv., which exhibits the symptoms and working of leprosy of garments, vessels, and houses, and those of leprosy of men as so identical; without doing the greatest violence to the text. We could more easily espouse the ancient Jewish tradition, that 'leprosy of garments and houses was not found in the world generally, but was a sign and a miracle in Israel to guard them against an evil tongue' (Mai-

monides *On Leprosy*, xvi. 10), than such laws of exegesis, whereby anything and everything might be introduced into the Bible.

5. *Literature*.—Very important notices and canons on leprosy are given in the *Mishna Tracta Negaim*, by Maimonides; *Iod Ha-Chesaka Hilchoth Mechosos Kapara*, cap. iv., and *Hilchoth Tamath Tzoraath*; and by Rashi and Rashbam, *Commentaries on Lev.* xiii., xiv. Of modern writers are to be mentioned—Mead, *Medica Sacra, Medical Works*, Edinburgh 1765, vol. iii., p. 160, etc.; Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, English translation, vol. iii., London 1814, pp. 257-305; Mason Good, *The Study of Medicine*, 2d ed., vol. v., London 1825, p. 535, *seq.*; Schilling, *De lepra Commentationes*, sec. J. D. Hahn, *Lugd. Bat.* 1778; Hensler, *Vom abend-ländischen Aussatz im Mittelalter*, Hamburg 1790; Jahn, *Biblische Archäologie*, i. Theil, ii. Band, Vienna 1818, p. 355, ff.; Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, vol. ii., Heidelberg 1839, pp. 459 ff., 512 ff.; Sommer, *Biblische Abhandlungen*, vol. i., Bonn 1846; Pruner, *Die Krankheiten des Orients*, Erlangen 1847, p. 163, ff.; Trusen, *Die Sitten, Gebräuche und Krankheiten der alten Hebräer*, 2d ed., Breslau 1833; Saalschutz, *Das Mosaische Recht*, vol. i., Berlin 1853, p. 217, ff.; Keil, *Handbuch der Biblischen Archäologie*, vol. i., Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1858, pp. 270 ff., 288 ff.—C. D. G.

LESHEM. [LAISH.]

LESHEM (לֶשֶׁם), a precious stone (*Exod.* xxviii. 19; xxxix. 12). The LXX. render it by *λειτουργία*, the Vulg. by *ligurius*; A. V. *ligure*. It is uncertain what stone is intended by these appellations. The prevailing opinion is that it is the jacinth that is meant, and this is supported by Rev. xxi. 20, where the *jacinth* occupies the place of the *leshem*, and by Epiphanius, who says that the *ligure* is the hyacinth. This view, however, is rejected by some, who think the *opal* is intended by *leshem*, while others contend for the *tourmaline* or *rubellite*. The *ligurion* or *linkurion* of the ancients was a hard stone, a gem on which seals were sometimes cut, and according to Theophrastus it possessed the magnetic or electric quality of attracting small bodies. The former quality is possessed by the opal and the jacinth alike; but neither of these possesses the latter quality. *Tourmaline*, again, has a magnetic power when heated; but it is not much valued as a gem, and there is no evidence that it was found in countries accessible by the Israelites at the time when the high-priest's breast-plate was made. The derivation of the Hebrew word *לֶשֶׁם* is uncertain; Gesenius compares the root *לָשַׁם* with the Arabic *لَسَمَ*,

lasama, to lick; while Fürst, with more reason, comparing it with *לָשַׁם* and *לָשַׁם*, finds in it the notion of *glancing, shimmering*—a notion which will apply well to the ruddy lustre of the jacinth.

LESSONS, PROPER, READ IN SYNAGOGUE. [HAPHTARA: SYNAGOGUE.]

LETAAH (לֵטָאָה), a species of lizard, Sept. *χαλαβώτης*, Vulg. *stellio*; Targ. Jon. *שֶׁמַמִּיּוּת*, *shemamitha* (*stellio*); Syr. *ܠܬܐܝܬܐ*, *teruritha* (*salamander*). What species of lizard this word denotes is not certain. In the only passage

where it occurs in the Bible (Lev. xi. 30) there is nothing to guide us to a decision on this point. Bochart derives the word from the Arab. *لطا*, *lataa*, to adhere to the ground, and from this argues its identity with the Arabian *wachra* or *wachara*; but this carries us little way, inasmuch as the description will apply to most lizards, and it is uncertain to what species the Arabs applied this term. As the *Letaah* frequented houses, it is most probable that it was the *House-Gecko* (*Ptyodactylus Gecko*), a species which abounds in Egypt, and is found also in Syria and Arabia. It is poisonous, and mere contact with it produces a fiery eruption like that caused by the sting of a nettle. From this probably has arisen the feeling prevalent in Egypt that this reptile causes leprosy, whence it has the name of *Abu bureys*, father of leprosy.—W. L. A.

LETUSHIM (לְטוּשִׁים, 'sharpened,' from לָטַשׁ, *acuit*; Λαρουσιεῖμ; *Latusim*). Jokshan, Abraham's second son by Keturah, had two sons, Sheba and *Dedan*; 'and the sons of Dedan were Asshurim, and *Letushim*, and Leummim' (Gen. xxv. 3). These are plural forms, and consequently Letushim must be regarded as the name of the tribe or nation. It does not again occur in either sacred or profane history, nor have we any means of identifying the people. Forster supposes that the Letushim were absorbed in the generic appellation of Dedan, several times mentioned in the prophets (Jer. xxv. 23; Ezek. xxv. 13; Is. xxi. 13). They dwelt in the desert eastward from Edom (Forster, *Geogr. of Arabia*, i. 334).—J. L. P.

LEUMMIM (לְאֻמִּים, 'peoples,' from אָמַן; Λαομῆμ, *Laomim*), a tribe descended from the third son of Dedan (Gen. xxv. 3). The name does not occur in the later books of the Bible, but Ptolemy mentions a tribe in Arabia Felix called *Allumaeoti* (Ἀλλουμαῖοται), which appears to be a corruption of the old Hebrew Leummim with the Arabic article prefixed (*Geogr.* vi. 7). He also enumerates *Luma* among the towns of Arabia Deserta (v. 19), and Forster suggests that this may have been an ancient settlement of the same tribe (*Geogr. of Arabia*, i. 335).—J. L. P.

LEUSDEN, JOHN, was born at Utrecht in 1624, and died in 1699. For nearly fifty years he sustained a very high reputation as professor of Hebrew in the recently founded university of his native city. He had well qualified himself for the duties of this office by careful study of theology and the Oriental languages at Utrecht, and afterwards of the sacred original of the O. T. under the tuition of a very learned Rabbi of Amsterdam. Few writings have descended to us from the Biblical scholars of former days of more solid utility than Leusden's. If they are defective in originality of genius (the amount of which quality, however, it is impossible rightly to determine in works like our author's), they undoubtedly afford evidence of their author's varied resources of learning, adorned by clearness of method and an easy style; characteristics which made Leusden one of the most renowned and successful teachers of his age. His numerous works were all *Biblical*, and may be classed as (1) Critical, (2) Introductory, and (3) Exegetical. Under the first head we have his valuable *Biblia Hebraea accuratissima notis He-*

braicis et lemmatibus illustrata: typis Josephi Athias., Amstel. 1617 [2d edit. 1667]. This was the first critical edition by a Christian editor ['Æstimatissima primum numeratis versibus, primæque a Christiano adhibitis MSS. facta.' Steinschneider, *Catal. Bodl.*] In 1694 he joined Eisenmenger in publishing a Hebrew Bible without points. The Greek Scriptures also received his careful attention, as is proved by his editions of the Greek Test. in 1675, 1688, 1693, 1698, 1701, and by his edition of the Septuagint, Amster. 1683. After his death, Schaaf completed a valuable edition of the Syriac New Test. (with Tremellius' version), which Leusden had begun. Under this first head we may also place his Hebrew Lexicon (1688); Elementary Hebr. Gram., which was translated into English, French, and German (1668); his *Compendia* of the O. T. and the N. T. (comprising selections of the originals, with translations and grammatical notes in Latin), frequently reprinted; his *Onomasticon Sacr.* (1665, 1684), and his still useful *Clavis Hebr. Vet. Test.* (containing the Masoretic notes, etc., besides much grammatical and philological information), first published in 1683, and his *Clavis Græc. N. T.* (1672). His contributions to the second head of Introduction (*Einleitung*) and sacred archaeology were not less valuable than the works we have already commended. Of these we mention three (sometimes to be met with in one vol.) as very useful to the Biblical student: *Philologus Hebr. continens Questiones Hebr. quæ circa V. Test. Hebr. fere moveri solent* (the best editions contain his edition and translation of Maimonides' *Precepts of Moses*, p. 56); *Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, una cum Spicilegio Philol.* (containing treatises on several interesting points of Hebrew antiquities and Talmudical science); *Philologus Hebræo-Græcus generalis*, in which questions relating to the sacred Greek of the Christian Scriptures, its Hebraisms, the Syriac and other translations, its inspired authors, etc. etc., are well and succinctly handled (with this work occurs Leusden's translation into Hebrew of all the Chaldee portions of the O. T.) Under the last, or Exegetical head, we have less to record. In 1656 (reprinted in 1692) Leusden published in a Latin translation, David Kimchi's Commentary on the prophet Jonah (*Jonas illustratus*), and in the following year a similar work (again after David Kimchi) on Joel and Obadiah (*Joel explicatus, adjunctus Obadias* illustratus*). We must not conclude the list of the learned labours of this diligent scholar and worthy man without mentioning his editions (with the help of Vilemandy and Morinus) of Bochart's Works, and the works of our own learned countrymen, Lightfoot (whose works he published in Latin, in 3 vols. folio, in the last year of his life) and Poole (whose *Synopsis* occurs in its very best form in Leusden's edition, 5 vols. folio, 1684). Justice, on the whole, has been done to this ornament of the church of Holland. Much information respecting his life and writings is contained in Burmann (*Traject. erudit.*), Fabricius (*Hist. Biblioth. Fabric.*, i. 244), Walch (*Biblioth. Theol. Selecta*, vols. iii., iv.), *Biographie universelle anc. et mod.* (1819), xxiv. 357, Kalisch (*Hebr. Gram.*, part ii. [Historical Introd.], p. 37), and in Arnold (*Herzog.*, viii. 345, 346).—P. H.

* The *Obadiah* was unaccompanied with the Latin translation.

LEVI (לֵוִי, *a joining*; Sept. *Aeuel*), the third son of Jacob and Leah, born in Mesopotamia B. C. 1750 (Gen. xxix. 34). No circumstance is recorded of him save the part which he and his full brother Simeon took in the massacre of the Shechemites, to avenge the wrong done to their sister Dinah (Gen. xxxiv. 25, 26). This transaction was to his last hour regarded by Jacob with abhorrence, and he failed not to allude to it in his dying declaration. As Simeon and Levi were united in that act, so the patriarch couples them in his prophecy: 'Accursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel! I will divide them in Jacob, and disperse them in Israel.' And, accordingly, their descendants were afterwards, in different ways, dispersed among the other tribes; although, in the case of Levi, this curse was eventually turned into a benefit and blessing.

[Two other persons of the name of Levi are mentioned in the genealogy of Jesus Christ, viz., the son of Malchi, a near ancestor of our Lord (Luke iii. 24), and a more remote ancestor, son of Simeon (ver. 29). The Evangelist Matthew also bore the name of Levi (Mark ii. 14; Luke v. 27, 29), [MATTHEW].

LEVI B. GERSHON. [RALBAG.]

LEVIATHAN (לִיְאָתָן; LXX. τὸ μέγα κῆτος, δράκων; Compl. λεβιάθαν), an aquatic animal, which, though only five times mentioned by name in the Bible (Job iii. 8; xli. 1, *Heb.* xl. 25; Ps. lxxiv. 14; civ. 26; Is. xxvii. 1), is described in detail in the Book of Job (xli.). Its name is supposed to be derived from לִיָּה, 'a garland, wreath,' hence an animal wreathed or twisted in folds.

There can be no doubt that the description in Job applies to the crocodile, but in other passages leviathan is held to signify a large serpent, and a whale or other large marine animal. To decide how far the latter suppositions are probable, it will be necessary to examine the several passages relating to it, taking first those which certainly refer to the crocodile.

It will be well to notice the chief characteristics of leviathan in the description in Job, to render its identity with the crocodile in that place beyond doubt. The animal is first spoken of as not to be taken, like any small aquatic creature, with a hook; as not to be tamed, whether as a plaything or an object of merchandise. Yet, more, he is impenetrable to pikes or fish-spears. The subject then changes. No longer to be assailed, leviathan is to be feared as an assailant whom none is so fierce as to stir up. His description then follows. His teeth are dreadful; his back is coated with shield-like armour, closely fastened together, 'so that a breath entereth not between' the plates, 'his eyes [are] as the eyelids of [the] dawn,' his breath is fiery, his neck strong, his muscles fast fixed together, his heart 'firm as a stone, yea hard as [the] nether millstone.' None can approach him with any weapon. Iron and brass are powerless against him, so are sling-stones and the spear. The sea boils where he swims, and a path of foam shines after him. 'He is sovereign over all the children of pride' (בְּנֵי שִׁחְוָה); that is, the animals of prey (see xxviii. 8). It is marvellous that any scholar can have imagined that these characteristics

denote the whale, or water-monsters in general, for, if applied to the crocodile, there is little, even in a passage full of vivid images, that is figurative. On the other hand, several points shew a minute agreement; it has been suggested by Col. Hamilton Smith, that the comparison of the eyes of leviathan to 'the eyelids of [the] dawn' may be due to the contractile cat-like pupils' having in some crocodiles 'a luminous greenish tinge' [CROCODILE, i. p. 589, a], and this is curiously illustrated by a passage in the 'Hieroglyphics' of Horapollo Nilosus, where the eyes of a crocodile are said to denote a rising or sunrise, because they alone shine from the deep ('*Ἀνατολὴν δὲ λέγοντες, δύο ὀφθαλμοὺς κροκοδείλου συγγραφούσιν. ἐπειδήπερ [i. ἐπειδήπερ] πάντος σώματος ζώου ὁ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἀναφαίνονται*, i. sec. lxviii. ed. Cory, pp. 85, 86).

The use of the word 'sea' to describe the creature's abode does not militate against the crocodile, for this term describes the Nile in the account of the grandeur and sack of Thebes in Nahum (iii. 8), and its Arabic equivalent, 'bahr,' is the name of both Nile and sea in modern Egypt; besides that, it may be that a lake of Lower Egypt is intended. Certainly 'sea,' for the Nile, is a very rare use in the Bible, of which no certain instance but that in Nahum can be cited; yet the grandeur of the whole description in Job would account for a preference for the most dignified terms. The reference in an earlier passage in the same book is evidently to the same creature. Desperate men are there described as those 'who are ready to stir up leviathan' (Job iii. 8). This should be compared with, '[There is] none [so] fierce as to stir him up' (xli. 10, A. V. 2). Yet Gesenius imagines that a serpent is meant in the former passage.

In Ps. lxxiv. the terms 'dragons' (תַּנִּינִים) and leviathan are used to designate the Pharaoh of the Exodus. The Psalmist begins with a prayer for the deliverance of the Israelites and Zion from their oppressors. He then recalls God's wonders of old, 'Thou didst divide the sea by thy might: thou didst break utterly the heads of the dragons in the waters. Thou didst break the heads of leviathan in pieces, [and] gavest him [to be] meat to the people dwelling in the wilderness' (צִיָּים, the wild beasts), vers. 13, 14. With this passage must be compared the parallel one of Isaiah, where the arm of the LORD is thus addressed: 'Art not [thou] it that hath hewed Rahab, [and] pierced through the dragon? Art not [thou] it that hath dried up the sea, the waters of the great deep; that hath made the depths of the sea a path for the ransomed to pass over?' (li. 9, 10, comp. 15). With these again should be compared the mention of the Exodus in Job, 'By his might he restrained [or 'rebuked'] the sea, and by his wisdom he smote through Rahab' [or 'pride'] (xxvi. 12). These passages connect the special name leviathan with the general term, tannin, dragon, as symbols of the Pharaoh of the Exodus, who could be thus represented by a water creature with especial fitness in the relation of the miracle of dividing the sea. Tannin, though certainly a general term, is used for the crocodile where Ezekiel describes the pride and overthrow of Pharaoh Hophra, with an apparent retrospect of the Exodus (xxix. 3, 4, 5). Such a retrospect would not only be appropriate, as Egypt was again to be humbled to the dust, but also from the proba-

bility that the river ('rivers,' pl. of נָהָר) spoken of as the dragon's abode, his own, made by him for himself, was not the Nile, but (at least primarily) as Mr. Stanley Poole has argued with high probability, the Canal of the Red Sea (Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, RED SEA, iii. pp. 1010, 1011), commenced for the second time but a few years before the date of this prophecy by Hophra's grandfather Pharaoh Necho.*

The Egyptian monuments do not throw any positive light upon this subject. The crocodile was one of the sacred animals, but was not worshipped throughout the country, being hated and destroyed in some of the nomes. It was sacred to the god SEBAK, a divinity of minor importance, represented with this animal's head. The use of the crocodile as a symbol of the king of Egypt seems therefore to be Shemite, not Egyptian.

Two mentions of leviathan remain to be noticed, as to both of which there has been a general agreement of commentators against the crocodile. In Ps. civ. the abode of leviathan seems to be the sea. 'The earth is full of thy riches. [So is] this sea, great and large on every side, wherein [are] things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts. There go the ships: [there is] that leviathan [whom] thou hast created to take his pastime therein' (24, 25, 26). We have already shewn that the Nile is certainly once called the sea, and probably twice, in Scripture. The vastness of the river, with its abundant inhabitants, as in Æschylus,—

—ὁ μέγας καὶ πολυθρέμμων
Νεῖλος— (Pers. 33, 34.)

in whichever of its two possible senses we take πολυθρέμμων, as abounding in monsters, comparing the still more pointedly-appropriate πολυκήρεα Νεῖλος of Theocritus (xvii. 98), or much-nourishing—and the many vessels which anciently voyaged on its surface, accord with this description, and neither ships nor whales would be as accustomed sights from the shore of Palestine, or the coasts of Arabia, as boats and crocodiles in the Nile, the Canal of the Red Sea, and perhaps one or more lakes connected with that canal. The idea of pastime may seem to suit the whale rather than the crocodile, but the notion implied seems to be space enough for the free movements of so great an animal, and if so, the Nile would be preferable to the sea.

In Is. xxvii. 1, leviathan is used as a symbol of an enemy, or the enemies of God's people: 'In that day the LORD with his hard, and great, and strong sword, shall punish [or 'fall upon'] leviathan the fleeing (?) serpent, even leviathan the tortuous serpent; and slay the dragon that [is] in the sea.' Here Gesenius supposes a great serpent to be meant, and the kingdom of Babylon to be symbolized by it. But it is evident that the prophecy, if it have a primary reference to the return from the captivity at Babylon, has a wider import, and

there is at least as much reason to think that the reference is to Egypt, a future exodus from which is foretold, as well as a like deliverance from Assyria (12, 13). How then are we to account for the parallel use of leviathan and serpent? In a passage where symbols are accumulated, probably to designate a distant object or objects, there seems no need to suppose that all must be of the same signification. Dragon indeed includes leviathan, but it seems, certainly, to have a more general sense. We therefore do not see that in this case it is necessary to suppose that leviathan is used in any sense but that of crocodile, as the symbol of Pharaoh, and so of any enemy of the true Israel.—R. S. P.

LEVIRATE. [MARRIAGE.]

LEVISON, MORDECAI GUMPEL, a learned Jewish physician and commentator, and fellow-student of the celebrated philosopher Moses Mendelssohn in Berlin. He afterwards came over to London and was physician in one of the hospitals (1790), was then nominated by Gustavus III. of Sweden to the professional chair in Upsal, which office he held for several years; returned to his native place, Berlin, in 1781, thence went to Hamburg in 1784, where he died Feb. 10, 1797. His works which illustrate the Bible are—(1.) A commentary on Ecclesiastes, called תוכחת מנלה, dedicated to Gustavus III., Hamburg 1784. This elaborate work is preceded by five introductions, which respectively treat on the import of the book, the appropriateness of its name, Hebrew synonyms, roots, the verb and its inflexions, the names of the deity, on the design of the Bible, etc. etc.; whereupon follows the Hebrew text with a double commentary, one explains the words and their connection (ביאור הסלות ותניניהם), and the other gives an exposition of the argument of the book. It is one of the most important commentaries which have appeared on this difficult volume of the O.T., and must be added to the history of the interpretation of Ecclesiastes given by Ginsburg, *Historical and Critical Commentary on Ecclesiastes*. (2.) A treatise on Holy Scripture, published at the request of the king of Sweden, London 1770. (3.) A treatise on the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Talmud, entitled סלת מנחה בלולה. Hamburg 1797. (4.) A Hebrew Lexicon, called השרשים. (5.) A work on Hebrew Synonyms, entitled ספר הנרדפים; and (6.) A Hebrew Grammar, called דרך הקרש החורשה, the last three works have not as yet been published. Comp. Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. 238, ff.—C. D. G.

LEVITA. [ELIAS LEVITA.]

LEVITES, or SONS OF LEVI (לְוִיִּם; Λευῖται, υἱοὶ Λευί; *Levite, filii Levi*), besides denoting all the descendants of the tribe of Levi (Exod. vi. 25; Levit. xxv. 32, etc.; Num. xxxv. 2; Josh. xxi. 3, 41), is the distinctive title of that portion of it which was set apart for the subordinate offices of the sanctuary, to assist the other and smaller portion of their own tribe, who are denominated the sons of Aaron, Aaronites, or Priests, and were invested with the superior functions of the hierarchy [PRIESTS]. In describing the institution and development of the Levitical order, we shall have to distinguish three periods; viz.—I. From the insti-

*The ancient Egyptian ATUR, AUR, signifies river, the Nile, as the river, the inundation, lake of temple? canal? (M. de Horrack in *Revue Archéologique*, N. S., 1864, pp. 45, 46, 48-50). The Hebrew word year is generally used for a stream or streams of Egypt; by Amos for the, or an, inundation (viii. 7, 8; see ix. 5), and also for channels.

tution of this order by Moses till the commencement of the monarchy; II. From the changes introduced in this order by David till the exile; and III. The post-exile period.

I. *From the institution of the Levitical order till the monarchy.*—This is the most interesting and important period in the history of the Levitical order, and in describing it we must first of all trace the cause which called it into existence.

1. *Origin and institution of the Levitical order.*—The Tabernacle, with its extensive and regular sacrificial service, which required a special priestly order regularly to perform the higher functions of the sanctuary, also called into being the Levitical staff to aid the priests in their arduous task; inasmuch as the primitive and patriarchal mode of worship which obtained till the erection of the Tabernacle, and according to which the first-born of all Israelites performed the priestly offices (comp. Exod. xxiv. 5 with xix. 24, and Art. FIRST-BORN), could not be perpetuated under the newly-organised congregational service, without interfering with the domestic relations of the people. It was for this reason, as well as to secure greater efficiency in the sacred offices, that the religious primogeniture was conferred upon the tribe of Levi, which were henceforth to give their undivided attention to the requirements of the sanctuary (Num. iii. 11-13). The tribe of Levi were selected because they had manifested a very extraordinary zeal for the glory of God (Exod. xxxii. 26, etc.), had already obtained a part of this religious primogeniture by the institution of the hereditary priesthood in the family of Aaron (Exod. xxviii. 1), and because, as the tribe to which Moses and Aaron belonged, they would most naturally support and promote the institutions of the lawgiver. To effect this transfer of office, both the first-born males of all the other tribes, and the Levites, were ordered to be numbered, from the age of one month and upwards; and when it was found that the former were 22,273 and the latter 22,000,* it was arranged that 22,000 of the first-born should be replaced by the 22,000 Levites, that the 273 first-born who were in excess of the Levites should be redeemed at the rate of five

shekels each, being the legal sum for the redemption of the first-born child (Num. xviii. 16), and that the 1365 shekels be given to Aaron and his sons as a compensation for the odd persons who, as first-born, belonged to Jehovah. As to the difficulty how to decide which of the first-born should be redeemed by paying this money, and which should be exchanged for the Levites, since it was natural for every one to wish to escape this expense, the Midrash (*on Num.* iii. 17) and the Talmud relate that 'Moses wrote on 22,000 tickets

Levite (לוי), and on 273 *Five Shekels* (חמט

שקלים), mixed them all up, put them into a vessel, and then bid every Israelite to draw one. He who took out one with *Levite* on it was redeemed by a Levite, and he who drew one with *Five Shekels* on it had to be redeemed by payment of this sum' (*Sanhedrin* 17, a). And there is no reason to doubt this ancient tradition. It was farther ordained, that the cattle which the Levites then happened to possess, should be considered as equivalent to all the first-born cattle which all the Israelites had, without their being numbered and exchanged, one for one, as in the case of the human beings (Num. iii. 41-51), so that the firstlings should not now be given to the priest, or be redeemed, which the Israelites were hereafter required to do (Num. xviii. 15).

2. *Division of the tribe of Levi.*—As different functions were assigned to the separate houses of the Levitical branch of the tribe, to which frequent references are made, we subjoin the following Table from Exod. vi. 16-25, italicising the Aaronic or priestly branch, in order to facilitate these references.

LEVI	GERSHON	Libni	Aaron	Elazar Ithamar
		Shimei		
	KOHATH	Amram		
		Izhar		
		Hebron		
		Uzziel		
MERARI		Mishael		
		Elzaphan		
		Zithri		
		Mahali		
		Mushi*		

* There is a discrepancy between the total number of the Levites, which is given in Num. iii. 39 as 22,000, and the separate number of the three divisions which is given in verses 22, 28, and 34, as follows—Gershonites 7500, + Kohathites 8600, + and Merarites 6200 = 22,300. Compare also ver. 46, where it is said that the 22,273 first-born exceeded the total number of Levites by 273. The Talmud (*Bachoroth*, 5 a) and the Jewish commentators, who are followed by most Christian expositors, submit that the 300 surplus Levites were the first-born of this tribe, who, as such, could not be substituted for the first-born of the other tribes, and therefore were omitted from the total. To this, however, it is objected, that if such an exemption of first-born had been intended, the text would have contained some intimation of it, whereas there is nothing whatever in the context to indicate it. Houbigant therefore suggests that

a ל has crept into the word שש in ver. 28, making it שש, and that by retaining the former word we obtain 8300 instead of 8600, which removes all the difficulty. Philippon, Keil, and others, adopt this explanation.

* Those mentioned in the above list are by no means the only descendants of Levi in their respective generations, as is evident from the fact, that though no sons of Libni, Shimei, Hebron, etc., are here given, yet mention is made in Num. iii. 21, of 'the family of the Libnites' and the family of the Shimeites; in Num. xxvii. 58, of 'the family of the Libnites;' and in Num. iii. 27; xxvi. 58, of 'the family of the Hebronites;' whilst in 1 Chron. xxiii. several sons of these men are mentioned by name. Again, no sons of Mahali and Mushi are given, and yet they appear in Num. iii. as fathers of families of the Levites. The design of the genealogy in question is simply to give the pedigrees of Moses and Aaron, and some other principal heads of the family of Levi, as is expressly stated in Exod. vi. 25: 'these are the heads of the fathers of the Levites according to their families.' In these heads all the other members of their fami-

It will thus be seen that the Levitical order comprises the whole of the descendants of Gershon and Merari, and those of Kohath through Izhar and Uzziel, as well as through Amram's second son, Moses; whilst Aaron, Amram's first son, and his issue, constitute the priestly order. It must here be remarked, that though Kohath is the second in point of age and order, yet his family will be found to occupy the first position, because they are the nearest of kin to the priests.

3. *Age and qualifications for Levitical service.*—The only qualification for active service specified in the Mosaic law, is mature age, which in Num. iv. 3, 23, 30, 39, 43, 47, is said to be from thirty to fifty; whilst in Num. viii. 24, 25, it is said to commence at *twenty-five*. Various attempts have been made to reconcile these two apparently contradictory injunctions. The Talmud (*Cholin* 24, a), Rashi (*Comment.*, in loco), and Maimonides (*Iod*

Ha-Chezaka, Hilchoth Kele Ha-Mikdash, iii. 7. 3), who are followed by some Christian commentators, affirm that from twenty-five to thirty the Levites attended in order to be instructed in their duties, but did not enter upon actual duties until they were full thirty years of age. But this explanation, as Abravanel rightly remarks, 'is at variance with the plain declaration of the text, that the Levites were called at twenty-five years of age *to wait upon the service of the Tabernacle*, which clearly denotes not instruction for their ministry, but the ministry itself' (*Comment. on Num.* viii. 24). Besides, the text itself does not give the slightest intimation that any period of the Levitical life was devoted to instruction. Hence Rashbam, Ibn Ezra, and Abravanel, who are followed by most modern expositors, submit that the twenty-five years of age refers to the Levites' entering upon the lighter part of their service, such as keeping watch and performing the



324. The Kohathites.

lighter duties in the Tabernacle; whilst the thirty years of age refers to their entering upon the more onerous duties, such as carrying heavy weights, when the tabernacle was moved about from place to place, which required the full strength of a man (מבן שלשים שנה הוא לעבודת משא ומבן חמש ועשרים לעבודת האהל); maintaining that this distinction is indicated in the text by the words לעבוד ולמשא, for labour and burdens, when the thirty years' work

lies were included, according to the principle laid down in 1 Chron. xxiii. 11: 'therefore they were in one reckoning, according to their father's house.' Some names are also mentioned for a special purpose, e.g., the sons of Izhar, on account of Korah, who was the leader of the rebellion against Moses. These observations afford an answer, to a considerable extent, to the conclusions of Bishop Colenso upon the number of the Levites (comp. *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined*, part i., p. 107-112).

is spoken of (Num. iv. 30, 31), and by the omission of the word מִשָּׂא, burden, when the twenty-five years' work is spoken of (Num. viii. 24, etc.). But it may fairly be questioned, whether man is more fitted for arduous work from thirty to thirty-five than from twenty-five to thirty. Besides the Gershonites and the Merarites, who had the charge of the heavier burdens, did not carry them at all (comp. Num. vii. 3-9, and *infra*, sec. 4). According to another ancient Jewish interpretation given in the *Siphri*, and adopted by Bähr (*Symbolik*, ii. 41) and others, Num. iv. treats of the necessary age of the Levites for the immediate requirements in the wilderness; whilst Num. viii. gives their age for the promised land, when they shall be divided among the tribes and a larger number shall be wanted (*Siphri on Num.* viii.). Somewhat similar is Philippson's explanation, who affirms that at the first election of the Levitical order the required age for service was from thirty to fifty, but that all future Levites had to commence service at twenty-five. Whilst the Sept. solves the difficulty by uniformly reading twenty-five instead of thirty.

4. *Duties and classification of the Levites.*—The Levites were given as a gift (תְּנִינִים) to Aaron and his sons, the priests, to wait upon them, and to do the subordinate work for them at the service of the sanctuary (Num. viii. 19; xvii. 2-6). They had also to guard the tabernacle and take charge of certain vessels, whilst the priests had to watch the altars and the interior of the sanctuary (i. 50-53; viii. 19; xviii. 1-7). To carry it out effectually, the charge of certain vessels and portions of the Tabernacle, as well as the guarding of its several sides, were assigned to each of the three sections into which the tribe was divided by their respective descent from the three sons of Levi, i. e., Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, as follows:—

The Kohathites, who out of 8600 persons yielded 2750 qualified for active service according to the prescribed age, and who were under the leadership of Elizaphan, had to occupy the south side of the Tabernacle; and, as the family to whom Aaron the high-priest and his sons belonged, had to take charge of the holy things (מִשְׁמֶרֶת הַקֹּדֶשׁ)—viz., the ark, the table of shew-bread, the candlestick, the two altars of incense and burnt-offering, as well as of the sacred vessels used at the service of these holy things, and the curtains of the holy of holies. All these things they had to carry on their own shoulders when the camp was broken up (Num. iii. 27-32; iv. 5-15; vii. 9). Eleazar, the head of the priests, who belonged to the Kohathites, and was the chief commander of the three Levitical divisions, had the charge of the oil for the candlestick, the incense, the daily meat-offering, and the anointing oil (Num. iii. 32; iv. 16). (See woodcut, page 821.)

The Gershonites, who, out of 7500 men yielded 2630 for active service, and who were under the leadership of Eliasaph, had to occupy the west side of the tabernacle, and to take charge of the tapestry of the tabernacle, all its curtains, hangings, and coverings, the pillars of the tapestry hangings, the implements used in connection therewith, and to perform all the work connected with the taking down and putting up of the articles over which they had the charge (Num. iii. 21-26; iv. 22-28). (See woodcut, page 824.)

The Merarites, who out of 6200 yielded 3200 active men, and who were under the leadership of Zuriel, had to occupy the north side of the tabernacle, and take charge of the boards, bars, pillars, sockets, tent-pins, etc. (Num. iii. 33-37; iv. 39, 40). The two latter companies, however, were allowed to use the six covered waggons and the twelve oxen which were offered as an oblation to Jehovah; the Gershonites, having the less heavy portion, got two of the waggons and four of the oxen; whilst the Merarites, who had the heavier portions, got four of the waggons and eight of the oxen (Num. vii. 3-9). (See woodcut, page 825.) Thus the total number of active men which the three divisions of the Levites yielded was 8580. When encamped around the tabernacle, they formed, as it were, a partition between the people and the sanctuary; they had to guard that the children of Israel should not come near it, since those who ventured to do so incurred the penalty of death (Num. i. 51; iii. 38; xvii. 22); nor were they themselves allowed to come near the vessels of the sanctuary and the altar, lest they die, together with the priests (Num. xviii. 3-6). Israelites of any other tribe were strictly forbidden to perform

the Levitical office, in order 'that there might be no plague when the children of Israel approach the sanctuary' (Num. iii. 10; viii. 19; xviii. 5); and according to the ancient Hebrew canons, even a priest was not allowed to do the work assigned to the Levites, nor was one Levite permitted to perform the duties which were incumbent upon his fellow Levite on the penalty of death (Maimonides, *Hilchoth Kele Ha-Mikdash*, iii. 10).

5. *Consecration of the Levites.*—The first act in the consecration of the Levites was to sprinkle them with the water of purifying (מֵי חַטָּאת), which, according to tradition, was the same used for the purification of persons who became defiled by dead bodies, and in which were mingled cedar wood, hyssop, scarlet, and ashes of the red heifer (Num. xix. 6, 9, 13), and was designed to cleanse them from the same defilement (comp. Rashi on Num. viii. 7). They had, in the next place, as an emblem of further purification, to shave off all the hair from their body, 'to teach them thereby,' as Ralbag says, 'that they must renounce as much as was in their power all worldly things, and devote themselves to the service of the most high God,' and then wash their garments. After this triple form of purification, they were brought before the door of the tabernacle, along with two bullocks and fine flour mingled with oil, when the whole congregation, through the elders who represented them, laid their hands upon the heads of the Levites, and set them apart for the service of the sanctuary, to occupy the place of the first-born of the whole congregation; whereupon the priests waved them before the Lord (Num. viii. 5-14), which in all probability was done, as Abrahanel says, by leading them forward and backward, up and down, as if saying, behold these are henceforth the servants of the Lord instead of the first-born

בְּהִלְכַת הוֹבֵאֵת יִירֵדָה) תֵּלֶה כְּאוֹמֵר הִרְאֵנוּ לִי מַעֲבָדֵי תַחַת בְּכוֹרוֹת (בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל). The part which the whole congregation took in this consecration is a very important feature in the Hebrew constitution, inasmuch as it most distinctly shews that the Levitical order proceeded from the midst of the people (Exod. xxviii. 1), was to be regarded as essentially identical with it, and not as a sacred caste standing in proud eminence above the rest of the nation. This principle of equality, which, according to the Mosaic law, was not to be infringed by the introduction of a priesthood or monarchy (Deut. xvii. 14-20), was recognised throughout the existence of the Hebrew commonwealth, as is evident from the fact that the representatives of the people took part in the coronation of kings and the instalment of high-priests (1 Kings ii. 35; with 1 Chron. xxix. 22), and even in the days of the Maccabees we see that it is the people who installed Simon as high-priest (1 Maccab. xiv. 35).

6. *Revenues of the Levites.*—Thus consecrated to the service of the Lord, it was necessary that the tribe of Levi should not be engaged in the temporal pursuits of the rest of the people, to enable them to give themselves wholly to their spiritual functions, and to the cultivation of the arts and sciences, as well as to preserve them from contracting a desire to amass earthly possessions. For this reason they were to have no territorial possessions, but Jehovah was to be their inheritance (Num. xviii. 20; xvi. 62; Deut. x. 9; xviii. 1,

2; Josh. xviii. 7). To reward their labour, which they had henceforth to perform instead of the first-born of the whole people, as well as to compensate the loss of their share in the material wealth of the nation, it was ordained that they should receive from the other tribes the tithes of the produce of the land, from which the non-priestly portion of the Levites in their turn had to offer a tithe to the priests as a recognition of their higher consecration (Num. xviii. 21-24, 26-32; Neh. x. 37). But though they were to have no territorial possessions, still they required a place of abode. To secure this, and at the same time to enable the Levites to disseminate a knowledge of the law and exercise a refined and intellectual influence among the people at large, upon whose conscientious payment of the tithes they were dependent for subsistence, forty-eight cities were assigned to them, six of which were to be cities of refuge for those who had inadvertently killed any one (Num. xxxv. 1-8). From these forty-eight cities, which they obtained immediately after the conquest of Canaan, and which were made up by taking four cities from the district of every tribe, thirteen were allotted to the priestly portion of the Levitical tribe. Which cities belonged to the priestly portion of the tribe, and which to the non-priestly portion, and how they were distributed among the other tribes, as recorded in Josh. xxi., will be seen from the following Table:—

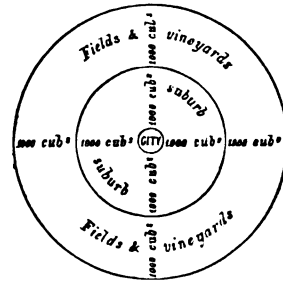
i. KOHATHITES

a Priests	Judah and Simeon . . .	9
	Benjamin . . .	4
	Ephraim . . .	4
b Not Priests	Dan . . .	4
	Half Manasseh (west)	2
	Half Manasseh (east)	2
ii. GERSHONITES	Issachar . . .	4
	Asher . . .	4
	Naphtali . . .	3
	Zebulun . . .	4
iii. MERARITES	Reuben . . .	4
	Gad . . .	4

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Each of these cities was required to have an out-lying suburb (מִנְכָּל, *podotrea*) of meadow-land for the pasture of the flocks and herds belonging to the Levites, the dimensions of which are thus described in Num. xxxv. 4, 5, 'And the suburb [or pasture-ground] of the cities which ye shall give unto the Levites, are from the wall of the city to the outside a thousand cubits round about; and ye shall measure from without the city the east corner two thousand cubits, and the south corner two thousand cubits, and the west corner two thousand cubits, and the north corner two thousand cubits, and the city in the centre.' These dimensions have occasioned great difficulty, because of the apparent contradiction in the two verses, as specifying first 1000 cubits and then 2000. The LXX., Josephus (*Antiq.* iv. 4. 3), Philo (*De Sacerd. honoribus*), get over the difficulty by reading 2000 in both verses, as exhibited in diagram I. a., whilst ancient and modern commentators, who rightly adhere to the text, have endeavoured to reconcile the two verses by advancing different theories, of which the following are the most noticeable: 1. According to the Talmud (*Erubin* 51, a), the space 'measured from the wall 1000 cubits round about,' was used as a

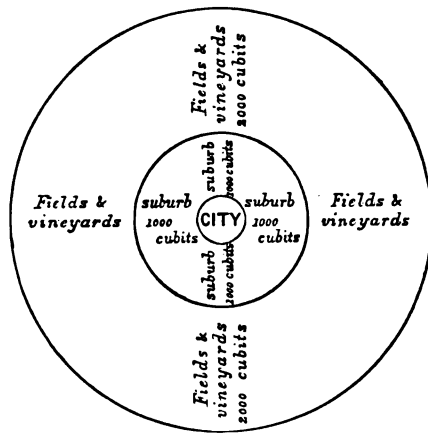
common or suburb, and the space measured 'from without the city on the east side, etc.,' was a further tract of land of 2000 cubits, used for fields and



325.

[I. a.]

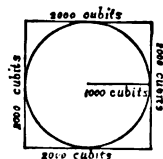
vineyards, the former being 'the suburbs' properly so-called, and the latter 'the fields of the suburbs,' as represented in diagram I. b. Against this view,



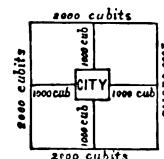
326.

[I. b.]

however, which is the most simple and rational, and which is adopted by Maimonides (*Hilchoth Shemita Ve-Yobel*, xiii. 2), Bishop Patrick, and most English expositors, it is urged, that it is not said that the 2000 cubits are to be measured in all directions, but only in the east, south, etc., direction, or, as the Hebrew has it, east, south, etc., *corner* (רֵכֶס). 2. It means that a circle of 1000 cubits radius was to be measured from the centre of the city, and then a square circumscribed about that circle, each of whose sides was 2000 cubits long,



327. [II.]



328. [III.]

as exhibited in diagram II. But the objection to this is that the 1000 cubits were to be measured 'from the wall of the city,' and not from the centre.

3. The 1000 cubits were measured perpendicularly to the wall of the city, and then perpendicular to these distances, *i.e.*, parallel to the walls of the city, the 2000 cubits were measured on the north, south, east, and west sides, as shown in diagram III. This, however, is obviously incorrect, because the sides would not be 2000 cubits long if the city were of finite dimensions, but plainly longer. 4. It is assumed that the city was built in a circular form, with a radius of 1500 cubits, that a circle was then described with a radius of 2500

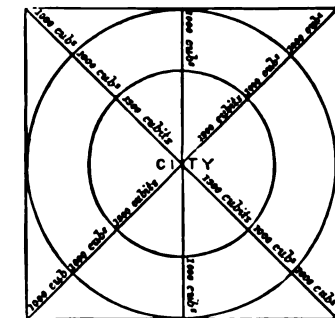
cubits from the centre of the city, *i.e.*, at a distance of 1000 cubits from the walls of the city, and that the suburbs were enclosed between the circumferences of the two circles, and that the corner of the circumscribed square was 1000 cubits from the circumference of the outer circle. Compare diagram IV. But the objection to this is, that by Euclid, I. 47, the square of the diagonal equals the sum of the square of the sides, whereas in this figure 3500^2 does not equal $2500^2 + 2500^2$. The assigned length of the diagonal varies about 35



329. The Gershonites.

cubits from its actual value. 5. The city is supposed to be of a circular form; round it a circle is described at a distance of 1000 cubits from its walls;

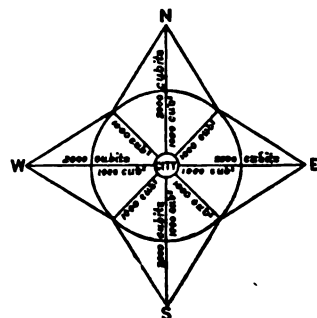
V. This view, which is somewhat fanciful, strictly meets the requirements of the Hebrew text. 6. The 1000 cubits are measured from the centre in



[IV.]

330.

then from the walls 2000 cubits are measured to the north, south, east, and west corners—the whole forming a starlike figure, as exhibited in diagram



334.

[V.]

four directions at right angles to one another, and perpendicular to each of these a side of 2000 cubits long is drawn, the whole forming a square. But in

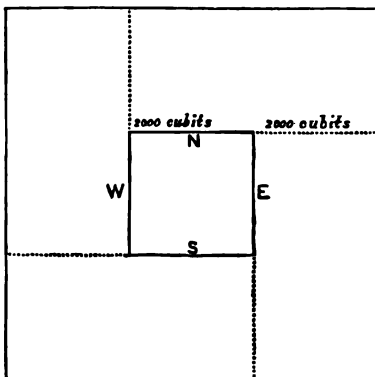
this case the condition of '1000 cubits round about' is not fulfilled, the distance of the centre from the corners of the square being plainly more than 1000 cubits. 7. The '1000 cubits round about' is equivalent to 1000 cubits square, or 305 English acres. 8. The city is supposed to be square, each side measuring 1000 or 500 cubits, and then, at a distance of 1000 cubits in all directions from the square, another square is described, as represented in diagrams VI. *a.* and VI. *b.* But this incurs the objection urged against 6, that the 1000 cubits cannot be said to be measured 'round about,' the distance from the corner of the city to the corner

of the precincts being plainly more than 1000 cubits. Upon a review of all these theories, we incline to the ancient Jewish view, which is stated first, and against which nothing can be said, if we take 'on the south, east, etc.,' simply to mean, as it often does, *in all directions*, instead of four distinct points. It pre-supposes that the cities were built in a circular form, which was usual in the cities of antiquity, both because the circle of all figures comprises the largest area within the smallest periphery, and because the inhabitants could reach every part of the walls in the shortest time from all directions, if necessary, for purposes of defence.



332. The Merarites.

These revenues have been thought exorbitant beyond all bounds; for, discarding the unjustifiable

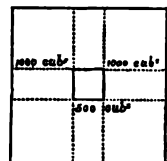


[VI. *a.*]

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conclusion of Bishop Colenso, that 'forty-four people [Levites], with the two priests, and their

families, had forty-eight cities assigned to them' (*The Pentateuch*, etc., part i., p. 112), and adhering to the Scriptural numbers, we still have a tribe which, at the second census, numbered 23,000 males, with no more than 12,000 arrived at man's estate, receiving the tithes of 600,000 people; 'consequently,' it is thought 'that each individual Levite, without having to deduct seed and the charges of husbandry, had as much as five Israelites reaped from their fields, or gained on their cattle' (Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, i., p. 252). Add to this that, though so small in number, the Levites received forty-eight cities, whilst other tribes which consisted of more than double the number of men received less cities, and some did not get more than twelve cities. But in all these calculations the following facts are ignored:—1. The tithes were not a regular tax, but a religious duty, which was greatly neglected by the people; 2. Even from these irregular tithes the Levites had to give a tithe to the priests; 3. The tithes never



334. [VI. *b.*]

increased, whereas the Levites did increase. 4. Thirteen of the forty-eight cities were assigned to the priests, and six were cities of refuge; and 5. Of the remaining twenty-nine cities, the Levites were by no means the sole occupants or proprietors, they were simply to have in them those houses which they required as dwellings, and the fields necessary for the pasture of their cattle. This is evident from the fact that the Levites were allowed to sell their houses, and that a special clause bearing on this subject was inserted in the Jubilee law [JUBILEE]; inasmuch as Lev. xxv. 32-34 would have no meaning unless it is presumed that other Israelites lived together with the Levites.

Such was the Mosaic organisation of the Levitical order which Joshua faithfully endeavoured to carry into effect. But so deeply rooted was the patriarchal mode of worship in the nation, according to which the head of the family, or the first-born son, performed the sacerdotal functions, that even in the lifetime of Moses this innovation of substituting the tribe of Levi and offering the sacrifices 'before the door of the Tabernacle before the Lord,' instead of on any altar erected by private individuals, created a revolt (Num. xvi. 3). It will therefore not be surprising to find that the primitive system of worship could not easily be superseded between the days of Joshua and the rise of the monarchy, that the people recurred to it again and again, that the Levites were without functions, influence, and means of subsistence, and were glad to seek refuge in any town, whether holy or not, and be maintained by the benevolence of pious individuals (Judg. ii. 5; vi. 11-20; xiii. 19, 20; xvii. 7-12; xviii. 1-31; 1 Sam. vi. 15; vii. 1-5; x. 17; xxxi. 1-6). As a striking illustration of this state of things, may be specified the conduct of Micah, a man of Mount Ephraim, who had in his own residence 'a house of God, and made an ephod and teraphim.' This man first consecrated one of his sons as a priest, and then got a homeless and breadless Levite, supposed to be the grandson of Moses himself, to dwell with him as 'a father and a priest' for little more than his food and raiment (Judg. xvii. 1-13). During the whole of Saul's reign, the Levites who had the charge of the ark of the covenant left this sacred trust to be profaned in the house of a private individual at Kirjath-jearim (1 Sam. vii. 2; 1 Chron. xiii. 2).

11. From the commencement of the monarchy to the exile.—The deplorable condition and disorganisation of the Levitical order were not much improved in the reign of the first Hebrew monarch. The self-willed Saul, who arrogated to himself the priestly functions, and massacred the priests at Nob (1 Sam. xxii.), was not likely to recognise the Levitical order and improve their circumstances. It was reserved for David to reorganise the great Levitical body. As soon as his kingdom was established, he immediately betook himself to the reconstruction of the divine worship, when he at once recognised the Mosaic ordinances about the priesthood and the Levitical order, and assigned to them their proper share of work in the sanctuary. When the ark was carried to Zion the Levites were the bearers of it (1 Chron. xiii. 2; xv., xvi., with vi. 16, etc.) The Levites engaged in conveying the ark to Jerusalem were divided into six father's houses, headed by six chiefs, four

belonging to Kohath, one to Gershon, and one to Merari (1 Chron. xv. 5, etc.) The most remarkable feature in the Levitical duties of this period is their being employed for the first time in choral service (1 Chron. xv. 16-24; xvi. 4-36); others again were appointed as door-keepers (*ibid.* xv. 23, 24). Still the thorough reorganisation of the whole tribe was effected by the shepherd-king in the last days of his eventful life, that the Levites might be able at the erection of the Temple 'to wait on the sons of Aaron for the service of the house of Jehovah, in the courts and the chambers, and the purifying of all holy things, and the work of the service of the house of God' (1 Chron. xxiii. 28). This reorganisation may be described as follows:—

1. *Number of Levites and age for service.*—The Levites from thirty years of age and upwards were first of all numbered, when it was found that they were 38,000 (1 Chron. xxiii. 2, 3); this being about 29,500 more than at the first Mosaic census. It will be seen that, according to this statement, the Levites were to commence service at thirty years of age, in harmony with the Mosaic institution (Num. iv. 3, 23, 30); whilst in ver. 27 of the same chapter (*i. e.*, 1 Chron. xxiii. 27) it is said that they were to take their share of duty at twenty years of age. Kimchi, who is followed by Bishop Patrick, Michaelis, and others, tries to reconcile this apparent contradiction by submitting that the former refers to a census which David made at an earlier period, which was according to the Mosaic law (Num. iv. 3); whilst the latter speaks of a second census which he made at the close of his life, when he found that the duties of the fixed sanctuary were much lighter and more numerous, and could easily be performed at the age of twenty, but at the same time required a larger staff of men. Against this, however, Bertheau rightly urges, that —1. The 38,000 Levites of thirty years of age given in the census of ver. 3, are the only persons appointed for the different Levitical offices; and that it is nowhere stated that this number was insufficient, or that the arrangements based thereupon, as recorded in vers. 4 and 5, were not carried out; and 2. The chronicler plainly indicates, in ver. 25, etc., that he is about to impart a different statement from that communicated in ver. 3; for he mentions therein the reason which induced David not to abide by the Mosaic institution, which prescribes the age of service to commence at thirty, and in ver. 27 expressly points out the source from which he derived this deviating account. The two accounts are, therefore, entirely different; the one records that the Levites, in David's time, were numbered from their thirtieth year; whilst the other, which appears to the chronicler more trustworthy, states that David introduced the practice which afterwards obtained (2 Chron. xxxi. 17; Ezra iii. 8) of appointing Levites to office at the age of twenty.

2. *Division of the Levites according to the three great families.*—Having ascertained their number, David, following the example of the Mosaic institution, divided the Levitical fathers' houses, according to their descent from the three sons of Levi, when it was ascertained that these three sons Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, were represented by twenty-four heads of fathers' houses (1 Chron. xxiii. 6-23; xxiv. 20-31), as follows:—

GERSHON	Laadan	Jehiel
		Zetham
		Joel
		Shelomith or Shelomoth
		Haziel
	Shimei	Haran
		Jahath
		Zina or Ziza
		Jeush and Beriah, counted as one
		Shubael
KOHATH	Amram	Rehabiah
		Izhar
		Shelomith or Shelomoth
		Jeriah
		Amariah
	Hebron	Jahaziel
		Jekameam
		Michah
		Issiah
		Shoham
MERARI	Uzziel	Zaccur
		Ibri
		Kish-Jeremeel
		Eder
		Jeremoth
	Jaaziah	
	Mahli	
	Mushi	

3. *Classification and duties of the Levites.*—These twenty-four father's houses, numbering 38,000 men qualified for active service, were then divided into four classes, to each of which different duties were assigned.

a. The first class consisted of 24,000 Levites. These were appointed to assist the priests in the work of the sanctuary (*ἱεροποιοῦντες*). They had the custody of the official garments and sacred vessels, had to deliver them when wanted, and collect and lock them up again after they had been used; to replenish the sacrificial storehouse with cattle, flour, wine, oil, incense, and other articles used as sacrifices, and mete out each time the required quantity; to provide the different spices from which the priests compounded the incense (1 Chron. ix. 30); to prepare the shewbread and the other baked things used at sacrifices; to assist the priests in slaughtering the victims, and to attend to the cleaning of the Temple, etc. (1 Chron. xxiii. 28-32; ix. 29). They had most probably, also, the charge of the sacred treasury (1 Chron. xxvi. 20-28). Like the priests, they were subdivided into twenty-four courses or companies, according to the above-named twenty-four Levitical fathers' houses, and were headed respectively by one of the twenty-four representatives of these houses. Each of these courses was a week on duty, and was relieved on the Sabbath (2 Kings xi.) by the company whose turn it was to serve next; so that there were always a thousand men of this class on duty, and each man had to serve two weeks during the year. The menial work was done by the *Nethinim*, who were appointed to assist the Levites in these matters [NETHINIM].

b. The second class consisted of 4000, who were the musicians (*ὑμνωδοί, (מְשֹׁרְרִים)*). They too were subdivided into twenty-four courses or choirs, each headed by a chief (1 Chron. xxv.), and are to be traced back to the three great families of Levi, inasmuch as four of the chiefs were sons of Asaph, a descendant of Gershon (1 Chron. vi. 24-28); six were sons of Jeduthan, also called Ethan (1 Chron. xv. 17), a descendant of Merari (1 Chron. vi. 28); and fourteen were sons of Haman, a descendant

of Kohath (1 Chron. vi. 18). Each of these chiefs had eleven assistant masters from his own sons and brothers, thus making together 288 (1 Chron. xxv. 7). Hence, when these are deducted from the 4000, there remain for each band consisting of twelve chief musicians, 154 or 155 subordinate musicians. As twelve musicians were required to be present at the daily morning and evening service, thus demanding 168 to be on duty every week, the twenty-four courses which relieved each other in hebdomadal rotation must have consisted of 4032, and 4000 given by the chronicler is simply to be regarded as a round number. Of this class, therefore, as of the former, each individual had to serve two weeks during the year.

c. The third class also consisted of 4000. They were the gate-keepers (*πυλῆται, שְׁוֹרְטִים*, 1 Chron. xxvi. 1-19), and as such bore arms (*ibid.* ix. 19; 2 Chron. xxxi. 2). They had to open and shut the gates, to keep strangers and excommunicated or unclean persons from entering the courts, and to guard the storehouse, the temple, and its courts, at night. They, too, were subdivided into twenty-four courses, and were headed by twenty-four chiefs from the three great families of Levi; seven were sons of Meshelmiah, a descendant of Kohath; thirteen were from Obededom, a descendant of Gershon; and four were sons of Hosah, a descendant of Merari. These three families, including the twenty-four chiefs, consisted of ninety-three members, who, together with the three heads of the families, viz., Meshelmiah, Obededom, and Hosah, made ninety-six, thus yielding four chiefs for each course. We thus obtain a watch-course every week of 162 or 163 persons, under the command of four superior watches, one of whom was the commander-in-chief. As twenty-four sentinel posts are assigned to these guards, thus making 168 a week, it appears that each person only served one day in the week (1 Chron. xxvi.)

d. The fourth class consisted of 6000 who were appointed for *outward affairs* (*הַמְלָאכָה הַחִיצוֹנָה*), as scribes and judges (1 Chron. xxvi. 29-32), in contradistinction to the work connected with the service of the sanctuary. It appears that this class was subdivided into three sections; Chenaniah and his sons were for the outward business of Israel (1 Chron. xxvi. 29); Hashabiah of Hebron and his brethren, numbering 1700, were officers west of Jordan, 'in all the business of the Lord and in the service of the king' (ver. 30); whilst Jerijah, also of Hebron, and his brethren, numbering 2700 active men, were rulers east of Jordan, 'for every matter pertaining to God and affairs of the king' (vers. 31, 32). It will thus be seen that this class consisted of Kohathites, being descendants of Izhar and Hebron.

This reorganisation effected by David, we are told, was adopted by his son Solomon when the Temple was completed (2 Chron. viii. 14, etc.). After the division of the kingdom, the Levites resident in the territory of the ten tribes had to emigrate into the land of Judah, in consequence of their refusing to take part in the illegitimate provincial worship established by Jeroboam (2 Chron. xi. 13, 14; xiii. 9); and though comparatively little is recorded of them in the annals of the kingdom of Judah, yet we find Levitical musicians accompanying Jehoshaphat in his journey (*ibid.* xx. 19, etc.). The Levites were sent out by the same monarch as

teachers and judges of the people (*ibid.* xix. 8-10); they took part in the counter-revolution effected by Jehoiadah (2 Chron. xxiii. 1-11); in restoring the temple to its former stateliness under Joash (*ibid.* xxiv. 5); in cleansing and repairing the sanctuary under Hezekiah (*ibid.* xxix. 12-15); and regained their tithes under Ahaz, where we also hear of their old classification (*ibid.* xxxi. 4-17). In the reign of Josiah they are still mentioned as 'the teachers of all Israel,' and the singers are found 'in their place according to the commandment of David' (2 Chron. xxxv. 3, 15). During the Egyptian and Chaldaean invasions, however, and in the last days of the kingdom of Judah, the Levites apostatised from the God of their fathers, and shared in the idolatry of the people, as is seen from the denunciations of the prophet Ezekiel (xliv. 10-14; xlviii. 11).

III. *The post-exile Period.*—The apostasy of the Levites before the exile, and their rites of idolatry, which they carried with them into captivity, made them amalgamate with the heathen, and greatly diminished their number. Hence, amongst the body of returning exiles under Zerubbabel, which numbered 4289 priests, there were, according to Ezra ii. 40-42, only 341 Levites, of whom 74 belonged to the first class, *i.e.*, to those who were appointed over the work of the temple; 128 to the second class, or to the singers; and 139 to the third class, or gate-keepers: whilst, according to Neh. vii. 43-45, there were 360, as follows—74 of those who were appointed over the work of the temple, 148 singers, and 138 gate-keepers. Still more marked is the paucity of their number in the second return of the exiles under Ezra, when there were only 38 Levites to be found, and their place had to be filled up by 220 *Nethinim* (Ezra vii. 7; viii. 15, 20). Tradition tells us that Ezra was so displeased with the conduct of the Levites that, as a punishment, he deprived them of their tithes, and gave them to the priests (comp. Bartenora *On Sota*, ix. 10). Those, however, that did return, resumed their functions as they were anciently assigned to the respective classes. How strictly these duties were enforced, and how severely any neglect in performing them was punished, may be gathered from the following description in the *Mishna*: 'The Levites had to guard twenty-four places, five were stationed at the five gates of the Mountain of the House (שַׁעַר הַר הַבְּרִית), four at the four corners inside, five at the five gates of the outer court, four at its four corners inside, one at the sacrificial storehouse, one at the curtain depositary, and one behind the holy of holies. The inspector of the mountain of the house went round through all the guards [every night] with burning torches before him. If the guard did not immediately stand up, the inspector of the Mountain of the House called out to him, 'Peace be with thee!' and if he perceived that he was asleep, he struck him with his stick, and even had the liberty of setting his garments on fire; and when it was asked, 'What is that noise in the court?' they were told it is the noise of a Levite who is beaten, or whose clothes have been burnt, because he slept when on duty' (*Midoth*, i. 1, 2). It is thought that allusion is made to the fact in the Apocalypse, when it is said '*Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments*' (Rev. xvi. 15). As for the Levites who were the singers, they were summoned by the blast of the trumpet after the incense was kindled upon the altar, when they assembled from all

parts of the spacious Temple at the orchestra which was joined to the fifteen steps at the entrance from the women's outer court to the men's outer court. They sung Psalms in antiphonies, accompanied by three musical instruments—the harp, the cithern, and cimbals—whilst the priests were pouring out on the altar the libation of wine. On Sunday they sung Ps. xxiv., on Monday Ps. xlviii., on Tuesday Ps. lxxxii., on Wednesday Ps. xciv., on Thursday Ps. lxxxi., on Friday Ps. xciii., and on the Sabbath Ps. xcii. Each of these Psalms was sung in nine sections, with eight pauses (פְּרָקִים), and at each pause the priests blew trombones, when the whole congregation fell down every time worshipping on their faces (*Tamid* vii. 3, 4).

The Levites had no prescribed canonical dress like the priests, as may be seen from the fact which Josephus narrates, that the singers requested Agrippa 'to assemble the Sanhedrim, in order to obtain leave for them to wear linen garments like the priests . . . contrary to the laws' (*Antiq.* xx. 9. 6). But though they wore no official garments at the service, yet the Talmud says that they ordinarily wore a linen outer-garment with sleeves, and a head-dress; and on journeys were provided with a staff, a pocket, and a copy of the Pentateuch (*Ioma* 122, a). Some modifications were at this period introduced in what was considered the necessary qualification for service. The Mosaic law, it will be remembered, regarded age as the only qualification, and freed the Levite from his duties when he was fifty years old; now that singing constituted so essential a part of the Levitical duties, any Levite who had not a good voice was regarded as disqualified, and if it continued good and melodious, he was retained in service all his lifetime, irrespective of age, but if it failed he was removed from that class which constituted the choristers to the gate-keepers (Maimonides, *Hilchoth Kede Ha-Kodesh*, iii. 8). During the period of mourning a Levite was exempt from his duties in the Temple.

Though the destruction of the Temple and the dispersion of the Jews have necessarily done away with the Levitical duties which were strictly local, yet the Levites, like the priests, still exist, have to this day certain functions to perform, and continue to enjoy certain privileges and immunities. On those festivals whereon the priests pronounce the benediction on the congregation of Israel during the morning service, as prescribed in Num. vi. 22-27, the Levites have 'to wait on the priests,' and wash their hands prior to the giving of the said blessing. At the reading of the Law in the synagogue, the Levite is called to the second section, the first being assigned to the priest [HAPHTARA]. Moreover, like the priests, the Levites are exempt from redeeming their first-born, and this exemption even extends to women of the tribe of Levi who marry Israelites, *i.e.*, Jews of any other tribe.

Literature.—*Mishna*, *Erachin*, ii. 3-6; *Tamid*, vii. 3, 4; *Succa*, v. 4; *Bikkurim*, iii. 4; Maimonides, *Iod Ha-Chezaka*, *Hilchoth Kede Ha-Mikdash*, iii. 1-11; Michaelis, *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, vol. i., sec. 52, p. 251-262, English translation; Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, ii. pp. 3, ff.; 39, ff.; 165, ff.; 342, ff.; 428, ff.; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel von der Zerstörung des ersten Tempels*, Bronswig 1847, pp. 126, 204, 387-424; by the same author, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel von der Vollendung des*

weiten Tempels, vol. i., Nordhausen 1855, pp. 55-58, 63-66, 141; Saalschütz, *Das Mosaische Recht*, vol. I., Berlin 1853, p. 89-106; by the same author, *Archäologie der Hebräer*, vol. ii., Königsberg 1856, cap. 78, p. 342, ff.; Keil, *Handbuch der biblischen Archäologie*, vol. i., Frankfurt-on-the-Maine 1858, p. 160, ff.; Kalisch, *Historical and Critical Commentary on Genesis*, London 1858, pp. 735-744.—C. D. G.

LEVITICUS, in the Hebrew canon, is called **שְׁפָטִים**, and is the third book of Moses.

CONTENTS.—Leviticus contains the further statement and development of the Sinaitic legislation, the beginnings of which are described in Exodus. It exhibits the HISTORICAL progress of this legislation; consequently we must not expect to find the laws detailed in it in a systematic form. There is, nevertheless, a certain order observed, which arose from the nature of the subject, and of which the plan may easily be perceived. The whole is intimately connected with the contents of Exodus, at the conclusion of which book that sanctuary is described with which all external worship was connected (Exod. xxxv.-xl.) Leviticus begins by describing the worship itself. First are stated the laws concerning sacrifices (ch. i.-vii.) In this section is *first* described the general QUALITY of the sacrifices, which are divided into BLOODY and UNBLOODY; *secondly*, their AIM and OBJECT, according to which they are either THANK-OFFERINGS or SIN-OFFERINGS; and *lastly*, the TIME, PLACE, and MANNER in which they should be made.

Then follows a description of the manner in which Aaron and his sons were consecrated as priests, and how, by the manifestation of the divine glory, they were ordained to be mediators between God and his people (ch. viii., ix.) As formerly the ingratitude of the people had been severely punished (Exod. xxxii. *seq.*) so now the disobedience of the priests was visited with signal marks of the divine displeasure (Lev. x.) On this occasion were given several laws concerning the requisites of the sacerdotal office.

The theocratical sanctity of the nation was intimately connected with the existence of the sanctuary. Every subject, indeed, connected with the sanctuary was intended to uphold a strict separation between HOLY and UNHOLY things. The whole theocratical life was based on a strict separation of things UNCLEAN from things CLEAN, which alone were offered to God and might approach the sanctuary. The whole creation, and especially all animal life, should, like man himself, bear testimony to the defilement resulting from sin, and to its opposite, viz., the holiness of the Lord (ch. xi.-xv.)

The great feast of atonement formed, as it were, the central point of the national sanctity, this feast being appointed to reconcile the whole people to God, and to purify the sanctuary itself. All preceding institutions, all sacrifices and purifications, receive their completion in the great feast of Israel's atonement (ch. xvi.)

Thus we have seen that the sanctuary was made the POSITIVE central point of the whole nation, or of national holiness; but it was to be inculcated NEGATIVELY also, that all worship should be connected with the sanctuary, and that no sacrifices should be offered elsewhere, lest any pagan

abuses should thereby strike root again (ch. xvii.)

The danger of deserting Jehovah and his worship would be increased after the conquest of Canaan, when the Israelites should inhabit a country surrounded by pagans. The following chapters (xviii.-xx.) refer to the very important relation in which Israel stood to the surrounding tribes, and the positive motive for separating them from all other nations; to the necessity of extirpating the Canaanites; and to the whole position which the people of the Lord should occupy with reference to paganism. Chapter xviii. begins with the description of those crimes into which the people might easily be misled by the influence of their pagan neighbours, viz., fornication, contempt of parents, idolatry, etc.

The priests were specially appointed to lead the nation by their good example scrupulously to avoid everything pagan and unclean, and thus to testify their faithful allegiance to Jehovah (ch. xxi.-xxii. 16). It is particularly inculcated that the sacrifices should be without blemish; and this is made a means of separating the Israelites from all pagan associations and customs (ch. xxii. 17-33). But the strongest bulwark erected against pagan encroachments was the appointment of solemn religious meetings, in which the attention of the people was directed to the central point of national religion, and which theocratically consecrated their whole proceedings to the worship of God. This was the object of the laws relating to fasts (ch. xxiii.) These laws divided the year into sacred sections, and gave to agricultural life its bearing upon the history of the works of God, and its peculiarly theocratic character, in contradistinction to all pagan worship, which is merely bent upon the symbolisation of the vital powers of nature.

In ch. xxiv. 1-9 follows the law concerning the preparation of the sacred oil, and the due setting forth of the shew-bread. Although this is in connection with ch. xxii. 17, *seq.*, it is nevertheless judiciously placed after ch. xxiii., because it refers to the agricultural relation of the Israelites to Jehovah stated in that chapter. The Mosaic legislation is throughout illustrated by facts, and its power and significance are exhibited in the manner in which it subdues all subjective arbitrary opposition. So the opposition of the law to paganism, and the evil consequences of every approach to pagans, are illustrated by the history of a man who sprang from a mixed marriage, who cursed Jehovah, and was stoned as Jehovah directed (ch. xxiv. 10-23).

The insertion of this fact in its chronological place slightly interrupts the order of the legal definitions. The laws concerning the Sabbath and the year of Jubilee, which follow it, are intimately connected with the laws which precede. For the Sabbatical law completes the declaration that Jehovah is the real proprietor and landlord of Canaan, to whom belong both the territory and its inhabitants; and whose right is opposed to all occupation of the country by heathens (ch. xxv.)

This section is concluded with the fundamental position of the law, viz., that Jehovah, the only true and living God, will bless his faithful people who heartily keep his law; and will curse all who despise him and transgress his law (ch. xxvi.)

After it has thus been explained how the people

might be considered to be the owners of the country, there appropriately follows the law concerning several possessions which were more exclusively consecrated to Jehovah, or which, like the first-born, belonged to him without being specially offered. The whole concludes with an appendix embracing the law concerning vows and tithes, with a manifest reference to the preceding parts of the legislation (ch. xxvii. 17-24).

AUTHENTICITY.—The arguments by which the unity of Leviticus has been attacked are very feeble. Some critics, however, such as De Wette, Gramberg, Vatke, and others, have strenuously endeavoured to prove that the laws contained in Leviticus originated in a period much later than is usually supposed. But the following observations sufficiently support their Mosaic origin, and show that the whole of Leviticus is historically genuine. The laws in ch. i.-vii. contain manifest vestiges of the Mosaic period. Here, as well as in Exodus, when the priests are mentioned, Aaron and his sons are named; as, for instance, in ch. i. 4, 7, 8, 11, etc. The tabernacle is the sanctuary, and no other place of worship is mentioned anywhere.

Expressions like the following constantly occur, לפני

אהל מועד, *before the tabernacle of the congregation,*

or פתח אהל מועד, *the door of the tabernacle of the congregation* (ch. i. 3; iii. 8, 13, etc.)

The Israelites are always described as a congregation (ch. iv. 13, *seq.*), under the command of the זקני העדה, *elders of the congregation* (ch. iv. 15), or of a נשיא, *ruler* (ch. iv. 22). Everything has a reference to life in a camp, and that camp commanded by Moses (ch. iv. 12, 21; vi. 11; xiv. 8; xvi. 26, 28). A later writer could scarcely have placed himself so entirely in the times, and so completely adopted the modes of thinking of the age, of Moses; especially if, as has been asserted, these laws gradually sprung from the usages of the people, and were written down at a later period with the object of sanctioning them by the authority of Moses. They so entirely befit the Mosaic age, that, in order to adapt them to the requirements of any later period, they must have undergone some modification, accommodation, and a peculiar mode of interpretation. This inconvenience would have been avoided by a person who intended to forge laws in favour of the later modes of Levitical worship. A forger would have endeavoured to identify the past as much as possible with the present.

The section in ch. viii.-x. is said to have a mythical colouring. This assertion is grounded on the miracle narrated in ch. ix. 24. But what could have been the inducement to forge this section? It is said that the priests invented it in order to support the authority of the sacerdotal caste by the solemn ceremony of Aaron's consecration. But to such an intention the narration of the crime committed by Nadab and Abihu is strikingly opposed. Even Aaron himself here appears to be rather remiss in the observance of the law (comp. x. 16, *seq.*, with iv. 22, *seq.*) Hence it would seem that the forgery arose from an opposite or anti-hierarchical tendency. The fiction would thus appear to have been contrived without any motive which could account for its origin.

In ch. xvii. occurs the law which forbids the

slaughter of any beast except at the sanctuary. This law could not be strictly kept in Palestine, and had therefore to undergo some modification (Deut. xii.) Our opponents cannot shew any rational inducement for contriving such a fiction. The law (ch. xvii. 6, 7) is adapted to the nation only while emigrating from Egypt. It was the object of this law to guard the Israelites from falling into the temptation to imitate the Egyptian rites and sacrifices offered to he-goats, שְׂעִירִים; which word signifies also demons represented under the form of he-goats, and which were supposed to inhabit the desert (comp. Jablonsky, *Pantheon Aegyptiacum*, i. 272, *seq.*)

The laws concerning food and purifications appear especially important if we remember that the people emigrated from Egypt. The fundamental principle of these laws is undoubtedly Mosaic, but in the individual application of them there is much which strongly reminds us of Egypt. This is also the case in Lev. xviii., *seq.*, where the lawgiver has manifestly in view the two opposites, Canaan and Egypt. That the lawgiver was intimately acquainted with Egypt, is proved by such remarks as those about the Egyptian marriages with sisters (ch. xviii. 3); a custom which stands as an exception among the prevailing habits of antiquity (Diodorus Siculus, i. 27; Pausanias, *Attica*, i. 7).

The book of Leviticus has a prophetic character. The lawgiver represents to himself the future history of his people. This prophetic character is especially manifest in chs. xxv., xxvi., where the law appears in a truly sublime and divine attitude, and when its predictions refer to the whole futurity of the nation. It is impossible to say that these were *vaticinia ex eventu*, unless we would assert that this book was written at the close of Israelitish history. We must rather grant that passages like this are the real basis on which the authority of later prophets is chiefly built. Such passages prove also, in a striking manner, that the lawgiver had not merely an external aim, but that his law had a deeper purpose, which was clearly understood by Moses himself. That purpose was to regulate the national life in all its bearings, and to consecrate the whole nation to God. See especially ch. xxv. 18, *seq.*

But this ideal tendency of the law does not preclude its applicability to matters of fact. The law had not merely an *ideal*, but also a *real* character, evidenced by its relation to the faithlessness and disobedience of the nation. The whole future history of the covenant people was regulated by the law, which has manifested its eternal power and truth in the history of the people of Israel. Although this section has a general bearing, it is nevertheless manifest that it originated in the times of Moses. At a later period, for instance, it would have been impracticable to promulgate the law concerning the Sabbath and the year of Jubilee: for it was soon sufficiently proved how far the nation in reality remained behind the ideal Israel of the law. The Sabbatical law bears the impress of a time when the whole legislation, in its fulness and glory, was directly communicated to the people, in such a manner as to attract, penetrate, and command.

The principal works to be consulted with reference to Leviticus will be found under the article **PENTATEUCH.**—H. A. C. H.

LEYDEKKER (MELCHIOR) was born at Middleburg in Holland, in the year 1642. From 1679 to his death in 1721, he zealously discharged his duties of professor of divinity at Utrecht, in defence of the Reformed Religion against all comers. The Cartesian philosophy, the theology of Cocceius, the writings of Drusius, and the Lutheran tendencies of Hermann Witsius, were all in their turn objects of his strenuous opposition. His polemical temper, which produced many works unsuitable for mention here, characterised even his great archæological treatise, which entitles him to a place in our *Cyclopædia*. This work, entitled *De Republica Hebræorum*, was published at Amsterdam in 1704 in a thick folio volume, and is one of the largest repertoires ever written on the wide subject of Hebrew antiquities. In his treatment of it the author has exhibited vast stores of Scriptural, Rabbinical, and historical learning. It adds to the interest of the subject that his dissertations on the Hebrew laws and customs, both political and religious, are inwoven in an historical narrative, in which the Sacred History is developed, by epochs, from the earliest period to the latest. The author in his progress learnedly investigates the history, *pari passu*, of the leading Gentile nations, very much after the manner of Shuckford and Russell, in their *Connections*. This valuable work, on which Leydekker's fame deserves mainly to depend, is singularly enough ignored in Schweizer's sketch of the author (Herzog's *Real-Encykl.*, viii. 360, 361). Leydekker's academical duties recalled his attention from polemical and clerical pursuits to the Biblical studies which his early years had been devoted to. At the age of seventeen he had made considerable advance in Rabbinical literature under the guidance of a learned Rabbi. He found no difficulty therefore in after-life in turning his attention to his youthful studies. Attempting to fit the works of Godwin (*Moses and Aaron*) and Cunæus (*De Republica Hebr.*) to his academical purposes, he soon discovered their insufficiency. To this discovery we owe his own more copious treatise, which is everywhere marked by a vigorous and independent judgment. While he conceals not his aversion to the 'futilities' of the Talmud, he quotes the great Rabbins with respect. He moreover keeps a sharp eye on the extravagancies of Christian writers, and his work censures with even-handed justice the well-known Rabbinism of the Buxtorffs and the *Egyptism* of our Spencer (*De legibus Hebr.*). It is only characteristic of this unsparing criticism of the orthodox author, that he adds an appendix of severe animadversion against the cosmogony of our Thomas Burnet, to whose *Theoria telluris* he prefixes the predicate *profana*. The six dissertations of this appendix, whatever may be thought of the author's views, are valuable for their learning, and interesting as closely bearing on the questions now raised on the Mosaic cosmogony.—P. H.

LIBANUS. [LEBANON.]

LIBERTINES (Λιβερτινοί). 'Certain of the synagogue, which is called (the synagogue) of the *Libertines*, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians,' etc., are mentioned in Acts vi. 9. There has been much diversity in the interpretation of this word. Since Libertini here occurs among the names of nations, and Josephus (*Antiq.* xii. 1, and *Cont.*

Apion. ii. 4) has told us that many Jews were removed by Ptolemy, and placed in the cities of Libya; Beza, Le Clerc, and others conclude that the word must have been Λιβερτινῶν, i. e., 'sprung from Libya.' But there is no authority of MSS. or versions for this reading. Others, on the same premises, conceive that the word Libertini denotes the inhabitants of some town called Libertum, in Africa Proper, or Carthage; but they fail to show that any town of this name existed in that quarter. The most probable opinion, and that which is now generally entertained, is, that the Libertini were Jews, whom the Romans had taken in war and conveyed to Rome, but afterwards freed; and that this synagogue had been built at their expense. Libertini is, therefore, to be regarded as a word of Roman origin, and to be explained with reference to Roman customs. We know that there were in the time of Tiberius many *libertini*, or 'freed-men,' of the Jewish religion at Rome (Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 85; comp. Suet. *Tib.* 36; and Philo, *Leg. ad Cæsar.*, p. 1014; see Bloomfield, Alford, Kuinoel, Wetstein, etc., on Acts vi. 9; and comp. Gerdes, *De Synag. Libertinorum*, Gron. 1736; Scherer, *De Synag. Libertin.*, Argent. 1754).—J. K.

LIBNAH (לִבְנָה, 'whiteness'; Λεβωνά, in Num. xxxiii. 20; Λεβνά and Λοβνά; Alex. Λεβυνά and Λουνά; Libna, Lobna). 1. A station of the Israelites in the desert, the third in order after Hazeroth as enumerated in Num. xxxiii. 20. The site is unknown.

2. An ancient royal city of the Canaanites (Josh. xii. 15), situated in the plain of Philistia (xv. 42), between Makkedah and Lachish (x. 29). Libnah was one of the cities captured by Joshua after the defeat of the confederate kings at Gibeon. Makkedah was the first fenced city taken; from it he marched on Libnah, and from Libnah on Lachish. Consequently, Libnah stood in the plain, to the north-west of Lachish (Josh. x. 28, *seq.*) It was given to Judah and assigned to the Levites (xxi. 13). It revolted in the days of King Joram, apparently at the instigation of the Edomites, who were then extending their conquests over the southern borders of Palestine (2 Kings viii. 20, *seq.*) The city was besieged by Sennacherib during his great expedition against Israel; and it was while his army was encamped before it that the 'angel of the Lord went forth and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand' (Is. xxxvii. 8-36; 2 Kings xix. 8, *seq.*) We hear no more of it in Scripture, except the incidental note that Zedekiah's mother was a native of that place (Jer. lii. 1). Eusebius and Jerome seem to have known the site, for they say, 'it is now a village in the province of Eleutheropolis, and called Lobona' (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Lebna*). The name has disappeared. The writer of this article traversed the whole of that region, but could hear of no name that would suggest identity. Libnah doubtless occupied a site naturally strong, like all the primitive cities of the Canaanites. The suggestion of Van de Velde is therefore of some weight, that it stood on the conspicuous isolated hill called 'Arak el-Menshieh, five miles west of Eleutheropolis, and on the direct route from Makkedah to Eglon. There is a little village on the hill, and there are some ruins, showing that it was once a place of strength (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 330; *Handbk.* 260).—J. L. P.

LIBNATH. [SHIHOR-LIBNATH.]

LIBNEH (לִבְנֶה) occurs in two places of Scripture, viz. Gen. xxx. 37; Hosea iv. 13, and is supposed to indicate either the *white poplar* or the *storax tree*.

Libneh, in the passage of Hosea, is translated λεύκη, 'white poplar,' in the Septuagint, and this translation is adopted by the majority of interpreters. The Hebrew name *libneh*, being supposed to be derived from לָבֵן (*album esse*), has been considered identical with the Greek λεύκη, which both signifies 'white,' and also the 'white poplar,' *Populus alba*. This poplar is said to be called *white*, not on account of the whiteness of its bark, but of that of the under surface of its leaves. It may perhaps be so designated from the whiteness of its hairy seeds, which have a remarkable appearance when the seed-covering first bursts. The poplar is certainly common in the countries where the scenes are laid of the transactions



335. Storax.

related in the above passages of Scripture (Belon, *Obs.* ii. 106). Rauwolf mentions the white poplar as abundant about Aleppo and Tripoli, and still called by the ancient Arabic name *haur* or *hor* (حور), which is the word used in the Arabic translation of Hosea. That poplars are common in Syria has already been mentioned under the head of BACA.

Others, however, have been of opinion that *libneh* denotes the storax tree rather than the white poplar. Thus, in Gen. xxx. 37, the Septuagint has *ῥαβδὸν styracīνην*, 'a rod of styrax;' and the Greek translation of the Pentateuch, according to Rosenmüller, is more ancient and of far greater authority than that of Hosea. So R. Jonah, as translated by Celsius, says of *libneh*, *Dicitur lingua Arabum Lubna*; and in the Arabic translation of Genesis (لُبْنِي) *lubne* is employed as the

representative of the Hebrew *libneh*. *Lubne*, both in Arabic and in Persian, is the name of a tree, and of the fragrant resin employed for fumigating, which exudes from it, and which is commonly known by the name of Storax. This resin was well known to the ancients, and is mentioned by Hippocrates and Theophrastus. Dioscorides describes several kinds, all of which were obtained from Asia

Minor; and all that is now imported is believed to be the produce of that country. But the tree is cultivated in the south of Europe, though it does not there yield any storax. It is found in Greece, and is supposed to be a native of Asia Minor, whence it extends into Syria, and probably farther south. It is therefore a native of the country which was the scene of the transaction related in the above passage of Genesis.

From the description of Dioscorides, and his comparing the leaves of the styrax to those of the quince, there is no doubt of the same tree being intended: especially as in early times, as at the present day, it yielded a highly fragrant balsamic substance which was esteemed as a medicine, and employed in fumigation. From the similarity of the Hebrew name *libneh* to the Arabic *lubne*, and from the Septuagint having in Genesis translated the former by *styrax*, it seems most probable that this was the tree intended. It is capable of yielding white wands as well as the poplar; and it is also well qualified to afford complete shade under its ample foliage, as in the passage of Hosea iv. 13. We may also suppose it to have been more particularly alluded to from its being a tree yielding incense. 'They sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under the terebinth and the storax trees, because the shadow thereof is good.'—J. F. R.

LIBYA (In Ezek. xxx. 5, and xxxviii. 5, לִיָּבָי; *Albues*; *Libyes*; in Acts ii. 10, Λιβύη). For Libya of the O. T., see PHUT; and for Libya of the N. T., see LUBIM.

LIBYANS (In Jer. xli. 9, לִיָּבָי; in Dan. xi. 43, לִיָּבָי). It would have prevented much obscurity had uniformity been observed in rendering the proper names in our noble English Version of the Bible. We find the same Hebrew name לִיָּבָי (*Libai*) rendered 'Phut' in Gen. x. 6, and Ezek. xxvii. 10; 'Put' in 1 Chron. i. 8, and Nahum iii. 9; 'Libyans' in Jer. xli. 9; and 'Libya' in Ezek. xxx. 5, and xxxviii. 5. (For all these, see art. PHUT.)

Again, we find the name לִיָּבָי (*Lubim*) rendered 'Libyans' in Dan. xi. 43; while the full form of the same word, לִיָּבָיִם (*Lubim*), is rendered 'Lubims' in 2 Chron. xii. 3, and xvi. 8; and 'Lubim' in Nahum iii. 9. (For these, see art. LUBIM.)

The 'Libyans' of Jer. xli. 9, and the 'Libya' of Ezek. xxx. 5, are totally distinct from the 'Libyans' of Dan. xi. 43; while the latter are doubtless identical with the Lubim. Our translators have been too much influenced by the Vulgate and Septuagint in these cases.—J. L. P.

LICE. [KINIM.]

LIGHT is represented in the Scriptures as the immediate result and offspring of a divine command (Gen. i. 3). The earth was void and dark, when God said, 'Let light be, and light was.' This is represented as having preceded the placing of 'lights in the firmament of heaven, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: he made the stars also' (Gen. i. 14, seq.) Whatever opinion may be entertained as to the facility with which these two separate acts may be reconciled, it cannot be questioned that the origin

of light, as of every other part of the universe, is thus referred to the exertion of the divine will : as little can it be denied that the narrative in the original is so simple, yet at the same time so majestic and impressive, both in thought and diction, as to fill the heart with a lofty and pleasurable sentiment of awe and wonder.

The divine origin of light made the subject one of special interest to the Biblical nations—the rather because light in the East has a clearness, a brilliancy, is accompanied by an intensity of heat, and is followed in its influence by a largeness of good, of which the inhabitants of less genial climes can have no conception. Light easily and naturally became, in consequence, with Orientals, a representative of the highest human good. All the more joyous emotions of the mind, all the pleasing sensations of the frame, all the happy hours of domestic intercourse, were described under imagery derived from light (1 Kings xi. 36; Is. lviii. 8; Esther viii. 16; Ps. xcvi. 11). The transition was natural from earthly to heavenly, from corporeal to spiritual things; and so light came to typify true religion and the felicity which it imparts. But as light not only came from God, but also makes man's way clear before him, so it was employed to signify moral truth, and pre-eminently that divine system of truth which is set forth in the Bible, from its earliest gleamings onward to the perfect day of the Great Sun of Righteousness. The application of the term to religious topics had the greater propriety because the light in the world, being accompanied by heat, purifies, quickens, enriches; which effects it is the peculiar province of true religion to produce in the human soul (Is. viii. 20; Matt. iv. 16; Ps. cxix. 105; 2 Pet. i. 19; Eph. v. 8; 2 Tim. i. 10; 1 Pet. ii. 9).

It is doubtless owing to the special providence under which the divine lessons of the Bible were delivered, that the views which the Hebrews took on this subject, while they were high and worthy, did not pass into superstition, and so cease to be truly religious. Other Eastern nations beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and their hearts were secretly enticed, and their mouth kissed their hand in token of adoration (Job xxxi. 26, 27). This 'iniquity' the Hebrews not only avoided, but when they considered the heavens they recognised the work of God's fingers, and learnt a lesson of humility as well as of reverence (Ps. viii. 3, *seq.*) On the contrary, the entire residue of the East, with scarcely any exception, worshipped the sun and the light, primarily perhaps as symbols of divine power and goodness, but, in a more degenerate state, as themselves divine; whence, in conjunction with darkness, the negation of light, arose the doctrine of dualism—two principles, the one of light, the good power; the other of darkness, the evil power: a corruption which rose and spread the more easily because the whole of human life, being a chequered scene, seems divided as between two conflicting agencies, the bright and the dark, the joyous and the sorrowful, what is called prosperous and what is called adverse.

When the tendency to corruption to which we have just alluded is taken into account, we cannot but feel both gratified and surprised that, while the Hebrew people employed the boldest personifications when speaking of light, they in no case, nor in any degree, fell into the almost universal

idolatry. That individuals among them, and even large portions of the nation, did from time to time down to the Babylonish captivity forget and desert the living God, is very certain; but then the nation, as such, was not misled and corrupted; witnesses to the truth never failed; recovery was never impossible—nay, was more than once effected; till at last affliction and suffering brought a changed heart, which never again swerved from the way of truth.

Among the personifications on this point which Scripture presents we may specify—1. God. The Apostle James (i. 17) declares that 'every good and perfect gift cometh down from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning;' obviously referring to the faithfulness of God and the constancy of his goodness, which shine on undimmed and unshadowed. So Paul (1 Tim. vi. 16): 'God who dwelleth in the light which no man can approach unto.' Here the idea intended by the imagery is the incomprehensibility of the self-existent and eternal God.

2. Light is also applied to Christ: 'The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light' (Matt. iv. 16; Luke ii. 32); 'The light of men'; 'He was the true light'; 'I am the light of the world' (John i. 4, *seq.*; viii. 12; xii. 35, 36).

3. It is further used of angels, as in 2 Cor. xii. 14: 'Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light.' 4. Light is moreover employed of men: John the Baptist 'was a burning and a shining light' (John v. 35); 'Ye are the light of the world' (Matt. v. 14; see also Acts xiii. 47; Eph. v. 8).—J. R. B.

LIGHTFOOT, JOHN, was born at Stoke-upon-Trent in the year 1602. He was early imbued with the elements of sound learning. He was educated first at a grammar school at Morton Green, in Cheshire, and afterwards at Cambridge. He was remarkable both at Cambridge, and afterwards as assistant at the well-known school of Repton in Derbyshire, for his 'pregnant wit,' his proficiency and continued improvement in Greek and Latin, and his amiable disposition; but it was not till he had taken orders, and settled at Norton-under-Hales, in Staffordshire, that he began that acquaintance with Hebrew which ripened into the most familiar and consummate knowledge of the whole range of Biblical and Rabbinical literature. He was first led to embrace this line of study by the friendly recommendation and example of Sir Rowland Cotton, a pious and learned country gentleman, who resided at Bellaport, in the neighbourhood, and took Lightfoot into his house as his chaplain. Lightfoot continued with Sir Rowland Cotton till the latter left Bellaport for London, after which he settled on a sphere of ministerial labour at Stone, in Staffordshire, where he continued for two years, and married at the age of twenty-six. From Stone he removed to Hornsey, in order to be near the library of Sion College, and from thence to the rectory of Ashford, in Staffordshire, which was presented to him by his worthy friend Sir Rowland Cotton. Here, that he might devote himself more uninterruptedly to his learned labours, he bought a piece of ground not far from his parsonage, and built upon it a small house, with a study below and a sleeping-room above, where he spent most of his time, visiting his family once

a day, for the single meal to which he restricted himself. And here he remained in the quiet discharge of his professional duties during the turbulent years which led to the death of Charles I., the establishment of the Commonwealth, and the temporary subversion of the Church of England. Lightfoot was one of those good men who, in those days of trouble and uncertainty, thought it best to follow the course of events; and it was natural for those in power to seek the assistance of his learning and soundness of mind in framing a new religious system for the country. Thus he became one of the assembly of divines at Westminster (1643), where his solid learning and independent spirit was often the corrective of crude and hasty deductions drawn from fanciful interpretations of Holy Scripture. While in London, he was the minister of St. Bartholomew's, behind the Exchange, where he felt himself to be in a kind of 'exile from his own,' but was soon rewarded for his services in the assembly of divines by the gift of the rectory of Great Munden, in Hertfordshire, and was appointed in the same year to the mastership of Catherine Hall at Cambridge. He became D.D. in 1652, and was vice-chancellor of the University in 1653. The living of Great Munden is in the gift of the Crown, and had been given successively to two eminent divines by the Kings James and Charles. Lightfoot received it from the Parliament, and Charles II. was no sooner restored than another person applied for and obtained the living. Lightfoot, on hearing this, acted with promptness and decision. Sheldon, then Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and the munificent donor of the Sheldonian theatre to the University of Oxford, had been a devoted adherent to the Royal cause. Lightfoot, personally unknown to him, sought his presence, and so represented his claims, that Sheldon exerted himself actively in his favour, and procured his re-instatement in his living, as well as his confirmation in the mastership of Catherine Hall, which he had offered to resign. Through the influence of Sir Orlando Bridgeman he was appointed to a prebendal stall in the cathedral of Ely, where he died peaceably, after a life full of labours, in the year 1675.

The idea with which Lightfoot commenced his learned labours was to produce one great and perfect work—a harmony of the four Evangelists, with a commentary, and prolegomena. But the little probability of his being able to publish at once so vast a work as he saw it would become, were he to carry out the idea in its completeness—in an age when brevity was essential to everything which issued from the press—determined him to give to the world from time to time the result of his labours, in separate treatises. The subject-matter of these treatises may be classed under the general heads of chronology, chorography, investigation of original texts and versions, examination of Rabbinical comments and paraphrases. We conclude with a list of Lightfoot's works, with the date of their original publication, where the date is stated in the work itself. *Erubhin, or Miscellanies, Christian and Judaical, penned for recreation at vacant hours*, dedicated to Sir Rowland Cotton, Hornsey 1629. *A few and new Observations upon the Book of Genesis: The most of them certain, the rest probable, all harmless, strange, and rarely heard of before*, 1642. Also an *handful of gleanings out of the Book of Exodus*,

1643. *The Harmony of the Four Evangelists among themselves, and with the O. T. The first part: From the beginning of the Gospels to the baptism of our Saviour, with an explanation of the chiefest difficulties, both in language and sense*, dated Westminster 1644. *A Commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles, Chronical and Critical. The Difficulties of the Text explained, and the times of the story cast into Annals. The first part: From the beginning of the Book to the end of the Twelfth chapter, with a brief survey of the contemporary story of the Jews and Romans*, 1645. *The Harmony, etc. The second part: From the Baptism of our Saviour to the first Passover after, etc.* No date. *The Temple Service, as it stood in the days of our Saviour, described out of the Scriptures and the Eminentest Antiquities of the Jews*, London 1649. *The Harmony, etc. The third part: From the First Passover after our Saviour's Baptism to the second, etc.* Dedication to William Cotton, Esq., Bellaport, dated Much-Mundon 1648. *The Temple, especially as it stood in the days of our Saviour*, dated Much-Mundon 1650. *Hora Hebraica & Talmudica, Hebrew and Talmudic Exerci-tations*, 1. *Upon the Chorography of the Land of Israel*; 2. *Upon the Gospel of St. Matthew*, 1658. *Hora, etc., upon the Gospel of St. Mark. Together with a Chorographical Decad.* Remarkable inscription 'to God and the King,' and Dedication to Gilbert, Bishop of London, 1661. *Jewish and Talmudical Exerci-tations upon the Evangelist St. Luke, to which are premised some Chorographical notes.* Dedication to Gilbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, undated. *Jewish, etc., upon St. John, to which is premised a Chorographical inquiry, etc.* Dedication to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, undated. *Hora Hebraica, etc., Acts of the Apostles, and some Chapters of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans.* No dedication, preface, or date. *Hora, etc., upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians, to which is added a discourse concerning what Bibles were used to be read in the religious Assemblies of the Jews.* Dedication to Sir William Morice, knight, principal Secretary of State, 1664. Sermons on various occasions from 1655 to 1674. An edition of his collected works, with a preface by Dr. Bright, and a life by the editor, was published in 2 vols. folio, by John Strype, M.A., in 1684. Another edition, in folio, was published at Utrecht in 1699, another in London 1822-25, edited by Pitman, in 13 vols., and his *Hora Hebraica & Talmudica* at Oxford, edited by Rev. R. Gandell, in 4 vols., 1859. During the latter years of his life he contributed the most valuable assistance to the authors of Walton's *Polyglott Bible*, Castell's *Heptaglot Lexicon*, and Pool's *Synopsis Criticorum*.—M. H.

LIGN ALOES. [AHALIM.]

LIGURE. [LESHEM.]

LILITH (לִילִית), a term which occurs only once in Scripture (Is. xxxiv. 14). Derived from לָלַי, night, it means simply nocturnal; and, standing as it does in a list of animals, it must be regarded as either the name of some particular nocturnal creature, or as a generic name for such. The A. V. renders it by *screech-owl*, and this is the rendering adopted by most modern interpreters. Many, however, prefer following the example of Aquila and retaining the original word (so De Wette, Henderson, Zuntz, and the version of Joseph Athias in the *Biblia*

Pentapla). The LXX. render the word by *δρονέ-
ταυρα*, which is in keeping with their other render-
ings in this verse, all of which ascribe characters of
monstrosity to the objects enumerated by the pro-
phet. The Vulg. renders by *Lamia*, a word which
has much the same meaning as our *witch*, but
which was originally the name of a Libyan queen
who, having lost her child, was said to prey on the
children of others. These renderings are in ac-
cordance with Jewish superstition, which supposed
the Lilith to be a female spectre that was wont to
lie in wait, elegantly dressed, for children at night.
Some recent German interpreters have eagerly
adopted this interpretation, and have compared
the Jewish fable on which it is founded to the Arab
tales of ghuls, and to the Greek belief in the *Ἐμ-
πύσσα* (cf. Aristoph., *Kan.* 293, ff.; Philostr., *vit.*
Apollon. ii. 4; M. de Sainte Croix, *Sur les mystères*
du Paganisme, i., p. 191, 2d ed.); but all this, be-
sides being purely gratuitous, is opposed to the text
of the prophet, who places the Lilith among *ani-
mals*, and who represents it as *finding a place of*
rest in the desert, which is precisely what a spectre
or a ghul never finds any more than the Hecatean
Empusa. Bochart (*Hieroz.*, i. vi., c. 9, ii. p. 831)
seems inclined to account for the fabulous interpre-
tation by calling attention to the representations
given by the poets of the *strix* or *screech-owl*, as a
woman who, under this guise, sought the cradles
of infants by night (comp. Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 130, ff.)
—W. L. A.

LILY. [KRINON; SHOOSHAN.]

LIMBORCH, PHILIP A., was born at Amster-
dam 19th June 1633, and died there 30th April
1717. He was a distinguished professor of theo-
logy among the Remonstrants, and in his *Theologia*
Christiana is presented the clearest and ablest ex-
position of the theological views of that body
extant. He published also *Commentarius in Acta*
*Apostolorum, et in Epistolas ad Romanos & He-
braeos*, fol., Roterd. 1711. This commentary,
though written in the interest of the author's theo-
logical views, is deserving of attention for the good
sense, clear thought, and acute reasoning by which
it is pervaded.—W. L. A.

LIME (לִימָה; *kolva*; *calx*) was one of the few
compacting substances made use of by the Jews.
It is first mentioned in Deut. xxvii. 1, 2, 3, 'where
Moses with the elders of Israel commanded the
people to set up great stones, and to *plaster them*
with plaster;' a direction which has been variously
interpreted. Some suppose that it simply implied
that the plaster should be used as cement, joining
the sides of the stones firmly together. The com-
mon opinion, however, and that which the text
itself most obviously suggests, is that the surfaces
of the stones were to be covered with plaster, and
the law written or inscribed thereon. This is the
opinion which the Jews themselves entertain. It
is more than likely that the process was similar to
that which the Jews had often seen used in Egypt
for receiving bas-reliefs (Kitto's *Pict. Bib.*; Deut.
xxvii. 2).

In Is. xxxiii. 12, the sudden and utter destruc-
tion of the 'people' (עַמִּי), or different races com-
posing the Assyrian army, is compared to the
'burnings of lime,' a proof that the Jews were
familiar with the use of the lime-kiln. The only

other mention of lime in Scripture is in Amos ii. 1,
where Moab is charged with the wanton violation
of the tomb of one of the kings of Edom, inasmuch
as 'he burned the bones of the king of Edom into
lime,' to plaster his palace with, according to the
interpretation suggested by the Targum and some
of the Rabbins. A similar act of indignity is men-
tioned in 2 Kings xxiii. 16.—W. J. C.

LINEN. [BAD.]

LINTEL. The headpiece of a door frame, or
window frame. In the A. V. three Hebrew words
are thus rendered:—

(1.) לִיָּהּ (1 Kings vi. 31), translated 'post' in
Ezek. xl., xli. A technical architectural term, of
which the exact meaning, in our present ignorance
of Semitic architecture, it is difficult to determine.
The LXX. [cod. Alex.] render it *φλιατ* in Kings, and
in Ezekiel leave it untranslated; *αλει* (sometimes
confounded with *αλμα*, A. V. 'arches') in which
they are followed by the Chaldee and Syriac ver-
sions. It is omitted by the Vulgate in Kings, and in
Ezekiel rendered 'frons.' Jarchi renders the word,
'a round column like a tree,' as if from לִיָּהּ =
לִיָּהּ *quercus*; and Aquila, led astray by the resem-
blance of the volutes of the classical orders to
rams' horns, *κρωμα*, לִיָּהּ elsewhere always mean-
ing 'a ram.' The word, however, is probably
connected with the obsolete root לָחַץ, and signi-
fies a projecting architectural member, probably,
according to Gesenius, the whole door-case, with
its side-posts, lintel, threshold, and structural de-
corations. This sense would suit the passage in
Kings, describing the entrance to the holy of holies
(where Michaelis, *Suppl.*, p. 70, would explain it
of the triangular pediment above the doorway),
as well as the passages in Ezekiel in which it is
used in connection with a doorway, e.g., xl. 9, 21,
etc.; xli. 3. In the plural, Gesenius considers that
the word signifies projecting members along the
front wall of a building ornamented with pillars
or pilasters, with windows between (xl. 10, 14, 16;
xli. 1). Ewald (*Proph. des Alt. Bund.*, ii. 362)
adopts the same view, rendering it 'Vorsprünge,'
i.e., 'vorspringendes Mauerwerk.' So also Coc-
ceius, 'projecturæ parietis in imo prominentis,'
Böttcher (apud Rosenmüller, *Schol.*, in loc.) very
happily adopts the rendering 'antæ,' which appears
to come as near to its meaning as any term derived
from classical architecture can do.

(2.) לִיָּהּ, Amos ix. 1 (ἡ ἀσθήριον, LXX.;
cardo, Vulg.); Zeph. ii. 14 (φάρνυμα, LXX.;
limen, Vulg.), in the margin 'chapter' or 'knop,'
a rendering which is unquestionably more correct;
the latter is adopted where the word occurs in the
description of the golden candlestick, Exod. xxv.
31, etc. [KNOP]. Rosenmüller (*Schol.*, in loc.),
however, defends the rendering 'superliminare,'
because the frieze over a doorway was often orna-
mented with carvings of the cups of flowers or fruit.

(3.) לִיָּהּ (Exod. xii. 22, 23); LXX. *φλιαδ*;
Vulg. *superliminare*, translated 'upper doorpost'
(Exod. xii. 7). There is little doubt of the correct-
ness of this rendering, the word being derived from
לִיָּהּ, 'to overlay,' especially 'timber,' e.g., 1 Kings
vii. 5. Other meanings and derivations are given

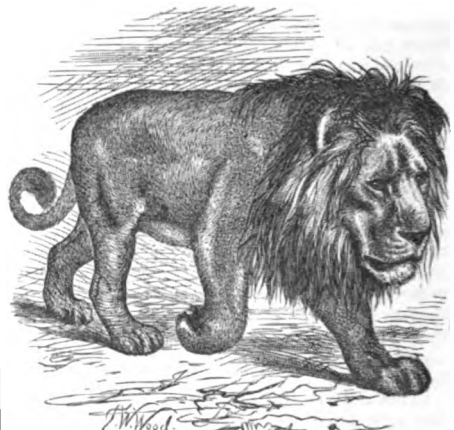
in Rosenmüller, *Schol.*, in loc., *e. g.*, that of Jarchi, who derives it from the Chaldee *שָׁקַץ*, 'to beat,' because the door when it shuts strikes the lintel, and Ibn Esra, who connects it with another meaning of the Hebrew root, 'to look down from above' (cf., Ps. xiv. 2; lxxxv. 12), and translates it 'window,' such as the Arabs have over their house doors. Bochart, adopting this view (p. 679), refers it to the lattice-work above the door through which those who knocked could be inspected.—E. V.

LINUS (*Λῖνος*), one of the Christians at Rome whose salutations Paul sent to Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 21). He is said to have been the first bishop of Rome after the martyrdom of Peter and Paul (Irenæus, *Adv. Hæres.* iii. 3; Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 2, 4; v. 6).

LION (*אַרִי* *ari*; *אַרְיֵה* *arjeh*; Sept. *λέων*), the most powerful, daring, and impressive of all carnivorous animals, the most magnificent in aspect and awful in voice. Being very common in Syria in early times, the lion naturally supplied many forcible images to the poetical language of Scripture, and not a few historical incidents in its narratives. This is shewn by the great number of passages where this animal, in all the stages of existence—as the whelp, the young adult, the fully mature, the lioness—occurs under different names, exhibiting that multiplicity of denominations which always results when some great image is constantly present to the popular mind. Thus we have—1. *גֹּר* *gor*, a lion's whelp, a very young lion (Gen. xlix. 9; Deut. xxxiii. 20; Jer. li. 38; Ezek. xix. 2; Nahum ii. 11, 12, etc.). 2. *כַּפִּיר* *chephir*, a young lion, when first leaving the protection of the old pair to hunt independently (Ezek. xix. 2, 3; Ps. xci. 13; Prov. xix. 12, etc.). 3. *אַרִי* *ari*, an adult and vigorous lion, a lion having paired, vigilant and enterprising in search of prey (Nahum ii. 12; 2 Sam. xvii. 10; Num. xxiii. 24). This is the common name of the animal. 4. *שָׂחַל* *sachal*, a mature lion in full strength; a black lion? (Job iv. 10; x. 16; Ps. xci. 13; Prov. xxvi. 13; Hosea v. 14; xiii. 7). This denomination may very possibly refer to a distinct variety of lion, and not to a black species or race, because neither black nor white lions are recorded, excepting in Oppian (*De Venat.* iii. 43); but the term may be safely referred to the colour of the skin, not of the fur; for some lions have the former fair, and even rosy, while in other races it is perfectly black. An Asiatic lioness, formerly at Exeter Change, had the naked part of the nose, the roof of the mouth, and the bare soles of all the feet pure black, though the fur itself was very pale buff. Yet albinism and melanism are not uncommon in the felinæ; the former occurs in tigers, and the latter is frequent in leopards, panthers, and jaguars. 5. *לַיִשׁ* *laisch*, a fierce lion, one in a state of fury (Job iv. 11; Prov. xxx. 30; Is. xxx. 6). 6. *לַבִּיָּא* *labia*, a lioness (Job. iv. 11, where the lion's whelps are denominated 'the sons of Labiah,' or of the lioness).

The lion is the largest and most formidably armed of all carnassier animals, the Indian tiger alone claiming to be his equal. One full grown, of Asiatic race, weighs above 450 pounds, and those of Africa often above 500 pounds. The fall of a fore paw in striking has been estimated to be

equal to twenty-five pounds' weight, and the grasp of the claws, cutting four inches in depth, is sufficiently powerful to break the vertebrae of an ox. The huge laniary teeth and jagged molars worked by powerful jaws, and the tongue entirely covered with horny papillæ, hard as a rasp, are all subservient to an immensely strong, muscular structure, capable of prodigious exertion, and minister to the self-confidence which these means of attack inspire. In Asia the lion rarely measures more than nine feet and a half from the nose to the end of the tail, though a tiger-skin of which we took the dimensions was but a trifle less than thirteen feet. In



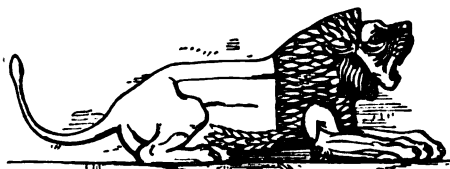
336 African Lion.

Africa they are considerably larger, and supplied with a much greater quantity of mane. Both tiger and lion are furnished with a small horny apex to the tail—a fact noticed by the ancients, but only verified of late years, because this object lies concealed in the hair of the tip and is very liable to drop off. All the varieties of the lion are spotted when whelps; but they become gradually buff or pale. One African variety, very large in size, perhaps a distinct species, has a peculiar and most ferocious physiognomy, a dense black mane extending half way down the back, and a black fringe along the abdomen and tip of the tail; while those of southern Persia and the Dekkan are nearly destitute of that defensive ornament. The roaring voice of the species is notorious to a proverb, but the warning cry of attack is short, snappish, and sharp.

If lions in primitive times were as numerous in Western Asia and Africa as tigers still are in some parts of India, they must have been a serious impediment to the extension of the human race; for Colonel Sykes relates that in less than five years, in the Dekkan alone, during his residence there, above 1000 of the latter were shot. But the counterbalancing distribution of endowments somewhat modifies the dangerous vicinity of these animals: like all the felinæ, they are more or less nocturnal, and seldom go abroad to pursue their prey till after sunset. When not pressed by hunger, they are naturally indolent, and, from their habits of uncontrolled superiority, perhaps capricious, but often less sanguinary and vindictive than is expected.

Lions are monogamous, the male living constantly with the lioness, both hunting together, or for each other when there is a litter of whelps; and the mutual affection and care for their offspring which they display are remarkable in animals by nature doomed to live by blood and slaughter. It is while seeking prey for their young that they are most dangerous; at other times they bear abstinence, and when pressed by hunger will sometimes feed on carcasses found dead. They live to more than fifty years; consequently, having annual litters of from three to five cubs, they multiply rapidly when not seriously opposed. After the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs the lion soon spread again into Lower Egypt; and Fidelio, a European traveller, in the beginning of the eighth century, saw one slain at the foot of the pyramids, after killing eight of his assailants. Later they have increased again on the Upper Nile; and in ancient times, when the devastations of Egyptian, Persian, Greek, and Roman armies passed over Palestine, there can be little doubt that these destroyers made their appearance in great numbers. The fact, indeed, is attested by the impression which their increase made upon the mixed heathen population of Samaria, when Israel was carried away into captivity (2 Kings xvii. 25, 26).

The Scriptures present many striking pictures of lions, touched with wonderful force and fidelity: even where the animal is a direct instrument of the Almighty, while true to his mission, he still remains so to his nature. Thus nothing can be more graphic than the record of the man of God (1 Kings xiii. 28), disobedient to his charge, struck



337 Assyrian Lion.

down from his ass, and lying dead, while the lion stands by him, without touching the lifeless body, or attacking the living animal, usually a favourite prey. See also Gen. xlix. 9; Job iv. 10, 11; Nahum ii. 11, 12. Samson's adventure also with the young lion (Judg. xiv. 5, 6), and the picture of the young lion coming up from the underwood cover on the banks of the Jordan—all attest a perfect knowledge of the animal and its habits. Finally, the lions in the den with Daniel, miraculously leaving him unmolested, still retain, in all other respects, the real characteristics of their nature.

The lion, as an emblem of power, was symbolical of the tribe of Judah (Gen. xlix. 9). The type recurs in the prophetic visions, and the figure of this animal was among the few which the Hebrews admitted in sculpture, or in cast metal, as exemplified in the throne of Solomon. The heathen assumed the lion as an emblem of the sun, of the god of war, of Aries, Ariel, Arioth, Re, the Indian Seeva, of dominion in general, of valour, etc., and it occurs in the names and standards of many nations. Lions, in remote antiquity, appear to have been trained for the chase, and are, even now, occasionally domesticated with safety. Placability and attachment are displayed by them even to the

degree of active defence of their friends, as was exemplified at Birr, in Ireland, in 1839, when 'a keeper of wild beasts, being within the den, had fallen accidentally upon a tiger, who immediately caught the man by the thigh, in the presence of numerous spectators; but a lion, being in the same compartment, rose up, and seizing the tiger by the neck, compelled it to let go, and the man was saved.' Numerous anecdotes of a similar character are recorded both by ancient and modern writers.

Zoologists consider Africa the primitive abode of lions, their progress towards the north and west having at one time extended to the forests of Macedonia and Greece; but in Asia, never to the south of the Nerbudda, nor east of the lower Ganges. Since the invention of gunpowder, and even since the havoc which the ostentatious barbarism of Roman grandees made among them, they have diminished in number exceedingly, although at the present day individuals are not unfrequently seen in Barbary, within a short distance of Ceuta.—C. H. S.

LIPMANN, JOMTOB, of Muhlhausen, also called MUHLHAUSEN after his native place, and TABJOMI (טביומי = טוב יום), author of the celebrated polemical work against Christianity called *Nitsachon* (נצחון, *Victory*), flourished 1380. Very little is known of the history of this remarkable man. His contemporary Stephen, the learned Bishop of Brandeburg, who undertook to refute his work, says that he lived in Cracow, whilst others will have it that he lived in Prague. The *Nitsachon*, which was finished about 1399, consists of seven parts, 'according,' as he tells us, 'to the seven days of the week, and three hundred and fifty-four sections, according to the number of days in the lunar year, which is the Jewish mode of calculation to indicate that every Israelite is bound to study his religion every day of his life, and to remove every obstruction from the boundaries of his faith' (comp. *the end of the preface*). He does not adopt any systematic plan, but discusses and explains every passage of the Hebrew Bible which is either adduced by Christians as a Messianic prophecy referring to Christ, or is used by sceptics and blasphemers to support their scepticism and contempt for revelations, or is appealed to by rationalistic Jews to corroborate their rejection of the doctrine of creation out of nothing, the resurrection of the body, etc., etc., beginning with Genesis and ending with Chronicles, according to the order of the books in the Hebrew Bible, so that any passage in dispute might easily be found. It was largely transcribed and circulated in MS. among the Jews throughout the world; and in the numerous attacks which they had to sustain both from Christians and rationalists during the time of the Reformation, this book constituted their chief arsenal, supplying them with weapons to defend themselves. The copyists, however, not unfrequently made some additions of their own. The book, though so widely circulated among the Jews, was not printed till 1644, when Hacsplan published it under the following circumstances. This erudite professor in the Bavarian University at Altorf was engaged, about 1642, in a controversy on the questions at issue between Judaism and Christianity with a neighbouring rabbi residing in Shneitach, who in his dissertations frequently referred to this *Nitsachon*, a MS. copy of which,

made in 1589, he possessed, and which he refused to show to his Christian opponent. The learned Hacsban, however, was determined to see it, and, according to a prearranged plan, called with three of his students on the rabbi, when he pressed him in such a manner to produce the MS. that he could not refuse. He pretended to examine it, and when the students had fairly surrounded the rabbi, the professor made his way to the door, got into a conveyance which was waiting for him, had the MS. speedily transcribed and printed, with extensive notes and an index, and then, after much earnest solicitation, returned it to the rabbi. This is the dastardly manner in which the Christian world first got to see the famous *Nitzachon*, and it needs hardly to be said that such disgraceful proceedings produced no favourable impression upon the mind of the rabbi whom the professor was anxious to bring over to Christianity. It was now rapidly reprinted, translated into Latin, corrected and refuted by Blendinger, *Lipmanni Nitzachon in Christianos*, etc., *latine conversum*, Altdorf 1645; Wagenseil, *Tela ignea Satana*, Altdorf 1681; by the same author, *Sota, Liber Mischnicus de Uxore Adulterii Suspecta*, Altdorf 1674, Appendix. The importance of this famous work to the Biblical student can hardly be overrated, inasmuch as it is a running commentary on all the most important Messianic prophecies and difficult portions of the Hebrew Bible. Comp. Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, vol. ii. p. 403, ff.; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodliciana*, col. 1410-1414; Geiger, *Proben Jüd. Vertheidigung gegen Christliche Angriffe in Mittelalter in Liebermann's Deutscher Volks-Kalender*, Brieg 1854, pp. 9, ff.; 47, ff.—C. D. G.

LITTER. The word translated litter in Is. lvi. 20, is *ṭab*; and is the same which, in Num. vii. 3, denotes the wains or carts drawn by oxen, in which the materials of the tabernacle were removed from place to place. The *ṭab* was not, therefore, a litter, which is not drawn, but carried. This is the only place in which the word occurs in the Authorized translation. We are not, however, to infer from this that the Hebrews had no vehicles of the kind. Litters, or palanquins, were, as we know, in use among the ancient Egyptians. They were borne upon the shoulders of men (No. 338), and appear to have been used for carrying persons of consideration short distances on visits, like the sedan-chairs of a former day in England. We doubt if the Hebrews had this kind of litter, as it scarcely agrees with their simple, unluxurious habits; but that they had litters borne by beasts, such as are still common in Western Asia, seems in the highest degree probable.

In Cant. iii. 9 we find the word *אֶפְרוֹן* *aphiryon*; Sept. *ṓpeion*; Vulg. *ferculum*, which occurs nowhere else in Scripture, and is applied to a vehicle used by king Solomon. This word is rendered 'chariot' in our A. V., although unlike any other word so rendered in that version. It literally means a *moving couch*, and is usually conceived to denote a kind of sedan, litter, or rather palanquin, in which great personages and women were borne from place to place. The name, as well as the object, immediately suggests that it may have

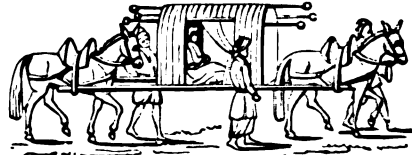
been nearly the same thing as the تخت روان *takht-ravan*, the *moving throne*, or *seat*, of the Per-

sians. It consists of a light frame fixed on two strong poles, like those of our sedan-chair. The frame is generally covered with cloth, and has a



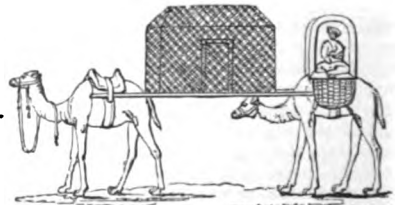
338.

door, sometimes of lattice work, at each side. It is carried by two mules, one between the poles before, the other behind. These conveyances are used by great persons, when disposed for retirement or ease during a journey, or when sick, or feeble from age. But they are chiefly used by ladies of consideration in their journeys (No. 339).



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The popular illustrators of Scripture do not appear to have been acquainted with this and the other litters of Western Asia; and have, therefore, resorted to India, and drawn their illustrations from the palanquins borne by men, and from the *howdahs* of elephants. This is unnecessary, as Western Asia still supplies conveyances of this description more suitable and more likely to have been anciently in use, than any which the further east can produce. If the one already described should seem too humble, there are other *takht-ravans* of more imposing appearance. Some readers may remember the 'litter of red cloth, adorned with pearls and jewels,' together with ten mules (to bear it by turns), which king Zahr-Shah prepared for the journey of his daughter (Lane's *Arab. Nights*, i. 528). This was, doubtless, of the kind which is borne by four mules, two behind and two before. In Arabia, or in the



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countries where Arabian usages prevail, two camels are usually employed to bear the *takht-ravan*, and

sometimes two horses. When borne by camels, the head of the hindmost of the animals is bent painfully down under the vehicle. This is the most comfortable kind of litter, and two light persons may travel in it.

The *shibreeyeh* is another kind of camel-litter, resembling the Indian *howdah*, by which name (or rather *hoday*) it is sometimes called. It is composed of a small square platform with a canopy or arched covering. It accommodates but one person, and is



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placed upon the back of a camel, and rests upon two square camel-chests, one on each side of the animal. It is very evident, not only from the text in view, but from others, that the Hebrews had litters; and there is little reason to doubt that they were the same as those now employed in Palestine, and the neighbouring countries, where there are still the same circumstances of climate, the same domestic animals, and habits of life.

LITURGY, ANCIENT HEBREW, [vol. iii. p. 906.]

LIVER (כִּבְדָּ) occurs in Exod. xxix. 13, 22; Lev. iii. 4, 10, 15; iv. 9; vii. 4; viii. 16, 25; ix. 10, 19; Prov. vii. 23; Lam. ii. 11; Ezek. xxi. 21. The Hebrew word is generally derived from כָּבַד, *to be heavy*, in reference to the weight of the liver as the heaviest of all the viscera, just as in English the lungs are called 'the lights,' from their comparative lightness. Gesenius, however, adduces the

Arabic كبد, meaning, probably, 'the most precious,' which, indeed, suits the notions of the ancient Orientals, who esteemed the liver to be the most valuable of all the viscera, because they thought it most concerned in the formation of the blood, and held that 'in the blood is the life.' In all the instances where the word occurs in the Pentateuch, it forms part of the phrase הִיתָרַת עַל הַכֶּבֶד, or הִיתָרַת הַכֶּבֶד, translated in the A. V. 'the caul that is above the liver,' but which Gesenius, reasoning from the root, understands to be the great lobe of the liver itself, rather than the caul over it; which latter he terms *omentum minus hepaticogastricum*, and which, he observes, is inconsiderable in size, and has but little fat. Jahn thinks the smaller lobe to be meant. The phrase is also rendered in the Sept. τὸν λοβὸν τοῦ ἥπατος, or τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ, etc., 'the lobe or lower pendant of the liver,' the chief object of attention in the art of hepatoscopy, or divination by the liver among the ancients. (Jerome gives *reticulum jecoris*, 'the net of the liver,' and *arvina*, 'the suet,' and *adepts*, 'the fat'; see Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. 498.) It appears from the same passages that it was burnt upon the altar, and not eaten as sacrificial food

(Jahn, *Biblisches Archäol.*, sec. 378, n. 7). The liver was supposed by the ancient Jews, Greeks, and Romans, to be the seat of the passions, pride, love, etc. Thus, Gen. xlix. 6, 'with their assembly let not כִּבְדִּי (literally, 'my liver') be united;' Sept. τὰ ἥπατα; see also Heb. of Ps. xvi. 9; lvii. 9; cviii. 2; and Anacreon, *Ode* iii. fin.; Theocritus, *Idyll.* xi. 16; Horace, *Carm.* i. 13, 4; 25, 15; iv. 1, 12; and the Notes of the Delphin edition: comp. also Persius, *Sat.* v. 129; Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 647. Wounds in the liver were supposed to be mortal; thus the expressions in Prov. vii. 23, 'a dart through his liver,' and Lam. ii. 11, 'my liver is poured out upon the earth,' are each of them a periphrasis for death itself. So also Æschylus uses the words θύγγειν πρὸς ἥπαρ to describe a heart wound (*Agamemnon*, 432). The passage in Ezekiel contains an interesting reference to the most ancient of all modes of divination, by the inspection of the viscera of animals and even of mankind sacrificially slaughtered for the purpose. It is there said that the king of Babylon, among other modes of divination referred to in the same verse, 'looked upon the liver.' The Cambridge manuscript of the Sept. gives ἥπατι σκοπήσασθαι; other copies use the precise technical term ἥπατοςκοπήσασθαι. The liver was always considered the most important organ in the ancient art of *Extispicium*, or divination by the entrails. Philostratus felicitously describes it as 'the prophesying tripod of all divination' (*Life of Apollonius*, viii. 7, 5). The rules by which the Greeks and Romans judged of it are amply detailed in Adam's *Roman Antiquities*, p. 261, etc., Lond. 1834; and in Potter's *Archæologia Græca*, i. 316, Lond. 1775. It is an interesting inquiry how this regard to it originated. Vitruvius suggests a plausible theory of the first rise of *hepatoscopy*. He says the ancients inspected the livers of those animals which frequented the places where they wished to settle; and if they found the liver, to which they chiefly ascribed the process of sanguification, was injured, they concluded that the water and nourishment collected in such localities were unwholesome (i. 4). But divination is coeval and co-extensive with a belief in the divinity. We accept the argument of the Stoics, '*sunt Dî: ergo est Divinatio*.' We know that as early as the days of Cain and Abel there were certain means of communication between God and man, and that those means were connected with the sacrifice of animals; and we prefer to consider those means as the source of divination in later ages, conceiving that when the real tokens of the divine interest with which the primitive families of man were favoured ceased, in consequence of the multiplying of human transgressions, their descendants endeavoured to obtain counsel and information by the same external observances. We believe that thus only will the minute resemblances be accounted for, which we discover between the different methods of divination, utterly untraceable to reason, but which have prevailed from unknown antiquity among the most distant regions. Cicero ascribes divination by this and other means to what he calls 'the heroic ages,' by which term we know he means a period antecedent to all historical documents (*De Divinatione*). Prometheus, in the play of that title (474, etc.), lays claim to having taught mankind the different kinds of divination, and that of *extispicy* among the rest; and Prometheus, according to Servius (*ad Virg. Ecl.* vi. 42),

instructed the Assyrians; and we know from sacred record that Assyria was one of the countries first peopled. It is further important to remark that the first recorded instance of divination is that of the teraphim of Laban, a native of Padan-aram, a district bordering on that country (1 Sam. xix. 13, 16), but by which teraphim both the Sept. and Josephus understood *ἡναι τῶν αἰγῶν*, 'the liver of goats' (*Antiq.* vi. 11. 4); nor does Whiston, perhaps, in his note on that passage, unreasonably complain that, 'since the modern Jews have lost the signification of the word *נבבי*, and since this rendering of the Sept., as well as the opinion of Josephus, are here so much more clear and probable, it is unaccountable that our commentators should so much hesitate as to its true interpretation' (Whiston's *Josephus*, p. 169, note, Edin. 1828; Bochart, i. 41, *De Caprarum Nominibus*; *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, art. 'Divination'; Rosenmüller's *Scholia* on the several passages referred to; Perizonius, *ad Elian.* ii. 31; Peucer, *De Præcipuis Divinationum Generibus*, etc., Witteberg 1560). [DIVINATION.]—J. F. D.

LIZARD. Under this denomination the modern zoologist places all the cold-blooded animals that have the conformation of serpents with the addition of four feet. Thus viewed, as one great family, they constitute the Saurians, Lacertinae, and Lacertidae of authors; embracing numerous generical divisions, which commence with the largest, that is, the crocodile group, and pass through sundry others, a variety of species, formidable, disgusting, or pleasing in appearance—some equally frequenting the land and water, others absolutely confined to the earth and to the most arid deserts; and though in general harmless, there are a few with disputed properties, some being held to poison or corrode by means of the exudation of an ichor, and others extolled as aphrodisiacs, or of medical use in pharmacy; but these properties in most, if not in all, are undetermined or illusory. For those mentioned in the Bible, see CHAMELEON; CROCODILE; DRAGON; LEVIATHAN; ANAKAH; CHOMET; COACH; LE-TAAH; SEMMAMITH; THINSEMETH; TZAB.—C. H. S.

LOAN. The Mosaic laws which relate to the subject of borrowing, lending, and repaying, are in substance as follows:—If an Israelite became poor, what he desired to borrow was to be freely lent to him, and no interest, either of money or produce, could be exacted from him; interest might be taken of a foreigner, but not of an Israelite by another Israelite (Exod. xxii. 25; Deut. xxiii. 19, 20; Lev. xxv. 35-38). At the end of every seven years a remission of debts was ordained; every creditor was to remit what he had lent: of a foreigner the loan might be exacted, but not of a brother. If an Israelite wished to borrow, he was not to be refused because the year of remission was at hand (Deut. xv. 1-11). Pledges might be taken, but not as such the mill or the upper millstone, for that would be to take a man's life in pledge. If the pledge was raiment, it was to be given back before sunset, as being needful for a covering at night. The widow's garment could not be taken in pledge (Exod. xxii. 26, 27; Deut. xxiv. 6, 17). A part of the last passage we must cite entire, as showing a most amiable and considerate spirit on the part of Moses

towards the poor: 'When thou dost lend thy brother anything, thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge; thou shalt stand abroad, and the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring out the pledge abroad unto thee; and if the man be poor thou shalt not sleep with his pledge: in any case thou shalt deliver him the pledge again when the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his own raiment, and bless thee; and it shall be righteousness unto thee before the Lord thy God.' The strong and impressive manner in which the duty of lending is enjoined, is worthy of being exhibited in the words of Scripture: 'If there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren, thou shalt not harden thy heart nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother, but thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need. Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, the year of release is at hand, and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nought, and he cry unto the Lord against thee, and it be sin unto thee: thou shalt surely give him, and thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him; because that for this thing the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy works and in all that thou puttest thy hand unto.'

These laws relating to loans may wear a strange and somewhat repulsive aspect to the mere modern reader, and cannot be understood, either in their bearing or their sanctions, unless considered from the Biblical point of view. The land of Canaan (as the entire world) belonged to its Creator, but was given of God to the descendants of Abraham under certain conditions, of which this liberality to the needy was one. The power of getting loans therefore was a part of the poor man's inheritance. It was a lien on the land (the source of all property with agricultural people), which was as valid as the tenure of any given portion by the tribe or family to whose lot it had fallen. This is the light in which the Mosaic polity represents the matter, and in this light, so long as that polity retained its force, would it, as a matter of course, be regarded by the owners of property. Thus the execution of this particular law was secured by the entire force with which the constitution itself was recommended and sustained. But as human selfishness might in time endanger this particular set of laws, so Moses applied special support to the possibly weak part. Hence the emphasis with which he enjoins the duty of lending to the needy. Of this emphasis the very essence is the sanction supplied by that special providence which lay at the very basis of the Mosaic commonwealth; so that lending to the destitute came to be enforced with all the power derivable from the express will of God, of the Almighty Creator, of the Redeemer of Israel, of Him whose favour was life, and whose frown was dismay and ruin.

It is impossible not to admire the benevolence which runs through the entire of this piece of legislation; and when the age to which its origin is referred, and the peculiar circumstances under which it was produced, are considered, our admiration rises to a very high pitch, and we feel that it is most insufficient praise to say that nothing so benign in spirit had been previously conceived: nothing more beneficent and humane has been carried into effect, even since Jesus came to seek and to save the lost. The conduct which the

Romans observed towards the debtor affords a striking contrast to what is thus required by Moses. Insolvent debtors might be compelled to serve their creditors, and often had to endure treatment as bad as that of slaves (Liv. ii. 23; A. Gell. xx. i. 19; Appian, *Ital.* p. 40). In Athens also the creditor had a claim to the person of the debtor (Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 15). Moses himself seems to have admitted some restrictions to his benevolent laws; for from Lev. xxv. 39, *seq.*, it appears that a poor Israelite might be sold to one possessed of substance: he was, however, to serve, not as a bond, but as a hired servant, who at the jubilee was restored with his children to entire liberty, so that he might return unto the possession of his fathers.

That the system of law regarding loans was carried into effect there is no reason to doubt. It formed an essential part of the general constitution, and therefore came recommended with the entire sanction which that system had on its own behalf; nor were there any predominant antagonist principles at work which would prevent this from proceeding step by step, in its proper place and time, with the residue of the Mosaic legislation. Nor do the passages of Scripture (Job xxii. 6; xxiv. 3; Matt. xviii. 28; Prov. xxviii. 8; Ezek. xviii. 8; Ps. xv. 5; cix. 11) which give us reason to think that usury was practised and the poor debtor oppressed, shew anything but those breaches to which laws are always liable, especially in a period when morals grow corrupt and institutions in consequence decline; on the contrary, the stern reproofs which such violations called forth forcibly demonstrate that the legislation in question had taken effect, and had also exerted a powerful influence on the national character, and on the spirit with which the misdeeds of rich oppressors and the injuries of the needy were regarded.

While, however, the benign tendency of the laws in question is admitted, may it not be questioned whether they were strictly just? Such a doubt could arise only in a mind which viewed the subject from the position of our actual society. A modern might plead that he had a right to do what he pleased with his own; that his property of every kind—land, food, money—was his own; and that he was justified to turn all and each part to account for his own benefit. Apart from religious considerations this position is impregnable. But such a view of property finds no support in the Mosaic institutions. In them property has a divine origin, and its use is intrusted to man on certain conditions, which conditions are as valid as is the tenure of property itself. In one sense, indeed, the entire land—all property—was a great loan, a loan lent of God to the people of Israel, who might well therefore acquiesce in any arrangement which required a portion—a small portion—of this loan to be under certain circumstances accessible to the destitute. This view receives confirmation from the fact that interest might be taken of persons who were not Hebrews, and therefore lay beyond the sphere embraced by this special arrangement. It would open too wide a field did we proceed to consider how far the Mosaic system might be applicable in the world at large; but this is very clear to our mind, that the theory of property on which it rests—that is, making property to be divine in its origin, and therefore tenable only on the fulfilment of such conditions as the great laws of religion and morality enforce—is more true and more philosophical (ex-

cept in a college of Atheists) than the narrow and baneful ideas which ordinarily prevail.

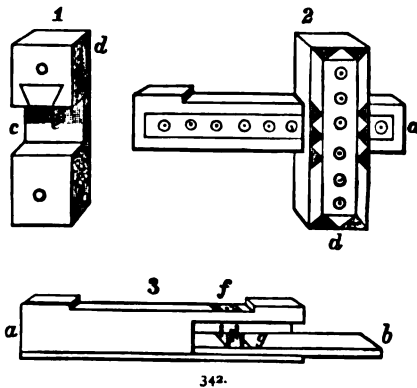
Had the Hebrews enjoyed a free intercourse with other nations, the permission to take usury of foreigners might have had the effect of impoverishing Palestine by affording a strong inducement for employing capital abroad; but, under the actual restrictions of the Mosaic law, this evil was impossible. Some not inconsiderable advantages must have ensued from the observance of these laws. The entire alienation and loss of the lent property were prevented by that peculiar institution which restored to every man his property at the great year of release. In the interval between the jubilees the system under consideration would tend to prevent those inequalities of social condition which always arise rapidly, and which have not seldom brought disaster and ruin on states. The affluent were required to part with a portion of their affluence to supply the wants of the needy, without exacting that recompense which would only make the rich richer and the poor more needy; thus superinducing a state of things scarcely more injurious to the one than to the other of these two parties. There was also in this system a strongly conservative influence. Agriculture was the foundation of the constitution. Had money-lending been a trade, money-making would also have been eagerly pursued. Capital would be withdrawn from the land; the agriculturist would pass into the usurer; huge inequalities would arise; commerce would assume predominance, and the entire commonwealth be overturned—changes and evils which were prevented, or, if not so, certainly retarded and abated, by the code of laws regarding loans. As it was, the gradually increasing wealth of the country was in the main laid out on the soil, so as to augment its productiveness and distribute its bounties.

These views may prepare the reader for considering the doctrine of 'the Great Teacher' on the subject of loans. It is found forcibly expressed in Luke's Gospel (vi. 34, 35): 'If ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners, to receive as much again: but love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the Highest; for he is kind unto the unthankful and to the evil.' The meaning of the passage is distinct and full, unmistakeable, and not to be evaded. He commands men to lend, not as Jews to Jews, but even to enemies, without asking or receiving any return, after the manner of the Great Benefactor of the Universe, who sends down his rains and bids his sun to shine on the fields of the unjust as well as of the just. To attempt to view this command in the light of reason and experience would require space which cannot here be given; but we must add, that any attempt to explain the injunction away is most unworthy on the part of professed disciples of Christ; and that, not possibly at least, fidelity to the behests of Him whom we call Lord and Master would of itself answer all doubts and remove all misgivings, by practically shewing that this, as every other doctrine that fell from His lips, is indeed of God (John vii. 17).—J. R. B.

LOAVES. [BREAD.]

LOCK. *ῥαγισμός*; *κλειδοον*, *sera* (Neh. iii. 3, 13, 14, 15; Cant. v. 5). Details of the mode of

fastening gates and doors in the East have been already given [DOOR; KEY]. The locks are commonly huge clumsy things of wood (Dr. Thomson, *Land and Book*, p. 317, speaks of one to a castle door, which, with its key, was almost a load for a camel), of which the accompanying sketch shews the nature. They consist of a bar (*a*) hollowed at one end to admit the key (*b*), and passing horizontally through a groove (*c*) in a strong piece of wood (*d*) attached vertically to the inside of the door, into a hole in the door-post. In (*e*) are a number of movable metal pins (*e*) corresponding to holes drilled in the bar (*f*) into which they drop, and render it fast (fig. 2). The key (*b*) is a flat piece of wood with the same number of fixed metal pegs (*g*) projecting from its upper surface, which when introduced into the end of the bar (as in fig. 3) raises the movable pegs (*e*), and allows the bar to be drawn back. These locks are placed on the inside of doors of gardens and courts, and sometimes



even of inner rooms. A hole is cut in the door to allow the arm to be introduced to insert the key, which explains Cant. v. 4. The locks being easily picked, are sometimes, as an additional safeguard, plastered over with clay, on which a seal is impressed (cf. Job xxxviii. 14).—E. V.

LOCUST. [ARBEH; CHAGAB; CHANAMAL; CHARGOL; CHASIL; GAZAM; GOB; SALAM; TZE-LATZAL; YELEK.]

LOD, and in the N. T. **LYDDA** (Λύδα, perhaps 'strife'; Λύδα, Λοδα; Alex. Λόδα, Λύδα; *Lod*; in N. T. Λύδα). We read in 1 Chron. viii. 12, that Shamed, a Benjamite, built Ono and *Lod*, with the towns thereof. Probably it was rebuilt, like most other towns in Canaan, upon an ancient site. The site is a noble one—a gentle eminence in the midst of the vast and fertile plain, which extends to the sea on the west, to the mountains of Judah on the east, and north and south far as the eye can see. It is twelve miles from Joppa, on the road to Jerusalem, and about two and a half miles north of Ramleh. The site of Ono, which was founded at the same time, is four miles across the plain to the north-west. *Lod* was again occupied immediately after the captivity (Ezra ii. 33; Neh. vii. 37); but we hear no more of it in O. T. history. About the year B. C. 145 the district of Lydda, with two others adjoining, was separated from Samaria and annexed to Judæa, on account of the respect

entertained for the Jewish leader, Jonathan, by Demetrius Nicator (1 Maccab. xi. 30, seq.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 4. 9; Reland, pp. 178, seq.). After the death of Julius Cæsar, Cassius Longinus, one of his murderers, commanded in Palestine, and was guilty of many acts of cruelty. Among others, he sold to slavery the whole people of Lydda (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 11. 2); a short time afterwards, however, they were set at liberty and restored to their homes by order of Antony (*Id.*, xiv. 12. 5; Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 245).

But Lydda derives its chief and undying interest from the miracle wrought by Peter upon the paralytic Eneas (Acts ix. 33). The glad and wondrous tidings soon sped to Joppa, 'forasmuch as Lydda was nigh to Joppa'; and thither the apostle was soon summoned to perform a miracle still more wonderful (ver. 38, seq.). Lydda suffered severely during the wars between the Jews and Romans. It was burned to ashes by Cestius Gallus (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 19. 1); and being captured by Vespasian at a later period, was colonized by his adherents (*Id.*, iv. 8. 1). But, notwithstanding these calamities, it was a large and flourishing town, and famous as a seat of Jewish learning (Lightfoot, *Opera*, ii. 145; Edersheim, *Hist. of the Jews*, p. 176). Like many other towns in Palestine which were rebuilt or adorned during the Roman rule, Lydda got a new name. The Hebrew *Lod*, and the Greek corruption Lydda, were both set aside, and the official designation became *Diospolis*. This name first appears on coins of Septimius Severus, in the beginning of the third century (Eckhel, *Nummor. Doctr.*, iii. 432; cf. Jerome, *Opera*, i. 696; ed. Migne). From this time the town became one of the most important places in western Palestine (Reland, p. 877). It was made the seat of a bishopric at an early period, and continues so down to the present time (*Id.*, pp. 215, 227; Le Quien, *Oriens Chr.*, iii.). Very early traditions affirm Lydda to be the birthplace of St. George; and in some of the *Notitie Ecclesiastica*, we find it mentioned as 'Diospolis or City of George' (Γεωργίου πόλις; Reland, p. 220). A splendid church was there erected in honour of the saint, some say by the emperor Justinian (Will. Tyr., *Hist.* vii. 22; cf. *Anton. Mart.*, *Itin.* 30). In the beginning of the eighth century Lydda was laid in ruins by the Saracens; but the church escaped, only to be destroyed, however, by the Mohammedans on the approach of the Crusaders (Will. Tyr., vii. 22). It is worthy of note that at this time the new name, *Diospolis*, had disappeared, and the old Hebrew name, *Lod*, which had probably been always used by the inhabitants, appears again in history. The Crusaders paid great respect to Lydda, and adopted George as their patron-saint (Heylin, *History of St. George*). The church was rebuilt by them; but after the evacuation of Palestine it gradually fell to ruin, and Lydda dwindled down to a small and poor village. A part of the church was converted into a mosque, and to that circumstance we are indebted for the beautiful fragment of it which still remains.

The village of Lydda, now called *Lud*, contains about a thousand inhabitants; and though its houses are small and poor, and its lanes dirty, yet there is an air of thrift and prosperity about the place not often seen in Palestine. The orchards which surround it are rich and beautiful, and the plain beyond them is well cultivated. Of St. George's

Church only the walls and part of the vault of the chancel remain. The capitals of the pilasters and the cornice are marble, and profusely ornamented. One lofty pointed arch stands on the south side of the aisle, and has a very striking appearance. Full descriptions of Lydda may be seen in Robinson, vol. ii.; Thomson, *The Land and the Book; Handbook*, 278, *seq.* Its history is sketched in Reland and Le Quien; and the story of St. George is given at great length in *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. iii. p. 100, *seq.*, and in Heylin's *History*.—J. L. P.

LO-DEBAR (לֹדְבָר and לֹדֶבֶר, 'without pasture'; Λοδδβαρ and Λωδαβάρ; Alex. Λαδδβαρ; *Lodabar*), a town of Gilead, where Mephibosheth, the deformed son of Jonathan, found a home after the death of his father and grandfather (2 Sam. ix. 5). When David fled from Jerusalem to Mahanaim on the rebellion of Absalom, Machir of Lo-debar, who had previously sheltered Mephibosheth, was among the first to supply the wants of the royal refugee (xvii. 27). Gilead was a pastoral country; and its people, simple and primitive in their habits, exercised a generous and profuse hospitality to strangers. The site of Lo-debar appears to have been unknown to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.*, s. v. *La-dabar* and *Lo-dabar*). It must have been near Mahanaim, for there Ishbosheth was crowned by Abner, and we may suppose the relatives of Saul would gather round it (2 Sam. ii. 9); there, too, David had taken refuge when Machir supplied him with furniture and provisions. Reland suggests that this town may be identical with *Lidbir* (לִדְבִיר), or *Debir* (דְּבִיר, DEBIR) of Josh. xiii. 26. Although Lidbir may be the real form of the latter word, yet it seems very doubtful whether Lo-debar could be so contracted (Reland, p. 875; Keil, *On Josh.* xiii. 26).—J. L. P.

LOESNER, CHRISTOPH FRIEDRICH, a German philologist, was born in Leipzig in 1734, and died there in 1803, as professor of philology at the university. His principal works relating to Biblical literature are—*Specimen lectionum philologicarum*, Leipzig 1758, 4to; *Observationes in reliquiis versionis proverbiorum Salomonis græcæ Aquilæ, Symmachi et Theodotionis* (contained in the 3d tom. of the *Commentationes theolog.*); *Calimachi Hymni et Epigrammata*, Leipzig 1774, 8vo; *Observationes in N. T. a Philone Alexandrino*, ib. 1777, 8vo.—E. D.

LOG. [WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

LOIS (Λωῖς), the grandmother of Timothy, not by the side of his father, who was a Greek, but by that of his mother. Hence the Syriac has 'thy mother's mother.' She is commended by St. Paul for her faith (2 Tim. i. 5); for although she might not have known that the Christ was come, and that Jesus of Nazareth was he, she yet believed in the Messiah to come, and died in that faith.—J. K.

LOMBROSO, JACOB, a very distinguished physician, grammarian, and commentator. He was Rabbi of the Jewish community at Venice, where he published in 1638-39 a very valuable edition of the Hebrew Bible, with an elaborate introduction, a grammatical and critical commentary, and a Spanish

translation of the difficult expressions entitled לִבְרֵי נִחֻם, *A Handful of Quiet*. Comp. Masch, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, i. 114; Steinschneider, *Catalogue Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 80, 1230; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Hebraica*, ii. 254.—C. D. G.

LONGEVITY. Longevity is a compound of two Latin words, and signifies *prolongation of life*. The lengthened ages of some of the ante and post-diluvian fathers, as given by Moses in the Hebrew text, are as follows:—

		Years.
Adam	Gen. v. 5	930
Seth	" 8	912
Enos	" 11	905
Cainan	" 14	910
Mahalaleel	" 17	895
Jared	" 20	962
Enoch	" 23	365
Methuselah	" 27	969
Lamech	" 31	777
Noah	" ix. 29	950
Shem	" xi. 10, 11	600
Arphaxad	" 12, 13	438
Salah	" 14, 15	433
Eber	" 16, 17	464
Peleg	" 18, 19	239
Reu	" 20, 21	239
Serug	" 22, 23	230
Nahor	" 24, 25	148
Terah	" 32	205
Abraham	" xxv. 7	175

Infidelity has not failed, in various ages, to attack revelation on the score of the supposed absurdity of assigning to any class of men this lengthened term of existence. In reference to this, Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 3. 9) remarks:—"Let no one upon comparing the lives of the ancients with our lives, and with the few years which we now live, think that what we say of them is false; or make the shortness of our lives at present an argument that neither did they attain to so long a duration of life." When we consider the compensating process which is going on, the marvel is that the human frame should not last longer than it does. Some, however, have supposed that the years above named are *lunar*, consisting of about thirty days; but this supposition, with a view to reduce the lives of the antediluvians to our standard, is replete with difficulties. At this rate the whole time from the creation of man to the Flood would not be more than about 140 years; and Methuselah himself would not have attained to the age which many even now do, whilst many must have had children when mere infants! Besides, if we compute the age of the postdiluvians by this mode of calculation—and why should we not?—we shall find that Abraham, who is said to have died in a *good old age* (Gen. xxv. 8) could not have been more than *fifteen years* old! Moses must therefore have meant *solar*, not *lunar* years—not, however, exactly so long as ours, for the ancients generally reckoned twelve months, of thirty days each, to the year. 'Nor is there,' observes St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, xv. 12), 'any care to be given unto those who think that one of our ordinary years would make *ten* of the years of these times, being so short; and therefore, say they, 900 years of theirs are 90 of ours—their 10 is our 1 and their 100 our 10. Thus think they, that Adam was but 20 years old when he begat Seth,

and he but 204 when he begat Enos, whom the Scriptures call (the Sept. ver.) 205 years. For, as these men hold, the Scripture divided one year into ten parts, calling each part a year; and each part had a six-fold quadrate, because in six days God made the world. Now 6 times 6 is 36, which multiplied by 10 makes 360—i.e., twelve lunar months.' Abarbanel, in his *Comment. on Gen. v.*, states that some, professing Christianity, had fallen into the same mistake, viz., that Moses meant *lunar*, and not *solar* years. Ecclesiastical history does not inform us of this fact, except it be to it that Lactantius refers (ii. 13) when he speaks of one Varro:—'The life of man, though temporary, was yet extended to 1000 years; of this Varro is so ignorant that, though known to all from the sacred writings, he would argue that the 1000 years of Moses were, according to the Egyptian mode of calculation, only 1000 months!'

That the ancients computed time differently we learn from Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vii.), and also from Scaliger (*De Emend. Temporum*, i.); still this does not alter the case as above stated (see Heidegger, *De Anno Patriarcharum*).

But it is asked, if Moses meant solar years, how came it to pass that the patriarchs did not begin to beget children at an earlier period than they are reported to have done? Seth was 105 years old, on the lowest calculation, when he begat Enos; and Methuselah 187 when Lamech was born! St. Augustine (i. 15) explains this difficulty in a two-fold manner, by supposing—

1. Either that the age of puberty was later in proportion as the lives of the antediluvians were longer than ours; or

2. That Moses does not record the first-born sons but as the order of the genealogy required, his object being to trace the succession from Adam, through Seth, to Abraham. The learned Heidegger (*De Ante-Diluv.*) thus confirms this latter view: 'Consilium fuit Mosi, uti cuilibet confectum proclive est. Nox et Abrahami genealogiam pertexere, tum quia illi duo inter ceteros fide et pietate eminebant et uterque divinitus insigni donatus est prerogativa.'

Whilst the Jews have never questioned the longevity assigned by Moses to the patriarchs, they have yet disputed, in many instances, as to whether it was common to all men who lived up to the period when human life was contracted. Maimonides (*More Nevochim*, ii. 47) says—

'Longævitate hanc non fuisse nisi quorundam singularium commemoratorum in lege; reliquos illorum seculorum annos attigisse non plures, quam hodie adhuc communiter fieri solet.'

With this opinion Abarbanel, on *Gen. v.*, agrees; Nachmanides, however, rejects it, and shews that the life of the descendants of Cain must have been quite as long as that of the Sethites, though not noticed by Moses; for only seven individuals of the former filled up the space which intervened between the death of Abel and the Flood, whereas ten of the latter are enumerated. We have reason then to conclude, that longevity was not confined to any peculiar tribe of the ante or post-diluvian fathers, but was vouchsafed, in general, to all. Irenæus (*Adversus Hæres.* v.) informs us that some supposed that the fact of its being recorded that no one of the antediluvians named attained the age of 1000 years, was the fulfilment of the declaration (*Gen. iii.*), 'in the day thou eatest thereof thou

shalt surely die;' grounding the opinion, or rather conceit, upon *Ps. xc. 4*, namely, that God's day is 1000 years.

As to the probable reasons why God so prolonged the life of man in the earlier ages of the world, and as to the subordinate means by which this might have been accomplished, Josephus says (*Antiq. l. 3*): 'For those ancients were beloved of God, and lately made by God himself; and because their food was then fitter for the prolongation of life, they might well live so great a number of years: and because God afforded them a longer time of life on account of their virtue and the good use they made of it in astronomical and geometrical discoveries, which would not have afforded the time for foretelling the periods of the stars unless they had lived 600 years; for the great year is completed in that interval.' To this he adds the testimony of many celebrated profane historians, who affirm that the ancients lived 1000 years.

In the above passage Josephus enumerates *four* causes of the longevity of the earlier patriarchs. As to the first, viz., their being dearer to God than other men, it is plain that it cannot be maintained, for the profligate descendants of Cain were equally long-lived, as mentioned above, with others. Neither can we agree in the second reason he assigns, because we find that Noah and others, though born so long subsequently to the creation of Adam, yet lived to as great an age, some of them to a greater age, than he did. If, again, it were right to attribute longevity to the superior quality of the food of the antediluvians, then the seasons, on which this depends, must about Moses's time—for it was *then* that the term of human existence was reduced to its present standard—have assumed a fixed character. But no change at that time took place in the revolution of the heavenly bodies, by which the seasons of heat, cold, etc., are regulated; hence we must not assume that it was the nature of the fruits they ate which caused longevity. How far the antediluvians had advanced in scientific research generally, and in astronomical discovery particularly, we are not informed; nor can we place any dependence upon what Josephus says about the two inscribed pillars which remained from the old world (see *Antiq. i. 2. 3*). We are not, therefore, able to determine, with any confidence, that God permitted the earlier generations of man to live so long, in order that they might arrive at a high degree of mental excellence. From the *brief* notices which the Scriptures afford of the character and habits of the antediluvians, we should rather infer that they had not advanced very far in discoveries in natural and experimental philosophy (see ANTEDILUVIANS). We must suppose that they did not reduce their language to alphabetical order, nor was it necessary to do so at a time when human life was so prolonged, that the tradition of the creation passed through only two hands to Noah. It would seem that the book ascribed to Enoch is a work of postdiluvian origin (see *Jurieu, Crit. Hist.*, i. 41). Possibly, a want of mental employment, together with the labour they endured ere they were able to extract from the earth the necessities of life, might have been some of the proximate causes of that degeneracy which led God in judgment to destroy the old world. If the antediluvians began to bear children at the age on an average of 100, and if they ceased to do so at 600 years (see Shuckford's *Connat.*, i. 36),

the world might then have been far more densely populated than it is now. Supposing, moreover, that the earth was no more productive antecedently than it was subsequently to the flood; and that the antediluvian fathers were ignorant of those mechanical arts which so much abridge human labour now, we can easily understand how difficult they must have found it to secure for themselves the common necessities of life, and this the more so if animal food was not allowed them. The prolonged life, then, of the generations before the flood, would seem to have been rather an *evil* than a blessing, leading as it did to the too rapid peopling of the earth. We can readily conceive how this might conduce to that awful state of things expressed in the words, 'And the whole earth was filled with violence.' In the absence of any well-regulated system of government, we can imagine what evils must have arisen: the unprincipled would oppress the weak; the crafty would outwit the unsuspecting; and, not having the fear of God before their eyes, destruction and misery would be in their ways. Still we must admire the providence of God in the longevity of man immediately after the creation and the flood. After the creation, when the world was to be peopled by one man and one woman, the age of the greatest part of those on record was 900 and upwards. But after the flood, when there were three couples to re-people the earth, none of the patriarchs except Shem reached the age of 500; and only the three first of his line, viz., Arphaxad, Selah, and Eber, came near that age, which was in the first century after the flood. In the second century we do not find that any attained the age of 240; and in the third century (about the latter end of which Abraham was born) none except Terah arrived at 200; by which time the world was so well peopled, that they had built cities, and were formed into distinct nations under their respective kings (see Gen. xv.; see also Usher and Petavius on the increase of mankind in the three first centuries after the flood).

That the common age of man has been the same in all times since the world was peopled, is manifest from profane as well as sacred history. Plato lived to the age of 81, and was accounted an old man; and those whom Pliny reckons up (vii. 48) as rare examples of long life, may, for the most part, be equalled in modern times. We cannot, then, but see the hand of God in the proportion that there is between births and deaths; for by this means the population of the world is kept up. If the fixed standard of human life were that of Methuselah's age, or even that of Abraham's, the world would soon be overstocked; or if the age of man were limited to that of divers other animals—to 10, 20, or 30 years only—the decay of mankind would then be too fast. But on the present scale the balance is nearly even, and life and death keep an equal pace! In thus maintaining throughout all ages and places these proportions of mankind and all other creatures, God declares himself to be indeed the ruler of the world. We may, then, conclude in the language of the Psalmist (Ps. civ. 29, 30), 'Thou hidest thy face, all creatures are troubled; thou takest away their breath, they die and return to their dust. Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created; and thou renewest the face of the earth.'—J. W. D.

LOOKING-GLASSES. [MIRRORS.]

LORD, a Saxon word signifying ruler or governor. In its original form it is *hlaford* (hlaforð), which, by dropping the aspiration, became *laford*, and afterwards, by contraction, *lord*. In the authorised translation of the Scriptures it is used, without much discrimination, for all the names applied to God—which cannot be helped, as our language does not afford the same number of distinguishing titles as the Hebrew. When, however, the word represents the dread name of JEHOVAH it is printed in small capitals, LORD, and is by this contrivance made a distinguishing term. Having already explained the different names of GOD which the term LORD is made to represent [ADONAI; GOD; JEHOVAH], no further statement on the subject is here necessary. It also, however, represents the Greek *Kύριος*, which, indeed, is used in much the same way and in the same sense as *Lord*. It is from *κύριος*, authority, and signifies 'master' or 'possessor.' In the Septuagint this, like *Lord* in our version, is invariably used for 'Jehovah' and 'Adonai'; while *Θεός*, like GOD in our translation, is generally reserved to represent the Hebrew 'Elohim.' *Kύριος* in the Greek Testament, and *Lord* in the authorised version of it, are used much in the same manner as in the Septuagint; and so also is the corresponding title, *Dominus*, in the Latin versions. As the Hebrew name JEHOVAH is one never used with reference to any but the Almighty, it is to be regretted that the Septuagint, imitated by our own and other versions, has represented it by a word which is also used for the Hebrew 'Adonai' when applied to angels (Gen. xix. 2; Dan. x. 16, 17); for *Adonim* and *Adon* when used of men in authority (Gen. xlii. 30, 33; Is. xix. 4), and of proprietors, owners, masters (Gen. xlv. 8). In the N. T. *Kύριος*, representing 'Adonai,' and both represented by *Lord*, the last, or human application of the term, is frequent. In fact, the leading idea of the Hebrew, the Greek, and the English words, is that of an owner or proprietor, whether God or man; and it occurs in the inferior application with great frequency in the N. T. This application is either literal or complimentary: *literal*, when the party is really an owner or master, as in Matt. x. 24; xx. 8; xxi. 40; Acts xvi. 16, 19; Gal. iv. 1, or as having absolute authority over another (Matt. ix. 38; Luke x. 2), or as being a supreme lord or sovereign (Acts xxv. 26); and *complimentary*, when used as a title of address to superiors, like the English *Master*, *Sir*, French *Sieur*, German *Herr*, as in Matt. xiii. 27; xxi. 30; Mark vii. 28; Luke ix. 54.

It cannot but be deemed desirable that, instead of the extensive use of the word *Lord* which we have described, discriminating terms should be adopted in translations. Apart from the Jewish superstitions which influenced the Seventy in their translation, there can be no good reason why the name JEHOVAH should not be retained wherever it occurs in the Hebrew. Then LORD might represent *Adonai*; or Sir, or Master, might be used when applied to creatures; and GOD would properly represent *Elohim*.—J. K.

LORD'S DAY. [CHRISTIAN SABBATH, vol. iii. p. 716; JESUS CHRIST, vol. ii. pp. 555, 581; SYNAGOGUE, vol. iii. pp. 904, 909.]

LORD'S SUPPER, THE (κυριακὸν δείπνον, i

Cor. xi. 20). By the phrase the Lord's Supper, most Protestant commentators agree that St. Paul designated the religious service by which the apostolic churches commemorated the death of the Lord Jesus. Whatever may be the correct interpretation of the whole verse, 'When ye come together to the same place, it is not to eat the Lord's Supper,'—whether it be that the Corinthians did not intend 'to eat the Lord's Supper,' or that it was not right for them 'to eat the Lord's Supper' in their disorderly meetings, or that their perversion of the sacred service ought not to be called the eating of 'the Lord's Supper';—the scope and connection of the passage shew that the apostle could have referred to nothing else than the sacramental commemoration of the death of Jesus. Were there any doubt respecting his meaning, the account of the institution of the service (ver. 23-26), evidently given as a directory for its continued observance, would be sufficient to satisfy any unprejudiced reader.

Catholic commentators, however, deny that the apostle so designates the Eucharistic service. 'The Lord's Supper' is so inappropriate a name for 'the offering of the body and blood of Christ, a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead,' that we do not wonder Catholics refuse to acknowledge it. The person for whose sins the sacrifice is offered on the altar of the church need not partake of it. He may be absent; he may be dead; he may have been in purgatory for ages, like the founders of many charities and chantries, for whose souls the mass has been said at regular intervals for centuries. To the absent or dead it cannot be 'a supper.' Even if the person for whom the sacrifice is offered be living and present, the consecrated bread is put in his mouth, as a sign that the sacrifice is offered for him. Nor, unless he be a priest, can he communicate in both parts of the Eucharist.

Catholics, therefore, say that the apostle, in speaking of the Lord's Supper, intended to designate the charity feast of the primitive churches, and that the subsequent reference to the institution of the Eucharist may be explained by the ancient custom of observing the charity feast on the occasion of meeting to celebrate the Eucharist. In the Rheims version of the N. T., it is said (note to 1 Cor. xi. 20), '*The Lord's Supper*.' So the apostle calls the charity feasts observed by the primitive Christians, and reprehends the abuses of the Corinthians on these occasions, which were the more criminal because these feasts were accompanied with the celebration of the Eucharistic sacrifice and sacrament.' [AGAPE, vol. i. p. 79.]

As we have distinct accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper in the first three gospels, and also in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, we may take them for our guide in considering the nature of the service, and the several controversies to which it has given rise. [JESUS CHRIST, p. 572.]

In Matthew xxvi. 26-28 we read, 'And as they were eating, Jesus having taken the bread and blessed, brake, and gave to his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body. And having taken the cup and given thanks, he gave to them, saying, Drink ye all of it, for this is my blood, that of the new covenant, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins.' In Mark xiv. 22-24, the words are, 'And as they were eating, Jesus having taken bread, and blessed, brake, and gave to them, and

said, Take, this is my body. And having taken the cup and given thanks, he gave to them, and they all drank of it. And he said to them, This is my blood, that of the new covenant, which is shed for many.' In Luke xxii. 19, 20, we read, 'And having taken bread and given thanks, he brake, and gave to them, saying, This is my body, which is given for you, do this for the remembrance of me. In like manner the cup, after the supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood: this do, as often as ye drink it, for the remembrance of me.' The words of Paul, which, as may be expected from his intimate connection with Luke, correspond more nearly with those of that evangelist than with those of either of the other two, are (1 Cor. xi. 23-25), 'For I received from the Lord that which I delivered to you, that the Lord Jesus, in the night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and having given thanks, he brake, and said, This is my body which is [broken, uncertain reading] for you. This do for the remembrance of me. In like manner also the cup, after the supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood: this do, as often as ye drink it, for the remembrance of me.'

We have given a bald and literal translation of these several accounts, that the reader unaccustomed to consult the original text may easily observe wherein they agree, and how far they differ.

With these Scriptural statements we may compare the account which Justin Martyr gives of the manner in which the Lord's Supper was celebrated in the earlier part of the 2d century. In his first Apology he says, 'After we have concluded the prayers, we salute one another with a kiss. After this, bread and a cup of wine and water are brought to the president, who having taken them, offers with a loud voice praise and glory to the Father of all, through the name of his Son and Holy Spirit, and offers thanksgiving for the gifts received from him. When this prayer and thanksgiving are ended, all the people express their assent by saying Amen. Those who are called deacons distribute this bread and wine, which is Eucharistic, to those who are present, and carry it away to those who are absent. Of this Eucharistic food none are allowed to partake who do not believe our teaching to be true, and have not been washed with the laver for the remission of sins, and do not live as Christ has commanded us. For we do not receive it as common bread and common drink; but in what manner Jesus Christ, our Saviour, became incarnate by the word of God, and had flesh and blood for our salvation, in that manner also we have been taught that the Eucharistic food, through the prayer of the Word by which our flesh and blood are nourished according to a transmutation, is the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus. For the apostles, in the memorials composed by them, which are called Gospels, have thus delivered, that Jesus, having taken bread and given thanks, said, Do this for the remembrance of me. And in the same manner having taken the cup and given thanks, said, This is my blood, and distributed it to them only.' In another passage of the same Apology, Justin says:—'On the day called Sunday, all who live in the same city or country assemble in one place, where the memorials of the apostles or writings of the prophets are read,

and when the reader has finished the president makes a discourse, in which he admonishes and exhorts to the practice of all good things, at the conclusion of which all rise and pray, and the bread and wine and water are brought, and the president solemnly offers prayers and thanksgivings, and the people respond Amen. Then distribution is made to every one of that over which thanks have been offered, and it is sent to the absent by the deacons. And the rich contribute according as they are willing, and whatever is collected is intrusted to the president, and from it he relieves the widows and orphans, and those who suffer from sickness or other causes, as well as those who are in bonds, and strangers, and, indeed, all who are in need of assistance.'

We have now briefly to notice the several particulars which are mentioned in these different accounts, as, unhappily, almost every one of them has given rise to some dissension and controversy which it is our purpose to indicate rather than to determine. [PASSOVER, vol. iii. p. 425.]

'As they were eating' the passover, '*Jesus took bread.*' That bread was undoubtedly unleavened, for no other could have been obtained at the passover. From this circumstance has arisen a long and apparently fruitless controversy, ἀρομαχία, the bread-fight, whether the bread used at the Sacrament ought to be leavened or unleavened? The only Scriptural argument that can be adduced on the one side is, 'Christ made use of unleavened bread;' and on the other, 'He could not have obtained leavened bread even if he preferred it.' Furnished with such a store of argument, which, though small, seems—like the widow's cruise of oil—inexhaustible, the Latin church and the Greek, the Lutherans and the Calvinists, have taken opposite sides, and continued a controversy of nine hundred years' standing.

'*Having blessed,*' says Mark. '*Having given thanks,*' say Luke and Paul. In Matthew the reading is doubtful. That the same act is denoted by the 'having blessed' (εὐλογῆσας) of Mark, and the 'having given thanks' (εὐχαριστήσας) of Luke and Paul, there can be no reasonable doubt. In Mark's account of the miracle of the loaves and fishes the same words are used, but in reversed order. Jesus 'gave thanks' (εὐχαριστήσας) on breaking the seven loaves, and 'blessed' (εὐλογῆσας) on distributing the small fishes (Mark viii. 6, 7). Here surely the same act is denoted by the thanksgiving and the blessing. This particular would be scarcely worthy of notice were it not for the frequency with which we hear of Jesus blessing the bread. But Jesus blessed God, not the bread; that is, gave thanks to God for it. To bless (εὐλογεῖν) has for its object persons, not things. To bless may denote to wish well to a person, as when we bless them that curse us; or to give a blessing to a person, as when God blesses a man; or to ascribe thanks and praise to a person, as when we bless the Lord. The cup which we bless, is a Scriptural phrase; but, explained by other passages, it must denote the cup for which we bless God. The sacramental elements were no more blessed or consecrated than were the loaves and fishes with which Jesus fed the multitude in the desert. The blessing *for*, not *of*, the bread of the passover, according to the Rabbinical writers, was, 'Blessed be thou, O Lord God, who hast commanded us concerning the eating of the unleavened bread.' In accordance with

this mode of blessing is the statement of Justin Martyr, who says, that before the distribution of the bread, the president offered praise and thanksgiving, and the people responded Amen. He makes no reference to any other blessing or consecration of the elements.

'*Jesus brake the bread.*' The *breaking* of the bread is distinctly mentioned in every one of the Scriptural accounts, and was so general in the apostolic times as to suggest one of the names by which the Lord's Supper was commonly designated, 'the breaking of bread' (Acts ii. 42; xx. 7). The apostle seems to have attributed some importance to the practice when he said, 'The bread *which we break*, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?' a question which can scarcely be asked by those who observe the Lord's Supper without breaking the bread. Although the practice is not mentioned by Justin, yet the *fractus panis* of Irenæus and the Latin fathers, shews that it was preserved in the Western churches for some three or four centuries. By the use of consecrated wafers, placed upon the tongue of the communicant, in the Romish church, and by similar expedients employed in other churches, the broken bread as a symbol of the broken body of our Lord has been long forgotten in almost all the churches of Christendom. Although in the Lutheran church the consecrated bread is put into the mouths of the communicants, the ancient practice has been restored in the Church of England, and generally in the Reformed Churches of Europe. The bread is usually broken by the officiating minister; but in some churches the communicants severally break from the bread small portions for themselves.

'*And gave it to them.*' This is said by each of the three Evangelists. When the communicants became numerous, as in the time of Justin, 'those called deacons distributed the eucharistic bread and wine, and then they carried it to the absent.' It was not the ancient custom for the communicants to approach the table and receive the elements from the officiating minister.

According to Matthew, Jesus said, '*Take, eat, this is my body;*' according to Mark, '*Take, this is my body*' (φάγετε is wanting in the best MSS.); according to Luke, '*This is my body which is given for you;*' according to St. Paul, '*This is my body which is broken*' (or given; a various reading) '*for you: this do for the remembrance of me.*' It is evident that the exact sayings of our Lord are not preserved; though as the words 'This is my body,' to which words so awfully mysterious a power is attributed by the advocates of transubstantiation, are contained in every one of the Scriptural accounts, we may conclude that they were certainly spoken by our Lord. This meaning has been the subject of many angry and apparently interminable controversies.

Romanists say that they teach and prove the doctrine of transubstantiation. Cardinal Wiseman, in his *Lectures on the Eucharist* (lect. v.), contends that if our Lord had intended to teach that the bread represented his body, he would have said 'This bread is my body;' just as it is said, 'The seven good kine are seven years,' and 'The seven horns are seven kings.' But Jesus said, 'This' (not this bread, but '*this*,' whatever it be) 'is my body.' He intentionally avoided calling it bread, because when he spake it was not bread, but his own body. '*This*,' says the Cardinal, 'is nothing, and it repre-

sents nothing, it means nothing until it is identified at the close of the sentence with the substance named.' The Cardinal should have explained how it was that, if our Lord carefully avoided calling that substance bread which was not bread, St. Paul did not follow his example when he said, 'As often as ye eat *this bread*;' and again, 'Whosoever shall eat *this bread* the Lord unworthily;' words which, if literally interpreted, are, according to the Cardinal's own argument, subversive of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Considering, moreover, how great respect Romanists pay to the authority of the fathers, he might have offered some sort of explanation of the language of the Latin fathers, as of Tertullian, who says, 'Christ called the bread his body' (*Adv. Jud.*); of Cyprian, who says, 'The Lord called the bread, which is constituted of many grains, his body' (*Ep. ad Mag.* lxxix.); and of Augustine, who uses the same language, 'The Lord calls the bread his body.' These venerable men never thought of the reason which the Cardinal has discovered for the words of our Lord, 'This' (not this bread) 'is my body.'

Christ's words, literally interpreted, seem less appropriate to the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation than to some other forms in which the doctrine of the real presence has been propounded. Dr. Wiseman says, in his *Lectures on the Catholic Church* (lect. xiv., p. 136)—'The blessed Eucharist, which was originally bread and wine, is by the consecration changed into the substance of the body and blood of our Lord together with his soul and divinity, in other words, his complete and entire person.' See also the notes to the *Rheims Testament* on John vi. 54, and the *Acts of the Council of Trent*, Sess. xiii., c. 4. The doctrine of the Catholic Church is, that the priest, on pronouncing with a good intention the words '*Hoc est corpus meum*,' transubstantiates the bread not only into the body, but also into the soul and divinity of Christ, that is, into his whole and complete person, human and divine. If it be so, why did our blessed Lord call that substance his body which included his soul and divinity? The priest who can change bread into the spiritual and divine nature of Christ has certainly marvellous power; but the authorities by which the Latin Church is bound for ever, distinctly, and in express language, attribute this power to the officiating priest, and repudiate in the strongest terms any other explanation or modification of the doctrine. However Catholics may differ on almost all other subjects—as on the authority and power of the Pope, the immaculate conception of the Virgin, worship of saints and angels, the doctrines of predestination and grace, on the entire transubstantiation of the bread into the whole person, human and divine, of Christ—there can be no difference between Dominicans and Franciscans, Jansenists and Jesuits, or Cismontanists and Ultramontanists. The authority of the Council of Trent is here decisive.

Our purpose is not controversy. If it were, we might propose the inquiry how and when the great and mysterious power of transubstantiation left the original Syriac or Greek words of our Lord and came to belong to the Latin words '*Hoc est corpus meum*!' Whether on that occasion Jesus spake Syriac or Greek is an inquiry we may not be able to answer; but certainly those Latin words are no more like the words he used than are the

corresponding words of the French, German, or English language.

The words 'This is my body' have been thought by some more appropriate to the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation, or to the old notion of impanation, according to which the consecrated bread becomes by incorporation a new body for the Spirit of Christ, or to the undefined form of a real presence, which is held by some Episcopalians, who renounce transubstantiation as being, in the words of the twenty-ninth article, 'repugnant to the plain words of Scripture.'

The reformed churches interpret the words of our Lord as figurative, that is, just as the Latin fathers interpreted them. They say, as Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine said long before them, 'The Lord called the bread his body.' The passover was a commemorative service by appropriate emblems; and so was 'the Lord's Supper' instituted in connection with, or immediately after, its celebration. As the paschal lamb, the unleavened bread, the bitter herbs, the cups of wine, were significant memorials, so is 'the cup of blessing which we bless the communion of the blood of Christ,' and the bread which we break the communion of the body of Christ.' According to this interpretation the words of our Lord mean 'This represents my body which is given for you.'

In the extract from Justin Martyr a sentence occurs of considerable importance, if theologians could agree about its meaning, in enabling us to ascertain the prevalent opinion of Christians in the second century respecting the change which was supposed to be wrought in the bread and wine of the Eucharist. 'We do not receive these as common bread and common drink; but in what manner Jesus Christ, having become incarnate by the Word of God, had flesh and blood for our salvation, in that manner also we have been taught that the Eucharistic food, by the prayer of the word, from which our flesh and blood are nourished by transmutation (*κατὰ μεταβολήν*), is also the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus.' Is this the doctrine of transubstantiation? Or is it consubstantiation? Or is it impanation? Or is it highly figurative language? Or is it absolute nonsense?

The last inquiry is that of the late Principal Cunningham, who boldly answers it in the affirmative, and assures us that 'if we could call up its author, and interrogate him on the subject, he would be utterly unable to tell us what he meant when he wrote it' (*Theology of the Reformation*, p. 232). As we cannot call him before us, and are not bold enough to dismiss him in quite so summary a manner, we must be content to let every party make what it can of his somewhat obscure language.

As he speaks of a transmutation, Roman Catholics universally claim the sanction of his venerable authority. But the words, by a transmutation (*κατὰ μεταβολήν*), refer not to any transmutation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, but to the change which takes place by the assimilation of bread and wine in the nourishment of our bodies. This being considered, the passage does not appear so favourable as many think to the doctrine of transubstantiation. It should also be observed, that Justin calls the Eucharistic elements bread and wine, when he distinguishes them from

common bread and wine; but Dr. Wiseman says, that to call the elements bread and wine after they are consecrated is subversive of transubstantiation.

As Justin calls the Eucharistic elements, as they are after the thanksgiving, bread and wine, and also the flesh and blood of Jesus, Lutheran divines have very confidently claimed his testimony as being decidedly in favour of consubstantiation.

Others, with some plausibility, have maintained that Justin is to be understood as meaning that in the Eucharistic service there is a repetition of the incarnation of Christ when the divine nature is incorporated with the bread and wine, which thus become the true body of Christ, though not the same body as that which was crucified. The particles of Christ's body thus becoming by assimilation united to the bodies of the communicants, are the germs of immortality and the principles of their resurrection bodies. This form of the doctrine of the real presence, apparently held by several of the Fathers, has been called impanation. It, or something very like it, seems to have been held by Irenæus, who says, 'As bread taken from the earth is, on the invocation of God, no longer common bread but Eucharist, consisting of two substances, the earthly and the heavenly; so our bodies partaking of the Eucharist are no longer corruptible, but have the hope of the everlasting resurrection' (*Adv. Hæres.*, lib. iv., c. 34).

From this root grew, though slowly, the doctrine of transubstantiation, although in the middle ages it was strenuously opposed by some of the greatest theologians of Europe, as in the ninth century by Raban Maurus, archbishop of Mentz, and Bertram, abbot of Corbey; in the tenth century, by Ælfric the grammarian, whose letters to Wulfstan, archbishop of York, and Wulfsin, bishop of Sherbourn, have been preserved in the cathedral libraries of Worcester and Exeter; and in the eleventh century by Berenger, archdeacon of Angers. All controversy was for ever closed on this subject in the Romish Church by the decree of the Council of Trent, which declares that 'by the consecration of the bread and wine a conversion is made of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ our Lord, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood' (Sess. xiii., c. 4).

'*This do for the remembrance of me.*'—These words, preserved by Luke and Paul, teach us the meaning and intention of the service. It is a commemorative observance, the authorised commemoration of the death of Christ. This most Christians admit, though many contend that it is also something more than a commemoration.

Roman Catholics assert that in the sacrament of the Eucharist the body and blood of Christ are offered a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead. It is understood that they are offered especially for the sins of the person on whose behalf the mass is said, whether he be a living man or soul in purgatory. As Catholics cannot believe that the body of Christ is put to death in the Eucharistic service, we may inquire how it is sacrificed upon the altar? or how 'an unbloody sacrifice,' as they call it, of a human body can be any sacrifice at all?

In support of this doctrine, the only argument we can discover independent of the authority of the church, is the frequent mention of sacramental oblations and sacrifices in the writings of the Fathers.

Justin Martyr speaks of the Eucharist as an offering and sacrifice—'Concerning the sacrifices which are offered by us in every place, that is the bread of the Eucharist' (*Dial. c. Tryph.*, c. 117). But 'the offering of the bread of the Eucharist' is very different from the offering of the body of Christ for sin. On these words Justin himself supplies the best commentary in the words already cited, 'When the bread and a cup of wine and water are brought to the president, he offers praise and thanksgiving to the Father of all.' In the Dialogue he also says (c. 117), 'That prayer and thanksgivings offered by the worthy are the only perfect and acceptable sacrifices (*θυσίαι*). For them only Christians have received a command to offer at the commemoration of their dry and wet food (bread and wine), in which they commemorate the sufferings that the Son of God endured for them.'

Irenæus and Tertullian used the words 'oblation' and 'sacrifice' in reference to the Eucharist in the same manner as did Justin, and as they designated other acts of religious worship. In doing so, they followed the example not only of Justin, but of the inspired writers, 'Let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually.' No one can suppose that by the sacrifice of praise is intended a propitiatory sacrifice for sin.

A different signification of the words oblation and sacrifice is found in Cyprian (*Tract.* x. 12), 'Think you that you celebrate the Lord's Supper who entirely neglect the offering, who come into the Lord's house without a sacrifice, and take part of that sacrifice which the poor have offered?' By the offering and sacrifice Cyprian intended the offering of bread, wine, or other things needful to the church at the communion, without reference to any official act of a priest. This sense of the words may be found in later writers, though gradually a more literal and unevangelic spirit was given to them, until the table became an altar, the president a priest, and the bread the host or sacrifice offered for sin, and given to the communicant in assurance that the propitiatory sacrifice had been offered for his sins.

The Lutherans, though maintaining the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, do not represent them as offered a propitiatory sacrifice for sin. Some high Lutherans have on this subject, as on some others, used language not unlike that of Catholic divines, but they generally regard the benefit of the Eucharist to consist in eating the flesh of Christ and drinking his blood. It would not be right to charge them with holding the old notion of some of the fathers that by our eating the body of Christ some particles of it become incorporated with our bodies, and so make them immortal, though it is not easy to say what other than some such physical benefit can be attributed to the actual eating of the true body or drinking of the true blood of Christ.

The doctrine of the Greek church respecting the Eucharist, with which corresponds generally the doctrine of the Eastern churches, is thus stated in *The Orthodox Doctrine of the Apostolic Eastern Church*, translated by A. Coray, and recommended by the ecclesiastical authorities of the Greek Church in England, 'The Holy Eucharist is a sacrament in which the believer receives, under the form of bread, the body itself of Christ; and under the form of wine, the blood itself of Christ, to the remission of sins and eternal life' (Article

xxxiv.) In the exposition of this article is the following account of the celebration of the Eucharist in the Greek Church :—' As soon as the community of the Lord are assembled, the Psalms are sung to the glory of the Highest; the priest then, after reciting several prayers from Scripture, begins, in conformity with the example of Christ, to glorify and thank the heavenly Father, to relate his benefits to mankind, and especially his having sent on earth for our salvation his only begotten Son to die for our sins, thanking God most heartily, in the name of the whole Church, for all these privileges. After this he blesses the holy gifts, invokes the Holy Ghost, partakes himself first of the Holy Eucharist, and then administers it to all the other communicants in both kinds.' In the same exposition the benefits of communicating are thus stated, 'The Holy Eucharist causes our obtaining Christ. Accordingly the communicant becomes spiritually one with Christ, as he himself saith, He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me, and I in him.'

The doctrine of Zwingle is sufficiently plain, though wherein it differed from that of Calvin is not so obvious. According to him the Lord's Supper is the authorised commemoration of the death of Christ, in which the bread and wine are appropriate emblems of his body broken for us and his blood shed for us, suggesting to the devout communicant profitable thoughts of evangelical truth, and so strengthening the divine life within him. Of Calvin's views of the sacrament, Dr. Hill in his 'Theological Lectures' says, 'He (Calvin) thought that the system of Zwinglius did not come up to the force of the expressions used in Scripture, and although he did not approve of the manner in which the Lutherans explain those expressions, it appeared to him that there was a sense in which the full significance of them might be preserved, and a great part of the Lutheran language might continue to be used. As he agreed with Zwinglius in thinking that the bread and wine were the signs of the body and blood of Christ, which were not locally present, he renounced both transubstantiation and consubstantiation. He agreed further with Zwinglius in thinking that the use of these signs, being a memorial of the sacrifice once offered on the cross, was intended to produce a moral effect. But he taught that, to all who remember the death of the Saviour in a proper manner, Christ is by the use of these signs spiritually present—present to their minds; and he considered this spiritual presence as giving a significance that goes far beyond the Socinian sense to the words.'

In this statement of Calvin's doctrine there appears nothing which Zwingle would not readily have acknowledged. If Calvin thought with Zwingle that the body of Christ was not locally present, Zwingle would quite as readily have agreed with Calvin that it was 'spiritually present to the minds' of devout communicants—that is, it was the object of their devout contemplations. It is very true that Calvin sometimes spoke as if he attributed to the emblems of the sacrament a real presence of Christ's body in a more literal sense than Zwingle and Carlostadt, as when he says, 'a spiritual presence may be as real as a corporeal presence.' But the real presence of a body must be a corporeal presence; and if the body be not corporeally present, it is present only spiritually, in which Zwingle would cordially have agreed with

Calvin, although he would not have called it a *real* presence.

As to the coincidence of the opinions of Zwingle with those of the Socinians, while he and they differed so widely respecting the evangelical truth, they could have maintained very little agreement in their interpretation of the emblems by which it is represented. With regard to the benefits derived from devout communion in the Eucharist, the difference between Zwingle and Calvin seems to have been more defined and certain. Zwingle was disposed to regard the sacraments chiefly, if not exclusively, as emblems of evangelical truth; Calvin looked rather to their spiritual influence, by which they wrought as means of grace upon the hearts of devout communicants. With Zwingle they were signs of truth; with Calvin seals of grace. But even here the difference between them has been often exaggerated, especially by Lutheran writers. Thus Mosheim says, 'Zwingle asserted that all Christians without distinction, regenerate or unregenerate, could be partakers of the body and blood of Christ; Calvin confined the privilege to the pious and regenerate alone.' What can these words mean more than an assertion, on the part of Zwingle, that all men could partake of the sacramental emblems, and another assertion on the part of Calvin that only the pious could derive any benefit from the participation? In the two apparent counter-statements there is no real contrariety.

In an interesting article of the late Principal Cunningham, on 'Zwingle and the Doctrine of the Sacraments,' reprinted from the *Brit. and For. Evang. Review*, Oct. 1860, he notices three great general principles which guided Zwingle in the formation of his doctrine of the sacraments. 1st, 'That great care should be taken to avoid anything which may appear to trench upon the grace of God, the meritorious efficacy of Christ's work, and the almighty agency of his Spirit, in bestowing upon men all spiritual blessings.' 2d, 'That whatever external means of grace may have been appointed, and in whatever way those means may operate, God must not be held to be tried or restricted in the communication of spiritual benefits to the use of anything of an external kind, though he has himself appointed and prescribed it.' 3d, 'That the most important matter connected with the subject of the sacraments is the state of mind and heart of the recipient; and that with respect to this the essential thing is, that the state of mind and heart of the recipient should correspond with the outward act which, in participating of the sacrament, he performs.'

Of these several views, it will probably be acknowledged that Presbyterians generally adhere to the doctrine of Calvin; that Congregationalists more generally incline to the views of Zwingle; while in the formularies of the Episcopal churches several expressions may be attributed to the influence of Melancthon and other Lutheran divines.

The remarks which we have made in reference to the nature and design of the Lord's Supper, as they are taught by the words 'This do for the remembrance of me;' will enable us to notice more briefly the part of the evangelists' account which refers to the communion in the cup of wine. 'He took the cup.' Although Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul say, Jesus 'took the cup;' no one of them tells us what liquid it contained. That it contained wine there can be no reasonable

doubt; but whether it was fermented or unfermented, undiluted or mingled with water, has been the subject of frequent controversy. We may with good reason suppose that our Lord took a cup of the wine which was usually drunk at the passover, and that we have no doubt was fermented wine diluted with water. That it was fermented we infer from the frequent references of Jewish authorities to the reason for introducing it at the paschal feast, to cheer and exhilarate the company in remembrance of their possession of the promised land; which exhilaration, we presume, could not be got out of water in which raisins had been steeped, though in later times it has been the Jewish practice to provide unfermented wine. The later practice has arisen from the excessive scrupulosity of the Jews about the presence of leaven in the wine of the passover.

So customary was it for the Jews to 'mingle their cup,' when they 'furnished their table,' that we should expect to find the custom observed at the passover. The rabbinical authorities confirm such expectation, as they give very particular directions about the due proportions of the mingled water and wine. That this was the practice of the early Christians in celebrating the Eucharist, is evident from many citations of the fathers. Thus in the account of Justin we read, 'Bread and a cup of wine and water are brought to the president.' Irenæus speaks of the diluted cup (*temperamentum calicis*), and of the mingled cup (*mistus calix*). Reference is made to the mingled drink (the *κράνα* of the Greeks and *mistum* of the Latins) by Cyprian, Clement of Alexandria, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine, Theodoret, and many other Greek and Latin writers. In the Romish Church, the mingling of wine and water is not only retained, but elevated into a great mystery and symbol of the blood and water which flowed from the wounded side of Jesus. An ancient sect mentioned by Epiphanius used only water, and another milk instead of wine.

'He gave thanks;' as he did before the breaking of the bread.

'He gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it.' In Mark it is said, 'And they all drank of it.' In the Corinthian church the people, even the unworthy communicants, drank of the cup as well as ate of the bread. According to Justin Martyr, distribution was made to all present of the eucharistic bread and wine, after which the deacons carried them to the absent. Reference is so frequently made by the early Christian writers to the communion of 'the cup of the Lord,' 'the cup of life,' 'the cup of blessing,' 'the cup of mixture,' that Romish writers readily admit that in refusing the cup to the laity they have departed from the primitive practice, and they plead the authority of the church to do so on account of its frequent abuse. In the middle ages considerable variety of usage may be observed. At one time the practice prevailed to a considerable extent of dipping the bread in the wine and then giving it to the communicants; at another, of giving the wine without the bread, when infants were allowed to communicate. Before the denial of the cup to the people became the general practice of the Latin church, a usage arose in many places of consecrating two cups of wine, one for the priests, the other for the laity. The cup of the priests represented but too faithfully their arrogant assumption of ex-

clusive honour and privilege in the Church of Christ. The Greek and Eastern Churches strenuously maintain the right of the people to participate in the cup. So strong is the feeling in favour of the communion in both kinds in the East, that the pope has under certain circumstances been induced to concede the cup to the people in the congregations which have been gathered by Romish missionaries in Eastern countries.

'For this is my blood, that of the New Covenant, which is shed for many for the remission of sins,' are the words of Matthew. Mark omits the clause 'for the remission of sins.' According to Luke and Paul, our Lord said, 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood.' As the several writers do not profess to give the precise words of our Lord, who probably spoke in a different language, it is not possible for us to determine the exact formula which was used by him. In reply to an objection which has been brought against the literal interpretation of the words, 'This is my blood,' from the parallel passage, 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood,' Cardinal Wiseman very ingeniously says, 'A cup cannot be a covenant, and, therefore, the phrases are not parallel.' It is not said, 'This is the new covenant,' but 'this cup is the new covenant;' but it is said, 'This (not this bread) is my body,' and 'This (not this cup) is my blood.' (See his *Lectures on the Sacrament*.)

Did Jesus himself partake of the bread and wine at the institution of the Eucharist? Romanists strenuously contend that he did not; for if he did, he must, according to their doctrine, have eaten and drunken himself, his whole person, human and divine. This is startling, though it seems to us no more incredible than that he held himself in his own hand, brake himself to pieces, and gave himself, his whole and undivided person, to every one of his disciples separately. As to the inference which has been deduced in favour of this opinion from the words of our Lord, 'I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom;' we do not see how these words can prove that our Lord did not drink of that cup, when the similar words respecting the passover, 'I will not any more eat thereof until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God,' certainly do not prove that Jesus did not eat of that passover.

Matthew and Mark say, 'When they had sung a hymn they went out.' What connection, if any, this singing of a hymn had with the sacramental institution it may not be easy to say, as it is not possible to ascertain how much of the interesting conversation of the evening occurred between the supper and the singing, or between the singing and the going out. The hymn was probably one of the Psalms which constituted the hallelujah of the Paschal service as it was observed by the Jews of the later times. A hymn of praise seems to be an appropriate close of the Eucharistic feast, and in many churches it is sung in imitation of our Lord's example. Among the ancient Christians the singing seems to have preceded the communion service, 'Ye hear the chanter with a sacred tune calling you to the communion of the holy mysteries, and saying, O taste, and see that the Lord is good' (Cyril, *Lect. in Myst.* v. 17). The thirty-fourth Psalm is prescribed in the Apostolic Constitutions, but other Psalms were sung in different churches. Appropriate as is the song of praise, we cannot but feel

how strange is the desecration of this solemn rite, when it is converted into a musical service, as it often is by the Latin and Greek church, in honour of some event of national interest, as a royal marriage, a signal victory, or a successful revolution.

Of the names of this institution we may observe that it is called in Scripture 'the breaking of bread,' as well as the Lord's Supper (Acts ii. 42). If not Scriptural, yet very early names of the service were, 'the Communion,' and 'the Eucharist.' The former may claim apostolic sanction. 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ' (1 Cor. x. 16)? The latter is appropriate, as it is especially a thanksgiving service. At the institution, Jesus 'gave thanks' over both the bread and the wine. Justin Martyr calls the bread and wine 'Eucharistic food,' and the early Christians named the whole service the Eucharist or thanksgiving, and occasionally the Eulogia or blessing.

As to the time and frequency of the observance, it was daily observed by the first Christians, as it is now every morning in the Catholic churches. Some Christians observe it regularly on the first day of the week, and contend that they follow the practice of the apostolic churches, who 'came together' on 'the first day of the week' 'to break bread.' This was the custom of Christians in the time of Pliny, when they assembled for the purpose in the early morning of Sunday. Some scrupulously communicate on the great church festivals, especially at Christmas and Easter. No good Catholics, except *in extremis*, commune on Good Friday. Some foreign Protestants solemnise, by its observance, the most interesting events of domestic and social life, as on coming of age, marriage, and the birth of a child. Many assert that Christian churches are left to regulate, on considerations of expediency and mutual improvement, the time and frequency of observing the communion, for '*as often*,' whether it be once a week, or once a month, or once a year, as they 'eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, they shew the Lord's death until he come.'

Some few Christians, generally, though not always, belonging to the Society of Friends, deny the obligation of the continued observance of the Lord's Supper. They do so, asserting that under the gospel all ritual observances are abolished, and that, without ceremonial or emblem, God is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth. To account for 'the breaking of bread' in the apostolic churches, it is sometimes said, that like the continued practice of circumcision for a time, and the distinction of certain meats, it was a temporary concession to Jewish prejudice. (See a pamphlet entitled, *The Eucharist not an Ordinance of the Christian Church*.) But the reply is obvious. Circumcision and the distinction of meats belonged to Judaism, and therefore for some time were conceded to Jewish Christians, but the Lord's Supper was no part of the Jewish ritual, but a new institute peculiarly Christian in its nature and design. Another explanation is offered by J. J. Gurney, in his *Observations on the Peculiarities of the Society of Friends*, p. 126, 'Our Lord's injunction may be understood as intended to give a religious direction to the more common social repasts of his disciples.' In reply, it is said, The Lord's Supper was not a common social repast: the disciples *came together*

to break bread; the hungry were to eat at home, for they had houses to eat and drink in; they were to tarry for one another.

With regard to the Christian profession and character of the communicants, we shall only say, 'Whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord' (1 Cor. xi. 29).

As Justin speaks of a contribution made on the occasion for the poor and destitute, so in many churches there is connected with the service an offertory or collection for the poor, the distribution of which is intrusted to the minister, elders, deacons, or other officers of the church.—R. H.

LOT (לֹט, a covering; Sept. Λῳτ), son of Haran and nephew of Abraham, who by the early death of his father had already come into possession of his property when Abraham went into the land of Canaan (Gen. xi. 31). Their united substance, consisting chiefly in cattle, was not then too large to prevent them from living together in one encampment. Eventually, however, their possessions were so greatly increased, that they were obliged to separate; and Abraham with rare generosity conceded the choice of pasture-grounds to his nephew. Lot availed himself of this liberality of his uncle, as he deemed most for his own advantage, by fixing his abode at Sodom, that his flocks might pasture in and around that fertile and well-watered neighbourhood (Gen. xiii. 5-13). He had soon very great reason to regret this choice; for although his flocks fed well, his soul was starved in that vile place, the inhabitants of which were sinners before the Lord exceedingly. There 'he vexed his righteous soul from day to day with the filthy conversation of the wicked' (2 Pet. ii. 7).

About eight years after his separation from Abraham (B.C. 1913), Lot was carried away prisoner by Chedorlaomer, along with the other inhabitants of Sodom, and was rescued and brought back by Abraham (Gen. xiv.), as related under other heads [ABRAHAM; CHEDORLAOMER]. This exploit procured for Abraham much celebrity in Canaan; and it ought to have procured for Lot respect and gratitude from the people of Sodom, who had been delivered from hard slavery and restored to their homes on his account. But this does not appear to have been the result.

At length the guilt of 'the cities of the plain' brought down the signal judgments of Heaven. The avenging angels, after having been entertained by Abraham, repaired to Sodom, where they were received and entertained by Lot, who was sitting in the gate of the town when they arrived. While they were at supper the house was beset by a number of men, who demanded that the strangers should be given up to them, for the unnatural purposes which have given a name of infamy to Sodom in all generations. Lot resisted this demand, and was loaded with abuse by the vile fellows outside on that account. They had nearly forced the door, when the angels, thus awfully by their own experience convinced of the righteousness of the doom they came to execute, smote them with instant blindness, by which their attempts were rendered abortive, and they were constrained to disperse. Towards morning the angels apprised Lot of the doom which hung over the place, and urged him to hasten thence with his family. He was allowed to extend the benefit of this deliver-

ance to the families of his daughters who had married in Sodom; but the warning was received by those families with incredulity and insult, and he therefore left Sodom accompanied only by his wife and two daughters. As they went, being hastened by the angels, the wife, anxious for, those who had been left behind, or reluctant to remove from the place which had been long her home, and where much valuable property was necessarily left behind, lingered behind the rest, and was suddenly involved in the destruction, by which—smothered and stiffened as she stood by saline incrustations—she became ‘a pillar of salt.’

Lot and his daughters then hastened on to Zoar, the smallest of the five cities of the plain, which had been spared on purpose to afford him a refuge; but being fearful, after what had passed, to remain among a people so corrupted, he soon retired to a cavern in the neighbouring mountains, and there abode. After some stay in this place, the daughters of Lot became apprehensive lest the family of their father should be lost for want of descendants, than which no greater calamity was known or apprehended in those times; and in the belief that, after what had passed in Sodom, there was no hope of their obtaining suitable husbands, they, by a contrivance which has in it the taint of Sodom, in which they were brought up, made their father drunk with wine, and in that state seduced him into an act which, as they well knew, would in soberness have been most abhorrent to him. They thus became the mothers, and he the father, of two sons, named Moab and Ammon, from whom sprung the Moabites and Ammonites, so often mentioned in the Hebrew history (Gen. xix.) This circumstance is the last which the Scripture records of the history of Lot; and the time and place of his death are unknown.

The difficulties which the narrative that we have sketched has been supposed to involve may be reduced to two—the death of Lot's wife, and the conduct of his daughters. With respect to the former of these, whatever difficulty has been connected with the subject has arisen from the ridiculous notions which have been connected with it, for which no authority is found in the Scriptural narrative. It has been supposed that the woman was literally turned into a pillar of salt, and that this pillar stood for many ages, if it does not still exist, as a standing monument of the transaction. Indeed, sundry old travellers have averred that they had seen it; and no doubt they did see something which they supposed to be the pillar into which Lot's wife was turned, or were told to be such. This notion originated with the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, which was regarded by the Roman Catholics as Scriptural authority that might not be disputed. Therefore old pilgrims and travellers sought for this monument; and, from their example, more modern travellers have done the same: although, if Protestants, they could attach no particular weight to the authority which alone justified their predecessors in their hopes of finding it. The passage referred to is that in which the author, after alluding to the punishment of Sodom and the denunciation of Lot, adverts to the existing evidence of the same, and then adds, somewhat vaguely, ἀρισφύχης μνημείον ἐστὶν κίονα στήλην ἄλως, ‘a pillar of salt is a monument of an unbeliever.’ This was no doubt the authority upon which, indeed, we find it expressly quoted

by some old travellers as the ground of their expectation. But the testimony of Josephus is still more explicit, and with us would be quite as authoritative. He expressly says not only that the monument existed, but that he had seen it (*Antiq.* i. 11. 4). His contemporary, Clement of Rome, makes a similar statement (*Epist.* i. sec. 11); and so, in the next century, does Irenæus (iv. 51, 64). But their evidence is of little original value on a point like this. Josephus and the author of Wisdom no doubt believed what they stated: and their testimony amounts to this, that in their day an object existed which was said to be the pillar into which Lot's wife was turned, and which they believed to be such. But in the present day, when the sources of historical evidence are more carefully investigated than in former times, we regard these authorities, 2000 years after the event, as having no particular weight, unless so far as they may be supported by anterior probabilities and documents, which in this case do not exist. Further, it is all but impossible that if so strange a monument had existed on the borders of the Dead Sea, it should not have been noticed by the sacred historians, and alluded to by the poets: and we may be almost certain that if it had remained when the book of Genesis was written, the frequent formula, that it was there ‘unto this day,’ would not have been omitted. Indeed there is every probability that, if such a monument had then existed, the Canaanites would have made it one of their idols. The expression of our Lord, ‘Remember Lot's wife’ (Luke xvii. 32), appears from the context to be solely intended as an illustration of the danger of going back or delaying in the day of God's judgments. From this text, indeed, it would appear as if Lot's wife had gone back, or had tarried so long behind, in the desire of saving some of their property. Then, as it would seem, she was struck dead, and became a stiffened corpse, fixed for the time to the soil by saline or bituminous incrustations. The particle of similitude must here, as in many other passages of Scripture, be understood—‘like a pillar of salt.’

With respect to Lot's daughters, Whiston and others are unable to see any wicked intention in them. He admits that the incest was a horrid crime, except under the unavoidable necessity which apparently rendered it the only means of preserving the human race: and this justifying necessity he holds to have existed in their minds, as they appear to have believed that all the inhabitants of the land had been destroyed except their father and themselves. But it is incredible that they could have entertained any such belief. The city of Zoar had been spared, and they had been there. The wine also with which they made their father drunk must have been procured from men, as we cannot suppose they had brought it with them from Sodom. The fact would therefore seem to be that, after the fate of their sisters, who had married men of Sodom and perished with them, they became alive to the danger and impropriety of marrying with the natives of the land, and of the importance of preserving the family connection. The force of this consideration was afterwards seen in Abraham's sending to the seat of his family in Mesopotamia for a wife to Isaac. But Lot's daughters could not go there to seek husbands; and the only branch of their own family within many hundred miles was that of Abraham, whose

only son, Ishmael, was then a child. This, therefore, must have appeared to them the only practicable mode in which the house of their father could be preserved. Their making their father drunk, and their solicitous concealment of what they did from him, shew that they despaired of persuading him to an act which, under any circumstances, and with every possible extenuation, must have been very distressing to so good a man. That he was a good man is evinced by his deliverance from among the guilty, and is affirmed by St. Peter (2 Pet. ii. 7); his preservation is alluded to by our Saviour (Luke xvii. 28, etc.); and in Deut. ii. 9, 19, and Ps. lxxxiii. 8, his name is used to designate the Moabites and Ammonites, his descendants.—J. K.

LOT (לֹט, sometimes written לוֹט) is mentioned in two passages of Scripture, in both of which it is erroneously translated *myrrh* in the A. V. In Gen. xxxvii. 25, 'Behold a company of Ishmeelites came from Gilead, with their camels bearing spicery (*neoth*), and balm (*tseri*), and *myrrh* (*lot*), going to carry it down to Egypt.' Again, in chap. xliii. 11, Jacob directs his sons to take into Egypt 'of the best fruits in the land in your vessels, and carry down the man a present, a little balm (*tseri*) and a little honey, spices (*neoth*) and *myrrh* (*lot*), nuts (*botnim*) and almonds (*shakadim*). In this enumeration, in one case, of merchandise, and in the other, of several articles intended for a present, and both destined for Egypt, at that time a highly civilized nation, it is evident that we are to look only for such substances as were likely to be acceptable in that country, and therefore not such as were produced there, or as were more easily procurable from elsewhere than from Syria, as was the case with *myrrh*, which was never produced in Syria, and could not have been an article of export from thence. This difficulty has been felt by others, and various translations of *lot* have been proposed, as *lotus*, chestnuts, mastiche, stacte, balsam, turpentine, pistachio nuts. Junius and Tremellius render it *ladanum*, which is suitable, and appears to be correct.

Ladanum, or *gum ladanum*, as it is often called, was known to the Greeks as early as the times of Herodotus and Theophrastus, and bore the names of *ladon* and *ladanon*, which are very closely allied to *ladun*, the Arabic name of the same drug. It has been well observed by Rosenmüller that the proper root and origin of these names is *lad*, but that the Hebrew has the hard consonant *t* instead of the softer *d*, of which letters many permutations are to be found in these, as well as in other languages. A Hebrew author, as quoted by Celsius (*Hierobot.* i. p. 281), says, 'Est aroma, ex succo arboris cujusdam proveniens.' *Ladanum* is described by Herodotus as particularly fragrant, though gathered from the beards of goats, where it is found sticking. This is explained by referring to the description of Dioscorides, from which we learn that goats, after browsing upon the leaves of the *ladanum* plants, necessarily have this viscid substance adhering to their hair and beards, whence it is afterwards scraped off. Tournefort, in modern times, has given a detailed description of the mode of obtaining *ladanum*, and relates that it is now gathered by means of a kind of rake with whip-like thongs, which is passed over the plants. When these thongs are loaded with the odoriferous

and sticky resin, they are scraped with a knife, and the substance rolled into a mass, in which state it is called *ladanum* or *labdanum*. It consists of resin and volatile oil, and is highly fragrant, and stimulant as a medicine, but is often



343. Ladanum Cistus.

adulterated with sand in commerce. The *ladanum* which is used in Europe is collected chiefly in the Greek isles, and also in continental Greece. It is yielded by species of the genus *Cistus* (especially by *C. creticus*), which are known in this country by the name of Rock Rose. They are natives of the south of Europe, the Mediterranean islands, and the north of Africa. Species are also found in Judæa; and *C. creticus* in some parts of Syria. Some authors have been of opinion that one species, the *Cistus roseus*, is more likely than any other to be the Rose of Sharon, as it is very common in that locality, while nothing like a true rose is to be found there. *Ladanum* seems to have been produced in Judæa, according to writers in the Talmud (Cels. *loc. cit.* p. 286). It is said by Pliny, as long before by Herodotus, to be a produce of Arabia, though this has not been proved to be the case in modern times. Sufficient, however, has been adduced to show that *ladanum* was known to, and esteemed by, the ancients, and as its Greek and Arabic names are similar to the Hebrew, and as it is stated to have been a produce of Syria, it was very likely to have been sent to Egypt both as a present and as merchandise.—J. F. R.

LOTS, FEAST OF. [PURIM.]

LOVE-FEASTS. [AGAPE.]

LÖWE, JOEL B. JEHUDAH LOEB, also called

Bril בְּרִיל from the initials לֹבֵב יְהוּדָה לֹבֵב *Ben R. Jehudah Loeb*, was born about 1740, and died in Breslau, Feb. 11, 1802. He was a distinguished disciple of Moses Mendelssohn, and professor in the William school at Breslau, where he wrote most of his numerous works which are such valuable contributions to Biblical exegesis and literature. Those of his productions which bear on the Bible

are as follows—(1.) A commentary on the Song of Songs with an elaborate introduction, which he wrote conjointly with Wolfsohn to Mendelssohn's German translation of this book, Berlin 1788, republished in Prague 1803, Lemberg 1817. (2.) Annotations on Ecclesiastes, which he wrote conjointly with Wolfsohn, and which were published with Mendelssohn's commentary on this book and Friedländer's German translation, Berlin 1788. (3.) A commentary on the book of Jonah, with a German translation, Berlin 1788. (4.) A commentary on the Psalms, with an extensive introduction (זמירות)

(ישראל עם באור), in which he gives an elaborate treatise on the musical instruments of the ancient Hebrews as well as on Hebrew poetry, and which was published with Mendelssohn's German translation of this book, Berlin 1785-91. (5.) A German translation and Hebrew commentary on the Sabbatic and Festival Lessons from the Pentateuch and the Prophets [HAPHTARA], Berlin 1790-91. (6.) A literal German translation of the Pentateuch for beginners, preparatory to Mendelssohn's version, Breslau 1818. (7.) A Hebrew grammar,

entitled עמודי הלשון, the Elements of the Hebrew language developed according to logical principles, a Handbook for teachers, Berlin 1794, republished in Prague 1803. He also wrote a number of articles on Biblical subjects, both in Hebrew and German, which are published in various quarterlies, and of which the following are the most important—*a.* Notes on Joshua and the Song of Songs, in Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek*, vol. ii., Leipzig 1789, p. 183, ff. *b.* A treatise on Personification of the Deity and the Sephiroth, *ibid.*, vol. v., Leipzig 1793, p. 378, ff. Comp. Fürst, *Bibliotheca Hebraica*, ii. 268; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodliana*, col. 1627, ff.—C. D. G.

LOWTH, ROBERT, was born at Boriton, or, as some will have it, in the Close of Winchester, November 27, 1710. He was educated on the foundation of Winchester College, where he displayed his poetical talent at a very early age, and from whence he was elected to a scholarship at New College in 1730, and took his degree of M.A. in 1737. He became professor of poetry in 1741, was presented to the rectory of Ovington in Hampshire in 1744, was appointed to the archdeaconry of Winchester in 1750, and to the rectory of East-Woodhay in Hampshire in 1753. It was in this year that Lowth published his famous *Prælectiones Academicae de Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum*, Oxon. 1753, comprising thirty-four lectures, which he had previously read to the students at Oxford when poetical professor. In these masterly and classical dissertations he not only evinces a deep knowledge of the Hebrew language, but philosophically exhibits the true spirit and characteristics of that poetry in which the prophets of the O. T. clothed the lively oracles of God. It does not at all detract from Lowth's merits that both Abravanel and Azariah de Rossi had pointed out, two centuries before him, the same features of Hebrew poetry [ROSSI] upon which he expatiates, inasmuch as the enlarged views and the invincible arguments displayed in his handling of the subject are peculiarly his own; and his work is therefore justly regarded as marking a new epoch in the treatment of the Hebrew poetry. The greatest testimony to the extraordinary merits of these lectures is the

thorough analysis which the celebrated philosopher Mendelssohn, to whom the Hebrew was almost vernacular, gives of them in the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, vol. i., 1756. A second edition, enlarged with annotations by Michaelis, appeared in Göttingen, 1758. Other editions were published in Oxford 1763, Göttingen 1768, Oxford 1775, 1810; with notes by Rosenmüller, Leipzig 1815, Oxford 1821. An English translation of the first eighteen lectures, by Dr. Dodd, appeared in the *Christian Magazine* for 1766-67, and an excellent version of the whole by Dr. Gregory was published in London 1787, 1816, 1835, 1839, 1847. So rapidly did the fame of this work spread over Europe, that it was translated into German by Schmidt, Danzig 1793; and into French by Sicard, Lyon 1812. Twelve months after the appearance of the *Prælectiones* the University of Oxford conferred upon their author the degree of doctor of divinity. Lowth subjoined to the *Prælectiones* *A short Confutation of Bishop Hare's System of Hebrew Metre*, which had appeared in a new edition of the Psalms by Bishop Hare (1736), and was afterwards translated into English in 1755. The Harian metre was, however, defended by Dr. Edwards, both in his *Prolegomena in Libros Veteris Testamenti Poeticos*, 1762, and in a Latin epistle, 1765. To this Lowth replied the following year in a pamphlet addressed to Dr. Edwards, entitled *A larger Confutation of Bishop Hare's System of Hebrew Metre*, London 1766, reprinted in his *Memoir and Remains*, by the Rev. Peter Hall, London 1834, which is also a very important contribution to Biblical Literature. The same year (1766) he was promoted in June to the see of St. David's; was translated about four months after to that of Oxford, and thence to the see of London in 1777. He had hardly been twelve months in the metropolis when he published his last and greatest work, entitled *Isaiah; a new Translation with a Preliminary Dissertation, and Notes, Critical, Philological, and Explanatory*, in which he aimed 'not only to give an exact and faithful representation of the words and sense of the prophet by adhering closely to the letter of the text, and treading as nearly as may be in his footsteps; but, moreover, to imitate the air and manner of the author, to express the form and fashion of the composition, and to give the English reader some notion of the peculiar turn and cast of the original.' In the elaborate and valuable Preliminary Dissertation where Lowth states this, he enters more minutely than in his former production into the form and construction of the poetical compositions of the O. T., lays down principles of criticism for the improvement of all subsequent translations, and frankly alludes to De Rossi's view of Hebrew poetry, which is similar to his own [ROSSI]. This masterly work soon obtained an European fame, and was not only rapidly reprinted in England, but was translated into German by Professor Koppe, who added some valuable notes to it, Göttingen 1779-81, 4 vols. 8vo. But notwithstanding the great merits of his truly classical and erudite contributions to Biblical literature, it must be said that Lowth indulged too freely in conjectural emendations, that he often proceeded very rashly and unwarrantably with the sacred text, and that if succeeding commentators had followed his example in this respect, and taken similar liberties with the

respective volumes of the O. T., we should now have had a different Bible. Lowth died November 3, 1787, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, full of years and full of honours. Comp. *The Introductory Memoir to the Sermons and other Remains of Bishop Lowth*, by the Rev. Peter Hall, M.A., London 1834.—C. D. G.

LOWTH, WILLIAM, D.D., was born in London in 1661. He was educated at Merchant Taylors' School, whence he was elected to a scholarship at St. John's College, Oxford, in 1675, before he had completed his fourteenth year. He became M.A. in 1683, and B.D. in 1688. His first publication was a *Vindication of the Divine authority of the O. and N. T.*, Lond. 1692, in answer to Le Clerc's attacks on the inspiration of Scripture. This brought him to the notice of Bishop Mew of Winchester, who made him his chaplain, and presented him with a prebendal stall at Winchester in 1696, and the living of Buriton with Petersfield in 1699, which preferments he held till his death in 1732. He was less eminent than his son, the Bishop of London, but he was believed to have been the profounder scholar; though such was his modesty that it is rather from his contributions to the works of others than from his own that the extent and depth of his reading are to be estimated. He had carefully read and annotated upon almost every Greek and Latin author, whether profane or ecclesiastical, and he dispensed his stores with a most liberal hand. The edition of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, by Dr. (afterwards Archbishop) Potter; that of *Josephus*, by Hudson; and the *Ecclesiastical Historians*, by Reading, were enriched with valuable notes from his pen, and many other scholars were indebted to his labours for important aid. In addition to the *Vindication*, of which a second edition appeared in 1699, with an admirable dissertation on the objections against the Pentateuch then current, Lowth published in 1708 *Directions for the profitable reading of Holy Scripture*, an excellent little work which has gone through many editions. The work with which his name is chiefly connected is his *Commentary on the Prophets*, originally published in separate portions, between 1714 and 1725, and afterwards collected in a folio volume as a continuation of Bishop Patrick's commentary on the earlier portion of the O. T., in which form it has been frequently reprinted, together with Whitby, Arnald, and Lowman on the N. T. The merits of his commentary were never very great, and it has been long since entirely superseded. Its tone is pious but cold, and he entirely fails to grasp the high spiritual and poetical character of the prophetic writings. Besides, his knowledge of Hebrew was far too small for such a work, his critical discernment was feeble, and in his zeal for Messianic interpretations he too often neglects the first historical sense of a passage. His method of unfolding the meaning of a passage, however, is simple, direct, and brief; and his interpretations, if not always satisfactory, and often shallow, have the merit of being uniformly intelligible, and characterised by good sense.—E. V.

LUBIM, LUBIMS, and in Dan. xi. 43 LIBYANS (לִיבִים; but in Dan. לִיבִים; *Libues; Libyes, Libya*); in the N. T. LIBYA (Λιβύη). When, during the reign of Rehoboam, Shishak king of Egypt invaded

Judah, he was accompanied by 'the *Lubims*, the Sukkims, and the Ethiopians' (2 Chron. xii. 3); and in all the other passages in which the Lubim are mentioned, they appear as the allies or companions in war of the Ethiopians (*Cushim*) and Egyptians (2 Chron. xvi. 8; Dan. xi. 43; Nahum iii. 9). From these circumstances, and from the radical identity in name, we infer that they were the inhabitants of the great province of Libya in northern Africa, and that they were identical with the Lehabim who sprung from Mizraim (Gen. x. 13; see LEHABIM).

Originally the Lubims appear to have been dependent on, or under the command of, the Mizraim (Egyptians). In fact, they were just a tribe or family of Mizraim, who, for the sake of distinction, took the name of their more immediate progenitor, and settled down in a district of their own. They appeared to have multiplied with amazing rapidity, and to have early become a powerful nation. Less civilized than the Egyptians, more addicted to the arts of war than peace, being, besides, mainly a pastoral people, they roamed far and wide over the arid plains of northern Africa, and gave their name to a region supposed by ancient geographers to extend from the banks of the Nile to the Atlantic, and from the shores of the Mediterranean to the equator.

Early geographers employed the name *Libya* in a somewhat vague sense. Sometimes they make it include all Africa; sometimes all except Egypt; and sometimes that region which lies immediately on the west side of Egypt. The truth seems to be that the Greeks were best acquainted with two African nations—the Egyptians and the Libyans. The boundaries of Egypt were known to them, and they gave the name *Libya* vaguely to the rest of the continent, just as they called the whole of southern Syria Palestine from the Philistines (Homer, *Od. iv. 87, seq.*; cf. Strabo, book i. generally). Herodotus was the first to give definite information about *Libya*. He applied the name to all Africa, except Egypt. 'As for *Libya*, we know it to be washed on all sides by the sea, except where it is attached to Asia;' and he then tells the manner in which Phœnician mariners sailed round the continent from the Red Sea to the mouth of the Nile (iv. 41, 42). He describes the vast deserts of the interior (ii. 32), and the nomad and warlike character of the people (iv. 182, *seq.*). He classes the Ethiopians and Libyans together, as the sacred writers do (iv. 197). The accounts of Strabo and Ptolemy agree in the main with Herodotus (Strabo, i.; Ptolemy, iv. 4). The physical geography of *Libya* is remarkable. The country consists of two great belts (Herodotus says *thre*, iv. 181): 1. A belt of *desert* running across the whole interior, from east to west, appropriately called *Sāhāra*, 'the Desert.' It is covered with loose shifting sand, or dry gravelly soil; it is without water; its pastures are very scanty; in some places for scores of miles there is not a blade of grass. But here and there it is dotted with little tracts of fertile ground, green with herbs and trees (Bruce, *Travels*; Burckhardt, *Nubia*). This vast and dreary region, with the mountain-ranges along portions of its northern and southern borders, was the home of the warlike and nomad Lubim, as it still is of numerous and powerful Arab tribes. 2. A belt of cultivated ground, in some places narrow, in others stretching far into the interior. At favourable positions along the

coast, the Greeks and Phoenicians formed settlements at a very early period. The most celebrated of these colonies was *Cyrene*, founded by Greeks about 600 years B.C. A large province was in time attached to the city, and took its name [CYRENE]. To this province those belonged who were present at the miraculous gift of tongues on the day of Pentecost, and who are correctly described by Luke as 'dwellers in the parts of Libya about Cyrene' (Acts ii. 10). For full accounts of Libya, see Ritter, *Africa*; Mannert, *Geographie*; Heeren, *African Nations*; Smith, *Dict. of G. and R. Geog.*, s. v.; and the works cited above.—J. L. P.

LUCAS. [LUKE.]

LUCAS, FRANCISCUS (BRUGENSIS), one of the ablest of the Roman Catholic commentators, was born at Bruges in 1549. He studied under Arias Montanus, was a licentiate of theology of Louvain, and Dean of St. Omers, and died at the age of seventy, Feb. 19, 1619. He was celebrated for his knowledge of the sacred languages, and their cognate dialects; and was appointed to superintend the edition of the *Biblia Regia*, brought out by Plantin, the famous printer of Antwerp, under the auspices of Philip II. of Spain. The work by which he is principally known is his *Commentarius in Quatuor Evangelia*, Antw. 1606, which was completed by *Supplementum Commentar. in Luc. et Joann.*, Antw. 1612, 1616. The commentary is preceded by a harmony of the gospels under the title of *Itinerarium J. Ch.*, and has appended to it a dissertation on the Chaldee paraphrase. This work originated in his compliance with a request of Plantin that Lucas would compile *Scholia* on the N. T. similar to those of Vatablus on the O. T. The work grew on his hands and became a commentary, and one of no ordinary merit. Entirely passing by, or alluding in the briefest manner to the mystical sense, and omitting all doctrinal discussions, he explains clearly and concisely the literal meaning, illustrating it frequently from the Greek and Latin fathers, as well as from later writers of authority, though never burdening his pages with lists of conflicting authorities. His plan is a simple one, and judiciously carried out. He chooses one sense, and that the one which the sacred writer appeared to have had in view, and briefly expounds and illustrates that, never distracting his readers with varying interpretations only mentioned to be rejected. Lucas had no mean critical ability, and his knowledge of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac, was exact and trustworthy. A truly devotional spirit breathes through the whole. He was also the compiler of *Notationes in Sac. Bibl.*, Amst. 1581, with a careful summary of the various readings, which were also appended to the edition of the Vulgate that appeared from the press of Plantin with Emman. Sa's notes, Antw. 1624, under the title *Fr. Luca, Roman. correct. in Bibl. Latin. loc. insigniora*. He also produced a *Concordance of the Vulgate*, corrected and augmented by Herbert Phalesius and Benedict of Afflighem, Antw. 1606 (best edition, Antw. 1642).—E. V.

LUCIFER (הַיֵּל; Sept. ὁ Ἑωσφόρος), a word that occurs once in the English Version in the lines—

'How art thou fallen from heaven,
Lucifer, son of the morning!

How art thou felled to the ground,
That didst weaken the nations!'

(Is. xiv. 12). It is taken from the Vulgate, which understood the Hebrew word הַיֵּל *hayel*, to be the name of the morning star, and therefore rendered it by the Latin name of that star, *Lucifer*, i. e. 'light-bringing.' This, the popular sense, is conveyed in the note in Barker's Bible: 'Thou that thoughtest thyself most glorious, and as it were placed in the heaven; for the morning starre that goeth before the sunne is called Lucifer, to which Nebuchadnezzar is compared.'

הַיֵּל *hayel*, the word translated 'Lucifer,' however, occurs also in Ezek. xxi. 12 (Heb. 17), as the imperative of הָלַל *halal*, 'to howl,' 'to lament,' and is there rendered 'howl.' Some take it in the same acceptance in the above passage, and would translate, 'Howl, son of the morning!' But to this the structure of the verse is entirely opposed; for the parallelism requires the second line to refer entirely to the condition of the star before it had fallen, as the parallel member—the fourth line—does to the state of the tree before it was cut down. This necessity is apparent even in the English version, where the word 'lament,' in the place which 'Lucifer' occupies, would not agree with the context, nor make good sense, or indeed, any sense. Any imperative interjected would spoil the beauty and impair the force of the language. It is from this consideration that we must concur with those who refer the source of the word not to הַיֵּל *hayel*, but to הָלַל *halal*, 'to shine,' and regard it as a verbal noun designed to be intensive in its signification. 'Hence it would mean 'brilliant,' 'splendid,' 'illustrious,' or, as in the Septuagint, Vulgate, the Rabbinical commentators, Luther, and others, 'brilliant star;' and if הַיֵּל, in this sense, was the proper name among the Hebrews of the morning star, then 'Lucifer' is not only a correct but beautiful interpretation, both as regards the sense and the application. And that it was such is probable from the fact that the proper name of the morning star is formed by a word or words expressive of brilliance, in the Arabic and Syriac, as well as in the Greek and Latin. Tertullian and Gregory the Great understood this passage of Isaiah in reference to the fall of Satan; in consequence of which the name Lucifer has since been applied to Satan; and this is now the usual acceptance of the word. But Dr. Henderson, who in his *Isaiah* renders the line, 'Illustrious son of the morning!' justly remarks in his annotation: 'The application of this passage to Satan, and to the fall of the apostate angels, is one of those gross perversions of Sacred Writ which so extensively obtain, and which are to be traced to a proneness to seek for more in any given passage than it really contains, a disposition to be influenced by sound rather than sense, and an implicit faith in received interpretations. "Quum," says Calvin, "temere arripiuntur Scripturæ loci, nec attenditur contextus, hos errores passim oboriri mirum non est"' (*Comment. in loc.*) The scope and connection shew that none but the king of Babylon is meant. In the figurative language of the Hebrews, כֹּכַב, *a star*, signifies an illustrious king or prince (Num. xxiv. 17; comp. Rev. ii. 28; xxii. 16). The monarch here referred to having surpassed all

other kings in royal splendour, is compared to the harbinger of day, whose brilliancy surpasses that of the surrounding stars. Falling from heaven denotes a sudden political overthrow—a removal from the position of high and conspicuous dignity formerly occupied (comp. Rev. vi. 13; viii. 10).—J. K.

LUCIUS. I. (LXX. Λεύκιος; Ald. Λούκιος; Vulg. *Lucius*), a Roman consul (ῥωμῶν συνέτακτος), who is recorded as having written a letter to King Ptolemee (Euergetes II., Physcon), in which the old friendship and league was to be renewed with Simon, and the protection of the Romans accorded to him (*cir.* B.C. 139-138; 1 Maccab. xv. 10, 16-21). Letters of the same purport were also written by Lucius to other kings and to several nations (1 Maccab. xv. 22-24). Though the letter cannot be altogether rejected as spurious, there are many circumstances connected with it which lay it open to suspicion, and it is probable that it is not a true copy of the original document. The Romans never wrote their letters in the name of *one* consul, but in the name of the senate, nor was a consul ever designated by his *praenomen*. The date is also wanting, and the whole tenor of the language and the gist of the letter is contrary to the laws of the time (cf. Wernsdorff, *De fid. libr. Maccab.*, sec. cxix.). In the account of Simon by Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 6. 7; 7. 1-4) no mention is made of this letter, though there is a decree of the senate very similar in its contents, made on the motion of a *Lucius* Valerius during the reign of Hyrcanus II. (*Antiq.* xiv. 8. 5). There is evidently a mistake in this latter passage of Josephus, for the decree should have spoken about the restoration of Jerusalem (cf. the decree, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 5). It has been supposed (Hudson, Joseph. *l. c.*) that Josephus has confused the names of the two Hyrcani, and that the decree should apply to the first, though, if an error be allowed, there seems no reason to doubt, as Mr. Westcott (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. *Lucius*) already observes, that Josephus must have removed the incident from its proper place.

Lucius has been identified with three distinct personages; (1.) L. [Lucius] Junius Philus (not P. [Publius] Junius Philus, as given in Clinton, *F. II.*, vol. iii. p. 112, from Cassiod. and Cic. *ad Att.* xii. 5. 3; cf. Obsequ. 25, and Sigonius, *Comment. in Fast.* p. 199), who was consul in B.C. 136 with Sex. Atilius Serranus. This date is too late. (2.) Lucius Cæcilius Metellus Calvus, who was consul in B.C. 142, with Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus. This was immediately after the accession of Simon, and as the Romans then renewed the league which they had made with Judas and Jonathan (1 Maccab. xiv. 18, 19), there may be a connection between this decree and the later embassy of Numenius (1 Maccab. xiv. 24; xv. 18). (3.) Cn. or L. Calpurnius Piso, who was consul in B.C. 139 with M. Popilius Lænas. This identification is in all probability correct, as the date exactly corresponds. There is, however, a difficulty about the praenomen of Calpurnius Piso. Cassiodorus (*Chron.*), as edited, gives *Cn.* Piso, whilst the *Fasti Capitolini*, which are defective, only record the name of Popilius, the fellow-consul of Calpurnius. Valerius Maximus (lib. i. 3), as quoted from the best (?) printed texts, also gives the same praenomen. This latter quotation is incorrect, as the passage in which the name of these consuls appears, seems not to be

part of Valerius Maximus, but a portion of the abridgment of an epitomizer, which has been inserted in the text. This portion of the first book of Valerius Maximus, extending from cap. 1 to cap. 5, 'Milesia Ceres—suffecturam urbem,' was first inserted in the text by Aldus (ed. Ven. 1502) from a very ancient MS. of Valerius Maximus (*Valerium antiquissimum*, Ald. Præf.) at Vienna,* and not as Mai (*Script. Vet. Nova Coll.*, vol. iii., Præf. p. xxi.) supposes, from a copy of the epitome of Julius Paris now lost. Aldus states that this portion was missing in all the MSS. he had seen in Italy, as appears also to be the case with the majority of MSS. in all the European libraries. Mr. Westcott (*l. c.*) examined eleven MSS. of Valerius, and found only one containing it (Mus. Brit. *Burn.* 209), and the present writer has examined all the MSS. of Valerius in the British Museum (22), and the inserted portion occurs only in two (Mus. Brit. *Burn.* 209, 15th cent.; and *Harl.* 2759, 15th cent.). In the former the name is given as L. [Lucio] Calpurnio (*sic*), and in the latter as Lucio Cabsurino (*sic*). Aldus gave the name as L. [Lucio] Catp., and Mai, in his edition of Julius Paris (*Script. Vet.*, etc., vol. iii. lib. i. 3, 11), also gives the name L. [Lucio]. It has been questioned on good grounds whether this portion is really in the words of Valerius, or has been borrowed from his epitomizer Julius Paris, and the latter opinion seems to be preferable. It is, however, certain, that it must have originally formed part of the text, since it is not only found in the epitome of Paris (end of 4th or beginning of 5th cent.), but also in that of a somewhat later writer, Januarius Nepotianus (6th cent.), but in different words, which affords a sufficient proof that they both abstracted from an earlier prototype (see Kempf's ed. of *Valerius*, 1854, præf., p. 93). Mai, who first published the epitome of Paris, assigns the MS. to the 10th century, but it is doubtless much earlier, since the most ancient MS. existing of Valerius Maximus (the one formerly belonging to P. Daniel, and now in the Public Library at Berne, Kempf, p. 78) can be ascribed to the close of the 9th century; and it is in this MS. that a second hand (but nearly coeval with the original) has supplied the missing portion from the abbreviation of Maximus, whom he names C. Titus (or Titius) Probus—a name, it must be remarked, which occurs in the Vatican MS. published by Mai. There can be little doubt that from this early copy are derived the later transcripts which retain the missing portion. They are not numerous, probably not exceeding eight or nine. It is evident that this lacuna must have occurred, at a very early date, by the carelessness of the transcriber or by accident, and hence it is that the majority of the MSS. in all the European libraries, which are chiefly of the 14th or 15th centuries, omit it.†

* This information was supplied to Aldus by Cuspinian. It is highly probable that the very ancient MS. seen by Cuspinian at Vienna, with the additional portion at the beginning, is the MS. of P. Daniel now at Berne.

† There is a MS. in the British Museum (*Add.* 19, 835), of the 12th century, containing Excerpts of Valerius Maximus, which also omits the portion in question. These Excerpts were probably made by Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, who died in 1027 or 1031 (*Opera omnia*, ed. Car. Le Villiers, Paris 1608).

The reading *Cu.*, as far as I have been able to ascertain, was first introduced into the text by Pighius (8vo, Antw. 1574). It is again repeated in the Frankfort edition of 1601, by Coler, who, whilst copying the text of Pighius, professes to collate it with the MS. of P. Daniel above alluded to. This reading has been followed by Torrenius (4to, Leid. 1726) and Kappius (8vo, Lips. 1782). It appears, however, that Coler omitted to collate the passage in question, for, thanks to the kindness of M. Chs. Ls. de Steigze, the principal librarian of the Public Library at Berne, through whom I have been able to examine the MS. itself, I find that the correct reading is *L. Calpurnio*, as was already given by Aldus in 1502, and it is more than likely that all the MSS. read *Lucius*.^{*} Sigonius (*Comment. in Fast.*, p. 197) has justly said (but incorrectly quoted by Mr. Westcott), 'Cassiodorus in hunc annum prodit consulens Cn. Pisonem cum M. Popillio: M. POPILLIUM [read *m. popillius*, see *Corpus Inscript. Lat. Vet.*, ed. Mommsen 1863, vol. i. p. 438, cf. p. 532] Capitolinum fragmentum: M. Popillium Lenatem Appianus et Epitoma: L. Calpurnium Valerius [read *Julius Paris*] libro primo. . . .'

It is to be regretted that the *Fasti Capitolini* are defective; and the authority of Cassiodorus, whose statements are known to be full of errors, can hardly be held as conclusive against that of the MSS. of Valerius. In any case, the authority of 1 Maccab. might be held as affording another argument in favour of the prænomen of Calpurnius being *Lucius*.—F. W. M.

2. (Λούκιος; *Lucius*), a kinsman (συγγενής) or fellow-countryman of St. Paul, to whom, as to Jason and Sosipater, St. Paul sent salutations (Rom. xvi. 21). The *Apostolical Constitutions* (vii. 46) make the first bishop of Cenchreæ to have been Lucius, and state that he was consecrated by St. Paul himself. Others identify him with Lucius of Cyrene (*q. v.*)—F. W. M.

3. OF CYRENE (Λούκιος ὁ Κυρηναῖος) was a native of the town of Africa from which he takes his name, and which was noted for the number of Jews there resident (cf. Acts ii. 10; vi. 9; xi. 20; Simon the Cyrenian, Matt. xxvii. 32; Mark xv. 21; Luke xxiii. 26; Jason of Cyrene, 2 Maccab. ii. 23). He is first mentioned in the N. T. with Barnabas, Simeon called Niger, Manaen, and Saul, who are entitled 'teachers and prophets in the church of Antioch' (Acts xiii. 1). It is very probable that he was one of the 'men of Cyrene' who 'were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen,' and who, when they had come to Antioch, preached 'the Lord Jesus' (Acts xi. 19, 20). He may also have been among the Cyrenians who assembled together on the day of Pentecost to hear the words of St. Peter (Acts ii.).

There is every reason to suppose that Lucius of Cyrene is the same person as Lucius the συγγενής of St. Paul [LUCIUS, 2]. He must not, however, be confounded with St. Luke (Λουκάς), who, though mentioned three times by St. Paul in his Epistles (Col. iv. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 11; Philem. 24), is nowhere called συγγενής. The name Luke (Lucas)

is an abbreviated form of Lucanus. In the Colossians he is described as 'the beloved physician,' whilst he is designated as 'a fellow-labourer' by St. Paul in his Epistle to Philemon. Wetstein, who believes that Lucius of Cyrene and St. Luke are one and the same person, has ingeniously quoted a passage from Herodotus (iii. 131), in which 'two physicians' are mentioned, and both 'Cyrenians.' Various traditions make Lucius bishop of Cenchreæ (see LUCIUS, 2), of Cyrene, and of Laodicea in Syria (Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, s. v. Lucius).—F. W. M.

LUD (לוד; Λούδ, and Λυδολ; *Lud*, and *Lydiu*), the fourth son of Shem (Gen. x. 22; 1 Chron. i. 17). The names recorded in Gen. x. are intended to denote not simply individuals, but especially those nations which they founded, and to which they gave their names (ver. 31). Lud, therefore, must be regarded as the founder of a nation, like Elam, Asshur, and Aram. Nothing is said of this nation in the writings of Moses. The countries peopled by the other Shemitic nations are indicated with more or less clearness, but the Ludim are omitted. We are fortunately enabled to supply this omission from other sources. Josephus states 'those who are now called *Lydians* (Λυδοί), but anciently *Ludim* (Λούδοι), sprung from Lud' (Λούδα, *Antiq.* i. 6. 4; cf. Bochart, *Opera*, i. 83, and the authorities cited there). Lydia, however, lay on the west coast of Asia Minor, and was thus far removed from the other possessions of the Shemitic nations. Greek writers inform us that Lydia was originally peopled by a Pelasgic race called *Mæonians* (Homer, *Il.* ii. 866; x. 431), who received their name from Mæon, an ancient king (Bochart, *l. c.*) They also state that the name Lybians was derived from a king who ruled them at a later period (Herod. i. 7). About eight centuries B. C. a tribe of another race migrated from the east, and subdued the Mæonians. These were the Lydians. For some time after this conquest both nations are mentioned promiscuously, but the Lydians gradually obtained power, and gave their name to the country (Kalisch *On Gen.* x.; Dionysius, i. 30; Pliny, v. 30; cf. Strabo, xii. 572; xiv. 679). The best and most recent critics regard these Lydians as a Shemitic tribe, and consequently the descendants of Lud (Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, i. 475). This view is strengthened by the description of the character and habits of the Lydians. They were warlike (Herod. i. 79), skilled in horsemanship (*id.*), and accustomed to serve as mercenaries under foreign princes (vii. 71). Now, in Is. lxvi. 19, a warlike people called *Lud* is mentioned in connection with Tarshish and Pul; and again in Ezek. xxvii. 10, the prophet says of Tyre, 'They of Persia, and of *Lud*, and of Phut, were in thine army, thy men of war.' There can scarcely be a doubt that this is the Shemitic nation mentioned in Genesis, and which migrated to western Asia, and gave the province of Lydia its name. The identity has recently been called in question by Professor and Sir Henry Rawlinson, but their arguments do not seem sufficient to set aside the great mass of circumstantial evidence in its favour (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 160, 659, 667; cf. Kalisch, *l. c.*; Prichard, *Physical History of Mankind*, iv. 562, seq.; Niebuhr, *Lectures on Anc. Hist.*, i. 87; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 745).

Originally Lydia was a small province, but it

^{*} Kempf (p. 126, note), though allowing that all the MSS. of Valerius read *Lucius*, supposes that it is an error, and that we should read *Cincus* as in the *Fasti*. What *Fasti*?

extended at length, until, in the time of Croesus, it included all Asia Minor, as far as the river Halys, except Cilicia and Lycia. During the Roman age it was again reduced, and was bounded on the north by Mysia, on the east by Phrygia, and on the south by Caria (Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*; and the authorities quoted there). The province is not mentioned in the N. T., but Paul traversed it, and visited some of its principal cities, as Thyatira, Sardis, and Philadelphia.

This Lud or Lydia must be carefully distinguished from the Hamitic *Lud* or *Ludim*. See next article.—J. L. P.

LUDIM (לודים, Gen. x. 13; לודיים, 1 Chron.

i. 11; Λουδιαι; *Ludim*; לוד, Ezek. xxx. 5; Λυδός, *Lydi*). Of Mizraim, the second son of Ham, we read (Gen. x. 13), that 'he begat *Ludim*, and Ananim, and Lehabim,' etc. These are all in the plural, and denote tribes or nations springing from the several sons (ver. 20). Jeremiah (xvi. 9), in predicting the downfall of Egypt (Mizraim), says, 'Let the mighty men come forth; the Ethiopians (Cush), and the Libyans (Put), and the *Zydians* (לודים, *Ludim*) that handle and bend the bow.' There can be no doubt that this warlike tribe is identical with the Mizraite *Ludim* of Genesis. Again, the prophet Ezekiel thus writes, 'And the sword shall come upon Egypt, . . .

Ethiopia (Cush), and Libya (Phut); and *Lydia* (לוד) the sing. of לודים, . . . shall fall with them by the sword' (xxx. 5). Lydia here should have been translated 'Lud' or 'Ludim,' for the same Mizraite people are unquestionably meant. They are distinct, however, from the Shemitic tribe of Lud mentioned in connection with Tarshish (Is. lxvi. 19), and Persia (Ezek. xxvii. 10), and which are treated of in the preceding article.

The country of *Ludim* has not been satisfactorily identified. Some have supposed that it lay south of Morocco, near the west coast of Africa, because Pliny (v. 1) mentions a river *Laud* in that region (Michaelis, *Spicil.* i. 259, and Suppl. 1417). Borchart attempts to prove that the *Ludim* were the Ethiopians, though it is generally supposed that Cush is the Biblical name of Ethiopia. He argues the point at great length, and displays both learning and ingenuity. But his arguments scarcely bear searching criticism. They are more ingenious than convincing (*Opera*, i. 263-274). Hitzig would identify the *Ludim* and the Libyans, which is still more improbable (*Der Proph. Jesaja*, lxvi. 19; and *Jeremia* xvi. 9). It seems that the *Ludim* were a tribe of Egyptians forming part of that great nation, though perhaps concentrated in some one section of the country, and retaining to some extent a distinct name, and certain distinctive peculiarities in laws and mode of life, like the Maronites or Druzes in modern Syria. This seems to be indicated in Jer. xvi. 9 and Ezek. xxx. 5, where the *Ludim* are included in the curse pronounced upon Egypt. The name appears to have entirely disappeared, and we do not meet with it in any classic author.—J. L. P.

LUECKE, GOTTFRIED CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH, a celebrated German theologian, was born at Egeln, near Magdeburg, in 1792, and died, 1855, at Göttingen. In 1816 he went, after hav-

ing passed his university career, chiefly in Halle and Göttingen, and having filled the office of Repetitor at the latter place for several years, to Berlin, where he became intimate with De Wette and Schleiermacher, and lectured on N. T. exegesis. In 1818 he was called to fill a chair at the newly founded university at Bonn, which, in 1827, he left for another professorship at Göttingen. His principal works are:—*Commentatio de Ecclesia Christianorum Apostolica*, Göttingen 1813, 4to; *Ueber den Neutestamentlichen Canon des Eusebius von Caesarea*, Berlin 1816, 8vo; *Grundriss einer Neutestamentlichen Hermeneutik und ihrer Geschichte*, Göttingen 1817; *Commentar über die Schriften des Evangelisten Johannes*, Bonn 1820-32, 4 vols.; *Quæstiones ac vindiciæ Didymianæ*, Göttingen 1829, etc., 4 pts. Besides these works he published, together with De Wette, a Synopsis of the Gospels, 1818, 8vo; he further edited with De Wette and Schleiermacher the *Theologische Zeitschrift*, and with Gieseler the *Zeitschrift für gebildete Christen*, and contributed several papers in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, etc. Of his minor *Gelegenheitschriften* may be mentioned *Strauss in der Zürcherkirche* (Bas. 1839); *Narratio de J. Laur. Moshemio*; *Monograph on Plunk, Schleiermacher*, etc.—E. D.

LUHITH (לחית; Λουιθ; in Jer. 'Αλώθ; Alex. 'Αλωθ; *Luih*). In pronouncing the prophetic curse on Moab, both Isaiah and Jeremiah mention 'the ascent of *Luhith*' (Is. xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 5). It appears to have been some famous pass either on the way up to Moab from the great valley of Arabah, or across some of its deep and wild ravines. It is closely connected with Horonaim by Jeremiah, and with Zoar by Isaiah; perhaps, however, neither connection is to be understood geographically. Eusebius and Jerome state that *Luhith* is a village situated between Areopolis and Zoar (*Onomast.*, s. v. *Luih*). Between these two places—the latter on the shore of the Dead Sea, near the mouth of Wady Kerak, and the former on the summit of the mountain-ridge—there is a steep and very difficult pass; but the name has not been discovered, and the exact place of ascent is unknown. The country in that neighbourhood has not been fully explored. De Saulcy's attempt to identify the site is of no importance (*Journey*, i. 296; English ed.)—J. L. P.

LUKE. The name Λουκᾱς is abbreviated from Λουκαῖος, *Lucanus*, or Λουκιῶς, *Lucilius* (Meyer); cf. *Silas* for *Silvanus*; *Annas* for *Annanus*; *Zenas* for *Zenodorus*; Winer, *Gram.* p. 115. The contraction of *arōs* into *ās* is said to be characteristic of the names of slaves (see Lobeck, *De Substantiv. in ās exeuntibus*; Wolf, *Analect.* iii. 49), and it has been inferred from this that St. Luke was of heathen descent (which may also be gathered from the implied contrast between those mentioned Col. iv. 12-14, and the οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς, ver. 11), and a *libertus*. This latter idea has found confirmation in his profession of a physician (Col. iv. 14); the practice of medicine among the Romans having been in great measure confined to persons of servile rank (Middleton, *De Medicorum apud Roman. degent. Conditione*). To this, however, there were many exceptions (cf. Smith, *Dict. of Antiq.*, 'Medicus'), and it is altogether an insuffi-

cient basis on which to erect a theory as to the evangelist's social rank. So much, however, we may probably safely infer from his profession, that he was a man of superior education and mental culture to the generality of the apostles, the fishermen and tax-gatherers of the Sea of Galilee.

All that can be with certainty known of St. Luke must be gathered from the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles of St. Paul. The result is but scanty. His name does not once occur in the Acts, and we can only infer his presence or absence from the sudden changes from the third to the first person, and *vice versa*, of which phenomenon, notwithstanding all that has of late been urged against it, this, which has been accepted since the time of Irenæus (cf. *Contr. Hær.*, iii. 14), is the only satisfactory explanation. Rejecting the reading *συνεστραμμένον δὲ ἡμῶν*, Acts xi. 28 (which only rests on D., and Augustine, *De Serm. Dom.* ii. 17), which would bring St. Luke into connection with St. Paul at a much earlier period, as well as the identification of the evangelist with Lucius of Cyrene (Acts xiii. 1; Rom. xvi. 21), which was current in Origen's time (*ad Rom.* xvi. 39; cf. Lardner, *Credibility*, vi. 124; Marsh, *Michaelis*, iv. 234), which would make him a kinsman of St. Paul, we first find St. Luke in St. Paul's company at Troas, and sailing with him to Macedonia (Acts xvi. 10, 11). Of his previous history, and the time and manner of his conversion, we know nothing, but Ewald's supposition (*Gesch. d. V. Isr.*, vi. 35, 448) is not at all improbable, that he was a physician residing in Troas, converted by St. Paul, and attaching himself to the apostle with all the ardour of a young convert. He may also, as Ewald thinks, have been one of the first uncircumcised Christians. He accompanied St. Paul as far as Philippi, but did not share in the imprisonment of his master and his companion Silas, nor, as the third person is resumed (xvii. 1), did he, it would seem, take any further part in the apostle's missionary journey. The first person appears again on St. Paul's third visit to Philippi, A. D. 58 (Acts xx. 5, 6), from which it has been gathered that St. Luke had spent the whole intervening time—a period, according to Wieseler, of seven or eight years—in Philippi or its neighbourhood. If any credit is to be given to the ancient opinion that St. Luke is referred to in 2 Cor. viii. 18, as 'the brother whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches' (a view adopted by the Church of England in the collect for St. Luke's day), as well as the early tradition embodied in the subscription to that epistle, that it was sent from Philippi 'by Titus and *Lucas*,' we shall have evidence of the evangelist's missionary zeal during this long space of time; the word 'gospel' being of course to be understood, not as Jerome and others erroneously interpret it, of St. Luke's written gospel, but of his publication of the glad tidings of Jesus Christ. The mistaken interpretation of the word 'gospel' in this place has led others to assign the composition of the gospel of St. Luke to this period; a view which derives some support from the Arabic version published by Erpenius, in which its writing is placed 'in a city of Macedonia twenty-two years after the Ascension,' A. D. 52. From their reunion at Philippi, St. Luke remained in constant attendance on St. Paul during his journey to Jerusalem (Acts xx. 6–xxi. 18), and disappearing from the narrative

during the apostle's imprisonment at Jerusalem and Cæsarea, reappears again when he sets out for Rome (Acts xxvii. 1). He was shipwrecked with Paul (xxviii. 2), and travelled with him by Syracuse and Puteoli to Rome (vers. 12–16), where he appears to have continued as his fellow-labourer (*συνεργός*, Philem. 24; Col. iv. 4) till the close of his first imprisonment. The Second Epistle to Timothy (iv. 11) gives us the latest glimpse of the 'beloved physician,' and our authentic information regarding him beautifully closes with a testimony from the apostle's pen to his faithfulness amidst general defection.

The above sums up all we really know about St. Luke; but, as is often the case, in proportion to the scantiness of authentic information is the copiousness of tradition—increasing in definiteness, be it remarked—as it advances. His Gentile descent being taken for granted (cf. Col. iv. 11, 14), his birth-place was appropriately enough fixed at Antioch, 'the centre of the Gentile church, and the birthplace of the Christian name' (Euseb., *H. E.* iii. 4, τὸ μὲν γένος ὧν τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας, Jerome, *De Vir. Illust.* 7; 'Antiochensis,' *In Matt.* Pref., 'natione Syrus Antiochenensis'); though it is to be observed that Chrysostom, when dwelling on the historical associations of the city, appears to know nothing of such a tradition. He was believed to have been a Jewish proselyte, ignorant of Hebrew ('licet plerique tradant Lucam Evangelistam, ut proselytum, Hebræas literas ignorasse,' Jerome, *Quæst. in Gen.* c. xli.), and probably—because he alone mentions their mission, but in contradiction to his own words (Luke i. 23)—one of the seventy disciples who, having left our Lord in offence (John vi. 60–66), was brought back to the faith by the ministry of St. Paul (Epiph., *Hær.* li. 11); one of the Greeks who desired to 'see Jesus,' John xii. 20, 21 (Lange), and the companion of Cleopas on the journey to Emmaus (Theophyl. *Proem in Luc.*). An idle legend of Greek origin, which first appears in the late and credulous historian Nicephorus Callistus (died 1450), *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 43, and was universally accepted in the middle ages, represents St. Luke as well acquainted with the art of painting, *ἀκρως τὴν ζωγράφου τέχνην ἐξεπιστάμενος*, and assigns to his hand the first portraits of our Lord, His mother, and His chief apostles.

Nothing is known of the place or manner of his death, and the traditions are inconsistent with one another. Gregory Naz. reckons him among the martyrs, and the untrustworthy Nicephorus gives us full details of the time, place, and mode of his martyrdom; viz., that he was crucified to a live olive-tree in Greece, in his eightieth year. According to others, he died a natural death after preaching (according to Epiphanius) in Dalmatia, Gallia, Italy, and Macedonia; was buried in Bithynia, whence his bones were translated by Constantius to Constantinople (Isid. Hispal., c. 82; Philostorg., vol. iii. c. xxix.). Here, as everywhere, as soon as we leave the solid ground of Holy Scripture, we are lost in a quagmire of shifting and baseless traditions, which scarcely deserve even to be enumerated.—E. V.

LUKE, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO.

1. *Author—Genuineness.*—The universal tradition of Christendom, reaching up at least to the latter part of the 2d century, has assigned the third member of our gospel collection to Luke, the

trusted companion and fellow-labourer, *συνεργός*, of St. Paul, who alone continued in attendance on his beloved master in his last imprisonment (Col. iv. 14; Phil. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11). Its authorship has never been questioned until comparatively recent times, when the unsparing criticism of Germany—the main object of which appears to be the demolishing of every ancient belief to set up some new hypothesis in its stead—has been brought to bear upon it, without, however, effectually disturbing the old traditional statement. The investigations of Semler, Hilgenfeld, Ritschl, Baur, Schleiermacher, Ewald, and others, have failed to overthrow the harmonious assertion of the early church, that the third gospel, as we have it, is the genuine work of St. Luke. It is well known, that though the 'gospels' are referred to by Justin Martyr as a collection already used and accepted by the church (*Apol. i. 66; Dial. c. Tryph., c. 10*), and his works supply a very considerable number of quotations, enabling us to identify, beyond all reasonable doubt, these *εὐαγγέλια* with the first three gospels, we do not find them mentioned by the names of their authors till the end of the 2d century. In the Muratorian fragment, which can hardly be placed later than 170 A. D., we read, 'Tertium Evangelium secundum Lucam Lucas iste medicus post ascensum Christi cum eum Paulus quasi ut juris (*τῷ δικαίῳ*) studiosum ('itineris socium,' *Bunsen*) secum adsummisset nomine suo ex ordine ('opinione,' *Credner*) conscripsit (Dominum tamen nec ipse vidit in carne), et idem prout assequi potuit, ita et a nativitate Johannis inceptum dicere' (Westcott, *Hist. of Can.*, p. 559). The testimony of Irenæus, *circa* 180, is equally definite, *Λουκᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο* (*Contr. Hær.* iii. 1. 1); while from his enumeration of the many particulars, *plurima evangelii* (*Ib.* iii. 14. 3), recorded by Luke alone, it is evident that the gospel he had was the same we now possess. Tatian's *Diatesaron* is an unimpeachable evidence of the existence of four gospels, and therefore of that by St. Luke, at a somewhat earlier period in the same century. The writings of Tertullian against Marcion, *circa* 207, abound with references to our gospel, which, with Irenæus, he asserts to have been written under the immediate guidance of St. Paul, *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 2; iv. 5. In Eusebius we find both the Gospel and the Acts specified as *θεόπνευστα βιβλία*, while his knowledge of the sacred narrative is ascribed to information received from St. Paul, aided by his intercourse with the other apostles, *τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων ὁμιλίας ὠφελημένος* (*H. E.*, iii. 4 and 24). Eusebius indeed tells us, that in his day the erroneous view which interpreted *εὐαγγέλιον* (Rom. ii. 16, cf. 2 Cor. viii. 18) of a written document was generally received, and that in the words 'according to my gospel,' St. Paul was supposed to refer to the work of the evangelist. This is also mentioned by Jerome (*De Vir. Illust.* 7), and accepted by Origen (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25): one among many proofs of the want of the critical faculty among the fathers of that age.

Additional evidence of the early acceptance of St. Luke's Gospel may be derived from the *vexata questio* of its relation to the gospel of Marcion. This is not the place to discuss this subject, which has led critics to the most opposite conclusions; for a full account of which the reader may be referred to De Wette, *Einleit. in N. T.*,

pp. 119-137, as well as to the treatises of Ritschl, Baur, Hilgenfeld, Hahn, and Volckmar. It will be enough for our purpose to mention, that the Gnostic teacher Marcion, in pursuit of his professed object of restoring the purity of the gospel, which had been corrupted by Judaizing teachers, rejected all the books of the canon with the exception of ten epistles of St. Paul, and a gospel, which he called simply a gospel of Christ. We have the express testimony of Irenæus (*Contr. Hær.*, i. 27. 2; iii. 12. 12, etc.), Tertullian (*Cont. Marc.*, iv. 1, 2, 6), Origen (*Cont. Cels.*, ii. 27), Epiphanius (*Hær.* xlii. 11), that the basis of Marcion's gospel was that of St. Luke, abridged and altered by him to suit his peculiar tenets (for the alterations and omissions—the chief being its curtailment by the first two chapters, see De Wette, pp. 123-132); though we cannot assert, as was done by his enemies among the orthodox, that all the variations are due to Marcion himself, many of them having no connection with his heretical views, and being rather various readings of great antiquity and high importance. Of late years, however, the opposite view, which was first broached by Semler, Griesbach, and Eichhorn, has been vigorously maintained among others by Ritschl and Baur, who have endeavoured to prove that the Gospel of St. Luke, as we have it, is interpolated, and that the portions Marcion is charged with having omitted were really unauthorised additions to the original document. Volckmar, in his exhaustive treatise *Das Evang. Marcions*, Leipz. 1852, has satisfactorily disposed of this theory, and has demonstrated that the Gospel of Luke, as we now have it, was the material on which Marcion worked; and therefore, that before he began to teach, the date of which may be fixed about 139 A. D., it was already known to and accepted by the church.

2. *Sources*.—The sources from which St. Luke derived his gospel are clearly indicated by him in the introduction (i. 1-4). He does not claim to have been eye-witness of our Lord's ministry, or to have any personal knowledge of the facts he records, but, as an honest compiler, to have gone to the best sources of information then accessible, and having accurately traced the whole course of the apostolic tradition from the very first, in its every detail (*παρηκολούθηκόντι ἀνωθεν πάντων ἀκριβῶς*), to have written an orderly narrative of the facts (*πραγμάτων*) already fully believed (*πεπληροφορημένων*) in the Christian church, and which Theophilus had already learnt, not from books, but from oral teaching (*κατηχήσης*; cf. Acts xvii. 25; Gal. vi. 5). These sources were partly the 'oral tradition' (*παρέδοσαν*) of those 'who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word'; and partly the written records (to which Ewald, vi. 40, on unexplained grounds, dogmatically assigns a non-Judean origin) which even then 'many' (*πολλοί*) had attempted to draw up; of which, though the evangelist's words do not necessarily bear that meaning, we may well suppose that he would avail himself. Though we thankfully believe that, as well in the selection of his materials as in the employment of them, St. Luke was acting under the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit, it will be remarked that he lays claim to no such supernatural guidance, but simply to the care and accuracy of an honest, painstaking, and well-informed editor, not so consciously under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit as to supersede the use of his own

mental powers. His use of his sources is not mechanical; though often incorporating, apparently with little alteration, large portions of the 'oral tradition,' especially in the case of the words of our Lord, or those with whom He conversed, and adopting narratives already current (of which the first two chapters, with their harsh Hebraistic phraseology, immediately succeeding the comparatively pure Greek of the dedication, are an example), the free handling of his pen is everywhere to be recognised. The connecting links, and the passages of transition, evidence the hand of the author, which may again be recognised in the greater variety of his style, the more complex character of his sentences, and the care he bestows in smoothing away harshnesses, and imparting a more classical air to the synoptical portions.

Notwithstanding the almost unanimous consent of the fathers as to the Pauline origin of St. Luke's Gospel (Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 5, 'Luca digestum Paulo adscribere solent'; Iren. *Cont. Hær.* iii. 1; Origen apud Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25; Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 4; Jerome, *De Vir. Illust.* 7), there is little or nothing in the gospel itself to favour such a hypothesis, and very much to contradict it. It is true that the account of the institution of the Lord's Supper, 1 Cor. xi. 23-25, displays an almost verbal identity with Luke xxii. 19, 20; and as St. Paul affirms that he received his 'from the Lord,' it is highly probable that the evangelist has in this instance incorporated a fragment of the direct teaching of his master. But this is a solitary example (Luke xxiv. 34, comp. with 1 Cor. xv. 5, is too trilling to deserve mention), and it is impossible that the evangelist should have expressed himself as he has done in his preface, if he had derived the facts of his narrative from one who was neither 'an eye-witness' nor 'a minister of the word from the beginning.' Nor again in the general tone and character in the gospel, when impartially viewed, is there much that can be fairly considered to bear out the hypothesis of a Pauline origin. Those who have sifted the gospel with this object have, it is true, gathered a number of passages which are supposed to have a Pauline tendency (see Hilgenfeld, *Evang.*, and the ingenious essay prefixed to this gospel in Dr. Wordsworth's *Greek Testament*), e.g., Luke iv. 25, *seq.*; ix. 52, *seq.*; x. 30, *seq.*; xvii. 16-18; and the parables of the 'Prodigal son,' the 'Unprofitable servant,' and the 'Pharisee and publican,' which have been instanced by De Wette as bringing out the apostle's teaching on justification by faith alone; but, as Dean Alford has ably shewn (*Greek Test.*, i. 44, note *b*), such a list may be easily collected from the other gospels, while the entire absence of any definite statement of the doctrinal truths which come forward with the greatest prominence in the apostle's writings, and, with very scanty exceptions, of his peculiar theological phraseology, is of itself sufficient to prove how undue has been the weight assigned to Pauline influence in the composition of the gospel. It is certainly true that, in the words of Bishop Thirlwall (*Schleiermacher on St. Luke, Introd.*, p. cxxviii.), 'St. Luke's Gospel contains numerous indications of that enlarged view of Christianity which gave to the gospel, as preached by St. Paul, a form and an extent very different from the original tradition of the Jews,' but no more can be legitimately inferred than that St. Luke was St. Paul's disciple, instructed by the

apostle of the Gentiles, and naturally sharing in his view of the gospel as a message of salvation for all nations; not that his gospel was in any sense derived from him, or rested on the apostolic basis of St. Paul.

The question naturally arises whether the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark were among the *διηγήσεις* to which St. Luke refers. The answers to this have been various and contradictory—the same data leading critics to the most opposite conclusions. Meyer (*Comment.* ii. 217) is of opinion that St. Luke availed himself both of St. Matthew and St. Mark, though chiefly of the latter, as the 'primitive gospel'; while De Wette, on the other hand (*Einleit.*, sec. 94, p. 185), considers St. Mark's Gospel the latest of the three, and based upon them as authorities. In the face of these and other discordant theories, of which a list may be seen (De Wette, *Einleit.*, sec. 88, pp. 162-168), it will be wise not to attempt a categorical decision. A calm review of the evidence will, however, lead most unbiassed readers to the conclusion that all three wrote in perfect independence of one another; each, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, giving a distinct view of the great complex whole, the reflex of the writer's own individual impressions, and that least of all is St. Luke to be considered as a mere *réducteur* of the prior writings of his brother synoptists—a theory, the improbabilities and absurdities of which have been well pointed out by Dean Alford in the *Prolegomena* to his *Greek Testament*, i., pp. 2-6, 41.

3. *Relation to St. Matthew and St. Mark.*—Believing that no one of the three synoptical gospels is dependent on the others, and that the true explanation of this striking correspondence, not only in the broad outline of our Lord's life and work, and the incidents with which this outline is filled up, but also, to a considerable extent, in the parables and addresses recorded, and even in the language and forms of expression, is to be sought in the same apostolical oral tradition having formed the original basis of each, a very interesting point of inquiry presents itself in tracing the correspondence and divergence of the several narratives. In particular, a comparison of St. Luke with the other synoptists furnishes many striking and important results. With the general identity of the body of the history, we at once notice that there are two large portions peculiar to this evangelist, containing events or discourses recorded by him alone. These are the first two chapters, narrating the conception, birth, infancy, and early development of our Lord and His forerunner, and the long section (ix. 51-xviii. 14) devoted to our Lord's final journey to Jerusalem, and comprising some of His most beautiful parables. We have also other smaller sections supplying incidents passed over by Matthew and Mark—the questions of the people and the Baptist's replies (iii. 10-14); Simon and the woman that was a sinner (vii. 36-50); the raising of the widow's son (viii. 11-17); the story of Zaccheus (xix. 1-10); our Lord's weeping over Jerusalem (xix. 39-44); the journey to Emmaus (xxiv. 13-35). In other parts he follows a tradition at once so much fuller and so widely at variance with that of the others, as almost to suggest the idea that a different event is recorded (iv. 16-30, cf.; Matt. xiii. 54-58; Mark vi. 1-6; v. 1-11, cf.; Matt. iv. 13-22; Mark i. 16-20). Even where the language employed so closely corresponds as to

remove all question of the identity of the events, fresh details are given, often of the greatest interest, *ε. ς., προσευχομένου* (iii. 21); *σωματικῶ εἶδει* (iii. 22); *πλήρη πνεύμ. ἀγ.* (iv. 1); *ὅτι ἐμοὶ παραδεδόται, κ. τ. λ.* (iv. 6); *ἄχρι καιροῦ* (iv. 13); *δύναμις Κυρίου ἦν, κ. τ. λ.* (v. 17); *καταλιπὼν ἅπαντα, and the δοχή μεγ.* (v. 28, 29); the comparison of old and new wine (v. 39); *ἐπλήσθ' ἁνοίας* (vi. 11); *δύναμις παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχ'* (vi. 19); the cures in the presence of John's disciples (vii. 21), and the incidental remarks (vers. 29, 30); many additional touches in the narratives of the Gadarene demoniac (viii. 26-30), and the transfiguration, especially the fact of His 'praying' (St. Luke records at least six instances of our Lord having prayed omitted by the other evangelists), and the subject of the conversation with Moses and Elijah (ix. 28-36); notices supplied (xx. 19; xxi. 37, 38), all tending to convince us that we are in the presence not of a mere copyist, but of a trustworthy and independent witness. St. Luke's account of the passion and resurrection is to a great extent his own, adding much of the deepest significance to the synoptical narrative, particularly the warning to Simon in the name of the twelve (xxii. 31-32); the bloody sweat (ver. 44); the sending to Herod (xxiii. 7-12); the words to the women (vers. 27-31); the prayer for forgiveness (ver. 34); the penitent thief (vers. 39-43); the walk to Emmaus (xxiv. 13-35); and the ascension (vers. 50-53).

It has been remarked that there is nothing in which St. Luke is more characteristically distinguished from both the Evangelists than in his selection of our Lord's parables. There are no less than eleven quite peculiar to him—(1.) The two debtors; (2.) Good Samaritan; (3.) Friend at midnight; (4.) Rich fool; (5.) Barren fig-tree; (6.) Lost silver; (7.) Prodigal son; (8.) Unjust steward; (9.) Rich man and Lazarus; (10.) Unjust judge; (11.) Pharisee and publican; and two others, the Great Supper, and the Pounds, which, with many points of similarity, differ very decidedly from those found in St. Matthew.

Of our Lord's miracles, six omitted by St. Matthew and St. Mark are recorded by St. Luke—(1.) Miraculous draught; (2.) The son of the widow of Nain; (3.) The woman with a spirit of infirmity; (4.) The man with a dropsy; (5.) The ten lepers; (6.) The healing of Malchus' ear. Of the seven not related by him, the most remarkable omission is that of the Syrophenician woman, for which *a priori* reasoning would have claimed a special place in the so-called Gospel of the Gentiles. We miss also the walking on the sea, the feeding of the four thousand, the cure of the blind men, and of the deaf and dumb, the stater in the fish's mouth, and the cursing of the fig-tree.

The chief omissions in narrative are the whole section, Matt. xiv.-xvi. 12, Mark vi. 45-viii. 26; Matt. xix. 2-12; xx. 1-16, 20-28; cf. Mark x. 35-45; the anointing, Matt. xxvi. 6-13, Mark xiv. 3-9.

With regard to coincidence of language, a most important remark was long since made by Bishop Marsh (Michaelis, v. 317), that when St. Matthew and St. Luke agree verbally in the common synoptical sections, St. Mark always agrees with them also; and that there is not a single instance in these sections of verbal agreement between St. Matthew and St. Luke alone. A close scrutiny will discover that the verbal agreement between St. Luke and St. Mark is greater than that between St. Luke and

St. Matthew, while the mutual dependence of the second and third Evangelists on the same source is rendered still more probable by the observation of Reuss, that they agree both in excess and defect when compared with St. Matthew: that when St. Mark has elements wanting in St. Matthew, St. Luke usually has them also; while when St. Matthew supplies more than St. Mark, St. Luke follows the latter; and that where St. Mark fails altogether, St. Luke's narrative often represents a different *παράδοσις* from that of St. Matthew.

4. *Character and General Purpose.*—The chief characteristic of St. Luke's Gospel which distinguishes it from those of the other synoptists, especially St. Matthew, is its *universality*. The message he delivers is not, as it has sometimes been mistakenly described, for the Gentiles as such, as distinguished from the Jews, but for *men*. As we read his record, we seem to see him anticipating the time when all nations should hear the gospel message, when all distinctions of race or class should be done away, and all claims based on a fancied self-righteousness annulled, and the glad tidings should be heard and received by all who were united in the bonds of a common humanity, and felt their need of a common Saviour, 'the light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of His people Israel.' It is this character which has given it a right to the title of the Pauline gospel, and enables us to understand why Marcion selected it as the only true exponent of Christ's gospel. This universalism, however, is rather interwoven with the gospel than to be specified in definite instances; and yet we cannot but feel how completely it is in accordance with it that St. Luke records the enrolment of the Saviour of the world as a citizen of the world-embracing Roman empire—that he traces his genealogy back to the head of the human race—that his first recorded sermon (iv. 16-27) gives proof of God's wide-reaching mercy, as displayed in the widow of Sarepta and Naaman—that in the mission of the twelve, the limitation to the 'cities of Israel' should have no place, while he alone records the mission of the seventy (a number symbolical of the Gentile world)—that in the sermon on the mount all references to the Law should be omitted, while all claims to superior holiness or national prerogative are cut away by his gracious dealings with, and kindly mention of, the despised Samaritans (ix. 52, ff.; x. 30, ff.; xvii. 11, ff.).

And as with the race in general, so with its individual members. St. Luke delights to bear witness that none are shut out from God's mercy—nay, that the outcast and the lost are the especial objects of His care and search. As proofs of this, we may refer to the narratives of the woman that was a sinner, the Samaritan leper, Zaccheus, and the penitent thief; and the parables of the lost sheep and lost silver, the Pharisee and publican, the rich man and Lazarus, and, above all, to that 'which has probably exercised most influence on the mind of Christendom in all periods' (Maurice, *Unity of the Gospel*, p. 274), the prodigal son.

Most naturally also is it in St. Luke that we find the most frequent allusions to that which has been one of the most striking distinctions between the old and modern world—the position of woman as a fellow-heir of the kingdom of heaven, sharing in the same responsibilities and hopes, and that woman comes forward most prominently (the Syrophenician, as already noticed, is a single marked

exception) as the object of our Lord's sympathy and love. Commencing with the Virgin Mary as a type of the purity and lowly obedience which is the true glory of womanhood, we meet in succession with Anna the prophetess, the pattern of holy widowhood (cf. 1 Tim. v. 5); the woman that was a sinner; the widow of Nain; the ministering women (viii. 2, 3); Mary and Martha; the 'daughter of Abraham' (xiii. 11); and close the list with the words of exquisite tenderness and sympathy to the 'daughters of Jerusalem' (xxiii. 28).

This universal character is one, the roots of which lie deep in St. Luke's conception of the nature and work of Christ. With him, more than in the other gospels, Jesus is 'the second man, the Lord from heaven' (Lange), and if in his pages we see more of His divine nature, and have in the more detailed reports of His Conception and Ascension clearer proofs that He was indeed the Son of the Highest, it is here too, in 'the life-giving sympathy and intercourse with the inner man, in the human fellowship grounded on not denying the divine condescension and compassion' (Maurice, *u. s.*), that we recognise the perfect ideal man.

St. Luke, it has been truly remarked, is the gospel of contrasts. Starting with the contrast between the doubt of Zacharias and the trustful obedience of Mary, we find in almost every page proofs of the twofold power of Christ's word and work foretold by Simeon (ii. 34). To select a few of the more striking examples. He alone presents to our view Simon and the sinful woman, Martha and Mary, the thankful and thankless lepers, the tears and hosannas on the brow of Olivet; he alone adds the 'woes' to the 'blessings' in the sermon on the mount, and carries on in the parables of the rich man and Lazarus, the pharisee and publican, and the good Samaritan, that series of strong contrasts which finds so appropriate a close in the penitent and blaspheming malefactors.

Once more, St. Luke is the hymn writer of the N. T. 'Taught by thee, the church prolongs Her hymns of high thanksgiving still' (Keble, *Christian Year*). But for his record the *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis*, would have been lost to us; and it is he who has preserved to us the *Ave Maria*, identified with the religious life of so large a part of Christendom, and the *Gloria in Excelsis*, which forms the culminating point of its most solemn ritual.

And now to turn from the internal to the external characteristics of St. Luke's Gospel. These we shall find no less marked and distinct. His narrative is, as he promised it should be (καθεξής, i. 3), an orderly one: but the order is one rather of subject than of time. As to the other synoptists, though maintaining the principle of chronological succession in the main outline of his narrative, 'he is ever ready to sacrifice mere chronology to that order of events which was the fittest to develop his purpose according to the object proposed by the inspiring Spirit, grouping his incidents according to another and deeper order than that of mere time' (Maurice, *u. s.*) It is true that he furnishes us with the three most precise dates in the whole gospel narrative (ii. 2; iii. 1, 23—each one, be it remarked, the subject of vehement controversy), but in spite of the attempts made by Wieseler and others to force a strict chronological character upon his gospel, an unprejudiced perusal

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will convince us that his narrative is loose and fragmentary, especially in the section ix. 49—xviii. 14, and his notes of time vague and destitute of precision, even where the other synoptists are more definite (v. 12 cf. Matt. viii. 1; viii. 4 cf. Matt. xiii. 1; viii. 22 cf. Mark iv. 35, etc.)

In his narrative we miss the graphic power of St. Mark, though in this he is superior to St. Matthew, *e. g.*, vii. 1-10 cf. Matt. viii. 5-13; viii. 41-56 cf. Matt. ix. 18-26. His object is rather to record the facts of our Lord's life than his discourses, while, as Olshausen remarks (i. 19, Clark's ed.), 'He has the peculiar power of exhibiting with great clearness and truth our Lord's conversations, with all the incidents that gave rise to them; the remarks of the bystanders, and their results.'

We may also notice here the passing reflections, or, as Bishop Ellicott terms them (*Hist. Lect.* p. 28), 'psychological comments,' called up by the events or actors which appear in his gospel, interpolated by him as *obiter dicta* in the body of the narrative. We may instance ii. 50, 51; iii. 15; vi. 11; vii. 29, 30, 39; xvi. 14; xx. 20; xxii. 3; xxiii. 12.

5. *Style and Language.*—St. Luke's style is more finished than that of St. Matthew or St. Mark. There is more of composition in his sentences. His writing displays greater variety, and the structure is more complex. His diction is substantially the same, but purer, and, except in the first two chapters, less Hebraized, as remarked by Jerome (*Comment. in Es.*): '*Lucam tradunt veteres . . . magis Græcæ literas scisse quam Hebræas. Unde et sermo ejus . . . complur est et secularum redolet eloquentiam*' (cf. *ad Damas. Ep.* 20). It deserves special notice how, in the midst of close verbal similarity, especially in the report of the words of our Lord and others, slight alterations are made by him either by the substitution of another word or phrase (*e. g.*, Luke xx. 6 cf. Matt. xxi. 26, Mark xi. 32; Luke vii. 25, Mark xi. 8; Luke ix. 14, Mark vi. 39, 40; Luke xx. 28, 29, Mark xii. 20, 22; Luke viii. 25, Mark viii. 27), the supply (Luke xx. 45, Mark xii. 38; Luke vii. 8, Matt. viii. 9), or the omission of a word (Luke ix. 25, Matt. xvi. 26, Mark viii. 36), by which harsh constructions are removed, and a more classical air given to the whole composition.

The Hebraistic character is more perceptible in the hymns and speeches incorporated by him than in the narrative itself. The following are some of the chief Hebraisms that have been noticed—(1.) ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ, with the accusative and infinitive, corresponding to לְיָהוָה, twenty-three times, not once in Matt., only twice in Mark; (2.) the same idiom, without ἐγένετο, *e. g.*, ix. 34, 36; x. 35; xi. 37; (3.) ἐγένετο ὡς, or ὡς alone of time, the Hebrew כִּי, *e. g.*, ii. 15; v. 4, only once apiece in Matt. and Mark; (4.) ὁ θεὸς, used for GOD = יְהוָה, five times, once in Mark; (5.) οἶκος, for family = מִשְׁכָּן; (6.) ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν = מֵעַתָּה, four times, not once in the other gospels; (7.) ἀδικία in the genitive as an epithet, *e. g.*, οἰκονόμος τῆς ἀδικίας, κριτὴς τῆς ἀδικίας; (8.) προσέθετο πένψαι, xx. 11, 12.

On the other hand, we find certain classical words and phrases peculiar to St. Luke taking the place of others less familiar to his Gentile readers, *e. g.*, ἐπιστάτης for βασιβί, six times; νομικοὶ for γραμματεῖς, six times; νάλ, ἀληθῶς or ἐπ' ἀληθείας

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for *ἀμήν*, which only occurs seven times to thirty in Matt., and fourteen in Mark; *ἄπτεν λύχνον* for *καλεῖν λ.*, four times; *λίμνη* of the Lake of Genesaret for *θάλασσα*, five times; *παρὰλελυμένος* for *παρὰλυτικός*; *κλινίδιον* for *κράββατος*; *φόρος* for *κῆνος*.

The style of St. Luke has many peculiarities both in construction and in diction; indeed, it has been calculated that the number of words used only by him exceeds the aggregate of the other three gospels. Full particulars of these are given by Credner (*Einleit.*) (copied by Davidson, *Introd. to N. T.*) and Reuss (*Geschicht. d. H. Schrift.*) The following, the result of independent examination, are some of the most noteworthy. Of peculiar constructions we may remark—(1.) the infinitive with the genitive of the article (Winer, *Gr. Gr.*, i. 340) to indicate design or result, e.g., Luke ii. 27; v. 7; xxi. 22; xxiv. 29; i. 9; i. 57; ii. 21. (2.) The substantive verb with the participle instead of the finite verb, iv. 31; v. 10; vi. 12; vii. 8; xxiii. 12 (Winer, 365-67). (3.) The neuter participle with the article for a substantive, iv. 16; viii. 34; xxii. 22; xxiv. 14. (4.) *τῷ*, to substantivise a sentence or clause, especially in indirect questions, i. 63; vii. 11; ix. 46, etc. (5.) *εἰπεῖν πρὸς*, sixty-seven times; *λέγειν πρὸς*, ten times; *λαλεῖν πρὸς*, 4 times, the first being used once by Matt., and the other not at all by him or Mark. (6.) Participles are copiously used to give vividness to the narrative, *ἀναστὰς*, seventeen times; *στραφεὶς*, seven times; *πεσών*, etc. (7.) *ἀνὴρ* used with a substantive, e.g., *ἀμαρτωλός*, v. 8; xix. 7; and *προφήτης*, xxiv. 19.

Of the words peculiar to, or occurring much more frequently in, St. Luke, some of the most remarkable are, the use of *Κύριος* in the narrative as a synonym for *Ἰησοῦς*, which occurs fourteen times (e.g., vii. 13; x. 1; xiii. 15, etc.), and nowhere else in the synoptical gospels, save in the addition to St. Mark, xvi. 19, 20; *σωτήρ*, *σωτηρία*, *σωτήριον*, not found in the other gospels, except the first two once each in John; *χάρις*, eight times in gospel, sixteen in the Acts, and only thrice in John, *χαρίζομαι*, *χαριτώνω*; *εὐαγγελίζομαι*, very frequent, while *εὐαγγέλιον* does not occur at all; *ὑποστρέφω*, twenty-one times in the gospel, ten in the Acts, and only once in Mark; *ὑπάρχω*, seven times in gospel, twenty-six in Acts, but nowhere in the other gospels, and *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα*, eight times in gospel to three in Matt. alone; *ἄρας*, twenty times in gospel, sixteen in Acts, to thrice in Matt. and four times in Mark; *Ἱερουσαλήμ*, instead of the *Ἱεροσόλυμα* of the other gospels; *ἐνώπιον*, twenty-two times in gospel, fourteen times in Acts, once besides in St. John; *σύν*, twenty-four times in gospel, fifty-one in Acts, and only ten times in the other gospels; the particle *τε*, which hardly appears in the other gospels, is very frequent in St. Luke's writings. The words *ἀνένιζω*, *ἀποσπας*, *βουλή*, *βρέφος*, *δέομαι*, *δέησις*, *δοχή*, *δράχμη*, *θάμβος*, *θεμέλιον*, *λαῖσις*, *καθότι*, *καθόλου*, *καθεξῆς*, *κακοῦργος*, *κόραξ*, *λεῖος*, *λύτρωα*, *λύτρωσις*, *οἰκόνομος*-*λα-έω*, *παιδεύω*, *παύω*, *πλέω*, *πλήθος*, *πλήθω*, *πλήρ*, *πρόσωπα*, *σιγῶα*, *σκωπῶα*, *τινιβάζομαι*, *χίρρα*, *ᾧσει*, *καθώς*, are almost, or quite, peculiar to him; he is very partial to *καὶ αὐτός* and *καὶ αὐτοί*, *εἰ*, *δέ*, *μή*, *γε*, and abounds in verbs compounded with prepositions, where the other evangelists use the simple verb.

Some omissions are to be noted: *ἀληθής* does not occur once, *ἀληθινός* only once, *εὐαγγέλιον*,

διάκοπος, *δαιμονιζόμενος*, not once; *δαιμονισθεὶς* only once: and *ὥστε*, which is found fifteen times in Matt., and thirteen in Mark, occurs only thrice in the whole gospel.

A few Latin words are used by St. Luke—*ἀσπάριον*, xii. 6; *θηνάριος*, vii. 41; *λεγάω*, viii. 30; *μόδιον*, xi. 33; *σουδάριον*, xix. 20; Acts xix. 12, but no Hebrew or Syriac forms, except *σέκερα*, i. 15.

6. *Quotations from the O. T.*—It is a striking confirmation of the view propounded above of the character of St. Luke's Gospel, and the object of its composition, that the references to the O. T., the authority of which with any except the Jews would be but small, are so few—only twenty-four in the one, against sixty-five in the other—when compared with their abundance in St. Matthew. Only eight out of the whole number are peculiar to our evangelist (marked with an asterisk in the annexed list), which occur in the portions where he appears to have followed more or less completely a *παράδοσις* of his own; the history of the birth and childhood of our Lord, the visit to Nazareth (c. iv.), and that of the passion. The rest are found in the common synoptical sections. We may also remark that, with the most trifling exceptions, St. Luke never quotes the O. T. himself, nor speaks on his own authority of events occurring in fulfilment of prophecy, and that his citations are only found in the sayings of our Lord and others. The following list is tolerably complete, exclusive of the hymns which are little more than a cento of phrases from the O. T.

* i. 17, Mal. iv. 6	x. 27, Deut. vi. 5
* 25, Gen. xxx. 23	Lev. xix. 18
* ii. 23, Exod. xiii. 2	xiii. 27, Ps. vi. 8
* 24, Lev. v. 11	35, Ps. cxvii. 26
iii. 4-6, Is. xl. 3-5	xviii. 20, Exod. xx. 13-15
iv. 4, Deut. viii. 3	xix. 46, Is. lvi. 7
8, Deut. vi. 13	xx. 17, Ps. cxvii. 22
10-11, Ps. xc. 11-12	28, Deut. xxv. 5
12, Deut. vi. 16	37, Exod. iii. 6
* 18-19, Is. lxi. 1-2	42-43, Ps. cix. 1
Is. lviii. 6	* xxii. 37, Is. liii. 12
vii. 27, Mal. iii. 1	* xxiii. 30, Hos. x. 8
viii. 10, Is. vi. 9	* 46, Ps. xxx. 5

7. *Time and place of the Composition.*—In the complete silence of Scripture, our only sources for determining the above points are tradition and internal evidence. The statements of the former, though sufficiently definite, are inconsistent and untrustworthy. Jerome (*Præf. in Matth.*) asserts that it was composed 'in Achaia and the regions of Bœotia,' an opinion which appears to have been generally received in the 4th century (Gregory Nazianz., 'Εν Ἀχαΐᾳ), and has been accepted by Lardner (*Credibility*), who fixes its date 63 or 64 A.D., after the release of St. Paul. An Arabic version, published by Erpenius, places its composition 'in a city of Macedonia, twenty-two years after the ascension,' 52 A.D.; a view to which Hilgenfeld and Wordsworth (*Gr. Test.*, i. p. 170) give in their adherence. A still earlier date, thirteen years after the ascension, is assigned by the subscription in some ancient MSS. Other statements as to the place are Alexandria Troas, Alexandria in Egypt (the Peschito and Persian versions, Abulfeda, accepted by Mill, Grabe, and Wetstein), Rome (Ewald vi. 40, Olshausen), and Cæsarea (Bertholdt, Schott, Thiersch, Alford, Abp. Thomson).

Amidst this uncertainty, it will be well to see if there is any internal evidence which will help us in determining these points. We are here met at the outset by those who are determined to see in every clear prophecy a *vaticinium post eventum*, and who find in the predictions of the overthrow of Jerusalem (xiii. 34, 35; xix. 43, 44; xxi. 20-24), and the persecutions of our Lord's followers (xii. 52, 53; xxi. 12), and the nearness of the *παρουσία* (xxi. 25-33), a clear proof that the gospel was composed after 70 A. D. This has come to be regarded as a settled point by a certain school of criticism (Ewald v. 134; De Wette, *Einleit.*, p. 298; Credner, *Einleit.*; Reuss, *Gesch. d. Heil. Schr.*, 195; Meyer; Renan, *Vie de Jesus*, xvi.; Nicolas, *Études*, N. T., etc.), though there is no small diversity among its representatives as to the time and place of its publication of the gospel and the sources from which it was derived. Those, on the other hand, who, brought up in a sounder and more reverent school, see no *a priori* impossibility in a future event being foretold by the Son of God, will be led by the same data to a very different conclusion, and will discover sufficient grounds for dating the gospel not later than A.D. 63. It is certain that the gospel was written before the Acts of the Apostles (Acts i. 1). This latter could not have been composed before 63 A. D., when the writer leaves St. Paul in 'his own hired house' at Rome; nor probably long after, since, otherwise, the issue of the apostle's imprisonment and appeal to Cæsar must naturally have been recorded by him. How long the composition of the gospel preceded that of the Acts it is impossible to determine; but we may remark that the different tradition followed in the reports of the ascension in the two books, renders it probable that the interval was not very small, or, at any rate, that the two were not contemporaneous. If we follow the old tradition given above, we may find reason for supposing that the interval between St. Luke's being left at Philippi (Acts xvi. 12; xvii. 1) and his joining the apostle there again (xx. 5), was employed in writing and publishing his gospel. This view is accepted by Alford, *Proleg.* p. 47, and is ably maintained by Dr. Wordsworth, *Gr. Test.* i. 168-170, though he weakens his argument by referring *εὐαγγέλιον* (2 Cor. viii. 18) to a *written* gospel, a later sense never found in the N. T. Another and more plausible view, adopted by Thiersch, which has found very wide acceptance, is that the gospel was written under the guidance and superintendence of St. Paul during his imprisonment at Cæsarea, A.D. 58-60. Olshausen, among others, places it a few years later, during St. Paul's captivity at Rome, where he may have made the acquaintance of Theophilus, if, as Ewald (vi. 40) maintains, the latter was a native of Rome.

8. *For whom written.*—On this point we have certain evidence. St. Luke himself tells us that the object he had in view in compiling his gospel was that a certain 'Theophilus' 'might know the certainty of those things wherein he had been (orally) instructed.' Nothing more is known of this Theophilus, and it is idle to repeat the vague conjectures in which critics have indulged; some even denying his personal existence altogether, and arguing, from the meaning of the name, that it stands merely as the representative of a class (see THEOPHILUS). One or two inferences may, however, be made with tolerable certainty from St. Luke's words. He was doubtless a Christian, and,

from his name and the character of the gospel, a Gentile convert; while the epithet *κράτιστος*, generally employed as a title of honour (Acts xxiii. 26; xxiv. 3; xxvi. 25), indicates that he was a person of official dignity. The topographical details, so plentifully given by St. Luke in his Gospel and the Acts, for Palestine, Asia Minor, and Greece, but which cease when the writer comes to speak of places with which an inhabitant of Italy might be supposed to be familiar—a line of argument well developed by Archbishop Thomson (*Smith's Dict. of Bible*, ii. 155)—lead to the belief that he was an Italian, and perhaps, as Ewald holds, a native of Rome. But though the gospel is inscribed to him, we must not consider that it was written for him alone, but that Theophilus stands rather as the representative of the whole Christian world; not, as we have already seen, of the Gentiles, as such, to the exclusion of the Jews, but the whole race of man, whom St. Luke had in his eye; and for whom, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the work was adapted 'as the gospel of the nations (*τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν πεποιηκέντα*, Orig. *apud Euseb.* vi. 25), full of mercy and hope assured to the whole world by the love of a suffering Saviour' (Westcott, *Study of Gospel*, p. 218).

9. *Contents of the Gospel.*—After the brief preface—the value of which it is difficult to over-estimate as throwing light on the history of the composition of the gospels in general, and the true theory of scriptural inspiration—the narrative of the gospel may be distinguished into four portions: 1. The time preceding our Lord's public life, including the conception and birth of John the Baptist, and of Christ, His circumcision, presentation in the temple, and the single incident recorded of His childhood, ii. 41-51, comprised in the first two chapters. On the authenticity of these two chapters, which has been vehemently attacked, Meyer's note, and Volckmar's work on Marcion's gospel (from which they were absent) may be consulted. The whole of this portion is in form, and to a considerable extent in substance, peculiar to our evangelist. 2. A large number of originally detached and independent narratives, comprising our Lord's baptism, temptation, and Galilean ministry; almost the whole being common to Luke with the other synoptists (iii. 1-ix. 49). 3. A large section, sometimes but improperly termed the *gnomology*, containing narratives of events, and reports of discourses belonging to the period from the close of our Lord's direct Galilean ministry to His visit to Jericho a few days before His royal entrance into Jerusalem, and mostly occurring during the actual journey (ix. 50-xviii. 14). The whole of this, in its present form, is peculiar to St. Luke. 4. The last days of Christ; His entry into Jerusalem, discourses in the temple, His sufferings and death, His resurrection and ascension, common to St. Luke and the other evangelists in substance; though there are considerable differences in detail in the narratives of the passion and resurrection (especially the journey to Emmaus), and that of the ascension is entirely St. Luke's own (xviii. 15-xxiv. 53).

Commentaries.—In addition to the commentaries on the four gospels, the following works, specially devoted to St. Luke, may be specified: Ambrose, *Expos. Evang. Luc.*; Fr. Lambert, *Comm. in diva Luc. Ev.* 1524; Jo. Agricola, *Comm. in Luc.*, 1525; Erasmus, *Sarcerius, in Luc. Ev. justa schol.*,

1539. Commentaries by Hofmeister, 1562; Logenhagen, from the writings of Augustine, 1574; Soaris, 1574; Stella, 1575 (a favourite commentary with the Romish Church, which has gone through many editions); Fr. Toletus, 1612; Winckelman, 1601; and Piscator, *Analys. logic. Ev. secund. Luc.* 1608; Car. Segaar., *Obs. philol. et theol. in cap. i.-ix.*, 1766; Morus, *Praelect. in Ev. Luc.*, 1795; Pape, *Comment.*, 1777-81; Bolten, *Bericht d. Luc.*, 1796; Schleiermacher, *Critical Essay*, 1817, translated by Thirlwall, 1825; Bornemann, *Schol. in Luc.*, 1830; Stein, *Comment. zd. Ev. d. Luc.*, 1830; Baumgarten Crusius, *Comment.*, 1845; Kuinoel, *Comment. in Ev. Luc.*, ed. 4, 1843; Oosterzee in Lange's *Bibel-uerk*, translated in Clarke's *For. Theol. Lib.*—E. V.

LUNATIC (σεληνιαζόμενοι). This term occurs only twice in the N. T., viz., Matt. iv. 24, and xvii. 15. From the latter passage it may be inferred that the disease with which such were afflicted was a species of epilepsy (comp. Mark ix. 17; Luke ix. 39). Though in Matt. iv. 24 the σεληνιαζόμενοι are distinguished from the δαιμονιζόμενοι, it appears from the other passages that the affliction of the former was regarded as the effect of demoniac influence. Perhaps the point of distinction lay in the periodicity of the attacks in the one case, and the continuity of the disease in the other. As this periodicity in the case of epilepsy was supposed to be determined by the changes of the moon (see Wetstein *in loc.*), those thus afflicted were called σεληνιαζόμενοι, *lunatic*, or *moonstruck*. In the classical writers this term is applied, not to such as are now usually called lunatics, but to epileptic patients (see Bloomfield's note on Matt. iv. 24).—W. L. A.

LUTHER, MARTIN, the great German Reformer, whose world-fame renders it superfluous to give here more than the barest outline of his history, was born at Eisleben 10th November 1483; became a monk of the Augustinian order at Erfurt in 1505; was appointed professor of dialectic and physics at Wittenberg in 1508; became D.D. in 1512; published his Theses against Indulgences in 1517; burned the Pope's Bull in 1520; and after a life of incessant labour to promote the cause of the Reformation and evangelical religion, died at Wittenberg 18th February 1546. Luther is in an important sense the father of modern Biblical exegesis, for not only by precept and example did he maintain that the Bible in the original tongues is the ultimate authority in all religious questions, and that as such it is to be expounded to the community, but by his assertion of the right of private judgment in the interpretation of the Bible, and his advocacy of a grammatical and philological method of interpretation in preference to one which would submit the inspired word to the influence of preconceived dogmatical theories, he boldly opened the path which alone a true exegesis can pursue, and in the steady pursuit of which all the successes of subsequent investigation into the meaning of Scripture have been secured. Luther's own contributions to Biblical literature, besides his immortal translation of the Scriptures into German [GERMAN VERSIONS] are, in chronological order, as follows:—*In Ep. ad Galatas Comment.*, 4to 1519; *Enarrationes epistolarum et evangeliorum*, 1521; *Comment. in Ep. ad Galatas ab auctore recog.*, 1524; *Deuteronomium Moysis ex Heb. castigatum cum annot.*, 1524; *Annot. in Eccles.*

Salomonis, 1532; *Breves enarrationes Esaia proph.*, 1534; *Enarr. Ps. xlv. ex pralectionibus Collect.*, do.; *Enarr. in Pr. Joel ex pralect.*, in *Pr. Amos*, in *Pr. Abdiam*, *ex pralect.*, 1536; *Comment. in ep. ad Gal. denuo diligenter recogn.* 1538; *Enarr. in Cant. Cantic.*, do.; in *aliquot capp. Matthaei* (i.-vi., viii.-xviii.), do.; *Enarr. in Ps. li.*, do.; *Enarr. in Pss. graduum*, 1540; *Enarr. Ps. xc.*, 1541; *Comm. in Micham Pr.*, 1542; *Enarr. in Hosam Pr.*, 1545; *In Ps. ii.*, 1546; *Com. in Joel Pr.*, 1547; *Enarr. in Genesim*, 1563. An edition of Luther's exegetical works by Elspenger, Schmid, and Irmischer has been commenced, of which 20 vols. have appeared, Erlang. 1829-49. English translations of his commentaries on the Galatians (by Middleton), on the Psalms (by Cole), and on Genesis (by Cole), have appeared. The best edition of his collected works is that by Walch, 24 vols. 4to, Halle 1737-53.—W. L. A.

LUZ (לֹז, 'almond tree'; Οὐλαμολύς, combining two words; Λουζά and Λυζα), a very ancient city of Canaan, better known by the name which Jacob gave it—*Bethel* [BETHEL]. It would seem from the sacred narrative that the term Beth-el, 'House of God,' the place of Jacob's pillar, of the Israelitish sanctuary, and of Jeroboam's idol-temple, was not in Luz. On his way from Beersheba to Haran, Jacob 'arrived at a place (בֵּיתֶל), and stayed there over night, for the sun had set; and he took one of the stones of the place, and put it under his head, and lay down in that place' (Gen. xxviii. 11). 'The place' was certainly in the open country. But the city of Luz must have been close to it, for we read, 'He called the name of that place Bethel, but the name of the town (שֵׁם הָעִיר) was originally Luz' (ver. 19).

The same distinction between Beth-el and Luz is afterwards observed. On his return from Padan-aram Jacob came again 'to Luz, that is Bethel. . . . And he built there an altar, and called the place El-beth-el' (xxxv. 6, 7). The altar could not have been in Luz. It seems probable that at and after this period buildings began to be erected around the sanctuary, and a village was formed distinct from Luz. On the occupation of Palestine by the Israelites, Bethel and Luz are spoken of as separate places. Thus, in describing the southern border of Ephraim, Joshua says, 'The lot of the children of Joseph went forth from Jordan by Jericho . . . to the wilderness that goeth up from Jericho by Mount Bethel, and goeth out from Bethel to Luz' (xvi. 1, 2). Luz thus lay west of Bethel, and the latter appears to have been situated on a mount. Keil's rendering of this passage is not satisfactory. He would interpret 'from Bethel' as meaning 'from the mountains of Bethel,' not from the city or sanctuary (see, however, *Comment. on Josh.*, ad loc.)

Others regard the phrase *Bethel-Luzah* (בֵּיתֶל לֹזָה) as a composite name (Winer, *R. W.*, s. v. *Bethel*; Clericus, *ad loc.*) This, however, is scarcely admissible, and is unnecessary. It seems probable that the two places were so close to each other that their suburbs met, and eventually the Canaanitish name Luz was superseded by the more distinguished Hebrew Beth-el. We hear no more of Luz after the conquest of the city by the Ephraimites (Judg. i. 24, 25). The city was

betrayed into their hands by one of the inhabitants, who was spared by the conquerors, and founded another Luz.

2. A city 'in the land of the Hittites' whose origin is thus recorded—'The man (who had betrayed the ancient Luz to the Ephraimites) went into the land of the Hittites, and built a city, and called the name thereof *Luz*, which is the name thereof unto this day (Judg. i. 26). Rosenmüller would identify it with the *Lusa* (Λουσα), which Eusebius locates three miles from Neapolis; but Winer naturally asks how could that district have been called 'the land of the Hittites' in the time of the Judges (*Onomast.*, s. v.; Winer, *R. W.*, s. v. *Luz*)? The Hittites appear to have retired before the Israelites to northern Syria, and settled in the mountains and on the banks of the Orontes [HITTITES]. Probably Luz was situated somewhere in that region.—J. L. P.

Luz (לז) occurs only once in the O. T., namely, in Gen. xxx. 37 (a passage already adduced in the article LIBNEH), where it indicates one of the kinds of rod from which Jacob peeled the bark, and which he placed in the water-troughs of the cattle. *Luz* is translated *hazel* in the A. V., as well as in several others; in some it is rendered by words equivalent to 'walnut,' but 'almond' appears to be its true meaning. For in the Arabic we have لوز *lous*, which is indeed the same word, and which denotes the almond. Thus Abu'l Fadli, as quoted by Celsius (*Hierobot.* i. 254), says, '*Lous* est arbor nota, et magna, foliis molliibus. Species duæ, hortensis et silvestris. Hortensis quoque duæ sunt species, dulcis et amara;' where reference is evidently made to the sweet and bitter almond. Other Arab authors also describe the almond under the name of *lous*. But this name was well known to the Hebrews as indicating the almond; for R. Saadias, in Ibn Esra's *Comment.*, as quoted by Celsius (p. 253), remarks: '*Lus* est amygdalus, quia ita eam appellat Arabes; nam hæ duæ lingue, et Syriaca, ejusdem sunt familie.' Almonds have been always produced in Syria and Palestine, and extend from thence into Afghanistan. But as there is another word by which the almond was known to the Hebrews, we shall reserve our further remarks for that head [SHAKAD].—J. F. R.

LYCAONIA (Λυκαονία), a province of Asia Minor, having Cappadocia on the east, Galatia on the north, Phrygia on the west, and Isauria and Cilicia on the south. It extends in length about twenty geographical miles from east to west, and about thirteen in breadth. It was an undulating plain, involved among mountains, which were noted for the concurrence of wild asses. The soil was so strongly impregnated with salt that few of the brooks supplied drinkable water, so that good water was sold for money. But sheep thrived on the pasturage, and were reared with great advantage (Strabo, xii. p. 568; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* viii. 69). It was a Roman province when visited by Paul (Acts xiv. 6), and its chief towns were Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, of which the first was the capital. 'The speech of Lycaonia' (Acts xiv. 11) is supposed by some to have been the ancient Assyrian language, also spoken by the Cappadocians (Jablonsky, *Disquis. de Lingua Lycaonica*, Opusc. iii. 3, seq.); but it is more usually

conceived to have been a corrupt Greek, intermingled with many Syriac words (Guhling, *Dissert. de Lingua Lycaon.*)—J. K.

LYCIA (Λυκία), a province in the south-west of Asia Minor, having Pamphylia on the east, Phrygia on the north, Caria on the west, and the Mediterranean on the south. Great part of the country, however, consists of a peninsula projecting south into the Mediterranean. It is mountainous, and is watered by numerous small rivers which flow from the mountains. Its inhabitants were believed to be descendants of Cretans, who came thither under Sarpedon, brother of Minos. One of their kings was Bellerophon, celebrated in mythology. The Lycians were a warlike people, powerful on the sea, and attached to their independence, which they successfully maintained against Croesus, king of Lydia, and were afterwards allowed by the Persians to retain their own kings as satraps. Lycia is named in 1 Maccab. xv. 23, as one of the countries to which the Roman senate sent its missive in favour of the Jews. The victory of the Romans over Antiochus (B. C. 189) gave Lycia rank as a free state, which it retained till the time of Claudius, when it was made a province of the Roman empire (Suet., *Claud.* 25; *Vespas.* 8). Lycia contained many towns, two of which are mentioned in the N. T.; Patara (Acts xxi. 1, 2); Myra (Acts xxvii. 5); and one, Phaselis, in the Apocrypha (1 Maccab. xv. 23).—J. K.

LYDDA. [Lod.]

LYDIA, a woman of Thyatira, 'a seller of purple,' who dwelt in the city of Philippi in Macedonia (Acts xvi. 14, 15). The commentators are not agreed whether 'Lydia' should be regarded as an appellative, or a derivative from the country to which the woman belonged, Thyatira, her native place, being in Lydia. There are examples of this latter sense; but the preceding word *δούκων* seems here to support the former, and the name was a common one. Lydia was not by birth a Jewess, but a proselyte, as the phrase 'who worshipped God' (σεβομένην τὸν Θεόν) imports. She was converted by the preaching of Paul; and after she and her household had been baptised, she pressed the use of her house so earnestly upon him and his associates, that they were constrained to accept the invitation. The Lydians were famous for the art of dyeing purple vests, and Lydia, as 'a seller of purple,' is supposed to have been a dealer in vests so dyed, rather than in the dye itself (see Kuinoel on Acts xvi. 14).—J. K.

LYDIA. [Lud.]

LYDIA, Ezek. xxx. 5; and LYDIANS, Jer. xlv. 9—see LUDIM.

LYRA, NICHOLAS DE, or, when Latinized, LYRANUS. This celebrated commentator and fore-runner of the Reformation, was born about 1270, of Jewish parents, at Lyre, a small town in Normandy, in the diocese of Eurecca, from which he took his surname. Having embraced Christianity when young, he entered the order of the Franciscans at Verneuil in 1291, whence he was sent to the Franciscan convent at Paris to complete his studies. Here he applied himself with great diligence and success to his studies, was admitted to the degree of Doctor, and became a most dis-

tinguished lecturer on the Bible. His great learning, refined taste, and eminent worth, raised him to the principal offices of his order, and secured him the friendship of the most illustrious persons of his age. So highly was he esteemed by Queen Jane, Countess of Burgundy, and the wife of Philip V., called *the Long*, that she appointed him one of her executors in 1325. He died at Paris October 23, 1340. He wrote (1) a treatise in defence of Christianity, and against Judaism, entitled *Tractatus fratris Nicolai de Lyra de Messia ejusque adventu, una cum responsione ad Judaeorum argumenta quatuordecim contra veritatem Evangeliorum*, which he finished in 1309, and is directed against some Rabbis who made use of the N. T. to assail Christianity. It is generally appended to his commentary, and is also given in the polemical work entitled the *Hebraemastix* of Hieronymus de Sancta-fide, Frankfurt 1602, p. 148, ff. (2.) *Postilla perpetua in universa Biblia*, printed at first at Rome 1471-72, 5 vols. folio. It is this work which has immortalised De Lyra, and conferred upon its author the title of *Doctor planus et utilis*. The great merit of this commentary consists in its embodying the sober-spirited and ingenious explanations of Rashi, whose mode of interpretation he regarded as his model, as he frankly states, '*Similiter intendo non solum dicta doctorum Catholicorum, sed etiam Hebraeorum maxime Rabbi Salomonis, qui inter doctores Hebraeos locutus est rationalibus, ad declarationem sensus literalis inducere*.' De Lyra even adopts the well-known Jewish four modes of interpretation denominated פורדם = סוד, mystical; דרש, allegorical; רמז, spiritual; פשט, literal, which he thus expresses in verses in the same prologue (*i. e.*, the first), from which the former quotation is made.

Litera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia.

He gives, however, the preference to the literal sense. 'All of them,' says he in the second prologue, 'presuppose the literal sense as the foundation. As a building declining from the foundation is likely to fall, so the mystic exposition which deviates from the literal sense must be reckoned unbecoming and unsuitable.' Even in the interpretation of the N. T., where Rashi failed him, acquaintance with the Rabbinical writings and Jewish antiquities enabled him to illustrate largely allusion to the manners and customs of the Hebrews. How much Luther and the Reformation were indebted to De Lyra, may be seen from a comparison of the respective commentaries, and from the couplet of the Reformer's enemies.

Si Lyra non lyrasset,
Lutherus non saltasset.

That De Lyra was of Jewish extraction, is, among others, most emphatically declared by Chajim Ibn Musa, who composed, in 1456, a refutation of his polemical treatise, entitled ספר מן ורומה *The Book of the Shield and the Spears*, in which he says,

בעבור היהודים היו מפורדים להשיבו כי היה (ניקולא)
נצרי חדש מזרע היהודים ויהודי היה לה שנים כמו
שואמרים הנצרים. De Lyra's statement that he had little intercourse with the Jews, at the end of his polemical treatise, and his modest plea in the prologue to his commentary for indulgence, 'because,' he says, 'I am not so well skilled in the

Hebrew or Latin language as to prevent me from failing in many particulars,' which are urged by Graetz and others against his Jewish origin, must be rejected in the face of the ancient testimonies to the contrary. For the different editions of De Lyra's works, and translation into French and German, comp. Grasse, *Trésor de Livres rares et précieux*, s.v. See also Davidson, *Sacred Hermeneutics*, Edin 1843, p. 175, etc.; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. vii., Leipzig 1863, pp. 350, 513.—C. D. G.

LYSANIAS (Αυσανίας) is mentioned by St. Luke, in chap. iii. 1, as tetrarch of Abilene on the eastern slope of the Anti-lebanon, near Damascus. Amidst the obscurity which surrounds this name, conjectures have been indulged in, two of which we will here notice. According to Eusebius (whom others have followed, such as Bede and Adrichomius, see Corn. a Lapid. in *Luc.* iii. 1), Lysanias was a son of Herod the Great. This opinion (the untenableness of which is shewn by Valesius, on Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.* i. 9, and by Scaliger, *Animadv.* on Euseb. *Chron.* p. 178) has no other foundation than the fact that the evangelist mentions Lysanias with Herod Antipas and Philip; we dismiss it, therefore, and proceed to notice another opinion which has excited more serious discussion, especially in recent times. Josephus (*Antiq.* xiv. 13. 3, and *Bell. Jud.* i. 13. 1) mentions a Lysanias, the son of Ptolemy, the son of Menneus; and in other passages, also, he speaks of 'Abila of Lysanias' (*Antiq.* xix. 5. 1) and 'the tetrarchy of Lysanias' (xviii. 6. 10), and, more fully still, of 'Abilene, the tetrarchy of Lysanias' (xx. 7. 1). Now Lysanias, the son of Ptolemy, was put to death by Marcus Antonius at the instigation of Cleopatra (*Joseph. Antiq.* xv. 4. 1; *Dion. Cass.* xlix. 32). This took place B.C. 34, or about sixty-four years before the period which St. Luke refers to in the passage before us (iii. 1). To the older commentators, such as Casaubon (*On Baronius, Ann.* xxxi., *Num.* 4), Scaliger (*loc. cit.*), and others (see Corn. a Lap. and Grotius, *in loc.*), this difference of dates presented no difficulty. Allowing historical credit to St. Luke (on which subject see Dr. Mill, *Pantheistic Princip.*, pt. ii. p. 16, *seq.*), no less than to Josephus, they at once concluded that two different princes of the same name, and possibly of the same family, were referred to by the two writers. (See also Kuinoel, on *Luke* iii. 1; Krebsius, *Observ.*, pp. 110-113; and Robinson, *Biblioth. Sac.*, v. 81.) This reasonable solution, however, was unsatisfactory to the restless critics of Germany. Strauss and others (whose names are mentioned by Bleek, *Synopt. Erkl.*, i. 156, and Meyer, *Komment.*, ii. 289) charge the evangelist with 'a gross chronological error;' a charge which they found on the assumption that the Lysanias of Chalcis, mentioned by Josephus, is identical with the Lysanias of Abilene, whom St. Luke mentions. This assumption is supported by an hypothesis which is incapable of proof; that Abilene, being contiguous to Chalcis, was united to the latter under the rule of Lysanias, the son of Ptolemy. It must, however, be borne in mind that Josephus nowhere speaks of Abilene in connection with this Lysanias; nor, indeed, does he mention it at all

* Similarly, the geographer Ptolemy mentions an 'Abila, which bears the surname of Lysanias,' Ἀβίλα ἑπικληθεῖσα Λυσανίου (v. 18).

until ten years after the notice by St. Luke. He calls Antony's victim simply ruler of Chalcis. Moreover, it is of importance to observe, that the *tetrarchical* division of Palestine and neighbouring districts was not made until after the death of Herod the Great; so that, in his haste to inculpate the evangelist, Strauss, in effect, attributes to the historian, whom he invidiously opposes to St. Luke as a better authority, an amount of inaccurate statement which, if true, would destroy all reliance on his history; for we have already seen that Josephus more than once speaks of a '*tetrarchy* of Lysanias;' whereas there were no '*tetrarchies*' until more than thirty years after the death of Ptolemy's son, Lysanias. It is, therefore, a juster criticism to conclude (against Strauss, and with the earlier commentators) that in such passages as we have quoted above, wherein the historian speaks of '*Abila* of Lysanias,' and '*The tetrarchy of Lysanias*,' that a *later* Lysanias is certainly meant; and that Josephus is not only accurate himself, but a voucher also for the veracity of St. Luke. But there is yet stronger evidence to be found in Josephus of the untenableness of Strauss' objection and theory. In his *Jewish Wars* (ii. 12. 8) the historian tells us, that the emperor Claudius 'removed Agrippa [the second] from *Chalcis* [the kingdom, be it remembered, of Strauss' Lysanias] to a greater kingdom, giving him in addition the kingdom of Lysanias,' (ἐκ δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος Ἀγρίππαν εἰς μείζονα βασιλείαν μετατίθει . . . προσέθηκε δὲ τὴν τε Λυσανίου βασιλείαν). Ebrard exposes the absurdity of Strauss' argument, by drawing from these words of Josephus the following conclusion—inevitable, indeed, on the terms of Strauss—that Agrippa was deprived of *Chalcis*, receiving in exchange a larger kingdom, and also *Chalcis*! (See Ebrard's *Gospel Hist.* [Clark], pp. 145, 146). The effect of this *reductio ad absurdum* is well put by Dr. Lee (*Inspiration* [1 ed.], p. 394, note), 'Hence, therefore, Josephus does mention of a *later* Lysanias [on the denial of which Strauss has founded his assault on St. Luke]; and by doing so, fully corroborates the fact of the evangelist's intimate acquaintance with the tangled details of Jewish history in his day.' Many eminent writers have expressly accepted Ebrard's conclusion, including Meyer (*loc. cit.*) and Bleek (*loc. cit.*) Patritius concludes an elaborate examination of the entire case with the discovery, that 'the later Lysanias, whom Luke mentions, was known to Josephus also; and that, so far from any difficulty accruing out of Josephus to the evangelist's chronology, as alleged by objectors to his veracity, the historian's statements rather confirm and strengthen it' (*De Evangelii*, iii. 42, 25). It is interesting, also, to remark that, if the sacred writer gains illustration from the Jewish historian in this matter, he also repays him the favour, by helping to clear up what would otherwise be unintelligible in his statements; for instance, when Josephus (*Antiq.* xvii. 17. 4) mentions 'Batanea, with Trachonitis and Auranitis, and a certain part of what was called 'the house of Zenodorus,' as paying a certain tribute to Philip' (σὺν τῇ μέρει οἴκου τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου λεγομένου); and when it is remembered that 'the house of Zenodorus' included other territory besides Abilene (comp. *Antiq.* xv. 10. 3, with *Bell. Jud.* i. 20. 4); we cannot but admit the force of the opinion advanced by Grotius (as quoted by Dr. Hudson, on

the Antiq., xvii. 17. 4), that 'when Josephus says, some part of the house, or possession, of Zenodorus was allotted to Philip, he thereby declares that the larger part of it belonged to another. This other was Lysanias, whom Luke mentions' (see also Krebsius, *Observatt.*, p. 112). It is not irrelevant to state that other writers, besides Strauss and his party, have held the identity of St. Luke's Lysanias with Josephus' son of Ptolemy, and have also believed that Josephus mentioned but one Lysanias. But (unlike Strauss) they resorted to a great shift rather than assail the veracity of the holy evangelist. Valesius (on Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, i. 10), and, more recently, Paulus (*Comment.* in loc.), suggested an alteration of St. Luke's text, either by an erasure of *τετραρχούντος* after 'Ἀβιληνῆς, or retaining the participle and making it agree with *Φίλιππου* as its subject (getting rid of *Λυσανίου* as a leading word, by reducing it to a mere genitive of designation by its transposition with *τῆς*—*q. d.*, τῆς Λυσανίου 'Ἀβιληνῆς τετραρχούντος), as if Philip had been called by the evangelist 'Tetrarch of Ituræa, Trachonitis, and the Abilene of Lysanias.' This expedient, however, of saving St. Luke's veracity by the mutilation of his words is untenable, not having any support from MS. authority. In conclusion, it is worth adding, that in modern times a coin has been discovered bearing the inscription *Λυσανίου τετράρχου καὶ ἀρχιπρεσβ.*, and Pococke also found an inscription on the remains of a Doric temple, called *Nebi Abd*, the ancient Abila, fifteen English miles from Damascus, which makes mention of *Lysanias, tetrarch of Abilene*. Both the coin and the inscription refer to a period subsequent to the death of Herod (Pococke's *Description of the East*, vol. ii., pt. 1, pp. 115, 116; and Sestini, *Lettere ed. Dissertationi numismatiche*, tom. vi., p. 101, tab. 2, as quoted by Wieseler, *Chronolog. Synops.* 183). These discoveries, therefore, certainly lend confirmation to the view we have taken, that the Lysanias whom Josephus mentions in connection with events in the reigns of Caius and Claudius is in fact identical with the Lysanias of St. Luke's Gospel (see Davidson's *Introd. N. T.*, p. 218). — P. H.

LYSIAS (Λυσίας). 1. A Syrian 'nobleman of the blood royal' whom Antiochus Epiphanes, when setting out for Persia, appointed guardian of his son, and regent of that part of his kingdom which extended from the Euphrates to the borders of Egypt (1 Maccab. iii. 32; 2 Maccab. x. 11; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 7. 2; Appian, *De reb. Syr.*, 46). Acting under the special orders of the king, Lysias collected a large force for the purpose of carrying on a war of extermination against the Jews. This army, under the command of the generals Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias, was surprised and put to flight by Judas Maccabæus near to Emmaus (1 Maccab. iii. 38—iv. 18; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 7. 3, 4). In the following year, B.C. 165, Lysias himself invaded Judæa with a still larger army, and joined battle with Judas in the neighbourhood of Bethsura. The Syrians were again defeated, and so decisively that Judas was able to accomplish his great purpose, the purification of the Temple, and the re-establishment of divine worship at Jerusalem (1 Maccab. iv. 28-61; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 7. 5-7). Lysias retires to Antioch, and while preparing for a fresh campaign, the death of Epiphanes leaves him in virtual pos-

session of the supreme power. Shortly afterwards (in the year probably B.C. 163), with an army equal in number to the former two combined, with three hundred war chariots and two-and-thirty elephants, and accompanied by the young king Antiochus Eupator, he again enters Judæa from the side of Idumæa. Having taken the fortified city of Bethsura, he advances to Jerusalem and lays siege to the temple. Meeting here with a stouter resistance than he had anticipated, and hearing that Philip, a rival claimant to the guardianship of the king, was returning from Persia, he hastily concludes a peace with the Jews, and sets out for Antioch. On reaching this city he finds it in the possession of his rival. In the engagement which followed, Philip was defeated and slain. Another and more formidable opponent, however, soon appeared, in the person of Demetrius Soter, first cousin of the king, who, escaping from Rome, lands at Tripolis, and lays claim to the throne. The people rise in his favour, and Antiochus and Lysias are seized and put to death (1 Maccab. vi.-vii. 2; 2 Maccab. xiii.-xiv. 2; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 9. 10; Appian, *De reb. Syr.*, 47). In the second book of Maccabees an account is given at some length of an invasion of Judæa by Lysias, made *before* the final invasion but *after* the death of Epiphanes (2 Maccab. xi.) It is scarcely possible to reconcile this with the more trustworthy narratives of the first book, and it is clear from 2 Maccab. ix. 28-x. 10, that the writer is not following a strictly chronological order in this part of his history. Internal evidence seems to us to favour the opinion that this narrative has been compiled from separate and partial accounts of the two invasions referred to in 1 Maccab. iv.-vi., the writer too hastily inferring that they described the same event.

2. Claudius Lysias, the military tribune who commanded the Roman troops in Jerusalem during the latter part of the procuratorship of Felix (Acts xxi. 31-38; xxii. 24-30; xxiii. 17-30; xxiv. 7, 22). Nothing more is known of him than what is stated in these passages. From his name, and from Acts xxii. 28, it may be inferred that he was probably a Greek.—S. N.

LYSIMACHUS. 1. 'The son of Ptolemæus of Jerusalem,' Λυσίμαχος Πτολεμαίου τὸν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ. He is commonly supposed to be the translator into Greek of the Book of Esther (see the close of the LXX. version). The Apocryphal 'rest of the Book of Esther,' A. V., says, 'In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemæus and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said he was a priest and Levite, and Ptolemæus his son, brought this epistle of Phurim, which they said was the same, and that Lysimachus, the son of Ptolemæus that was at Jerusalem, had interpreted it (xi. 1).

2. A brother of the Menelaus whom Antiochus appointed high-priest (*cir.* B.C. 171). Menelaus left him temporarily 'in his stead in the priesthood,' and encouraged him to commit many sacrileges. Thus he roused the indignation of the common people, who rose against him and killed him (2 Maccab. iv. 29, 39). The Vulgate erroneously makes him the successor of Menelaus.—J. G. C.

LYSTRA (Λύστρα), a city of Lycænia, in Asia Minor, mentioned in connection with Derbe. When Paul and Barnabas were persecuted at Iconium 'they fled unto *Lystra* and Derbe, and unto the region that lieth round about' (Acts xiv. 6). These two towns must have been close to each other. The site of Iconium is known [ICONIUM], and the boundaries of Lycænia are also known [LYCAONIA]. *Lystra* and Derbe stood on the great road leading from Cilicia to Iconium, and consequently south of the latter, and on the northern side of the Taurus range which separated Cilicia from Lycænia. Derbe lay next Cilicia, for when Paul was on his way from Cilicia he reached Derbe first (Acts xvi. 1); and when returning at another time from Derbe to Iconium he passed through *Lystra* (xiv. 21). The relative situation of the two is thus clear. *Lystra* is mentioned by Strabo and Ptolemy, but its position is not defined. Leake suggests that it stood at the western extremity of the plain of Lycænia, about twenty miles south of Iconium. That site, however, is far removed from the public road, and it is uncertain whether there be ruins there (*Travels*, p. 103). South-east from Iconium, near the centre of the plain, stands a lofty isolated mountain called Kara-dagh, and on its eastern declivity are extensive ruins. To these the name *Bin-bir-Kilisi* (the 'Thousand-and-one Churches') is now given on account of the great number of ecclesiastical edifices among them. Here Mr. Hamilton would locate *Lystra*, and the identity may be admitted. Another traveller ascended the mountain, and says, 'On looking down I perceived churches on all sides of the mountain scattered about in various positions. . . . Including those on the plain, there are about two dozen in tolerable preservation, and the remains of perhaps forty may be traced altogether' (Falkner, in Conybeare and Howson's *Life of St. Paul*, i. 202). Some ruins a few miles eastward, on the line of the ancient road, are supposed to mark the site of Derbe.

At *Lystra*, Paul, having miraculously cured a cripple, was about to receive divine honours along with Barnabas. Afterwards, however, at the instigation of Jews from Iconium, he was stoned and left for dead (Acts xiv. 8-19). The healing power which he had been able to exert for the relief of others, was now put forth by God on his own behalf, and he suddenly rose up, went into the city, and next day visited Derbe. From thence he returned again to *Lystra* on his way to Iconium (vers. 20, 21). Timothy appears to have been a native of *Lystra*. He was perhaps converted during Paul's first visit, and on his second visit he took him with him on his missionary tour (xvi. 1-4). From this fact we can understand the pointed reference of Paul in 2 Tim. iii. 10, 11, 'But *thou hast fully known* (παρηκολούθησας) my doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, long-suffering, charity, patience, persecutions, afflictions, which came unto me at Antioch, at Iconium, at *Lystra*; what persecutions I endured: but out of them all the Lord delivered me.' Timothy had apparently been an eye-witness both of the miracle performed by, and that performed on, Paul at *Lystra* (Alford and Ellicott, *ad loc.*)—J. L. P.

SUPPLEMENT TO VOL. II.

ARTICLES OMITTED.

GAIUS

GAIUS (Γάιος), the Grecised form of the Latin Caius, the name of several persons mentioned in the N. T.

1. A Macedonian who had accompanied St. Paul to Ephesus, and who was seized by the mob when the uproar was made by Demetrius (Acts xix. 29). Nothing more is known of him.

2. A native of Derbe who, along with Timothy and others, accompanied St. Paul from Asia on the occasion of his second visit to Europe (Acts xx. 4). This Gaius is often confounded with the former; but the one is expressly called a Macedonian, the other was from Derbe (see Meyer's or Alford's note on Acts xx. 4).

3. A Christian famed for his hospitality, resident in Corinth (Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. i. 15).

4. A Christian to whom St. John's third epistle is addressed, also noted for his hospitality to the Christians. Whether he was identical with any of the above is uncertain. Lücke thinks he was the same as No. 2, but for this he assigns no reason. Wolf identifies him with No. 3. According to the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vii. 46), he was made bishop of Pergamos by St. John.—W. L. A.

GOTHIC VERSION. The Gothic version is the work of Ulfila, bishop of the Goths, who was born in 313, and died 383. Whether he was the first or second bishop ordained to labour among that rude people, is uncertain. The most probable opinion is, that he was consecrated to his office by certain Arian bishops in council, at Philippopolis in Thrace, in the year 343. But the accounts of his life are confused, and, that of Philostorgius in particular, unreliable. The most trustworthy statement is his disciple's *Auxentius*—which Waitz has followed—though it is not certain in some particulars.

This apostolic missionary left an enduring and precious monument of his zeal in his version of the Bible, a work for which he was well qualified. According to Philostorgius, he translated the entire Bible except the books of Kings, omitting the latter lest they might add fuel to the military propensities of his people, already excessive. There is no good reason for doubting this statement, though Knittel has vainly endeavoured to confute it; and Mr. Horne, anxious to find an accusation against Gibbon, calls it an idle tale repeated by the historian—asserting that Mai discovered fragments of the books of *Kings*, *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah*, in the re-script MS. of Milan, marked G 8a. This, however, is an error, as no trace of the Kings has been discovered. The version was made from the Greek throughout, *i.e.* the LXX in the Old Testament, and the original in the New. Ulfila also invented a Gothic alphabet, the letters of which were borrowed from the Greek and Latin, five of them from the latter. By this means he put his countrymen into a position for understanding the Scriptures, the source of divine truth, and deriving their knowledge of divine things from the fountain. The benefit conferred upon them by these works

GOTHIC VERSION

is incalculable. The man who prepared the way for the reception of Christianity by a numerous race, bridging over the gulf between the new religion and a rude heathen spirit, was a benefactor whose memory they might well cherish with pride. The crown of his missionary life was the translation of the sacred books.

The time when he was engaged in making this version cannot be precisely determined. It seems to have been after 370, when Fritigern's conversion led to that of large numbers among the Goths. Ulfila was then about sixty years old, mature in knowledge and piety, with large experience of human nature—intimately acquainted both with the wants and capabilities of his nation.

The version is of no use in the *interpretation* of the Bible; but it is a valuable document in the criticism of the text, *i.e.* the text of the New Testament only, because the Old Testament part was made from the LXX., and is now lost with the exception of some insignificant fragments. The greater portion of the New Testament is extant. No part of the Acts, Epistle to the Hebrews, Apocalypse, or general epistles, has yet been discovered.

The following is a list of the extant portions:—

Matthew iii. 11.	Luke iii. 1-38.
v. 8, 15-48.	iv. 1-44.
vi. 1-32.	v. 1-39.
vii. 12-29.	vi. 1-49.
viii. 1-34.	vii. 1-50.
ix. 1-38.	viii. 1-56.
x. 1, 23, 24-42.	ix. 1-62.
xi. 1-25.	x. 1-30.
xxv. 38-46.	xiv. 9-35.
xxvi. 1-3, 65-75.	xv. 1-32.
xxvii. 1-19, 42-66.	xvi. 1-24.
	xvii. 3-37.
John i. 29.	xviii. 1-43.
iii. 3-5, 23-26, 29-32.	xix. 1-48.
v. 21, 22, 35-38, 45-47.	xx. 1-46.
vi. 1-71, except verse 39.	
vii. 1-52.	Mark i. 1-45.
viii. 12-59.	ii. 1-28.
ix. 1-41.	iii. 1-35.
x. 1-42.	iv. 1-41.
xi. 1-47.	v. 1-43.
xii. 1-49.	vi. 1-30, 53-56.
xiii. 12-38.	vii. 1-37.
xiv. 1-31.	viii. 1-38.
xv. 1-27.	ix. 1-50.
xvi. 1-33.	x. 1-52.
xvii. 1-26.	xi. 1-33.
xviii. 1-40.	xii. 1-38.
xix. 1-13.	xiii. 16-29.
	xiv. 4-16, 41-72.
Luke i. 1-80.	xv. 1-47.
ii. 1-52.	xvi. 1-12.

Romans vi. 23.	Ephes. v. 1-11, 17-29.
vii.	vi. 8-24.
viii. 1-10, 34-39.	
ix.	Gal. i. 1-7, 20-24.
x.	ii. 1-21.
xi. 1, 11-36.	iii. 1-6, 27-29.
xii. 1-21.	iv. 1-31.
xiii.	v. 1-26.
xiv. 1-5, 9-20.	vi. 1-18.
xv. 3-13.	
xvi. 21, 24.	Philip. i. 14-30.
1 Cor. i. 12-25.	ii. 1-8, 22-30.
iv. 2-12.	iii. 1-21.
v. 3-13.	iv. 1-17.
vi. 1.	Col. i. 7-29.
vii. 5-28.	ii. 11-23.
viii. 9-13.	iii. 1-25.
ix. 1-9, 19-27.	iv. 1-19.
x. 1-4, 15-33.	
xi. 1-6, 21-31.	1 Thes. ii. 10-20.
xii. 10-22.	iii. 1-13.
xiii. 1-12.	iv. 1-18.
xiv. 20-27.	v. 1-28.
xv. 1-35, 46-58.	
xvi. 1-24.	2 Thes. i. 1-12.
2 Cor. i. 1-24.	ii. 1-4, 16, 17.
ii. 1-17.	iii. 1-18.
iii. 1-18.	
iv. 1-18.	1 Tim. i. 1-20.
v. 1-21.	ii. 1-15.
vi. 1-18.	iii. 1-16.
vii. 1-16.	iv. 1-16.
viii. 1-24.	v. 1-14, 16, 18-25.
ix. 1-15.	vi. 1-16.
x. 1-18.	
xi. 1-33.	2 Tim. i. 1-18.
xii. 1-21.	ii. 1-26.
xiii. 1-13.	iii. 1-17.
	iv. 1-16.
Ephes. i. 1-23.	Titus i. 1-16.
ii. 1-22.	ii. 1.
iii. 1-21.	
iv. 1-32.	Philem. 11-23.

Of the Old Testament there have been preserved Ezra ii. 8-42, mostly parts of verses; and Nehemiah v. 13-18, vi. 14-19, vii. 1-3, ix. 15, only six words of the verse. In addition to these fragments, a considerable number of verses and parts of verses—belonging to most of the Old Testament books—have been collected by Massmann out of the New Testament version.*

For the gospels we are indebted to the celebrated Silver MS. of Upsala, whose history is a curious one. It was discovered in the abbey of Werden in Westphalia, at the commencement of the 13th century, whence it was brought to Prague, and fell as booty into the hands of the Swedes when they got possession of Little Prague, A.D. 1648. After being for some time in the library of Queen Christina, it suddenly disappeared, and was found in the Netherlands in the possession of Isaac Vossius. How this scholar got it is matter of conjecture; the more charitable opinion is that the queen presented it to him, not that he appropriated it by stealth. Sweden, however, soon regained the treasure, for Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie purchased it from Vossius for 400 Swedish dollars, and gave it as a present to the University of Upsala in 1669, where it has remained since that time.

This remarkable MS. bears internal evidence of the country where it was written. It was made in Italy, as

* *Ulfilas, die heiligen Schriften alten und neuen Bundes*, etc., p. 1, etc.

Hug and others have shown, not later than the beginning of the 6th century, probably at the end of the 5th. The name Silver MS. (*codex argenteus*) refers to the letters, which are large uncial characters of silver, on purple-coloured vellum. The initial lines of the gospels and the first line of every section are in gold letters. Below are the canons of Eusebius. The order of the gospels is peculiar:—Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. As to the way in which the letters were made, opinions differ. Michaelis supposes that the deep impression of the strokes shows the letters to have been either imprinted with a warm iron, or cut with a graver and afterwards coloured. This is improbable. John ab Ihre thinks that they were impressed by carved or cast stamps, as bookbinders put titles on the backs of books in gold or silver; and refers to the perfect uniformity of the letters, their indentations on each page, and the traces of paste sometimes observable between the silver and parchment.* It is unlikely that the letters were written with a pen or reed. The MS. is defective, having but 187 folios, whereas it had at first 330. It is a mistake to say that it consists of 188 folios.

1. No proof is required to show that this version was made from the Greek text. If it were, we should point to mistakes arising from a manifest misreading of the original, such as, τῶν κειμένων of the Gothic (Matt. xxvii. 52) for τῶν κεκοιμημένων; τροφή (Luke vii. 25) for τρυφή; πεπώρκεν (John xvi. 6) for πεπλήρωκεν; προσδεχόμενον (Luke i. 10) for προσεχόμενον; συνήτησαν (Luke ix. 18) for συήσαν; μερίδας (Luke xix. 25) for μνάς, as if the latter were an abbreviation; in Mark vii. 3, πυκνὴ instead of πυγμῇ; in Philip. iv. 8, ἀγια instead of ἀγνά; in Mark ix. 18, ρίπτει for ῥήσσει; in Luke iii. 14, ἀρχεσθε for ἀρκείσθε. Again, the article *sa*, *so*, *thata*, is commonly put where it is in the Greek, though the Gothic does not need it, as in John vii. 16, ἡ ἐμὴ διδασχὴ is rendered *so meina laistrins*. Still further, the translator strives to exhibit the etymological sense of words by rendering ὁλοκαυτωμάτων, *alabruntim*, Mark xii. 33; ἐγκαλῖνα, *inninjitha*, John x. 22; σκηνοπηγία, *klehrastakeins*, John vii. 2; ἀχειροτονήτων, *unkhanduntarhtia*, Mark xiv. 58. Ἐλαχιστότερον, in Ephes. iii. 8 is well imitated by the comparative *undarlairjins* "less than the least."†

2. Eichhorn and Hug assert that the Constantinopolitan or Lucian recension is the basis of the version; the former critic adding that it is strongly mixed with the Hesychian recension also. These recensions are imaginary. The proof that Hesychius and Lucian, in their respective spheres, undertook revisions of the New Testament MSS. is wanting. Lucian revised the LXX; and it does not appear that his critical labour extended to the New Testament. Hence the lists of examples which Hug and Eichhorn give in proof of their opinion are liable to mislead. Assuming the existence of a Constantinopolitan recension, we affirm that the version as a whole does not present its characteristic readings. The Asiatic-Byzantine text is not the basis. The text of the version agrees more nearly with D of the Gospels and Acts, than any other document; and D belongs, according to Griesbach, to the Western recension—not the Constantinopolitan. We admit, however, that the Greek copies in Asia and Thrace began to pass out of their ancient form in the course of the 4th century, settling into what is called the Constantinopolitan in the 5th and 6th centuries.

It is best to look at the point apart from recension-schemes. Are the readings which the Gothic represents those of the oldest and best authorities, or those of later and inferior ones? Or does the version show that the Greek text from which it was made was in a transition state, passing from its oldest known form into a more corrupt one; in other words, does it represent a mixed Greek text, one

* See the *Præfatio* to his *Ulfilas Illustratus*, p. 3, etc., ed. Büsching.

† Uppström's *Codices Gotici Ambrosiani*, p. 106.

agreeing with the oldest critical authorities, but, at the same time, interspersed with later or so-called Constantinopolitan readings? These are the questions with which the critic has to do—questions of a difficult nature, and demanding, towards their right solution, an extensive collation of MSS. with the Gothic text.

3. A difference of diction has been observed in the various fragments of the version which have been preserved. To what is this owing? Two causes are assigned. Some suppose that Ulfila consulted Latin as well as Greek copies while he made his translation; others, that the work was altered and partially adapted to the Latin by later hands. The latter view is adopted by Gabelentz, Loebe, and Krafft, who think that the version was subjected to a revision, in which Gothic words were exchanged for others more usual, or for others that seemed to give the sense better, after the original had been diligently examined and Latin copies in Italy compared. This explains, it is said, the traces of two recensions, noticed by critics in such parts of the version as exist in more MSS. than one. In the Gospel of Matthew is found the evidence of two such recensions—an older and a younger; the former adhering more closely to the Greek text, the latter altered in many places, but so that the original reading is still in the margin. The Gospel of Luke presents the greatest diversity. It agrees more frequently with the Latin, besides employing forms and words that occur very seldom, or never, in the other Gospels. It has many readings and marginal glosses, proceeding from revisers, or from copyists who had compared other MSS. Some of these readings have got into the text from the margin. The Pauline Epistles show more traces of a later hand. New forms of words and sentences indicate that they were the object of continued study among the Goths in Italy and Spain.*

It is impossible not to admire the ingenuity with which Loebe pursues this topic, and collects numerous particulars to support it. But he has not proved his position. It is pushed too far. The problem still remains, Why did Ulfila ignore the Latin version? Is it probable that he would? We cannot think so, and would therefore unite the two views.† Ulfila consulted the old Latin version; and that work furnished subsequent individuals with marginal readings, several of which found their way into the text, and with various corrections more consonant with the original. But such revision and alteration must have been comparatively slight. The traces of recensions in the four Gospels, as well as the Pauline Epistles, are not strongly marked. Ulfila should not be confined to the same phrases or constructions. If he has translated the same Greek word variously, what supposition more natural than that his orthography varied when he was reducing a new language to form? But while admitting the fact that the Gothic received additions from the Latin, and that collation gave rise to marginal notes which were afterwards inserted in the text, the separation of the additions from the genuine text cannot be effected as easily as Hug thinks, because he seems to have neglected—after the example of Gabelentz and Loebe—an important point, the probability that Ulfila consulted the old Latin.

Nor has this critic good ground for believing that Ulfila had nothing but a MS. or MSS. presenting the genuine Constantinopolitan form of the text. On the contrary, that recension or family is scarcely so early as the middle of the 4th century, the age of B and N, even though these two MSS. were written in Africa. The form of the Greek text, commonly called Constantinopolitan, did not appear before

the 5th century at the earliest. We are inclined to believe that the copies current in Asia Minor, Greece, and Constantinople, when Ulfila flourished, were not much inferior to those of Alexandria; for an earlier and later Constantinopolitan family may be distinguished, the latter representing a more corrupt form of the text.

These observations tend to show that most of the readings which the Gothic has in common with the old Latin were not the addition of scribes, but should be assigned to the MS. or MSS. which Ulfila used as the basis of his version, together with the Latin itself. They are original. Some readings are certainly posterior to Ulfila. No valid proof of the statement, that the Gothic was *extensively* altered from the old Latin, has been produced; such as undervalue the Greek MSS. current at Constantinople and in Greece during the 4th century, may think so; others will refuse assent. The heterogeneous character attributed to the Gothic does not arise so much from its reception of Latin readings by subsequent copyists, as from the nature of the MSS. employed by Ulfila. *Long* additions from the Latin are easily detected where they are confined almost entirely to it and the Gothic, besides their internal improbability. Thus it is easy to see that the addition after *πᾶν ὅς ἐποιεῖ* in Luke ix. 43—viz. "Peter said to him, Lord, why could not we cast him out? but Jesus said, Because this kind does not go out except by prayers and fastings,"—comes from the old Latin. But *such* additions are not common.

We have now answered the question, Does the version abound in readings found in the mass of the later copies? which is almost as pertinent as another, Does it abound in readings found in the oldest copies? since both admit of a similar reply. The version is not *characterised* by an overwhelming abundance of late readings, any more than are D of the Gospels, or f of the same—i.e. the Bressian MS. of the old Latin. It does not present the purest readings throughout, but a mixed text, or a transition state of the Greek text passing out of the N, B, C, a, b, c, form into another and less genuine one. Yet it is far from what is called the Constantinopolitan recension of Griesbach, having greater affinity to the oldest than the youngest text of the New Testament. It often agrees with D, E, F, G, and the old Latin, especially the Italian or revised form of the latter. Next to them, it coincides with N, B, C, A—more with A than C, and with C than N, B, or Z in Matthew. This is tantamount to the assertion, that its text is a little younger than that of N, B, C, A, and somewhat inferior. The difference, however, is not great.

(a) It has most resemblance to D (the Gospels and the Epistles), as well as the old Latin, especially d, e, f, g (the Gospels and the Epistles). Thus, in Matthew xi. 16, it has *ἐν ἀγορᾷ*, which is not original, but *ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς*. In 2 Cor. ii. 3, it has *ἡμῶν* after *ἐγγράφα*. In Ephes. ii. 12, *ἐν* is prefixed to *τῷ καιρῷ*; 2 Cor. xi. 3, *εὖ* after *ἐξηπατήσεν*; Gal. iii. 2, *ἐν ἡμῶν*; Gal. vi. 15, *ἐστιν* for *λαχρεῖ*; Ephes. iv. 16, *μερῶν* not *μελῶν*; Ephes. iv. 19, *ἀπληκίστες*; Ephes. iv. 28, *ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσίν*; Philip. iii. 3, *θεῷ*; *ἀποστολῇ*, 2 Cor. i. 12, for *ἀγιοστῇ* the older and better reading; in Matt. v. 22, *ἐκ* is added to *τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ*; *ἐνοστῆτος*, Col. iii. 14, instead of *τελειοτῆτος*.

(b) It often agrees with the oldest and best MSS., supported by the ancient Latin and other versions. Thus, in Mark i. 2, for *ἐν τοῖς προφήταις*, it has *ἐν τῷ Ἡσαῖα τῷ προφήτῃ*, with N, B, D, L, Δ, the old Latin, the Vulgate, Coptic, Syriac, and other versions; in Matt. xi. 2, διὰ for *δυσ*, with N, B, C*, D, P, Z, Δ, the Peshito, Philo-xenian, etc.; in Gal. iv. 26, it omits *πάντων* before *ἡμῶν*, with N, B, C*, D, E, F, G, the old Latin, Vulgate, Coptic, two Syriac versions, etc.; in Romans vii. 6, it has *ἀποθανόντες* with N, A, B, C, K, L, and various versions, not the Latin ones; in Romans x. 1, it omits *ἐστιν* before *εἰς*, with N, A, B, D, E, F, G, the old Latin, Syriac, and Coptic versions; in Romans xiii. 1, it has *αἱ* before *οὐσας* with

* Ulfilas, ed. Gabelentz and Loebe. *Prolegomena*, p. xviii. et seq.

† E Graeco autem in Gothicum sermonem, consultis inter-dum interpretationibus Latinis, vertisse Ulphilum, comparatis inter se versionibus et archetypo optime colliges. Uppström, preface to the *Codex argenteus*, p. iv

out *ἐξουσία*, with **N**, A, B, D*, F, G, the old Latin (guc), Vulgate, and other versions; in 1 Thes. v. 3, it has *ὅταν* without *γάρ*, with **N**, A, F, G, d, e, f, g, the Syriac version; in Matt. v. 47 it has *το αὐτο* with **N**, B, D, M, U, Z, and several versions; 2 Cor. viii. 8, *τῆς ἑτέρων σπουδῆς*, with **N**, B, C, G, the Vulgate, etc.; in Matt. xi. 16, *τοῖς ἑτέροις* with **N**, B, C, D, E, F, Z, and others, also most copies of the old Latin.

(c) Its readings are often junior ones, as in Mark i. 5, *πάντες* after *ἐβαπτίζοντο*; Mark xi. 2, *λυσάντες αὐτὸν ἀγαγετέ*; Mark xi. 10, the insertion of *ἐν ὀνόματι*; the doxology of the Lord's prayer, except *Amen*, in Matt. vi. 13; Matt. viii. 13, the addition of *αὐτοῦ το παῖς*; the addition in Mark vi. 11, "Verily I say unto you," etc. etc.; *ἔλεγε δὲ* in Mark vi. 4, instead of *καὶ ἔλεγεν*. It has *τὴν κληρονομίαν* in Romans xi. 1, instead of *τὸν λαόν*. The former is evidently a later and Latin reading, being found only in F, G, g, Ambros. Hilar. Ambrosiast. and Sedulius.

(d) It has readings differing from D (Gospels) and the old Latin, inferior to theirs and incorrect. In Luke vi. 20, *τῷ πνεύματι* is added to *πτύχῳ*, contrary to most copies of the old Latin as well as D. In the same verse it has *τῶν οὐρανῶν* for *τοῦ θεοῦ*, manifestly derived from Matthew. In Luke vi. 23 it has *τοῖς οὐρανῶν*, the plural, instead of the singular. In Luke viii. 47 *αὐτῷ* is inserted after *ἀπηγγέλει*.

(e) Latin additions are, *et spiritui sancto*, Luke i. 3, which is in b and g'; in Luke ix. 50, *nemo est enim qui non faciat virtutem in nomine meo*, which is in a b c e l; in Mark xiv. 65, *gaburjaba*, i.e. *cum voluntate* or *libenter*, "they smote him with the palms of their hands with good will." The marginal remarks or glosses found in MSS. consist of additions, as—

To *kaithivisk* is added *vilthi*, Mark i. 6, both meaning *wild*.

Of *Synonymous* words, as *bakos* for *mela*, Mark xii. 24.

Of a different rendering of the Greek text, as *nimith*, Galat. ii. 6, which is better than the textual *andsitith*, for *λαμβάνει*.

Sometimes they refer to two Latin readings. Thus, in Ephes. ii. 3, *viltjans* is in the text and *lustuns* in the margin, alluding to the two Latin readings *voluntates* and *voluptates*.

These glosses are sometimes taken into the text, as in Luke xix. 7, *In gard*.

A comparison of two MSS. containing the same parts of the New Testament, as A and B, shows more variations in orthography than in other particulars. Thus, in 2 Corinth. ii. 2, *niba* in A; *nibai* in B; ii. 6, *andabet* in A, which is wrong, *andabeit* in B; ii. 14, *aviluth* A, *avilud* B; xiii. 1, *gastandith* A, *gastandai* B; Gal. vi. 1, *andsaiwands* A, *atsaiwands* B; Colos. iii. 5, *vinna* A, *vinnon* B; 1 Tim. i. 3, *galeithands* A, *galeithans* B; 2 Tim. iii. 2, *frijondans* A, *frijondans* B.

(f) It has been supposed that Ulfila himself added certain marks of punctuation, because they are found to be the same both in the Silver MS. and the Ambrosian copies. This would facilitate the reading and understanding of his version by his countrymen. But there is good reason for doubting the correctness of this opinion. The marks consist of a dot and two dots (:). The former is commonly at the end of a sentence; the latter is said to denote the end of a series of sentences, or a paragraph. The Silver MS. of the Gospels seems, at first sight, to favour this explanation, but it will not stand the test of inspection. In the majority of instances it may be said to hold good; in not a few it is at fault. Thus, in John viii. 52, a dot occurs after *prafeteis*, the prophets, where no sentence ends; and also after *qithis*, sayest. Two dots are not found between John viii. 21 and x. 15. A paragraph begins at x. 15, with a single dot preceding. The Ambrosian MSS. show more clearly that the single and double dots occur arbitrarily. No dot appears between 1 Tim. iv. 8, 9. In 1 Tim. iv. 12 a dot occurs after *καταφρονεῖτο* which does not finish a sentence; two dots after *ἐν λόγῳ*;

and two after each of the nouns that follow. In the next verse no dot is put after *διδασκαλία*, the end of the sentence. Whole chapters are without either the single or double dot, as Romans ix. in the Ambrosian MS. A. The seventh chapter of the same epistle has not the double; nor does the single one occur in that chapter after its being appended to the word *nis-stia* in the 13th verse. Hence it is hardly credible that the translator himself placed dots so arbitrarily. They belong to the copyists; and as they are of two kinds only, no argument for Ulfila-authorship can be based on their similarity in the copies.

(g) Though the version is usually literal and exact, the author sometimes renders a generic word more specific. So in John vii. 12, where *δυνατός* is translated *sumjeins*, equivalent to *ἀλόγητος*. The same is in f, which has *wnraz*. Perhaps, however, Ulfila followed the Latin here. Hug incorrectly supposes that one or other of the translators made the mistake of substituting one Greek word for another.

(h) Sometimes Ulfila uses additional words and clauses to make the narrative more striking as well as emphatic. Thus, in Matthew ix. 8, *siddatrickjandans* is inserted after *ohtedum*; "when the people saw it they were afraid and wondered." This is especially the case in narratives of miracles.

It is universally admitted, that the version is faithful to the original, and admirably executed. The author had complete mastery over the Gothic tongue; and though he was not equally conversant with the Greek, he seldom failed to give the sense of the original. His ability and judiciousness are indisputable. The task he had to perform was very difficult: to transfuse the ideas and terms of a new religion into a new language, so as to make them intelligible to his Gothic countrymen. Whether his peculiar creed be perceptible in the mode of rendering is doubtful. It is certainly less observable than the Calvinism of the authorised English version. Castiglione refers to one passage in which Ulfila's Arianism is said to peep out, i.e. Philip ii. 6, where *ἴσα θεῷ* is rendered *galeiko gutha*, like or similar to God, not equal; an opinion endorsed by Gabelentz, Loebe, and De Wette. But Massmann denies the fact, asserting that his creed has never influenced his version, and that the passage in the Epistle to the Philippians is corrupt.* If the term *galeiko* be genuine, the probability is that it was not selected on purpose, because Ulfila denied the Son's likeness as well as his equality to the Father. Rejecting *homoionianism* as well as *homoousianism*, he asserted that the Son was not *similis* to the Father. The point is of no importance, even if Castiglione be correct; the general fidelity of the translation is unaffected by a single word, while Ulfila's integrity and honesty cannot be questioned. No version of the New Testament can be theologically colourless.

The best editions of Ulfila's version are Uppström's *Codex Argenteus* (1854); to which should be added *Decem Cod. Argent. reditiva folia* (1857); and the same author's *Codices Gotici Ambrosiani* (1868). These contain all known fragments of the Gothic version, and are edited most accurately.

Next in value is Stamm's, 'Ulfilas, oder die uns erhaltenen Denkmäler der Gotthischer Sprache,' etc., third edition by Heyne (1865). This has the *Skeireins*, a sort of *catena* on John's Gospel, or rather a polemical book against Marcellus, Sabellius, and others, based on the gospel, first published by Massmann, who thinks that the entire work consisted of about a hundred leaves, and that it was written by Ulfila about 351 A.D. Small as the fragment now is, it supplies some missing verses in the Gospels, such as Matt. iii. 11; v. 8; John i. 29; iii. 3-5, 29-32; v. 21-23, 35-38.

Next in importance is Massmann's 'Ulfilas, die heiligen Schriften alten und neuen Bundes in Gotthischer Sprache.'

* Ulfilas, die heiligen Schriften alten und neuen Bundes in Gotthische Sprache, Einleitung, p. 23.

(1855-1857), which contains much useful matter, with many inaccuracies and evidences of carelessness.

The edition of Gabelentz and Loebe, '*Ulfilas Veteris et novi Testamenti versionis Gothica fragmenta qua supersunt*' (1843-1846), may still be consulted with advantage, because it is a scholarly book. Older editions, such as Zahn's '*Ulfilas' Gothische Bibelübersetzung*' (1805), are wholly superseded by the preceding ones. None, indeed, prior to that of Gabelentz and Loebe, incorporated all the known fragments; since Castiglione, who edited most of the epistolary ones from rescript MSS. at Milan, had not completed his labours in that department till 1839. The editions of Gabelentz and Loebe, Massmann, and Stamm, contain a Gothic grammar and glossary. Stamm's is the best in this respect.—S. D.

JUDICATURE. In the patriarchal times the office of judge was naturally vested in the head of the house; and in his hands was the power even of capital punishment (Gen. xxxviii. 24-26). When the people of Israel became an organised nation the judicial power rested with the chief of the state, and was by him delegated to inferior officers. Thus Moses at first had this duty exclusively on his own shoulders, but by the advice of his father-in-law, both for his own relief and for the expediting of justice, he afterwards selected certain upright, wise, and skilful men, whom he appointed to act as judges under him. The number of these was seventy-two, and they were set over the larger and the smaller divisions of the people, so as probably to form a gradation of courts in which an appeal lay from the lower to the higher. Moses reserved in his own hands the adjudication of the weightier cases (Exod. xviii. 13-26; Deut. i. 9-18).

When Israel was settled in Canaan an arrangement took effect for which provision had been made in the law. In all places large enough to have walls and gates judges were appointed, who were to judge the people with just judgment and decide impartially between man and man. The persons selected were doubtless from among the elders of the place (Deut. xix. 12; xxi. 19; xxii. 18; Job xxix. 7-17), and with them were associated, probably for advice, some members of the Levitical order. Above these local judges stood a supreme judge, to whom difficult cases or disputed decisions were to be referred. Failing him, or at the option of the parties, the matter might be decided by the high-priest, with probably other priests as his assessors, forming a college of justice (Deut. xvii. 8-13). Of these supreme judges a series of thirteen ruled Israel between the time of Joshua and that of Saul. [JUDGES.] Under the monarchy the king was supreme judge (1 Sam. viii. 5; 2 Sam. xv. 2-4; 1 Kings iii. 16, etc.); but it would appear that he too had the aid of a company of assessors (Ps. cxxii. 5). In the reign of Jehoshaphat a more systematic and complete organisation of the judicial order seems to have been instituted; judges were placed in all the walled towns of Judah, and a central court of appeal, and for the adjudication of the weightier matters, was established at Jerusalem, composed of persons selected from among the priests, the Levites, and the chiefs of the families of Israel (2 Chron. xix. 5-11). This scheme,

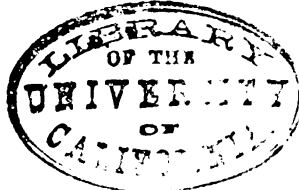
which had been disturbed by the captivity, was restored by Ezra (Ezra vii. 25). An appeal probably lay from the central court to the high-priest, but this is not quite certain. At a later date arose the court of the Sanhedrim, mentioned for the first time under Hyrcanus II. (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 9. 3), which became the supreme tribunal of the Jews. Two lesser councils (*synedria*), are said by the Talmudical writers to have existed at Jerusalem, and in every town of 120 inhabitants one similar to these was found (Otho, *Lex. Rabbin. Philolog.* p. 723). It is probably to these lesser courts that our Lord alludes when he speaks of the *judgment* as distinguished from and subordinate to the *council* (Matt. v. 22). They were also intended in Matt. x. 17; Mark xiii. 9. [SANHEDRIM.]

The place where justice was administered was in the earlier times the gate of the town, by which publicity was secured (comp. Gen. xxiii. 10; Ruth iv. 1; 2 Kings vii. 3, etc.); hence the specification of 'gates' in Deut. xvi. 18. It would appear that it was usual to hear cases in the morning (Jer. xxi. 12); according to the Talmud, capital causes could not be heard during the night, they must be begun and ended within the day, nor could sentence be executed on the same day on which it was pronounced (*Mishna, Tr. Sanhedrim*, iv. 1). The Talmud also says that a capital trial could not be conducted on the eve of the Sabbath or of a feast-day, because in case of its ending with the condemnation of the accused the sentence could not be executed next day without violating the Sabbath, nor could it be deferred, כִּסְנֵי עֵינָי הָרִין, *propter afflictionem* (i.e. suspensionem) *judicii* (*Gemara* quoted by Cocceius, *Duo Tituli Thalmud. Sanhedrim et Maccoth*, etc., p. 36). In the early times judicial procedure was usually summary; each person pleaded his own cause (comp. Deut. i. 16; xxv. 1; 1 Kings iii. 16-28); the judge decided after hearing witnesses examined on oath [WITNESS; OATH]; and the sentence was usually carried into execution forthwith (Deut. xxv. 2; Josh. vii. 19-25), save when by appeal the case might be carried to a superior court.

The judge was bound by the most solemn sanctions to do equal justice between man and man, and to administer the law without respect of persons (Deut. i. 16, 17; xvi. 19; xxvii. 19, etc.). He was forbidden to receive gifts, to show favour to the rich, or pervert justice through pity for the poor, and to allow the opinion or will of the multitude to sway his decision (Deut. xvi. 19; Lev. xix. 15; Exod. xxiii. 2). As acting for God and under his authority, judges were to have regard only to what was right and just before Him (Deut. i. 17; xix. 17; 2 Chron. xix. 6). [SEE ADULTERY, TRIAL OF; ADVOCATE; DEPOSIT; LOAN; MOSES, LAWS OF; PROPERTY; PUNISHMENT, etc.].—W. L. A.

LICE (KINNIM), PLAGUE OF. Much light is thrown on this subject in Sir SAMUEL BAKER's most interesting work, *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia*, page 122. His opinion is, that the insects thus inflicted upon the population were not lice, but *ticks* (Exodus viii. 16). The same work affords interesting illustrations of the manners and customs of patriarchal times. See, for example, page 126.

END OF VOL. II.



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